V. The Kalasha

History and Development of the Kalasha

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My name is Saifullah Jan; I am District Councillor for the Kalasha. It is fortunate for us that all you experts have come here, taking an interest in our customs and religion. But you should understand that we have little education; so I am not competent to speak well in your language. I thank you for giving me the chance to speak on behalf of the Kalasha at this conference.

1. History

In our land there are some knowledgeable people. In Rumbur there is such a man, called Kazi Khosh Nawaz, who is famous. He tells stories that first our homeland was a place called Tsyam: from Tsyam our forefather Shalak Shah came to Chitral in the army of a great general. At Chitral, four sons were born to him. Settling in Chitral, he then divided it among his four sons. After that, we lack a full account as to what happened. But we do know of two great kings among our ancestors. Rajawai and Bulasing. Rajawai's kingdom was based at Batrik village in Bumburet, reaching as far as Bashgal. Bulasing's fort was at Uchusht in Chitral, where he made his own kingdom.

Rajawai was a powerful king. He went and made war in Bashgal, killing the men there and seizing their widows; but then he made those women dance shamefully on the Gangalwat pass (into Rumbur). This king greatly sinned from too much pride, so his kingdom was soon finished.

Afterwards, the Rais kings came and made war, destroying Rajawai's kingdom. And after the Rais, Shah Kator seized our kingdom. Great oppression was put on us Kalasha then. The rulers made us do labouring work, also taking tribute from us. Everything became difficult for us. Even when we married, they would take a bull from us! Such oppression lasted for a long time. For example, the rulers demanded from each clan a kid-goat and several pounds of honey, taking this from each household to the king. They also took goats and cheeses, giving this to our overlord Komander. Whenever Komander's *Carwelu* officer came to our land, we had to kill animals for him, divided on each occasion among each of our clans by turn. In our community these due were collected by an *asakal* 'headman'. If anyone failed to provide these services, he would be seized and beaten by the *Carwelu*.

Despite such oppression, the Kator rulers did protect us well. They were considerate of our religion and customs; they would not allow outsiders to put force on us. If any people tried to oppress us, the king sent his *Carwelu* to beat and fine that man. So

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outsiders coming to our land were unable to seize our property; the king did not allow that. And in those times of oppression we also held firmly to our customs: our elders made sure that all our work should be done according to tradition.

2. Tradition

There are two main principles in our religion: things that we call 'pure', and those we call 'impure'. Our altars for gods and our goats: these things are 'pure'. The *bašali* house for women, on the other hand — this is 'impure'. We call women 'impure' for certain purposes, but we do not think badly of women because of this. In our religion, men and women are equal.

Some people come to us, saying: 'These Kalasha make their women stay monthly in the *bašali* house, not allowing them home then; this a bad custom for women!' Yet our women themselves enjoy staying in the *bašali*: for they count it as a holiday, when there is no work, and they walk freely there. Food is brought from their homes and given to them there; so each month they go happily to the *bašali*.

Now Muslims also call us Kafirs 'unbelievers'. But we are not Kafirs. We also believe in one God — the Creator Dezau in our language, whom the Chitralis call Khodai or Allah, or Paidagarau — these are all One. The *dewal* 'gods' are rather like this: we consider them messengers between ourselves and God. We sacrifice at their altars slaughtering a goat and burning juniper. But we make prayers at these places to God, for the *dewa* take these prayers to God. In our custom we have many kinds of sanctuary, but at all these places we make our prayers to God.

3. Development

In former times there was great oppression on us. Outsiders would come and attack us, calling us Kafirs. But the time of the Kator rule came to an end; Pakistan started. Then there were troubles all over Pakistan, and there were difficulties for us as well. The local mullahs organized armies to invade our valleys, seizing many Kalasha and making them Muslim by force.

Party politics also came to Chitral at that time, some being in the so-called 'Pakhti League' (Ittihadi Muslim League) and some being in the Muslim League. A few Kalasha joined the Pakhti League, saying: 'The Kator [rulers] are good! We will continue to do labouring work and give tribute, for these Kator are protecting us.' Other Kalasha said: 'The Muslim League is good, now that Pakistan is here. The cruel British will leave, and there will be no more taxes and labouring work! Progress will come to the nation.' Thus we had party politics among us even then. It is also our custom to gather together and freely give our opinions about such matters, saying, "We will do this!" or "We won't do that!" In our custom we gather in one place to argue about what is good or bad for the community.

After Chitral joined Pakistan, for over twenty years the old ways continued as before. There were still *asakal* 'headmen' appointed over us. But in this period Wazir Ali Shah

Sahib proved to be a good friend of the Kalasha. He arranged for Kalasha representatives to speak with the government, making a capable man among us (Basic Democracy) 'Member'. For the first time, under Ayub Khan, the government encouraged our progress — although other people were saying: 'Nothing should be done for these dirty Kalash!'

In those times the appointed Members did good work for us. Yet some were still ignorant and mistaken. Their fault was this: outsiders were coming and taking our property, yet they did not say a word against it. People took our trees, and they did not say a word. Because of that, we now have serious problems. And with outsiders entering our valleys, our customs began to get weak, becoming mixed with theirs. With this mixing of customs, even our Members began to think: 'Perhaps our Kalasha custom is wrong, since other people say it is bad!' Like that our customs became endangered, even until now.

Shaheed Bhutto was the first President to come to our homeland, to Bumburet. Collecting all the people of Bumburet, Birir, and Rumbur, he said: 'Keep your customs and religion strictly! Your customs are good, for you are an ancient people. In Pakistan your rights are equal to others. So practise your religion freely and worship properly!' Hearing these words, we became proud.

From that time new leaders emerged, reviving forgotten customs. In this way, feasting (*biramor*) and dowry assemblies (*sariek*) and making ancestor statues (*gandao*) were revived — although these customs had disappeared for two or three generations. Shaheed Bhutto also appointed five traditional elders in each community as *kazis*. From this time real progress began for the Kalasha.

At the same time, however, some of our senior elders — called *gaDa baSara* — held attitudes as if they were still under the Kator rulers. And so, together with progress, new problems also appeared. For example, such elders proposed that we build new altars made out of concrete, and temples or dancing-places fixed with tin roofs. Now you can see that they have made these tin-roofed dancing shelters in our valleys. They make it difficult for dancing, for there are concrete pillars in the way. All Kalasha think it is dangerous for their religion, for our *dewa* also do not like it. So why did these new things appear in our religious places?

Nowadays people come to our valleys from all over the world, and they are saying that altars made of cement are not beautiful. But in our opinion that is not so important; we do not like these new things because of their because of their effect on our religion.

Firstly, if we become dependent upon government money to arrange our altars, then a time might come when the government would not give money, and then how would we arrange our customs? For countless generations we have arranged all our places of prayer by ourselves. Now, if we start begging for our rites, how can we continue our religion?

So secondly, our ancient religion will be destroyed in this way.

And thirdly, if all the money that is spent on these new altars were used for really productive projects, everyone would benefit. For example, such things as bridges, channels, flood-walls and paths should be built. These are our real needs. For now, through God's grace, our population is growing. Now our need is to have more fields, not new altars!

I should mention one other subject: about women dancing. In other countries they have 'folklore' dancing groups; it is customary in those countries. But here we are in Pakistan, and Pakistan is an honourable country. So we feel it is wrong if our women are

taken from our valley to dance for other people elsewhere. We feel it is shameful, for elsewhere in Pakistan women keep *purdah*. It is true that our own women are free; they do not keep *purdah*. But they should not be taken freely outside the valleys. Otherwise, we are happy that all people from all over the world should come to our valleys to see our customs and festivals.

4. Conclusion

So finally, from the early times of Rajawai and Bulasing, it has been our ancient customs that have preserved the Kalasha through all difficulties: our idea of 'purity' and 'impurity'; our custom where elders gather and sort out their problems together. This is our custom; this is our religion; this is our life. My hope is that progress and custom will be maintained together.

Kalasha Text[1]

teherík že tarakí kalaSúm

mai nom saifulá ǰan: a kalaSón DisTrík kōsélani membár. ía kesmátas mun ki ábi tamám mahirán ayá íta. hóma mashapí že hóma dastúruna ábi dilčaspí gría. mágar hóma sum talím kam. a šehé ~ layék ne ki a mími kai tan mun sahí dek bháam. a mími šukuriá kárim dai ki mími ayá kōfrésuna nisí tan kalaSáas batí, mun díkas bati, ek muká mai práli.

1. teherík

hóma múlkuna ek kimún muč ásan ǰhonáu. rukmú khoš naváz gřōi muč bo manšúr. se dasturí kisá kárіu ki hawél hóma ǰäigá ciám ašís. ciámaio hóma wáwa šálak ša ek ǰarnáilas sum Chetráu íta au. Chetráu tása čáu putr ubuǰí áan. tará wákhtuna se Chetráu nisí čáu pútrasi hátia apházau. tal'ä píSTalo hóma wáwai du bačhá áini: ek ta rajawái, égo bulási . rajawáya bačhaí mumurét batríka ašís, Cátruma-déšža. bulásiǰgo Chetráu učúST tása noγór ašis, séo Chetráu bačhaí árau.

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1. Transcription by Peter Parkes; orthography after Morgenstierne, *The Kalasha Language* (Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages 4), Oslo: Institutet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning, Universitetsforlaget. [ed. note: Morgenstierne's ǰ represents the voiced palatal affricate also sometimes represented as <j>; his <c> represents the voiceless dental affricate otherwise represented as <ts>. Retroflex consonants are represented with capital letters, i.e. /D/, /T/, /N/, /S/, and /C/, rather than by consonants with 'dots' beneath them.] Stressed vowels are marked with an acute stress mark (e.g. *á*) or are preceded by an apostrophe (') when two diacritics would result.

raǰawái bo takatwár bačhá áis. se Cátruma-déš pai, žaŋ kai, muč Dumbhái, áSiSa istríža halí, beizát kai gřã gřãwát sónuna halí naTáu. se bačhá bo galát krom kai phakér karíkas thára, hóma bačhaí tes kul háwau.

tal'ä píSTao raís bačhá íta, žaŋ kai tása bačhaí Dumbháu. hóma bačhaí agríau. raísa píSTao katúr bačhaí agríau. gri, tóa hóma kalaSón thára bo zúlum háwau. hóma bríSTau Satáan, thaŋgí agrían. har išnihári hóma hátia miškíl háwau. ǰa asta pe árimi hau, hóma pi doN agrían. tóa bo zamaná šémi išnihári hóma thára thaw háwan. masalán: kam thára ek múti, ek batí maChí har kušúnai maChí kõřái bačháas hátia hárin. múti čhaláñ, CáSa čhaláñ, hái, komandéras dañ. komandéras gehénao Carwélu pe hóma múlkuna ál hau, ǰh'õta márik, hisápuna eg íkuno ek kámani, eg íkuna ek kámani, kam thára. kóma múlkuna tása asakál hiu, se tása hátia kõřél. kía muč ne pe pral hau, Carwélu to l'ãři gríu.

agárči hóma thára bo zúlum ašís, katuré hóma iphazát pruS karíman áini. hóma mashápas batí, hóma dastúras batí, bo khiál karíman áini. bíenä múčan hóma thára zúlum káruna ne lasaíman áini. hóma thára zúlum pe áran hau, Sa tan Carwélu húti, tási tyái ǰirmaná karíman áini. bíenä muč hóma múlkuna íta, hóma Chetr gríik ne bhaíman áini: Sa ne lasaíman áis. šáma zúlumas wákhtuno asta hóma dastúr mesbhút tawémi: hóma gaDerakán ek krom paisalá káren ki hóma šáma krom dastúruna kárik baS.

2. dastúr

hóma mashápuna du išhihári šehé ~ šíen ki: égis 'õǰiSTa gř'õik, égis káio prágata. hoóma déwa-dur šíen, hóma pai án: éli õǰiSTa bašáli šiu: prágata. ábi istríža prágata gřõi , mágam šum ne ǰošík. hóma mashápuna istríža že púruS barabár.

kúro múčo hóma talái íta šehé ~ máan dai ki: "emi kaláSa istríža bašáluna apáo dañ dai, dúra ne lasén dai. ía šum dastúr istríža hátia!" mágar hóma istríža khošán thi tan hátia bašáluna apáo dañ dai: kóreko tási ćutí hisáp, kia krom ne, azát kásin. aúo dúrai hái, tási dañ; tóa te har mastrúkas bašáluna parík bo khošán.

onǰa musulmán hóma kai kafér gř'õan dai. ábi kafér ne. ábi asta ek khodái maník dai: hóma móndruna dízila dezáu gř'õik, khowáruna khodái gř'õan, alláh gř'õan, paidagaráu gř'õan: ek isáp. dewáo šehé ~ išnihári ki hóma že khodáyas móčuna kásau muc. ábi šehé ~ khodaí kárik ki sadaqá dek dewáuna pai, pai márik, sáras dyek. mágar khodáyas kai suál kárik: déwa hóma suál khodáyas táda háriu. hóma dastúruna bo išnihári hóma ibadát-khaná šíen, mágar talái pi ábi suálo khodáyas kai kárik.

3. tarakí

tará wákhtuna bo zúlum ašís. hóma warék muč émi kafér gřõi hóma thára, hamlá karíman áini. tóa katuréan dáur khátum háwau. pakistán šurúk háwau. tará wákhtuna saf pakistan una taklíu háwau, hóma thára asta zulum háwau. dašmán boli áran, bo kaláSa dašmanan tyái, musulmán zor kai áran.

Chetráu paTi-bazí thi, kúrao pákhti-lek gřõi háwan, kúrao muslim-lík gřõi háwan. tóa adé kaláSao pákhti-lek thi amáan ki: "katuré pruST! ábi briSTáu parík dai tha gí dek dai. émi katuré hóma iphazát pruST kárin dai," gřõi amáan. adé "muslim-lík pruST," gřõi

amáan ki: "pakistán híu. záhalum a gris paríu, tha gí ne híu, briSTáu ne híu. múlkuna tarakí híu." šemií paTi-bazí tará asta ašíni hóma móčuna. hóma dastúr šiu ki: ábi azát tan múčuna ogo-égis kai dek, éga wáta sarí, "áma ta kárik! áma ta ne kárik!" gřõi. hóma dastúruna pruST že khačáas batí sarí, mun dek.

Chetráu pakistán thi, asta bíši káo báluSa dastúr. asakál-lambardár áini Sumbéro rao. tal'ä píSTao ia wazír-ali-ša sahíb kalaSón pruST dust. se kušúš kai kalaSón numaindagías batí hokumátas sum mun dai, kalaSón batí ek layék muč membár árau. hawélo ayúb khána wákhtuna kaláSa tarakí karíkas batí hokumát kušúš árau, mágar warék muč maíman áini ki: "šísi gandá kalaSón batí kia ne kárik baS!" gřõi.

tal'ä wákhtani te membarán hóma batí pruST krom kai an, bázi krómo ne ǰhóni, galát kai an. tási galtí šía ašís ki: bienä muč íta, hóma zemín agrían, te huk ne áran; hóma muT agrían, te huk ne áran. šatal'ä waǰáani ónǰa hóma thára bo taklíu háwau. bíenä muč hóma múlkuna óne, hóma dastúr asta kam thíman hau, tási sum mišári thi. mišári thi, hóma membarán šehé ~ ačíTan ki: "albát hóma dastúr šum, émi muč hóma kai kháča gř'õan dai." šáa šehé ~ thi hóma dastúruna khatrá paidá háwau, šónǰa ža.

tóa bhuTú šehída wákhtuno se haweló wazir azám thi hóma múlkuna áu, mumurét. mómola, bírila, rukmúla kõřái, se amáu ki: "abi mími masháp že dastúr mesbút thawáa! mími masháp pruST, ábi bo kadimí muč. pakistánuna mími hak barabár. mími mashápas azadí. tan masháp pruS kai kára!" tása mun křũ kai, ábi phakér 'arimi.

tal'ä píSTalo tóa n'õřa läderán drhaní práSmila dastúr ghéri a gahán. biramór že sariék že gaNDáo kárik ghéri šurúk áran. šémi dastúr du-tré púštuna ban thi ašíni. bhuTú šehíd hóma mashápas batí múlkuna po-púnǰ dasturí gaDérak kázi gřõi mukarár árau. talá píSTawo kalaSúmas sahí tarakí šurúk háwau.

mágar tará wákhtuna te paráno läderán — gáDa baSára gřõi — tási talók katuréan sum ašís. tási waǰehén dyai tarakías sum ǰústuna n'õř taklíu asta paidá háwan. masalán: šaté paráno gaDerakán simét kai dewa-dúr, tim dramí SaTái ǰestak-hán, naTík'äin karíkas batí tačwís pron. 'õnǰa ábi páša ki hóma talái tim dramí SaTái naTik'äin kai an. se hóma naT karíkas batí bo miškíl, thũř šíen tará. saf kaláSa to mashápas batí khatranák ǰošín dai, hóma déwa asta khošán ne hin dai. ko-kí éli n'õřa išnihári mashapí ǰaigái paidá háwan?

ónǰa hóma múlkuna tamám dunyáani muč ín dai. te asta máan dai: "ia simét dewa dúr šišóyak ne," gřõi. mágar hóma khiáluna tási mun hóma aǰát ne: ábi hóma mashabi waǰehén dyái te ne khošék dai.

hawél, ábi hokumátas paisáas thára pe hóma déwa sauzémi hau, ek šehé ~ wákhtas ta íu ki hokumát paisá ne del, tóa kía gri hóma dastúr sauzék? ábi kimón pušt Sumbér Sáti tan hátia sauzái áik tamám hóma ibadát-khaná? ábi khodaí ghátí khe ~ kai hóma masháp kárik?

duó, šehé ~ kai hóma paráno dastúr kharáp híu dai.

troyó, šehé ~ ki: émi paisá gri, dewa-dúr sauzék sarkáio, abát-karí pe háwal hau, sáfis hátia phaidá. masalán: síu, žai, lámbur, phon karéli. šemí hóma zarurát. khodáyas meherbanías thára ábi abát hik dai. hóma warék n'õřa Chetr zarurát, n'õřa dewa-dúro ne!

ek mundr asta šíu: istrižón naTíkas thára. bhéri múlkai "foklór" gřõi naT kárin dai: tási múlkao dastúr se. ábio pakistaní, pakistán bo izatmán mulk. šatalák istríža hóma múlkan bien drahní naT karawáik bo kháča ǰošík dai. lač ǰošík dai: pakistánuno pardá šiu istrižón batí. sahí ki hóma istríža azát, pardá ne kárin. mágam hóma múlkuna azát bíena draSní mo híluri. ghái ro, ábi khošán hik tamám dunyáani muč hóma múlkuna tta pe hóma dastúr že khošani ǰagáan háu.

4. akhér mun

akherío, raǰawáyas že bulásiŋga wákhtuna SáTi, sírfi hóma dastúr hóma kaláSa thawái šíu, har taklífuna: prágata, 'õǰiSTa; warék dasturí krómas batí gaDerakán sarí, mun dek thi, krom paisalá kai íta áik. šía hóma dastúr, šía hóma masháp, šía hóma zindagí. mai omét šehé ~ ki hóma tarakí že dastúr ǰust thi hín.

The Kalasha in Southern Chitral
Part 1: The Eastern Area

Alberto Cacopardo[*]

Introduction

This paper is the result of a rather quick survey carried out in the areas of former Kalasha presence in Southern Chitral in the summer of 1989 and in September 1990, by the present author and his brother, Augusto S. Cacopardo. Since the total duration of field work dedicated to this subject did not exceed one month, the results cannot be considered exhaustive. Though our data may be integrated and possible imprecisions corrected through further field work, we have decided to publish the results so far obtained because a considerable amount of entirely new information has become available on a subject that had practically never been researched before.

The former presence of the Kalasha in southern Chitral is well known to all the inhabitants of the area and is unanimously considered a historical fact, though so far there was little evidence to support it apart from the general agreement of oral traditions, not only of the Kalasha themselves, but of the Kom Nuristani (Robertson 1974:159), the Kho (Wazir Ali Shah 1974a:69-71; Schomberg 1938:209), the Palula or Dangarik (Ahmad Saeed 1987), and others.

According to these traditions, which have been often reported in the literature (see also Biddulph 1986:132; Parkes 1983:19-22), the Kalasha were defeated by the legendary Rais, the first Muslim rulers of Chitral, and this defeat is varyingly dated between the fourteenth (Wazir Ali Shah 1974b:70) and the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries (Siiger 1956:33; Loude and Lievre 1984:34). The famous Luli song, first collected by Siiger in 1948 and subsequently published by Morgenstierne (1973:57-65), mentions the names of places once occupied by the Kalasha, ranging from Asmar in the south to the Dorah Pass at the head of the Lotkuh valley in the north.

Various hypotheses have been proposed about the duration of Kalasha hegemony in Chitral, ranging from Schomberg's idea that they were the aboriginal inhabitants of the whole district (1938:209-11) to Siiger's and Loude and Lievre's opinion that their presence in southern Chitral was only a brief stage in their migration from the south (Siiger 1956:34; Loude and Lievre 1984:34).

But aside from these traditions about a distant past, there was another element that confirmed the former extension of Kalasha presence outside the three valleys of the Kalashgum: several communities of Muslim converts in various side valleys of the district,

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and even in the main Kunar valley, were known to have been speaking Kalashamun[1] until recent times. Biddulph related in 1880 that the villages of 'Jinjuret, Loi, Sawair, Nager and Shishi' were inhabited by people of Kalasha language, whom he extravagantly qualifies as Siah Posh.[2] Sir George S. Robertson, the well-known Englishman who is our main source on the pre-Islamic cultures of Nuristan, mentions the presence of Kalashamun-speaking people in the village of Urtsun, where he stopped for one day on his way to Kamdesh in 1888. The people of this village were then entirely unconverted (Robertson 1974:4–9). In 1904 Captain Gurdon, who became the first British political agent of Chitral after participating in the historical siege of its fort at the time of the British conquest in 1895, published a Military Report on Chitral (quoted in Morgenstierne 1965:187), with the following data about Kalashamun-speaking communities.

Rumbur valley	20 families
Bumboret valley	59 families
Birir valley	48 families (= 401 persons)
Jinjiret Kuh	3 families
Suwir	26 families
Urtsun	15 families
Kalakatak	16 families
Lawai	27 families

Gurdon's data were the only ones so far available about Kalashamun-speaking people outside the three valleys, but as we shall see, they were approximate and largely incomplete. It was, at any rate, on the basis of Gurdon's information that Morgenstierne, the Norwegian linguist who first studied systematically the languages of the area, tried to obtain samples of the language of these settlements during his field work in 1929.[3]

Though he worked mainly with informants from Rumbur, Morgenstierne also paid a quick visit to the village of Urtsun, which he found to be still mostly unconverted. There, as we shall see in the second section of this report, he obtained a good sample of the local Kalasha dialect. After leaving the field, Morgenstierne kept in touch with Wazir

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1. Morgenstierne was not correct in calling *Kalasha* the language of the *Kalash*. Kalash is the Chitrali word to designate the people who, as Parkes first remarked as late as 1988 (Parkes 1988), call themselves Kalasha. The language of the Kalasha is not called Kalashwar (as some have written), which is again the Khowar name for it, but *Kalashamun* in the Northern dialect and *Kalashmandr* or *mand* in the other ones.

2. Siah Posh, meaning 'black robe' in Persian, is the old name given to the speakers of the various dialects of what is now classified as the Kati language, one of the five idioms of Nuristan. See Robertson (1974:74-5), and, for the modern scientific systematization, Fussman (1972).

3. It may be worth noting that Grierson, in his contribution on the Kalasha language for the *Linguistic Survey of India*, stated that 'the Kalashis, or Kalash Kafirs, inhabit the small valleys of Bomboret, Kalashgum and Birir, south-west of the town of Chatrar... They are Musalmans, and are subject to Chatrar, but are claimed by the Bashgali as slaves (Grierson 1919:70)'. This is only one example of the wealth of misinformation that has been, and still is, printed about the Kalasha. It is interesting, however, that Grierson should mention only this limited territory at a time when, as we shall see, Kalashamun was certainly spoken in a much wider area.

Ali Shah, who later provided him with samples from the language of Lawi, Suwir, and Kalkatak. On the basis of this and some other information, Morgenstierne identified two main subdivisions or dialects of the Kalasha language, the first of which, in his opinion, was spoken in Rumbur, Bumburet, and Birir (Northern Kalasha); while the second one extended to Suwir, Lawi, Kalkatak, Urtsun (with some significant differences), 'and, probably, Jinjeret Kuh'. This he called Southern Kalasha (Morgenstierne 1965:188). Schomberg, on the other hand, who visited Chitral in 1936, mentions 'the converted Kafirs of the Shishi Kuh' who 'still speak their own tongue', while 'their fellows at Drosh, who were converted two or three generations ago, speak Chitrali' (Schomberg 1938:212). Neither Shishi Kuh nor Drosh had been investigated by Morgenstierne. This was more or less the last information available about these communities of Kalashamun speakers. After that, they seemed to disappear from the literature, and were apparently forgotten to the point that Siiger writes that the Kalasha 'were driven away by the Rais Mehtars to their present valleys' (Siiger 1956:33), while the above mentioned information was already there to prove that, whenever the Kalasha were subjugated, they certainly were not suddenly expelled to Bumburet, Rumbur, and Birir.[4]

The present research

Thus when we started out on this inquiry, we had little idea whether anybody at all still spoke the language of the Kalasha outside the three valleys, though it was reasonable to suppose that, if it was still spoken in Morgenstierne and Schomberg's time, there would be many people living who must have used the language as their mother tongue throughout their youth. Summing up the available information, it did not amount to much. We knew that Schomberg and Biddulph mentioned Shishi Kuh, a long and rather narrow valley to the east of the Kunar river, which is also the theatre of some myths reported by Loude and Lievre (Loude 1980:111; 1987:202-3; Loude and Lievre 1984:145). Of the villages studied by Morgenstierne and mentioned by Gurdon, only Lawi is at the mouth of Shishi Kuh, but we knew nothing of the rest of the valley. We knew Urtsun had been visited by Robertson and briefly studied by Morgenstierne and Hussam ul-Mulk (1974), but there was very little information available on a valley that seemed bound to preserve lots of pre-Muslim memories. Similarly very little was known of Jinjiret Kuh, a valley very similar to that of Birir and just south of it, which had obviously been confused by Gurdon with the hamlet of Jinjiret at the mouth of the valley, since there still are many more than three families who speak Kalashamun there. We had heard about the Kalasha in Jinjiret Kuh during our field stays in Kalashgum in 1973 and 1977.

As far as the main valley is concerned, Drosh was mentioned by Schomberg and Wazir Ali Shah as formerly Kalasha, while Suwir and Kalkatak were consistently reported

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4. More recent ethnographers of the Kalasha have been more aware of the existence of the Eastern area. The Austrian researcher Karl Wutt, who briefly visited Jinjiret Kuh in the 1970's, correctly mentions the presence of Kalashamun-speaking people there, a well as in Urtsun, Shishi Kuh, and 'the surroundings of Drosh' (Wutt 1976:159). Peter Parkes gives more or less the same information (1983:9, 16).

as Kalashamun-speaking, but had also never been visited by researchers. We have thus visited and researched Lawi and the rest of the Shishi Kuh, focusing especially on the villages of Uzurbekande and Birga, where the greatest concentration of Kalashamun speakers was found. In the main valley we have visited Suwir, Kalkatak, and Gromel, one of the seven villages comprising the town of Drosh, which turned out to be entirely of Kalasha descent. And, finally, we visited Urtsun and Jinjiret Kuh on the right side of the Kunar valley, which turned out to be the most interesting locations for our research. Unlike the other settlements, Urtsun and Jinjiret Kuh remained unconverted until the first half of this century, and for this reason have provided the richest results for our research. They are therefore treated in separate sections of our report.

The purpose of our survey has been to inquire about:

- the present diffusion of the Kalasha language, its passive and active knowledge, and its use by people of different ages;
- the attitude towards the pre-Muslim culture of the past;
- the genealogical memory of the people and the survival of the Kalasha kinship system of patrilineal exogamous clans;
- the surviving memories about the Kalasha past, especially concerning mythological knowledge and ritual behaviour;
- the location of relevant sites, such as the male deities, open air sanctuaries (*dawa dur*), the village temple known as *JešTak han*, the cemeteries, and the women's confinement house known as *bašali*. Since the special disposition of these sites is constant and culturally significant in Kalasha society (Cacopardo, A. M. 1985), it was important to verify whether it was repeated in these so far unknown settlements.
- the time and circumstances of conversion to Islam.

Field research was carried out by the present author and his brother Augusto Cacopardo in the summer of 1989 and briefly supplemented with a few days further work in September 1990.

Our report has been divided into three sections. The first one, presented in this essay, concerns the settlements of the main valley and of Shishi Kuh, which we have called the Eastern Area. The second one, authored by Augusto Cacopardo and also included in this volume, concerns the valley of Urtsun. A more extensive version of these two papers is published in the journal of the Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (Cacopardo, A.M. 1991; Cacopardo, A.S. 1991). The third section, concerning Jinjiret Kuh, is due to appear in the subsequent issue of the same journal.

Diffusion, knowledge, and use of Kalashamun in the Eastern Area

Our findings show that Kalashamun is still known, though seldom spoken, by mature and elderly people in all the villages we have mentioned above, i.e. Birga and Uzurbekande in Shishi Kuh, as well as Lawi at the mouth of the valley; and Gromel, Kalkatak, and Suwir in the main valley. Since our data point to the fact that all these villages were still unconverted until a couple of centuries ago at the most, we believe that they may be seen

as comprising an Eastern Area of Kalasha culture, which has so far entirely escaped attention.

It is important to specify that various oral traditions we have collected agree with existing sources on the fact that Kalasha settlements once existed in many other places of the main valley, such as Nagar, Broz, Khurkashande, Ayun, Jughur, etc.[5] All our informants, however, specified that Kalasha presence in such area (with the possible exception of Nagar, mentioned by Biddulph) dates much further back than in the settlements mentioned earlier, to the time when all of southern Chitral was occupied by Kalasha. It is not easy to establish whether the present occupants of these older Kalasha villages are people of Kalasha descent who, through a process similar to the one we are presently witnessing, have been entirely assimilated to the Kho, or people of Kho descent who have moved in from the north. The most likely hypothesis is that both situations occur.

What must be stressed, at any rate, is that there was a core of Kalasha settlements in Shishi Kuh and in the main valley, which resisted conversion for many centuries and formed for a long time a most significant component of the Kalasha community. This is what we call the Eastern Area. It is essential to keep these long-resisting Kalasha communities well distinct from the vague memories still surviving in oral tradition about the other ancient Kalasha settlements in southern Chitral. Though our knowledge about the culture of the Eastern Area remains vague, it is quite clear that it has had a most important role in the Kalasha world until fairly recent times.

For reasons that we shall soon see, it has been quite difficult to inquire about the knowledge of Kalashamun in this area. Apart from the six villages we have more closely studied, there may be other places where the language is still known by few people. In Shishi Kuh, we have had conflicting reports about knowledge of Kalashamun among some families in Kelas and Tar. Besides these, the valley has many other villages, with the presence of Kho, Pathan, Dangarik, and Gujur people, as well as a community of Badakshi origin in the glacial basin of Madaghlasht (Morgenstierne 1932:67; Schomberg 1938:205).

Furthermore, between the mouth of Shishi Kuh and the village of Gromel, there is a string of hamlets loosely spread at a certain height along the left flank of the Kunar valley: of these Azaddam, which is the new name of Kalashandam (Morgenstierne 1965:189), Kaldam, Koturdam, and Azurdam have been at times indicated as partly Kalashamun speaking. We have not been able to visit the area, but we may estimate that there might be some forty families altogether who were of Kalasha mother tongue in the last generation there.

Other more or less isolated speakers of the language may also perhaps be found in other lesser settlements of the main valley, such as Jinjiret at the mouth of Jinjiret Kuh.

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5. A separate case is that of the valley of Byori, now inhabited by speakers of Palula, the Dangarik language known as Phalura in western literature. Byori is mentioned by Wazir Ali Shah (1974b:70) as 'among the Kalasha dominated areas'. Though there are some indications that inhabitants of the two lower villages of the valley, Mingal and Damaret, may be of Kalasha descent, the matter deserves further investigation. Kalashamun, at any rate, is not known today in these villages.

The Eastern Area is fairly homogenous from a linguistic point of view, though not entirely. All the villages of the main valley and Shishi Kuh, with the exception of Birga, belong to what can probably be identified as the Eastern dialect of Kalashamun (which is called *kalaSamandr* in this variant). Morgenstierne, as already noted, had studied this dialect mainly through materials obtained from Wazir Ali Shah, and had classified it as a variety of the Southern dialect of Urtsun. Though we are not trained linguists, it seems to us that since there are significant differences between the language of all these communities and that of Urtsun, it is better, if only for convenience, to keep them separate.

The exception of Birga is surprising because the language spoken there is clearly identical to that of Rumbur and Bumburet, i.e. the classical form of what Morgenstierne called Northern Kalasha. Neither in Shishi Kuh nor in the Kalashgum have we found any oral tradition at all to explain the presence of this dialect in the eastern valley. It is therefore difficult to establish whether the people of Birga are the remnants of the earliest population of Shishi Kuh, or rather more recent immigrants from the West. Our impression is that the latter instance is more likely to be true, since the Eastern dialect has more archaic qualities and it is reasonable to suppose that the main valley settlements of this linguistic variety are the most ancient. But this is nothing more than a hypothesis.

The known distribution of Kalasha dialects is therefore the one illustrated by the map in Figure 1. But what about the present knowledge and use of the Kalasha language in this Eastern Area? On first inquiry the people universally tended to deny that it is ever being used nowadays. Upon more careful investigation, it becomes apparent, however, that there are a few old couples in each village who tend to use it commonly in private conversation within their homes, while even those who refuse to employ it find it a convenient means of keeping secrets away from the ears of children.

From the information we have collected, despite elements of uncertainty due to the reticences we shall soon see, it appears that Kalashamun remained the currently spoken language in all these villages at least until the formation of Pakistan in 1947. It must be emphasized that the advent of independence has been, in the history of Chitral, a much more significant landmark than contact with the West at the advent of the British. It was only then that the rule of the Mehtars (who maintained a nominal lordship until 1972) actually came to an end, since, with their system of indirect rule, the British had left all internal matters concerning the government of Chitral in the hands of its traditional princes (Afzal Khan 1975:13-23). The end of their rule, which became definitive in 1950 when the administration was taken over by the Government of Pakistan, was perceived as a profound revolution marking the termination of an era and the eclipse of a whole aristocracy. The atmosphere surrounding this change must have been very similar to that of Sicily at the time of Italy's unification, so masterfully described by Tomasi di Lampedusa in his novel *The Leopard*.

Enthusiastically supported by the great majority of the population, the independence of Pakistan brought about a thrust of liberation in which many traces of an unpleasant past of oppression had to be suppressed. The resolution to abandon the use of the Kalasha language, according to a majority of our informants, was part of this move.

The disappearance of a language, however, even with the most determined intentions of its speakers, cannot be a matter of minutes. Kalashamun kept being used for quite a long time, certainly until the 1950's and in some places, apparently, until the early 1970's. Parents, like a new wave of immigrants in America trying to erase any trace of their

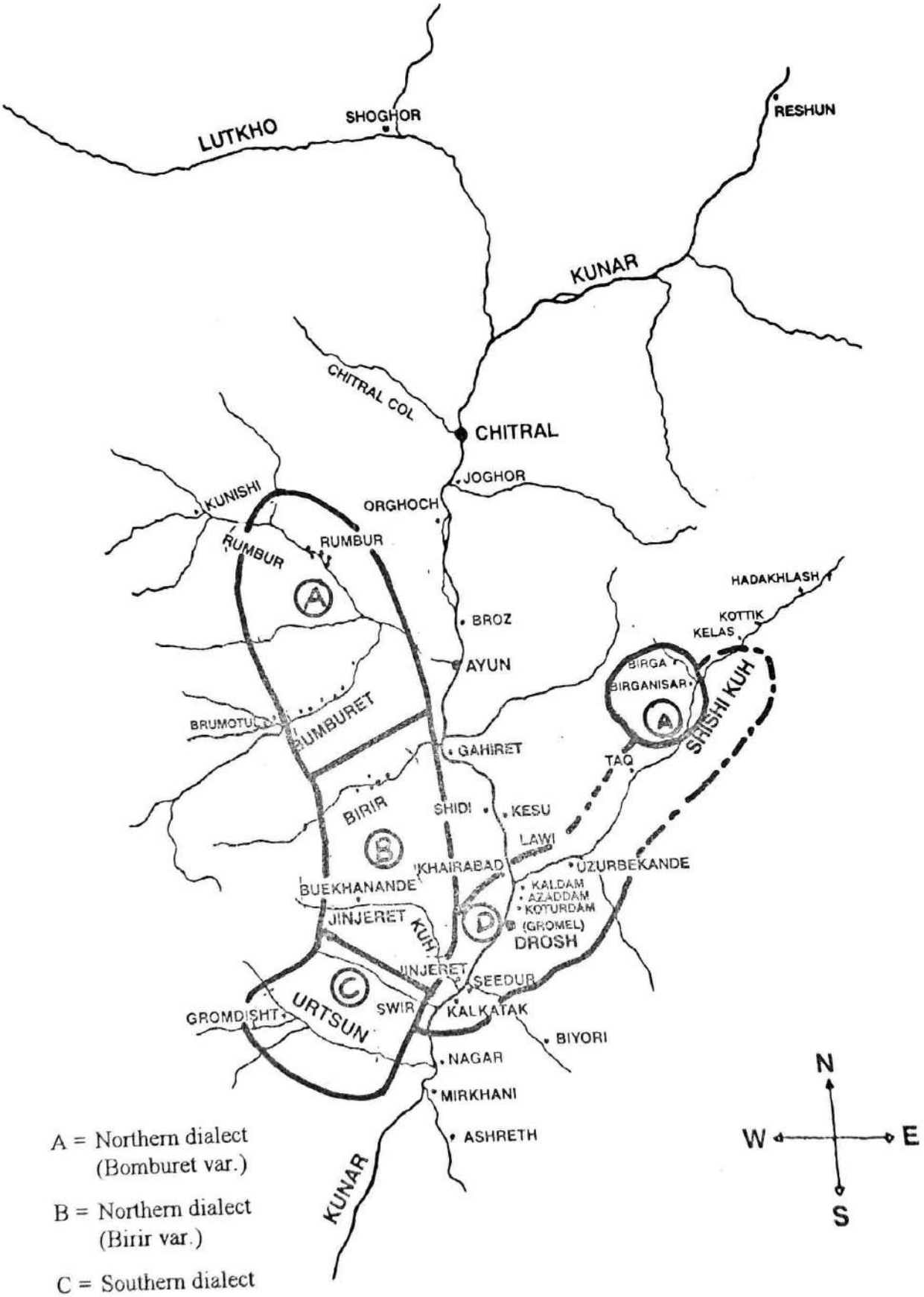

Figure 1. Map showing Kalasha dialects

difference, were careful not to teach the language to their children, though inevitably still often using it themselves. But for people born in the thirties and earlier, that was their mother tongue and, however perfect their knowledge of Khowar, a distinct Kalasha accent can still be perceived in their speech.

Generally speaking, therefore, the following points are true of all the Eastern Area.

1. Actual use of the Kalasha language is nowadays quite sporadic and limited to people above 55 to 60 years of age.
2. Active knowledge, i.e. ability to speak the language, though quite difficult to ascertain since most refuse to admit it, seems to be widespread and common to all elderly people above the same age limit as well as many younger ones.
3. Passive knowledge, i.e. comprehension of the language, is quite generalized; and we have found that even youngsters are often able to understand most of a Kalashamun conversation; this, of course, is also due to the similarity of the language to Khowar.

As far as differences between the various villages, it would seem that Lawi and Kalkatak are the settlements where the language is more widely known, while Birga is probably the one where the old language is most close to extinction. It is worth noting that, whereas in all the other settlements Kalashamun has been abandoned in favour of Khowar, in Kalkatak it has been replaced by Palula, the language of the Dangarik people of Ashret and Byori. This shows beyond any doubt that the reason for abandoning the language is not, as some of our informants claimed, the desire to acquire a more widespread idiom like Khowar, since Palula is certainly not more widely spoken than Kalashamun: the non-Muslim connections of the language are clearly the cause of its disappearance.

Despite our repeated attempts, it has been very difficult to establish the number of people who still have an active knowledge of the language. The size of all the villages is now much greater than that recorded by Gurdon, and this is certainly due to a process of demographic expansion in the area that has already been noted before (Cacopardo, A.M. 1974:xcix-cxii; Parkes 1983:28-9), though there is also little doubt that Gurdon underestimated the number of speakers even in the villages he reported about. Estimates collected from informants, which may not be particularly reliable, give 70 homes of Kalasha descent in Gromel, 110 in Kalkatak, 104 in Suwir, 40 in Uzurbekande, 40 in Birga, and 70 in the Kalasha section of Lawi, which has 38 more homes of non-Kalasha descent. The total is 434, to which some 50 more homes may be hypothetically added for the other locations mentioned above. Since it seems reasonable to consider that, on the average, there should be one to two old people with active knowledge of the language in each home, a conservative estimate would give some 500 to 800 speakers living in 1990.

Attitude towards the culture of the past

The attitude of the Eastern Area people towards their past culture is such that this work has been carried out under conditions of extreme difficulty. These converted Kalasha outside the Kalashgum are very different from the Muslim Kalasha who live within the valleys of Bumburet, Rumbur, and Birir in close contact with their unconverted relatives. Not only do they hate to remember their pre-Muslim past: they are actively engaged in a very determined attempt to erase any possible trace of its existence. Since this effort is strongly supported by the Islamic enthusiasm of the local mullahs (both of Kho and

Kalasha descent) any inquiry into the Kalasha past becomes a very touchy subject, even from a strictly religious point of view.

In this respect, these Kalasha converts are also very different from their former non-Muslim neighbours of Nuristan. The later have taken up the new Muslim faith while maintaining their conditions of isolation in their rugged mountain valleys, a vast area where even today there is no marketplace to be found and very little contact with the outside world. Though they certainly cannot be suspected of a less than enthusiastic support of the Muslim faith, the Nuristanis have thus preserved the genealogical memory of their pre-Muslim ancestry as well as many of their tribal customs, including the economic pattern of subsistence, the architectural layout of houses and villages, food habits, division of labour, and various others (Dupree 1974; Edelberg and Jones 1979; Edelberg 1974; Newby 1958:212ff.).

The Kalasha converts of Chitral, on the contrary, seem to have taken the whole of Chitrali culture in all it aspects as synonymous with Muslim culture. To their eyes, apparently, to behave like a perfect Muslim means to behave like a perfect Chitrali. Thus they have taken great care in trying to eliminate all elements even of material culture that may be a mark of Kalasha identity, starting from the very conformation of their houses, which have been changed to suit the Chitrali model with an internal court surrounded by high walls — with the consequence that, in many cases, the very location of the village has had to be altered, moving the whole settlement to a nearby site. Uzurbekande has been moved to the valley bottom below the old site on the left slope of the valley, Lawi has been moved to the east and Gromori (one of the two hamlets of Suwir) somewhat to the north, while Gromel, Kalkatak, Pashkuroni (the other hamlet of Suwir) and Birga have remained more or less on their old sites, though many inhabitants of Birga have moved to Birganisar at the valley bottom.

In several instances, furthermore, even the name of the village has been changed. Thus the Kalasha name for Uzurbekande was Shishi, for Kalkatak it was Bronsar, while Suwir as a whole was called Suhir. The Kalasha names for its two component hamlets, Pashkuroni and Gromori, tend to be abandoned.

It was quite inevitable that such a far-reaching 'cultural revolution' should affect the sphere of language, especially since Khowar and Kalashamun are so close and even the unconverted Kalasha have almost all become bilingual by now. The use of the Kalasha language has come to be regarded (with some exceptions) as a degraded and despicable habit that everybody tries to avoid. To understand the weight of this prejudice it must be emphasized that, besides the religious aspect, the Kalasha have been considered for the last few centuries as occupying the very bottom of the social scale in the area. While the Nuristanis ranked fairly high in the social consideration of their neighbours even in pre-Muslim times, the Kalasha, quite independently of their religion, had come to be universally despised owing to their condition of semi-slavery as subjects of the Chitral Mehtar. When Robertson wrote his often-quoted, and criticized, statement that the Kalasha were 'a most servile and degraded race' (Robertson 1974:4), he did nothing but reflect the opinion of their neighbours on both sides of the present border. One of our small discoveries during this research has been that the term 'Kalash' (Khowar for Kalasha) is now used in Southern Chitral with a very offensive connotation, such as that of terms like 'nigger' or 'polack' in the present-day United States. In this, it has apparently supplanted the term Kafir, which seems to have become altogether unpronounceable.

With this in mind, it is easy to understand what obstacles confronted the researcher on such a touchy subject, as well as why both Gurdon and Morgenstierne never came to know about many of the existing Kalasha-speaking settlements. We have managed to overcome these difficulties only through a very delicate and respectful approach and thanks to the help of many Chitralis, and especially, on our first field trip, of the family of Samat Khan from Drosh, a memorable Chitrali who had been the guide of many travelers and scholars including ourselves during pervious field researches, and had acquired an uncommon sensibility to the problems of anthropological inquiry. Samat Khan himself, unfortunately,had passed away four years before, but his grandchild Salah-ud-Din, a student at Chitral College, did his best to help us.

Time and circumstances of conversion to Islam

Altogether, it is quite certain that all the communities we have visited, and probably some of the other lesser settlements mentioned earlier, have kept using Kalashamun as their mother tongue for a long time after conversion to Islam. The exact dating of this conversion has been quite difficult to establish, since, for obvious reasons, informants tended to place it in some unspecifiedly distant past. Elements collected in this research, however, point to the fact that conversion in the Eastern Area must have started in the second half of the 18th century to be completed some time before 1900. The conversion of Shishi Kuh is generally ascribed to the proselytizing work of Babaji, a *buzurg* (Muslim holy man) from Birga, son of non-Muslim parents, whose *ziarat* (grave sanctuary) is still revered in his native land. The figure of Babaji may also have connections with the islamization of other communities of the Eastern Area. According to the official histories of Chitral, Sheikh Mahmad Muzzafar al-Maruf Babaji Sahib (his pre-Muslim name is not known) returned to Shishi Kuh from Peshawar, where he had studied Islam, in 1769, when he started his missionary work which resulted in the conversion of Shishi Kuh. This seems to agree with one Kalasha genealogy we recorded from Lawi, where the pre-Muslim ancestor, by the name of Ghana Gumbi, is situated in the seventh generation above our elderly informant (Fig. 2). It conflicts however with information from another non-Kalasha informant from Lawi, Mir Mukharram Shah, according to whom his great-grandfather Jamil Shah was invited to attend a Kalasha festival in Uzurbekande. According to a tradition we have collected from his descendants now living in Khairabad, Babaji was very young when he went to Saukana, which is now a suburb of Peshawar, to purse his Muslim studies under Mian Omar Sahib. From there he first returned once and was not welcomed by his unconverted relatives. He then came back a second time and settled in a hermitage on the mountain near Birga, from where he travelled to convert the whole area. This second return is dated, as we have seen. 1769. He is said to have converted 6000 people, which is most likely an exaggeration. Babaji's son, Akhun Baba, first studied under Babaji and then after his death, under one Tordher Baba, in the area of Mardan. He then came back to Chitral to continue the work of his father and convert more people, and finally received from Shah Afzal II (who reigned 1837-55) the land of Khairabad, which he irrigated and settled.

Babaji and Akhun Baba are credited with the conversion of the entire Eastern Area. However, there are good reasons to believe that the conversion was a long process that

took place over more than a century altogether. For one thing, while Babaji was considered responsible for conversion in all the villages of Shishi Kuh, his name was never mentioned to us in any of the other converted villages of the Eastern Area. This may indicate that the conversion of the main valley settlements has taken place under different circumstances.

But there are also other elements. Among all the disparate notions we recorded about the time of conversion, perhaps the most frequent was that it had taken place in the fifth generation above the youngest living one, i.e. around the middle of the 19th century. As a matter of fact, we even heard rumours in Birga about the fact that one very old man in the village was born from non-Muslim parents. This, of course, is no definite proof, but we also have Schomberg's (1938:211) above-quoted statement that the former Kalasha of Drosh had been converted two or three generations earlier.

Furthermore, we have Biddulph's interesting comment on the fact that the Kalasha-mun-speaking people of 'Jinjuret, Loi, Sawair, nager and Shishi... have become Mahommedans, through in other respects they adhere to their ancient customs (1986[1880]:64)'. Since this was certainly untrue, at his time, of Jinjiret Kuh, the statement leaves much to be doubted, especially if we consider that, until Morgenstierne's research, the same was believed to be true of the people of the Kalashgum (Morgenstierne 1932:38; see also Grierson 1919:70 quoted above). Even among the former Kafirs of Nuristan, elements reported by various scholars point to the possibility that non-Muslim practices and beliefs were kept up, more or less covertly, throughout the first half of the twentieth century.[6] It seems, therefore, quite likely that some variable admixture of Muslim and pre-Muslim practices may have prevailed in the Eastern Area for some time after 'conversion'. Altogether, it seems likely that the process of conversion was slow and progressive, probably entailing periods of mixed practices in many communities, and that it was not completed before the second half of the nineteenth century.

Stories about the conversion of Shishi Kuh are also still told among the unconverted Kalasha of Kalashgum. An analysis of the various versions of these myths would alone make up a separate article. We shall therefore only point out their existence. One story, collected in Birir, concerns Babaji, who is said to have gone to study Islam in Swat as a young man. When he was there he learned from a dream that his father had died and, thanks to the magic of his Muslim teacher, was instantaneously removed to the Jeshtak Han of Birga, where he found the people dancing for his father's funeral. When the time came to carry the body to the cemetery, the snow was so high that they could not get through, but Babaji started beating the snow with a stick and miraculously made it melt. The young Babaji, who was already a Muslim, told his mother and the other people to follow the mourning customs of the Kalasha, i.e. for the mother to stay forty days inside

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6. Klimburg (1976:483) states that Islam had 'not yet penetrated totally' in the Parun valley in the 1970's, while Jettmar (1974:x) mentions 'the astonishing number of last Kafirs' met by Morgenstierne, Edelberg, and Buddruss. See also Mohamedi (Edelberg and Mohamedi 1968:5), about the finding of an apparently new statue of Disni in Shtiwe. Since his hypothesis about its provenance from the Kalasha valleys is certainly unfounded, the only explanation is his other hypothesis that 'peut-etre y a-t-il encore au Nouristan des personnes fideles a leur ancienne religion qui continuent la tradition de leur art ancienne.'

the house, and the men of the *kam* to shave their heads and let their beards grow, which he himself, however, did not do. It was only many years later that he came back and converted the people. In another version, collected in Rumbur, the person who melts the snow is not Babaji, but his son Akhun, who comes from Drosh to his father's funeral after Babaji had already converted most of the Eastern Area.

Yet another story gives an entirely different narrative of the conversion of Shishi Kuh. Synthesizing the different versions (to give a general idea of it), it appears that Mohtaram Shah Kator II (ruled 1789-1837) had a special relationship with the Kalasha of Shishi Kuh, because he had been nursed by a woman of that valley according to the Chitrali custom mentioned by Morgenstierne (1932:50) and Schomberg (1938:225-6). Once grown up, he married a girl from his foster parents' village, and through this special relation peacefully convinced the inhabitants to convert, allowing them to hold their last Joshi before that. He then fell in love with another woman, and, when the time for Joshi came, he went to the festival and sang a beautiful song (of which we have collected two versions) to ask pardon from his father-in-law and announce the advent of the light of Islam. A place called *Kalasha-pinduri-bronz* 'the round meadow of the Kalasha', near Kelas, is said to have been the location of this festival. A version of this legend, in which the conversion seems to have been a violent one, is related by Loude (1980:138).

We have found no trace of this legend in the whole Eastern Area. We believe it may refer to a specific wave of conversions, perhaps concerning the village of Kelas, connected through this special relationship with this Mehtar. But the association of Babaji with a more or less peaceful conversion of the Eastern Area seems more likely to be a historical fact.

The genealogical memory of the people and the kinship system

The unconverted Kalasha have a system of patrilineal lineage exogamy which sharply distinguishes them from their Muslim neighbours (Cacopardo, A.M. 1974:10ff). In this system, it is essential to keep an accurate oral record of the ancestors of each person of both sexes, to insure that no common ancestors exist until at least the seventh generation of agnatic ascendants and the third on the mother's lineage side. Given what we have said earlier about the adoption of Chitrali culture, it is not surprising that nothing is left of this system among the converted people of the Eastern Area. Once again, however, comparison with Nuristan is significant. In Nuristan, genealogical memory has remained as deep and relevant as in the pre-Islamic past, and the implications of kinship as far as mutual support and exogamy are concerned are often unchanged (Jones 1974:118-63).

In the Eastern Area, on the contrary, the abandonment of the exogamic system has entailed a generalized oblivion of genealogical knowledge. The few genealogies we have been able to collect never extend beyond the seventh generation above the informant's, as opposed to the fifteen to twenty generations frequently remembered by unconverted Kalasha elders. But what is most significant is that the horizontal extension of these genealogies becomes mostly non-existent above the third or fourth generation: only the name of the direct male ascendants is remembered beyond this limit. In the unconverted communities the formidable extension of remembered genealogies, both vertically and horizontally, provides a complete map of the entire community through which kinship

relations of any two members can be readily established. This map is entirely lost in the converted Eastern Area. Here, even the knowledge of male ascendants above the third or fourth generation has turned out to be exceptional.

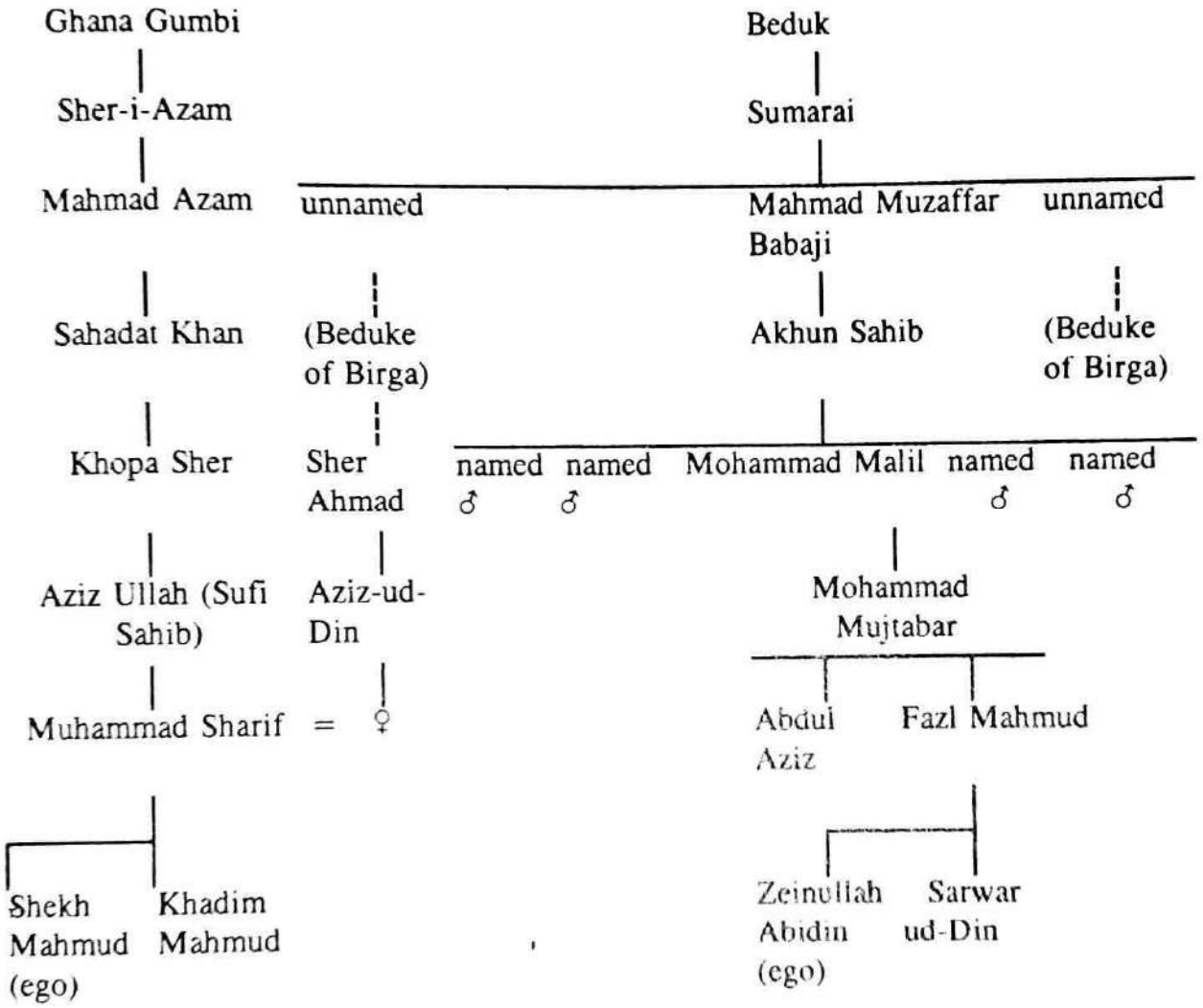

Figure 2 Genealogies of Beduk and Ghana Gumbi. Soutces are Shekh Mahmud from Lawi for Ghana Gumbi's lineage and Zeinullah Abidin from Khairabad for the line of Beduk and Babaji.

Furthermore, very few informants admitted any memory about pre-Muslim ancestors' names. In only two instances have we recorded an uninterrupted line from the informant to a non-Muslim ascendant. One is the genealogy of Babaji recorded from Qazi Zainullah Abidin from Khairabad and reproduced in Figure 2. Here the exceptionally accurate oral recording of the genealogy is obviously due to the reverence for the saintly ancestor: it is however somewhat curious that his descendants are still styled Beduke, from the name of the pre-Muslim father of Babaji, especially considering that a Beduke lineage could never have existed in pre-Muslim times, since lineages are given the name of their apical ancestor not less than seven generation after his death. The other instance is the above mentioned genealogy of Ghana Gumbi of Lawi (Fig. 2). We may note that it was only by overcoming an evident reticence that we were able to record the name of this pre-Mus-

lim ascendant. It may well be, therefore, that in other cases such reticences have not been overcome and memories that were there have not been recorded.

In other instances we have recorded single names of ancestors who were mostly considered founders of the village or memorable heroes, but were not connected through uninterrupted lines with living people. Thus Grambir of Gromel was said to be the founder of the village, while Uzur Bek was given as the pre-Muslim founder of Uzurbekande, through it seems more likely that he was actually a Muslim elder possibly responsible for the transfer of the settlement to its present site. In Kalkatak, informants remembered a pre-Muslim ancestor named Dhondi, who lived in a place called Dhondigal some miles north of Kalkatak, where some Kafir ruins were said to be still extant. I have visited this place finding what appeared to be the ruins of an isolated goat shed that did not seem particularly ancient. The information is interesting, however, because the people of the middle village in Byori valley, who deny any Kalasha ascendance, indicate as their apical ancestors two brothers by the name of Dhondi and Thondi, the first of which is said to have lived in Kalkatak. Finally, in Pashkuroni, the northern hamlet of Suwir, three brothers by the name of Lachkar Shah, Mirza Ali Shah, and Balajon Shah are remembered as the apical ancestors of all the villagers.

We have also inquired in various villages about the knowledge of Kalasha kinship terminology. With some differences in details, the results have been quite similar in most of the Eastern Area, and may be thus summarized.

1. People who were otherwise very fluent in Kalashamun showed a very poor knowledge of kinship terminology, which is what happens with a lot of Kho people who, unlike the Kalasha, ignore many of the terms that exist in their own language.
2. The terms they indicated often showed the influence of Khowar terminology distribution, e.g. identifying FaSi with MoBrWi (as in Khowar), rather than with FaBrWi, as in Kalashamun.
3. They showed substitution of Khowar terms for Kalasha ones (e.g. *gomit* for *ihamur*, or influence of single Khowar terms, e.g. *wawa* for 'grandmother' (Khowar *wau*, Kalashamun *awa*, or *ghunaya* in Birir and Jinjiret Kui);
4. They often showed sheer confusion, e.g. MoBr for FaBr, or BrWi for MoBrWi. It should be emphasized that, in Kalasha culture, while the incredibly deep and wide genealogical knowledge showed by some informants is not shared by most of the population, even the most far-reaching kinship terms are well known to any adolescent.

The results indicated above are obviously connected with the dramatic loss of relevance of kinship ties that has taken place with the switch from Kalasha to Kho culture. This is also apparent in the results of our inquiries about lineages. To understand the answer it must be made clear that the word currently used by the Kalasha to indicate their own lineages is *kam*, a Chitrali word borrowed from Persian. Whereas the entire existence of the unconverted Kalasha revolves around their lineage membership, in Chitral, through many lineages are recognized, especially among higher ranking people, the social and economic functions of this unit are very limited, given the absence of an exogamic rule and, in practice of mutual support obligations. The word *kam*. is loosely employed to indicate either a kinship group, or a wider local community with a common heritage, or an ethnic group identified by language, such as Pathan, Gujur, Dangarik, and so on, or even to emphasize the national identity of modern multinational states like Pakistan or

Afghanistan. Thus when we asked about the *kam*, the answers we got were of two kinds. In Kalkatak and Suwir, we were told that there were two *kam*, the Rayat and the Darkhan. These two groups however, have nothing to do with lineages, but they indicate specific hereditary positions in the administrative system of the Mehtars's state. The Rayat were obliged in the past to pay forced labour *(begar)* to the Mehtar, which consisted in cutting wood, carrying loads, doing household work in the palace and so on, while the Darkhan enjoyed the privilege of being exempted from the more menial kinds of work.[7] Of the villages we visited in the Eastern Area, the Darkhan were present only in Kalkatak and Gromori (Suwir), the Rayat everywhere. The second kind of answer we received in Lawi and Birga, where the presence of various *kam* was reported. These were named Kotekye, Shakhdureye, Duroye, Dashmane, and Chirduo in Lawi, while in Birga, besides the above-mentioned Beduke, descendants of Babaji, we heard about three groups called Uchi, Pinarek, and Pinaushori. The nature of these groups has remained unclear, through it is certain that they are not exogamic lineages. In no case could we record a genealogy of any significant extension, and, of the various explanations we have received, the most reasonable seems that they are actually territorial groupings with little functional relevance from a social or economic point of view.

Memories of pre-Islamic culture and its sites

Throughout the Eastern Area, in no case was any knowledge admitted about deities, beliefs, practices, festivities, or rites of pre-Islamic times. The best answer we could get to our inquiries on such subjects, was that we should go and ask in Birir or, less frequently, Bumburet. All we could collect were some sparse stories about ancestors, such as a legend recorded in the village of Uzurbekande according to which Lawi, Birga, Kelas, Uzurbekande, Kalkatak, and Suwir (i.e. all the relevant settlements of the Eastern Area) were founded by six brothers who were born in Gromel some twenty generations ago. Though the historical authenticity of this legend is definitely doubtful, is an indication not only of the feeling of common identity of the Eastern Area, but also of the possible seniority of the Gromel settlement. There are many indications that Gromel must have

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7. Since the notions we could collect on this subject on the field appeared rather conflicting, Prof. Karl Jettmar has kindly provided us with the following information: 'The terms Rayat and Darkhan indicate categories that were generally employed in the whole administrative system of Chitral. They refer to people who lived and worked on land that was reserved to the dynasty or the person of the ruler. When the Kalasha were subdued, they were included in these long-standing categories as pagans with particularly unfavourable conditions. This was not the traditional state land' occupied by the *boldoyu*. For the supervision and the delivery of the revenue, there was distinct group of officials, who in turn made use of native supervisors, as is common in every system of forced labour... The position granted to these people was not, however, particularly high. The Darkhan maintained the duty of carrying big crates and drums.' This information is based on the notes of the late Shahzada Hussam ul-Mulk of Drosh on the administration of the Mehtar's state, which Prof. Jettmar is currently working on. More light on the whole subject, including the position and functions of these two groups, will be shed with the publication of the work of Rahmat Karim Beg.

been one of the most ancient settlements in the area. its elevated position, and the fact that it is the only Kalasha one of the seven villages of Drosh town, seem to indicate that it must have been the oldest section of Drosh. The former relevance of Gromel in the Eastern Kalasha Area is also proved by the fact that, together with Lawi and Suwir, it is one of the few villages that was constantly mentioned by all the informants whom we asked about present-day Kalashamun-speaking settlement.

Another story recounts the origin of the Darkhan of Suwir, and the reason for their privileged position. Moghal Beg, great-grandfather of our informant Abdur Rahim Ullah from Gromori, had fled to Saukana, in the area of Peshawar, to escape the mistreatment of Mehtar Khairullah of the Khushwaqte family (Biddulph 1986[1880]:151-3; Schomberg 1935:255ff). There he heard that the dispossessed Mehtar of the Kator family had retreated to Chukiatan, in the Dir district, to prepare revenge. He started out to meet him and, on the way, he captured in Arandu a falcon, which in those days (since there were no guns, the Hajji explained) were much appreciated for use in hunting. He thus sent the falcon to the Kator, who, pleased with the gift, received him and planned with him to kill Khairullah, who had just left for an expedition to Bashgal. Kator gave Moghul Beg a charter that stated that if he ever would become the ruler, he would be exempt from *begar* and obliged only to provide the royal family every year with one falcon, as excellent as the original one. Thus, upon his return, Khairullah was ambushed in Urtsun by Moghal Beg, who killed him.

Since the Suwir Darkhan have continued till very recent times to provide the Mehtar's family with falcons, the story is likely to be at least partially true, though with some adjustments. The Kator ruler in question was none other than Mohtaram Shah II, who actually spent more than twenty years in exile in Dir (Schomberg 1938:266-7) while Khairullah, previously ruler of Mastuj, held his throne. According to previously ruler of Mastuj, held his throne. According to Wazir Ali Shah (1974a:24), 'Mehtar Khairullah . . led an expedition against the Kams (Nuristani of Bashgal) to punish them for supporting Ex-Mehtar Mohtaram Shah Katur of Chitral against him. On his return from the expedition, however, he was ambushed near Urtsun by an Afghan force supporting Kator and killed in fighting.' A fuller account of this episode, which took place toward the end of the eighteenthth century, is given by Jettmar (1986:15).

It may well be that a Kalasha from Suwir took part in the plot against Khairullah. What may be doubted is that he was only the great-grandfather of our informant, since the lapse of time seems a bit too long. What can further be doubted, moreover, is that the person in question, and his ascendants, were already Muslims. This has been expressly denied by another informant from Lawi, who also knew this story and stated that the man who gave the falcon was indeed from Suwir, but a non-Muslim by the name of Khoshiak.

Coming to the location of pre-Islamic sites and buildings, once again the information we could collect is quite limited. In Gromel, informants agreed that the present mosque, located right in the centre of the village, rises on the spot where 'an old pre-Islamic temple' used to be. Our informants were not able to give any detail about the nature of this temple, but the position in the middle of the village indicates, beyond any reasonable doubt, that it must have been the equivalent of what is called *JeŠTak han* in Rumbur and Bumburet (Schomberg 1938:47-48; Siiger 1956:16-17; Snoy 1959:527-8; Cacopardo, A.S. 1974:59-65; Jones and Parkes 1984), and *rikhini han* in Birir. We have not found other memories about the existence, the use or the name of this kind of building in any other

place of the Eastern Area.[8] For a comparison between the structure of the *JešTak han* and that of Chitrali mosques see Scerrato (1984). Another site whose location was remembered in Gromel is that of the *bašali*, the women's confinement house. Informants agreed about the location of one *bašali* — near an irrigation channel running below the village, while there was disagreement about the existence of a second *bašali* on the bottom of the Drosh Gol some distance to the south. In both cases, indications agree with Kalasha tradition, which always locates the *bašali*, considered a very *pragata* (impure) place, close to the water and below the villages.

In Suwir we were able to identify the location of the old *manDaujau*, the pre-Muslim cemetery, thanks to a happy coincidence. Only a week before our arrival, while excavating a tomb, some villagers had unearthed an old burial of a woman, containing some bronze bracelets. This burial is located about 100 metres directly to the south of the new elementary school. Since, unlike present-day Muslims of Chitral, pre-Islamic Kalasha never bury the dead in isolated positions, but only in the ritually impure *manDaujau*, the finding is sufficient to indicate its location. The people stated that in Kalasha times the village of Gromori was not where it now stands but above the site of this burial, a little further up valley. This idea was not based on oral tradition, but on occasional findings during chance excavations.

One more discovery in Suwir was that of an old Kalasha building, the only one surviving the reconstruction of the village. This we found in Pashkuroni, the other section of Suwir, which has not changed location since pre-Muslim times. It is a two-storey tower, with the upper floor in rather poor repair, while a third storey was said to have existed in the past. The first storey comprised a single room with a hearth in the middle and, being a few feet higher than the surrounding ground, was once reaches by a log ladder (*šiT*), which has been now replaced by stone. In the floor of this room there were nine underground storage cells, which were said to belong three each to the sons of the original builder of the tower. The second storey was reached either from the inside by another log-ladder passing through a rectangular opening, or from the outside by a third, very long *šiT* giving access to an external doorway.

These buildings were called *koT* in Kalashamun, and they were once common in the unconverted valleys of the Kalashamun, where only one now survives in the village of Brun in Bumburet. In the whole of the converted areas we have visited, we have found six of these buildings: four in Jinjiret Kuh, one in Pashkuroni, and one in Birga. The *koT* in Pashkuroni was the only one remaining of three, which once stood quite close, disposed like the three apices of an 'L'. According to the owner of the surviving one, they belonged to the three brothers Lachkar Shah, Mirza Ali Shah, and Balajon Shah, who, as we have seen, lived in pre-Islamic times, and are considered the apical ancestors of all the inhabitants of the hamlet. Structures of similar kind were once numerous not only in Kalasha territory, but also in the rest of Chitral (where two are still standing as part

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8. The British ethnographer Peter Parkes states that 'material remains' of buildings similar to a Jeshtak has 'are still partially evident' in the main Chitral valley (Jones and Parkes 1984:1166) and that 'remains of decorated clan-house pillars' have been found in Ayun and Broz (Parkes 1983:16). Despite our repeated inquiries, we could detect no trace of such findings.

of the Mehtars' palace in Chitral town) and in Kafiristan (see Edelberg 1984:145-152 and plate 10; Robertson 1974:493).

Though the nature and functions of the Kalasha *koT* shall be discussed in the third part of this report, dedicated to Jinjiret Kuh, it may be anticipated that these buildings, though similar in structure, seem to differ quite sharply in position and function from the Nuristani watch towers described by Edelberg. A very peculiar case is that of the *koT* of Birga. Only the first storey is left of this building, which is said to have belonged to Beduk, the father of Babaji, and to have been the first home of the apostle of Islam. Though otherwise very similar to the ones we have seen in Pashkuroni and Jinjiret Kuh, this *koT* is unique in the fact that it has two small wooden horse heads protruding from the two sides of the entrance door towards the inside of the building. The two house heads are a well-known emblem of Kalasha culture. They appear at times to the sides of the *JešTak han* door, they appear on the small wooden emblem of Jeshtak inside the *han* (or, in Birir, inside the homes), and, in a single or double pair, they characterize many open-air sanctuaries of male divinities. In all cases, however, the coupled horse heads are associated with an explicitly religious context, and in many instances they are considered the material sign (*nišan*) of the divinity, i.e. what substitutes for its image in a culture that, with the single exception first reported by Graziosi (1961), does not employ anthropomorphic representation of the gods.

Now, the *koT* in Birga is the only known instance in which the horse heads at the side of the door are found in a construction that has little similarities with a *JešTak han*. Heads at the side of the *JešTak han* door are always found protruding towards the outside of the building, but in some cases another pair of heads is directed towards the interior.

In the total absence of any information from the villagers, it is quite difficult to interpret the nature and function of this building. It is worth noting, however, that one converted Kalasha from Bumburet, whom we met in Jinjiret Kuh just before visiting Birga, has described it as a *JešTak han*. As a matter of fact there are good reasons to advance the hypothesis that the *koT* in Birga may be the only surviving instance in Kalasha culture of the kind of building that held the place of the *JešTak han* before the latter was imported from Kafiristan at the time of Nanga Dehar, some fifteen generations ago.

We know that certain small lineages in Rumbur keep their Jeshtak emblem in private houses that are used in certain ceremonial occasions instead of the *han* (Cacopardo, A.M. 1974:14; Parkes 1983:376). We know that in most of ancient Kafiristan the counterpart of the *JešTak han* was a kind of lineage house which, besides it ceremonial functions, was permanently inhabited by a prominent lineage elder (Jones and Parkes 1984; Klimburg 1976). And Karl Wutt mentions one destroyed *koT* in the village of Anish in Bumburet, which once had the same central columns that now characterize the Jeshtak han, one of the which he has personally seen re-employed in a goat stable (Wutt 1976:139). It seems therefore quite reasonable to suppose that, before the *JešTak han* became a specialized ceremonial building, some of its functions were performed in the first storey of this kind of communal dwellings, which possibly hosted the emblem of Jeshtak for the lineage.

What remains to be explained is the fact that the two horse heads are directed only inside the building. Since the *koT* were defensive structures, especially intended to protect the women against close-up attacks, it is not unlikely that the heads were thus protected against the risk of their being cut by attacking Muslim enemies. The cutting of horse heads at the sanctuaries has been a common event during the long period of aggressive Muslim

intolerance against the Kalasha. Another possibility, of course, is that another pair of heads outside the building was actually cut some time in the past, though we could see no traces of them.

On one wooden beam outside the *koTik*, there was also a circular incision, rather boldly carved as is common in the Kalasha style, of the type the Kalasha call *krea* (shield). This was isolated and casually positioned, and may well be the effect of a merely decorative intention, since the *krea* is known elsewhere in Kalasha culture and throughout Nuristan as decorative element in secular buildings and artifacts (Edelberg and Jones 1979:passim). The villagers stated that there used to be four *koTik* in the village, once again all quite close together. One person, who was not older than sixty, said he had seen them all four standing, at least with the first floor still intact. He also added they were soon going to destroy this last one. It is quite a shame that the appeal addressed by Morgenstierne and Edelberg to the Secretary General of Unesco at the end of the Hindukush Cultural Conference of Unesco at the end of the Hindukush Cultural Conference of 1970 (Jettmar and Edelberg 1974:134-5) for the 'preservation of certain buildings of outstanding cultural value' has not been heeded. In one of his contributions to that conference, Wazir Ali Shah suggested that 'we should concentrate on the protection of certain historical, religious and cultural buildings along with their contents', but he added that 'Pakistan and Afghanistan are developing countries and have not enough resources to undertake such schemes on a large scale in a truly scientific way' (Wazir Ali Shah 1974c:119), thus invoking the help of UNESCO. International help is certainly needed. It may be remarked, at any rate, that though scientific restoration is certainly very expensive, it should not take too many resources to just keep the people from destroying the existent.

Some oral traditions about the Eastern Area among the unconverted Kalasha

We have also inquired about other memories concerning the Eastern Area in the Kalashgum. Several legends and memories survive concerning areas and villages of southern Chitral which were converted in some unspecified past and have not been speaking Kalashamun for a long time.

Concerning the villages we have visited in the Eastern Area, however, we have only heard from Kazi Khoshnawaz of Balanguru (about whom see Loude 1980:58-60) and Parkes 1983:232-3 and passim) that there was *dawa dur* (open-air sanctuary) of a god called Ariget in Birga, exactly where Babaji's tomb now stands. The *nishan* of Ariget was wooden board or pole, with carvings similar to those now found on the *maleri* boards of the *dawa dur* in Rumbur (Cacopardo, A.S. 1974:130; Wutt 1976:139). Ariget is not worshipped by the unconverted Kalasha of today, but Khoshnawaz specified that another *dawa dur* to his name was in Jughur, opposite Chitral town across the river, in a place called Diwa-shish.

From another informant, Sherbek of Birir, we heard that his grandfather's grandfather Ramdin went to Shishi Kuh for Chaumos, which he witnessed in Lawi (where he was the guest of an elder called Bala Khan) and in Shishi, where his host was one Shurasi.

Sherbek also stated that the Prun festival of Birir was held as well, not only in Urtsun and Jinjiret Kuh, but in Kalkatak, Suwir, Lawi, and Birga, but, curiously, not in Gromel or Byori. Chaumos was held everywhere, but in Kalkatak, Lawi, Byori, and Suwir the festivity that follows Chaumos ten days after its end was not, as in Rumbur and Bumburet, the Dangarik, but the Lagawur, as in Birir, Urtsun, and Jinjiret Kuh. These elements, though rather vague and contradictory, point to a closer resemblance of the Eastern Area with the culture of Birir than that of Bumburet and Rumbur. Sherbek also stated that there was once a *Mahandeo dur* in Birga, in a place called Gosh Kui not far from the village, and that Lawi has a *dawa dur* of Grimun, a Birir divinity (Schomberg 1938:202-3; Hussam ul-Mulk 1974:82). He also knew about the presence of a *Mahandeo dur* in Suwir. Most of this information, however, coming only from one informant, is not definitely reliable.

Conclusions

The results of this first part of our inquiry into former Kalasha cultures of southern Chitral are significant in many respects. In the first place they confirm the existence and show the relevance of an Eastern Area of Kalasha culture which certainly had a prominent role in the Kalasha universe of the recent past and had so far escaped anthropological attention. We have sufficient elements of oral tradition to infer that the Eastern culture was quite similar to the known Kalasha culture of today, and possibly closer to Birir variety than to than of Bumburet and Rumbur.

The enlargement of the picture to include the Eastern and Southern Areas of Kalasha culture may open new perspectives even on what we already knew. The valley of Bumburet (with its offshoot of Rumbur) has always been seen as the true center of Kalasha culture, while Birir, with its peculiarities that many have noted since Schomberg's time, was considered a somewhat peripheral exception to the rule. As such it has received comparatively little attention.[9] By broadening our perspective, however, we are lead to suspect that Birir may be the last remnant of a broader and more ancient culture, which actually included the true center of the Kalasha world. Bumburet and Rumbur may turn out to be the peripheral exception to this complex, an exception brought about only a few centuries ago by a peculiar local heresy, prophesied by Nanga Dehar. We shall return on the subject in the third section of this report.

As far as the other results are concerned, we have identified two buildings of outstanding interest, the *koT* of Birga and Pashkuroni, which deserve to be protect from destruction, and we have located various sites that might be of interest for future archaeological investigation. Many aspects of the process of change from pre-Muslim to Islamic culture have been investigated and new contributions have been given to the definition of the extension and composition of the Eastern Area culture the discovery of the western dialect community of Birga in Shishi Kuh being one of the most significant. Though our

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9. For instance, the existing accounts of the autumn wine festival of Prun (Loude and Lievre 1984:76-9; Palwal 1974:93-4) a very important ritual, are not enough to satisfy scientific curiosity, while the Chaumos of Birir has never been reported in detail.

attempts at reconstructing genealogies have been mostly frustrated, we have collected several names of pre-Islamic ancestors: however insignificant this may seem, we believe it may help, as research progresses on southern Chitral, in reconstructing some aspects of the past.

But much remains open for further research. As we have noted earlier, it is quite possible that a longer stay on the field, with a much deeper integration of the researchers in the community, might bring to light existing significant memories of pre-Islamic cultures that we have not been able to unveil. But the most urgent task of research certainly concerns the linguists, who need to investigate in depth the nature and distribution of the Eastern dialect before it disappears, in view of the contributions that such an analysis is likely to bring to the study of the origins and history of Kalasha presence in Chitral. By a rough estimate, as we have seen, it seems likely that the number of people who possess a good active knowledge of Kalashamun in the Eastern Area ranges somewhere between 500 and 800. These are people who were raised in the use of the language as mother tongue. Younger people who have perfect passive knowledge and some active control of the language are probably form two to three times as many. Finally, there is one hope. Anthropological interest towards the Kalasha has given a powerful contribution to the preservation of that culture, by changing the attitude of government authorities and people towards what was once (and partly still is) regarded as a degenerate and despicable minority. It is possible that research into the Eastern Area culture might at least contribute to change the attitude of the former Kalasha towards their own heritage. We have seen some signs of this possibility during our brief investigations, and a process of this kind has taken place, with a truly revolutionary impact, in many areas of anthropological interest, especially South America and Australia. There are reasons to expect it may extend in the future to other parts of the Third World. If this will help the people we have studied to rediscover a new self respect and a justified pride in their past heritage, our work shall not have been useless.

APPENDIX

Transcriptions of Kalasha words in Part I, according to Morgenstierne[10]

kalaSamún; kalaSamándr, kaláSa
jeśTak han, déwa dur, baśáli, baśaléni
rikhíni
prághata
maNDaujáu
koT, koTík
gomít, jhamúr, wáwa, áwa, wáu, ghunáya
niśán
khåŕa
kaláSa piNDúri bronz
śiT

10. Typographical conventions modified according to the scheme used in this book.

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The Kalasha in Southern Chitral, Part II: The Pre-Islamic Culture of Urtsun Valley

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1. Previous research in Urtsun and the other converted Kalasha communities

Georg Morgenstierne, the great scholar to whose memory this conference is dedicated, relates that until he first visited Chitral in 1929, academic circles in Europe thought the Kalasha had embraced Islam, even if "officers stationed in Chitral, of course, knew better" (Morgenstierne 1932:38). The *Linguistic Survey of India* (Grierson 1919:70), which indicated as being populated by Kalasha "the small valleys of Bomberet, Kalashgum, and Birir", indeed declared: "...They are Musalmans, and are subject to Chatrar..."

But when the Norwegian linguist visited these communities he found a fully alive pre-Islamic culture, and not only in the three valleys indicated above. He travelled also to the Urtsun valley (Morgenstierne 1932:45), previously mentioned only by Robertson who had travelled through it on his way to Kamdesh in 1889, and on his way back to Chitral after that first journey to Kafiristan (1974:4-10; 30-1). He found it inhabited by a non-Muslim population speaking a hitherto unknown dialect of the Kalasha language, of which he gathered some specimens that still remain the only material linguists have at their disposal for its study (Morgenstierne 1965 and 1973:181-238). Even if he didn't have the opportunity to visit it, the Norwegian scholar also learned of the existence of a fifth valley where the pre-Islamic religion had, at that time, still not been abandoned. This is the valley of Jinjiret Kuh (Morgenstierne 1932:51), located south of Birir and north of Urtsun. So there were actually, at that time, five non-Muslim Kalasha communities on the west bank of the Kunar. Biddulph (1880:64) had indicated only three and so had Grierson (1919) who, as mentioned above, even thought they had all embraced Islam.

But in spite of Morgenstierne's findings, subsequent researchers concentrated only on Rumbur, Bumburet, and Birir, while the two southern valleys disappeared from the literature. Jinjiret Kuh was altogether forgotten, while Urtsun is only fleetingly mentioned by Schomberg (1938:1974) and Siiger (1956:20). The Kalasha world was thus confined to the three 'classical' northern valleys. This is due, no doubt, to the fact that — as we shall see — Jinjiret Kuh and Urtsun were entirely converted by the end of the 1930's. Only the late Shahzada Hussam-ul-Mulk (1974a) gathered in 1936 very useful data on the religious beliefs of Urtsun from the same man, Chanlu, who had been Morgenstierne's informant, and who was the head of the last family to embrace Islam in that valley.[1]

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In recent years — before this survey — Parkes and Wutt visited Jinjiret Kuh, while for Urtsun no other visit is reported after Morgenstierne's and before our own. Wutt (1976), however, gives some information about this valley, but since he didn't have the chance to visit it, this is quite limited.

The interest in the hitherto unknown pre-Islamic culture was so great that no attention was paid to these two recently converted communities. Ethnographic research, however, was slow to progress even in the three non-Muslim valleys, and only recently the work of some young anthropologists from different Western countries (cf. bibliography) has finally traced — even if much material still awaits publication — a fairly complete picture of the pre-Islamic culture of Rumbur and Bumburet, if not yet of Birir. Very little, instead, is known about the Kalasha communities living outside those valleys that include—as we have seen in the first part of this work (Alberto Cacopardo, this volume) — not only Jinjiret Kuh and Urtsun, but several other settlements in the Shishi Kuh and the main Chitral Valley.

The present research. Our current research in Urtsun is part of a wider project, outlines in the first section of this work, involving all the converted Kalasha communities of Southern Chitral. As stated, the purpose of our survey has been to enquire about: the present diffusion of the Kalasha language, its passive and active knowledge, and its use by people of different ages; the attitude toward the pre-Islamic culture of the past; the genealogical memory of the people and the survival of the Kalasha kinship system of patrilineal exogamous lineages; the surviving memory about the pre-Islamic past, especially concerning mythological knowledge and ritual behaviour; the location of relevant sites such as the male deities' open-air sanctuaries (*dewa dur*), the village temples (*Jeshtak han*), the cemeteries (*manDaujau*), and the women's confinement houses (*bašali*); and the time and circumstances of conversion to Islam. The results of our field research in the Shishi Kuh and in the main Kunar Valley are illustrated in the paper presented by Alberto Cacopardo, while this contribution will deal with the pre-Islamic culture of the Urtsun Valley. The material concerning Jinjiret Kuh will be presented in a future publication.

2. Urtsun and the former pre-Islamic world of the area

To place the pre-Islamic society of Urtsun in its cultural context it is necessary to make brief reference to the linguistic divisions of the Kalasha world outlined in the first section of this work (Alb. Cacopardo, this volume). Statements repeatedly made by several informants about mutual intelligibility of the various dialects of Kalashamun, and the linguistic differences already detected by Morgenstierne himself have suggested the need for some adjustments in his (1965:188) division of Kalashamun into a northern dialect spoken in Rumbur, Bumburet, and Birir, and a southern one spoken in Lawi, Suwir, Kalkatak, Urtsun, and 'probably' Jinjiret Kuh. Although we are not linguists, we might say that it seems more appropriate to distinguish an eastern dialect of Kalashamun (called 'Kalashamandr' in this variant) spoken in all the settlements of the Shishi Kuh and of the main valley with the exception of Birga, and a northern one spoken in Rumbur, Bumburet, Birir, and Jinjiret Kuh. The Urtsun dialect, although closer to the eastern than to the northern one, shows significant differences from the languages of all other communities

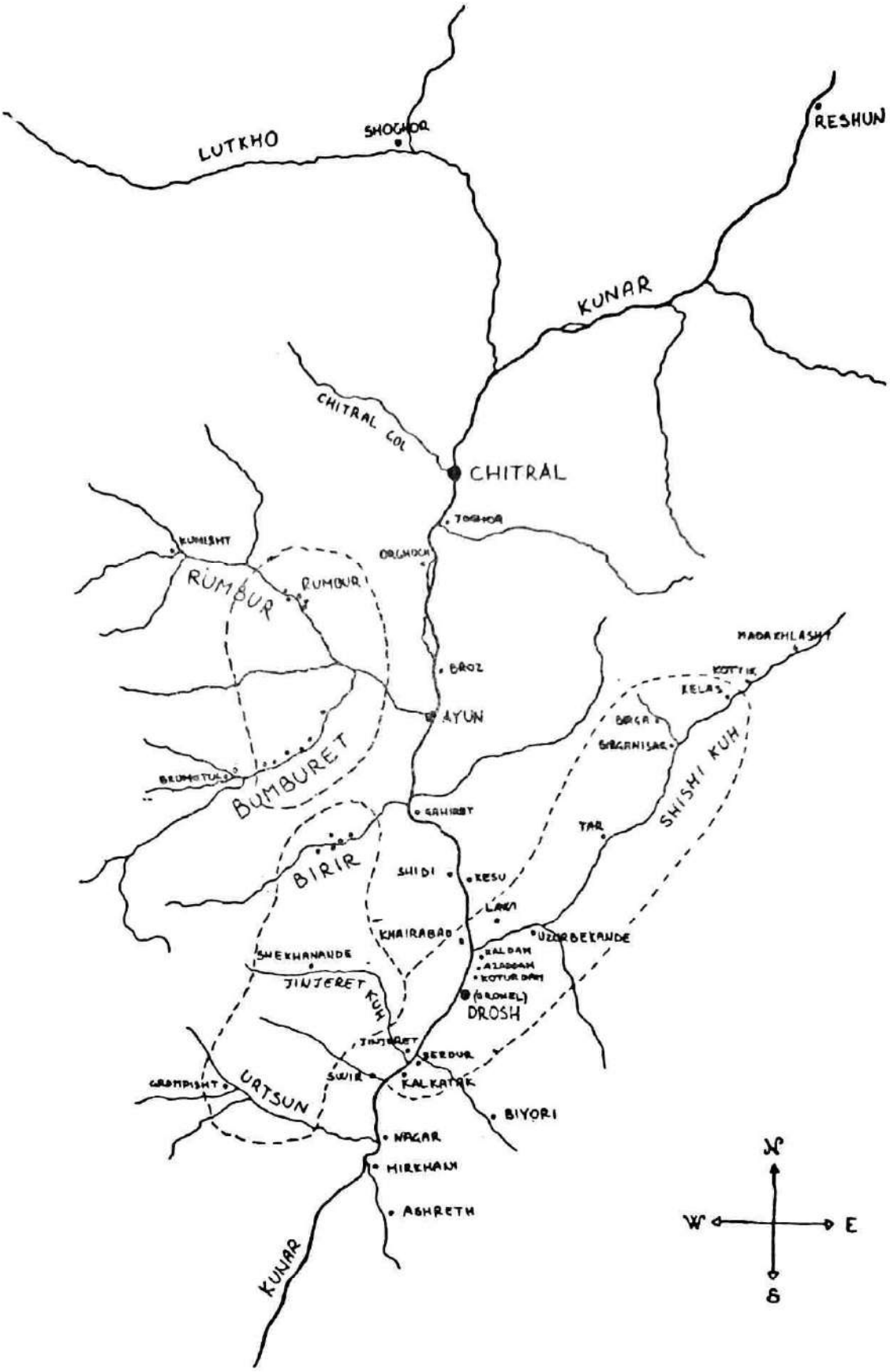


Figure 1 Map of three areas of former Kalasha world

(Morgenstierne 1965). It would seem better, therefore, to include it in a southern group of its own. The map shown in Figure 1 of Alberto Cacopardo's paper illustrates the distribution of Kalasha dialects at the present stage of research.

The relationship between the different areas of Kalasha culture, however, can only be fully understood if, besides these linguistic divisions, we consider two more spheres: (a) social relations, such as intermarriage and common ritual and social events; (b) cultural traits such as religious beliefs, prescribed ritual forms or specific rules and behaviour patterns.

The former Kalasha world, informants agreed, was divided from the point of view of social relations into three distinct units: (1) an eastern one comprising the settlements of the Shishi Kuh and of the main valley, which was probably itself subdivided into two different sections; (2) a southern one including Birir, Jinjiret Kuh, Urtsun, and probably Suwir; (3) a northern one constituted by Rumbur and Bumburet (see map in Fig. 1). These were the groups that would visit each other for the great yearly festivals, for 'merit feasting', for funeral ceremonies, and which practices intense intermarriage.

A significant element emerging here is the existence of an additional *social* unit. In previous research (Alb. Cacopardo 1974:1-5) we had detected three levels of social integration: the patrilineal exogamous lineage group (*kam*), the valley, and the tribe. The broader perspective now adopted on the Kalasha world reveals the presence of a fourth unit that we might call 'inter-valley community', or — to use an expression coined by Drucker and Heizer (1967:39-40) to term groups of Kwakiutl tribes who customarily invited each other to feasts and potlatches — 'festival unit'.

Since conversion has taken place in the Shishi Kuh and main valley settlements starting from the second half of the eighteenth century, the first of these units most likely dissolved quite a while ago. But on the west bank of the Kunar the other two existed until recent times. Here the process of conversion only started apparently in the second decade of this century, and Urtsun and Jinjiret Kuh were not totally converted, as mentioned, until the late 1930's. After these two valleys embraced Islam, Birir, now alone, started to establish closer ties with the two northern valleys of Bumburet and Rumbur, joining them in a new 'festival unit', the only one left today. There are indications, however that the social ties connecting members of these wider units continued to exist after all had embraced Islam. Intermarriage between Kalasha converts of Urtsun, Jinjiret Kuh, and Birir, for example, is quite common even at present.

As can easily be seen by comparing the maps shown in Figure 1 of Alberto Cacopardo's paper, and in Figures 1 and 2 of this paper, these 'social' subdivisions of the Kalasha ethnic group correspond neither to the linguistic ones indicated earlier nor to the cultural ones that we now come to outline.

Even today, within Kalasha culture we can easily distinguish two different, even if strictly related, complexes. Rumbur and Bumburet share the same one, while Birir is the solitary representative of the other. Several traits distinguish the two: for example, in Birir belief in the important god Balimahin does not exist, and the village temple does not have the same functions as in the other two valleys. In this respect, Jinjiret Kuh was something like a 'twin' of Birir, as Rumbur is of Bumburet. The two separate sets of 'cultural twins' — members, we recall, of different 'festival units' — speak almost identical dialects, with slight differences in pronunciation that didn't prevent us from classifying them together under the label 'northern dialect' (see above). In this we only followed

Morgenstierne, who hypothetically assigned the dialect of Jinjiret Kuh to his southern group, only because he didn't have any specimens of it.

Urtsun, we have seen, has instead a quite different dialect and linguistically forms a group of its own. Culturally the valley was also quite distinct from all other Kalasha communities; but, as mentioned, was socially connected to Birir and Jinjiret Kuh. The people of Urtsun, in fact, were not only members of the southern 'festival unit' outlined above; they also entertained intense marriage relations with the Kam[3] of the Bashgal and Pittigal valleys to the west. This accounts for a series of different cultural traits, which will be described at length later. The root of the Urtsun cultural complex is clearly of the Birir and Jinjiret Kuh type, but on this stem a variety of Kam elements were directly grafted. We therefore have three distinct cultural areas on the west bank of the Kunar: (1) Bumburet and Rumbur, (2) Birir and Jinjiret Kuh, and (3) Urtsun (See Fig. 2).

Very little is known about the eastern area in this respect because its early conversion has erased just about all traces of its pre-Islamic culture. But there are indications that the cultural complex prevailing among the Kalasha in southern Chitral was closer to the Birir than to the Bumburet one. As stated in the first section of this work (Alb. Cacopardo, this volume), our data seem to indicate that the Birir pattern represents the more archaic root, of which the Bumburet/Rumbur complex is an offshoot.

3. Field work in Urtsun valley: pre-Islamic sites, divinities, and festivals

Urtsun is the southernmost right-bank tributary valley of the Kunar River. The waters of its rugged mountain stream flow in an easterly direction joining the main river just opposite Nagar, a small village dominated by the fortified residence of the local prince. A few dozen miles to the south the Kunar enters Afghan territory after receiving the waters of the Bashgal river at Birkot. The valley entered official Chitral history in 1760, when it became the theatre of the defeat of Mehtar Khairullah, who was ambushed and killed on his way back from Kamdesh by an Afghan force supporting Mohtaram Shah Kator (Wazir Ali Shah 1974a; Jettmar 1986:15).

The villages of Urtsun, located at an altitude of about 1,400 metres, can now be reached by a jeepable road. Since the mouth of the valley narrows to a very rocky gorge, the road is forced to wind up a steep pass to climb over the range closing it from the north. The area inhabited during the winter is located at a point where the valley splits off into three branches. Walking upriver after the gorge, the Paitasun (Kal. *Palti Kuh*) valley soon opens on the left, and a few hundred metres further, the other two join: Brambul Gol (Kal. *Bramlu Kuh*) on the left, and Gombir Gol (Kal. *Gumur Kuh*) on the right. The stretch between the end of the gorge and the confluence of Paitasun is called Uznuk (cf. sketch map in Fig. 3).

Today's villages are spread along these four areas not far from the streams, and the architecture of the houses and the settlement pattern are no longer Kalasha. The buildings are not gathered in tight clusters, but loosely spread out at a distance from one another. All these villages, in fact, have been built after the conversion of the valley. In pre-Muslim times, the population was all concentrated in one single village whose ruins can

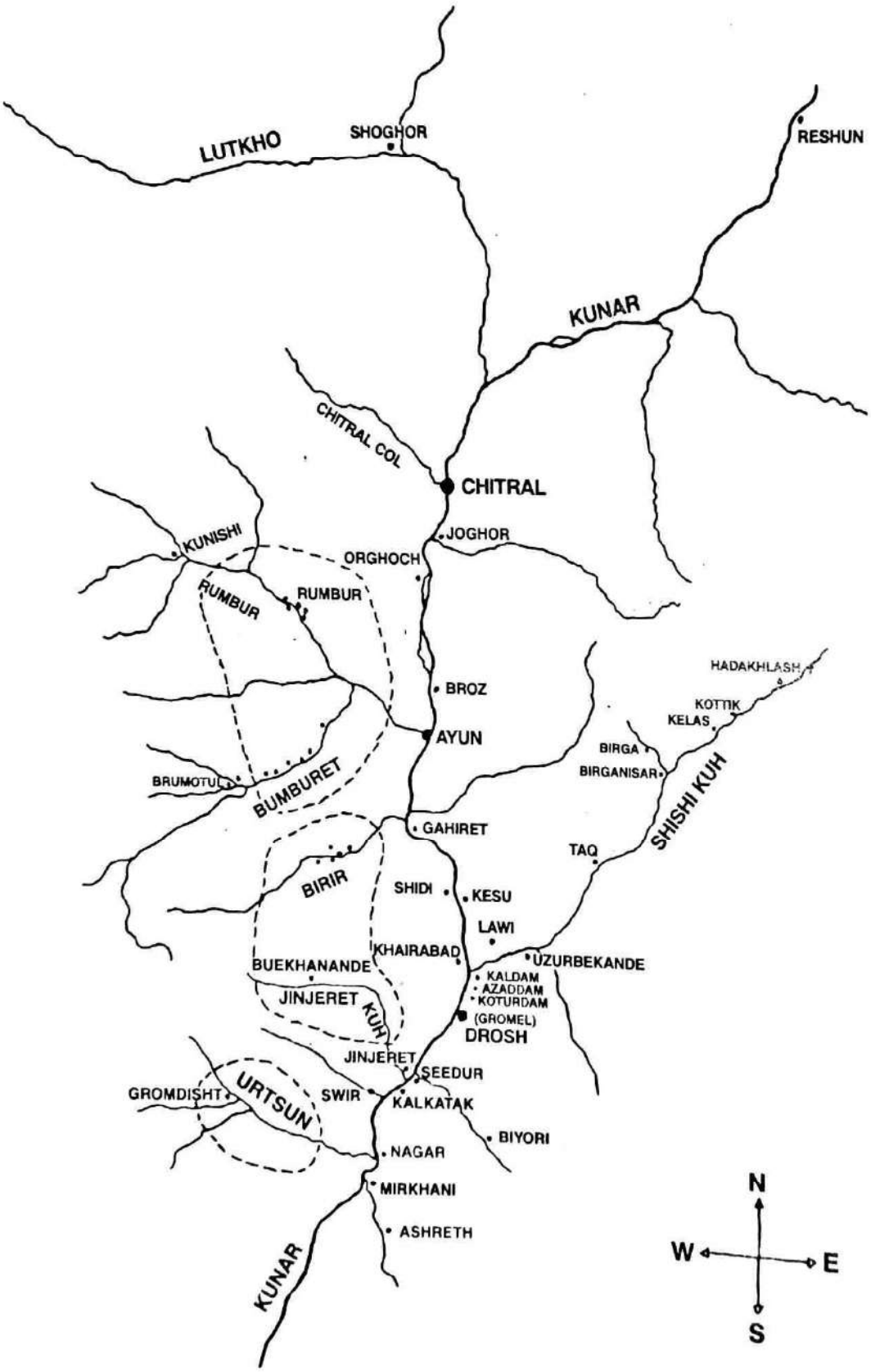


Figure 2 Cultural areas on west bank of Kunar River

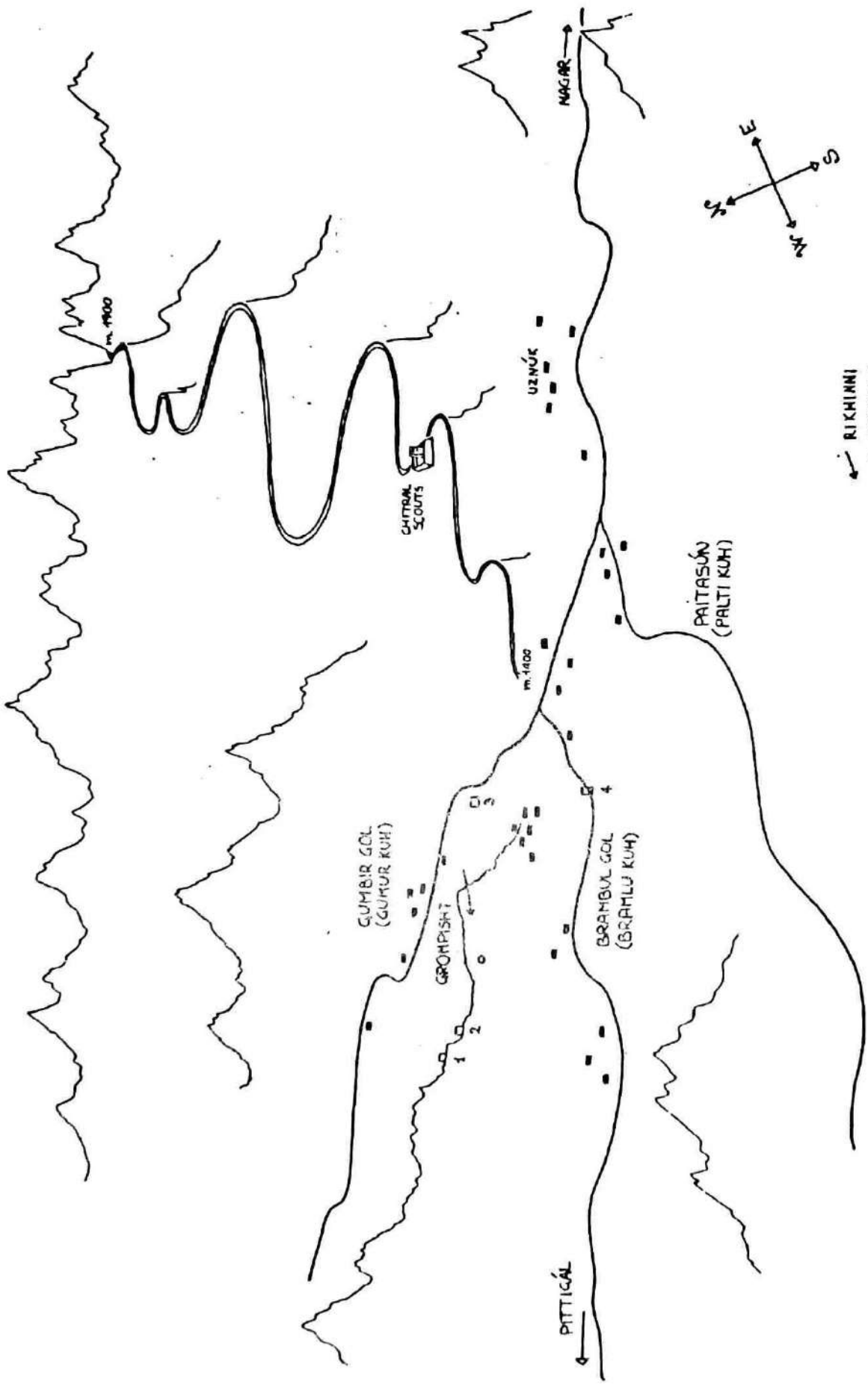


Figure 3 Sketch map of Urtsun Valley

still be seen on the rocky spur separating Gombir Gol from Brambul Gol. Once defence was no longer a concern, the people gradually moved to the bottom of the valley where water was easily available and where bigger dwellings could be built in compliance with the new Muslim way of life. The old village was called Grompisht. Robertson visited it during his short stay in Urtsun (1974:4) and reported that it numbered about thirty or forty houses. In 1929, Morgenstierne (1932:45) found it still inhabited by the 'pagan' population of the valley.

Field work was conducted in Urtsun in the course of two visits: the first one on July 29th and 30th and the second on September 1st and 2nd, 1989. We were accompanied by a young, English-speaking Chitrali, Sala-ud-Din from Drosh, to help us when our knowledge of Kalashamun revealed its limits. The two dialects, actually, are different enough to make communication somewhat difficult even for Kalasha speakers when they hear the other dialect for the first time. But even we, with our imperfect control of the language, were able to understand it after a good number of hours of conversation.

On our first visit to the valley, once our objectives were explained, we were met by a polite but cold welcome. Like in the eastern area, in Urtsun the people have resolutely decided to forget altogether the culture of their forefathers to embrace the one of the Kho. Islam is identified with Chitrali culture, which is taken up *in toto* in its material and social elements. The word Kalasha here too is charged with a negative connotation and the language itself is referred to as *hama tadbra mandr* 'the language or our "clan"', and not as 'Kalashamandr'. However, unlike in the eastern area, it is universally spoken by the old and the young.

During our visits we worked with several informants, mainly elderly people. Three of them turned out after a while to be quite ready to help, especially because we started our enquiry by collecting the genealogies and in the process asking all the names of their ascendants. Pride in the feats of the ancestors is a positive value in Kalasha culture. Unlike what we had found in Shishi Kuh and in the main valley settlements, the remarkable genealogical memory typical of the Kalasha has not yet altogether faded away in Urtsun. It seems that many mature adults can trace their descent to the apical ancestor of their lineage, even if only very few elders know the genealogies of all the lineages up to the common ancestor.

However, of these three helpful informants — all born in pre-Muslim times — only one seemed to have a good memory of the pre-Islamic tradition. He had converted when he was about twenty and was actually a son of that same Chanlu who had been Morgenstierne's and Hussam-ul-Mulk's informant in 1929 and in 1936 respectively. His family, as mentioned, was the last to convert in the valley. He was called Skilkia in his childhood, but changed his name to Mohammad Islam after conversion. We couldn't contact him on our first visit, but we managed to do so on our second by walking up the valley a couple of hours to his summer house. There we enjoyed his wonderful hospitality and had long hours of conversation with him and his sons about the pre-Muslim past. He is the main source of our information.[3]

Of the other two, one, Nur Mohammad Khan, gave us the plain genealogies. The other, Islam Khan, was converted at about the age of five and, like the others, he was apparently in his seventies. He had only vague memories of pre-Muslim times, as seemed to be the case with other elderly people we interviewed. His attitude toward the Kalasha past was not of shame but rather of amusement.

Islam Khan agreed to guide us to the old village to show us the relevant sites. We climbed with him the steep rock where Grompisht was once perched. Never had we seen a village built in such an inaccessible location. The ruins of the old village are scattered on a completely treeless rocky crest where very little level space is available. The houses must have been supported by wooden poles, as is the case, for example, in Gurul (Birir) and in many Nuristani villages (cf. Edelberg and Jones 1979:pict. 29, 143, 144), and were suspended upon overhanging cliffs on both sides of the rocky spur. Only the stones demarcating the ground plan of some buildings can still be seen.

The site where the *rikhini* once stood is extremely steep. The building was located on the northern side of the crest among the houses of the village. Facing it was a wooden platform for dancing that had to be built on poles[4], but no trace of wood is left today. The presence of this boarded platform and its reported use for dancing seem to indicate similarity between Grompisht's *rikhini* and the *gromma* or 'dancing houses' of Bashgal described by Robertson (1974:494). Possibly, like the *gromma*, Urtsun's village temple was not connected to a specific lineage or to a group of lineages, as is the case with the *kantar koT* of the Waigali, the *amal* of the Paruni, and the *Jeshtak han* of the Kalasha (Edelberg and Motamedi 1968; Klimburg 1976; Jones and Parkes 1984). The Kalasha goddess Jeshtak was not worshipped in this 'public' building nor—as we shall see—anywhere else in Urtsun.

On the highest area of the spur, the ruins of a circular tower can still be seen. According to our guide it was five stories high and was used to watch over the women working in the fields, always under the threat of raids. This is the only known case of a circular tower in Kalasha culture. Similar buildings that we found in Birga, Suwir (cf. Alberto Cacopardo, this volume) and Jinjiret Kuh, all had a square ground plan; equally square are the Nuristani towers (Edelberg and Jones 1979: pict. 120, 123, 124, 129; Robertson 1974:493).

The *bašali* (the confinement house for women during menstruation and childbirth) was at the lower edge of the village on Brambul Gol's side (cf. sketch map in Fig. 4). Its location is consistent with Kalasha tradition that considers it most impure and usually places it in a low position while the holy shrines normally occupy a high one, thus connecting the pure–impure polarity with the high–low dichotomy (Alb. Cacopardo 1985:721). But obviously the ever-present danger of sudden attacks prevented the people of Urtsun from building it by the river, as is usually done today in the three unconverted valleys to give the women easy access to the water.[5] Grompisht, in fact, had no spring, and water was carried up from an irrigation channel still running along the side of the mountain, about halfway up the steep hill.

The *manDaujau* 'cemetery', along with the *bašali* the most *pragata* 'impure' of places for the Kalasha (Aug. Cacopardo 1985:721), was located by the river in Gombir Gol, in a low position as is usually the case in the three non-Muslim valleys. The wooden coffins were left unburied on the ground. A knife was put in one of the hands of the corpse (probably it was of a male), and some food in the other. The cemetery was destroyed about forty years ago, some time after the total conversion of the valley. The funeral effigies (*gandali* in the Urtsun dialect), mounted or on foot[6], were not kept there like in Rumbur and Bumburet, but rather, as Robertson testifies (1974:4), under a shed up on the rocky crest where the village was. Like in pre-Islamic Bashgal (Robertson 1974:219–22), during the funeral celebration a man would dance holding the heavy effigy

on his back; a custom not shared by the northern Kalasha, who substitute for the wooden effigy in the dance the much lighter *kumbreauki*, a cross-shaped pole with a man's head, garbed in red cloth.

At the western edge of the village, not far from the houses, two holy places were located. One was most likely the site of Mahandeo's (*Mahandel*) shrine. It is a small level space that forms a cleft in the ridge; we were shown the places where the holy juniper (*saraz*) used to be burned and where the he goats were sacrificed. A holy tree that stood by the altar was cut down by the Muslims. Rather unusually, the shrine is slightly lower than the village, but on the narrow crest the Kalasha of Grompisht had to make due with what space there was. The whole area was *onjeshta* 'pure', and women were not allowed to approach it. Two wooden horse heads protruding from a plank of the same material, in typical Kalasha style, adorned the small altar. No trace of it is left. The rituals of Chaumos, the great winter festival, were celebrated there.

The second shrine stood on a rocky peak just above the first one, more appropriately dominating the village and the whole crest. The site is reached by a goat path ending with a short climb up some boulders. It was the shrine of the god Varin, whose existence was reported to Schomberg (1938:74) and Siiger (1956:20) in Rumbur. The stone base of the altar can still be seen. Although informants did not agree, it seems likely that it was adorned, like Mahandel's, with two wooden horse heads. Shrines dedicated to these two gods exist in the unconverted valleys. All three have a *Mahandeo dur*, while Varin is found only in Birir (Schomberg 1938:196–8; Siiger 1956:20; Augusto Cacopardo 1974:55–6; Loude 1980:56).

Along the bottom of the valley, we were shown two more holy places. One was named *Bagisht-ta*[7] and was held to be the abode of the god Bagisht. In Brambul Gol it was marked by the presence of a once sacred spring. Bagisht is a very popular god of pre-Islamic Nuristan. Robertson relates the story of his birth (1974:382–383), a variant of which was recorded by Morgenstierne in Brumotul (1951:176) and, it seems, by Edelberg (1972:68) in Parun. He was the god of 'lakes, rivers and fountains' (Robertson 1974:406); in Urtsun, the place of his worship is found consistently by a spring. We couldn't find out anything certain about the structure of Bagisht's shrine, and actually it might have been just a pile of stones (Hussam-ul-Mulk 1974a:26) marking the place where the sacrificial fire had to be lit. In pre-Islamic Nuristan, in fact, no temple existed dedicated to Bagisht; rituals in his honour were held in holy places marked only by stones (Robertson 1974:406).

A short hymn to Bagisht was given to Morgenstierne (1951:188) by Chanlu who also mentioned the god to Shahzada Hussam-ul-Mulk in 1937 (1974a:26) together with Gish, the pre-Islamic war god much loved by the young people of Bashgal (Robertson 1974:379). None of our informants, not even Mohammad Islam, the son of Chanlu, mentioned the name of Gish. It is quite certain, however, that the god was honoured in Urtsun since a hymn to him was recorded by Morgenstierne (1951:188) and since Robertson himself was proudly told by Aza[8], the 'chief', that the valley possessed a shrine to Gish erected by his own father (Robertson 1974:5). We failed, however, to discover any trace of such a shrine.

The other holy place located at the bottom of the valley was called *Pimar ta*. It was very close to the river and was marked by two imposing *činar* (plane trees) and a great boulder. The trees have now been cut down and the boulder was carried away by a flood.

It apparently had no shrine but rituals were held there in the name of Mror, who is none other than Imra, the creator god of pre-Islamic Nuristan whose chief temple was located in the remote Parun valley (Robertson 1974:389–92) and whose worship was spread throughout ancient Kafiristan. There were different names for this Creator god; while the Kati called him Imra, he was known as Yamra in Waigal and as Mara in Parun. But this last name does not have the same root as the first two (Jettmar 1986:52). The name Mror is linguistically related to Mara and is found in Kati hymns (Morgenstierne 1951:163). We didn't, however, find the form Imbro that Morgenstierne (1951:163) gives as typical of Urtsun. From the analysis of these different terms, Jettmar (1986:52–3) on the one hand, and Fussman (1977:47–60) and Buddruss (quoted in Fussman 1977:48) on the other, have formulated challenging hypotheses about the origins and the development of the creator god of pre-Islamic Nuristan.

Unknown to our informants was Dizala Dezau, the Kalasha supreme deity (Wazir Ali Shah 1974b:71; Aug. Cacopardo 1974:32–7 Loude 1980:46) who traditionally had the traits of a *deus otiosus* (cf. Eliade 1976:51–6), seldom addressed in rituals. Today he tends to be identified with the Islamic God and is referred to as Khodai, a name of Persian derivation. According to Morgenstierne (1951:175) the Urtsun variant would be Dezal.

Equally unknown was Jeshtak, the Kalasha goddess presiding over social relations whose temples are erected, in Bumburet and Rumbur, among the houses of the villages (Schomberg 1938:48; Aug. Cacopardo 1974:59–65; Loude 1980:49–53; Parkes 1983: 376–7; Jones and Parkes 1984:1165–71). The *rikhini* of Urtsun, consequently, didn't have any connection with that goddess and was not used in the same way as the *Jeshtak han* of Bumburet and Rumbur. Birth rituals, for example, were not held there, but in the homes. Moreover, Jeshtak emblems — two small wooden horse heads protruding from a little board — did not exist in the homes of Urtsun as is the case in Birir (Wutt 1976:139; Parkes 1984:1174).

Mohammad Islam mentioned instead Dizane, although he wasn't certain about her sex. It is well known, however, that she was a very popular female goddess, worshipped throughout pre-Islamic Nuristan (Robertson 1974:410–1; Edelberg and Motamedi 1968). She appears in a song and in a 'Dialogue on the future state of the dead' between Mahmad Isa (a Kalasha from Rumbur) and Chanlu recorded by Morgenstierne (1951:187, 188); the souls of the dead go to her 'house'. Myths concerning her have been collected by many scholars (cf. Jettmar 1986:68–72) in Nuristan. Jettmar has analysed all the existing data to conclude (1986:68–9) that she was connected to the dead and she was the deity of the social order based on the bonds of kinship,' while she was equally responsible for fertility and progeny and exercised her influence both on agriculture and on milk products. Her role, therefore, seems quite similar to the one performed by Jeshtak among the northern Kalasha. Morgenstierne even believed that the two goddesses were actually identified (1951:164), but Parkes sees 'little evidence of any real identity between the two deities' (Jones and Parkes 1984:1166). Dizane had no shrine in Urtsun nor did she have any specific place of worship: rituals in her name were performed in various places with offerings of cheese and ghee, and goats were at times sacrificed in her name.

Two more deities were mentioned to us by the son of Chanlu: Shipanu and Kumre. Of the first one he apparently remembered only the name, while all the other gods mentioned by Mohammad Islam are well known Kalasha or Kati deities. Shipanu is nowhere mentioned, to our knowledge, in the literature on Nuristan nor is he worshipped

in the three unconverted valleys. He (or she) seems to be a divinity peculiar to Urtsun; or, if he did exist in Bashgal, his name was never recorded.

About the second one, we only learned that it lived on Tirichmir although it was not of the *parian*.[9] In a fragment of a myth told by Chanlu (Morgenstierne 1951:186) she is said to be the mother of Mon. According to Jettmar (1986:153), 'Kumrai/Krumai is a Kamdesh (Kati) goddess equated (?conflated) with Ksumai (Robertson 1974:381 Krumai = Shumai), also 'Mother of Mon' and mistress of Tirichmir mountain in Chitral.' Krumai's connection with Tirichmir is testified to also by Robertson (1974:411), but Palwal (quoted in Jettmar 1986:78) suggests instead that Kshumai, the goddess of vegetation, and the mountain goddess Krumai, who lives on Tirichmir, should be kept separate. The Kalasha of Rumbur and Bumburet worship Kushumai (Aug. Cacopardo 1974:42; Loude 1980: 54–5), but consider her a goddess of Nuristani origin. Strangely enough, however, according to a Kati hymn she appears as a Kalasha woman (Morgenstierne 1951:175). Both groups perceive her as a deity coming from somewhere else. Jettmar sees her as 'an alien and ambivalent guest in the Kafir pantheon' (1986:77); he wonders whether she could be of Dardic provenance and also raises the question of a pre-Indo-European connection (1986:78). To our knowledge, no mention is made of Tirichmir as her abode in the oral tradition of Rumbur concerning her.

It appears clear from the data presented above, that in Urtsun the Kalasha and Kam 'pantheons' had been integrated in one complex. But while the shrines of Kalasha gods were — consistently with Kalasha custom — located on high places on the rocky spur, the deities 'imported' from Nuristan were worshipped outside that area along the bottom of the valley. This different spatial disposition reflects their external origin.

A further aspect of this integration is revealed if we examine the cycle of yearly festivals. Since we have done this in detail elsewhere (Aug. Cacopardo 1991), we shall only recall here that the list given to us by Mohammad Islam included almost all the Kam festivities recorded by Robertson (1974:578). But to these the main Kalasha festivals — Chaumos, Joshi, and Uchao[10] — were added. Chaumos, the winter solstice festival was of the Birir type: the drum was played and belief in Balimahin, the god that visits Rumbur and Bumburet on the holiest days of the festival[11], did not exist.

Apart from Giche, the New Year festival of Bashgal (Robertson 1974:583; Kristiansen 1974:18–20) whose place was taken by Chaumos, only two other Kam festivities listed by Robertson were apparently not celebrated in Urtsun: *Gerdulow* and *Dizanedu*.

Even if informants didn't fully agree about the name (Aug. Cacopardo 1991), it seems quite certain that the Pruhn festival[12] was celebrated in Urtsun as well. This important ritual event, which takes place after the grape harvest, can be considered one of the distinctive traits of the Birir and Jinjiret Kuh cultural complex, to which Urtsun was closely related.

Two more Kalasha festivals are included in our list: *Machwaki* and *Mrawa*. The former, according to data gathered by Loude and Lievre (p.c.) is celebrated some time after Joshi in Rumbur and Bumburet as well, but only if there is much wind and mulberries are late to ripen. *Mrawa*, instead, seems to be the only festival peculiar to Urtsun, but all we could learn about it is that, after an abundant meal and much wine, the community danced for long hours in the *rikhini*.

4. Elements of social organization

The brief survey of Urtsun deities and religious festivals attempted above shows a merging of two related cultures — the Kam and the Kalasha — that is a distinctive trait of Urtsun. Some light on this remarkable fusion can be shed by an analysis of the social structure of the community.

As in the other Kalasha valleys (Alb. Cacopardo 1974:10–20 and 1985:715; Loude 1980:67; Parkes 1983:373 ff.; Alb. and Aug. Cacopardo 1989:318) and in Nuristan (Robertson 1974:535; Jones 1974a:40–1; Strand 1974a:51–6; Edelberg and Jones 1979: 45), the people of Urtsun are divided in a number of patrilineal lineages, whose members call each other *tadbra*.

As the Kalasha rule forbidding marriage between agnates having a common ancestor within seven generations (Siiger 1956:16; Alb. Cacopardo 1974:16; Loude and Lievre 1984:87; Parkes 1983:518–26; 1988:640) has been abandoned for the Muslim one allowing marriage between close relatives, the lineage is not an exogamic unit. Unlike in the eastern area (cf. Alberto Cacopardo 1991 and this volume), however, it has kept a number of important functions. Members contribute to the bride wealth given to a wife's father and help each other when they are forced to pay fines or find themselves otherwise in distress.

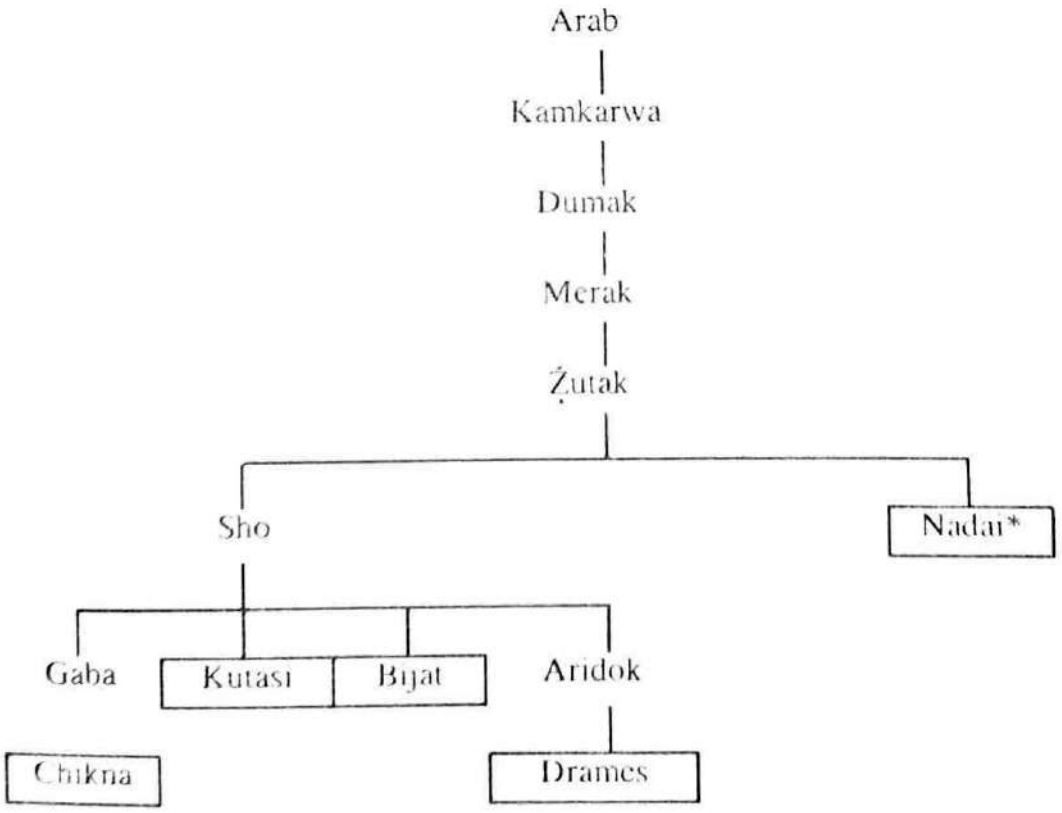


Figure 4 Urtsun lineages. Urtsun 29 July 1989. Informant: Nur Mohammad Khan. * Ancestors who have given their name to present day lineages are enclosed in a box.

Urtsun society is articulated in seven agnatic lineages. Their genealogical depth is of about five generations and each is named after an apical ancestor (Fig. 4). Figure 4

sketches the origin of the apical ancestors, and Figures 5–9 give the lineages of the Chiknadari, Kutasi, Aijatdari, Dramesdari, and Nadaidari, respectively.

Bijatdari (or Jashdari)
Chiknadari
Dramesdari
Kurasidari
Nadaidari
Grokdari (or Tapokdari)
Sharwadari

The limited depth of these lineages poses some problems because Kalasha lineages usually include at least seven generations. This is due to the exogamic rule that allows marriage only after seven generations separate the would-be spouses from the common ancestor in the father's line. So it happens that once the desired genealogical distance is reached, a marriage generally occurs. At this point the unit splits, forming two new lineages generally named after the sons or grandsons of the original common ancestor (cf. Parkes 1983:428–30; Jones and Parkes 1984:1169; Alb. Cacopardo 1974:16–17). The genealogical shallowness of the Urtsun patrilineal groups, therefore, needs an explanation. The easiest one would be to suppose that some generations have been forgotten by our informants. And this is possible, especially if we recall that conversion generally weakens genealogical memory.

But there is also another possibility. In Jinjiret Kuh we have found, in fact, that although separate names existed for different patrilineal groups, these weren't actually lineages. In pre-Muslim times genealogical distance from the common apical ancestor did not yet exceed the required number of generations, and marriage was therefore forbidden within the valley community. Wives were sought mainly in Birir and Urtsun, the other two valleys which were members of the same 'festival unit'. Marriage opportunities arose usually during religious or social festivals that allowed young people to meet. We unfortunately lack the data that could have possibly revealed that the same was true also in Urtsun, but some elements indicate that this may very well have been the case.

Of the seven lineages listed above, five claim descent from the same ancestor, Merak by name. Of Merak's ascendancy we have two different versions. One places at the head of the genealogy three brothers who belonged to the Quraish tribe and came from Arabia to settle: one at Piwat in the Pittigal valley (an eastern tributary of the Bashgal just over the headwaters of Urtsun), one in Birir, and one in Urtsun. A similar tradition of Quraish descent was recorded among the Kam (Robertson 1974:158; Jones 1967:cf. genealogical chart) and is still alive in many parts of Nuristan (Dupree 1974:xviii). It can generally be seen as an attempt of the non-Islamic tribes to raise their status in the eyes of their Muslim neighbours. But in this case, the legend gives genealogical grounds to the close social ties connecting Urtsun to Birir and to the Kam of Bashgal. One might wonder why Jinjiret Kuh, the closest northern neighbour, is not mentioned; but the community of that valley was itself an offspring of Birir, which was perceived as the center of that cultural area.

A variant of this version says that the apical ancestor from Arabia, by the name of Arab, settled first in Bumburet where his son Kamkarwa was born, who subsequently settled in Birir where his wife gave birth to Dumak, the father of Merak. According to Mohammad Islam, Kamkarwa rather migrated to Bumburet from Bashgal and was himself a Kam while his wife was Kalasha. This would explain the syncretism of the Urtsun

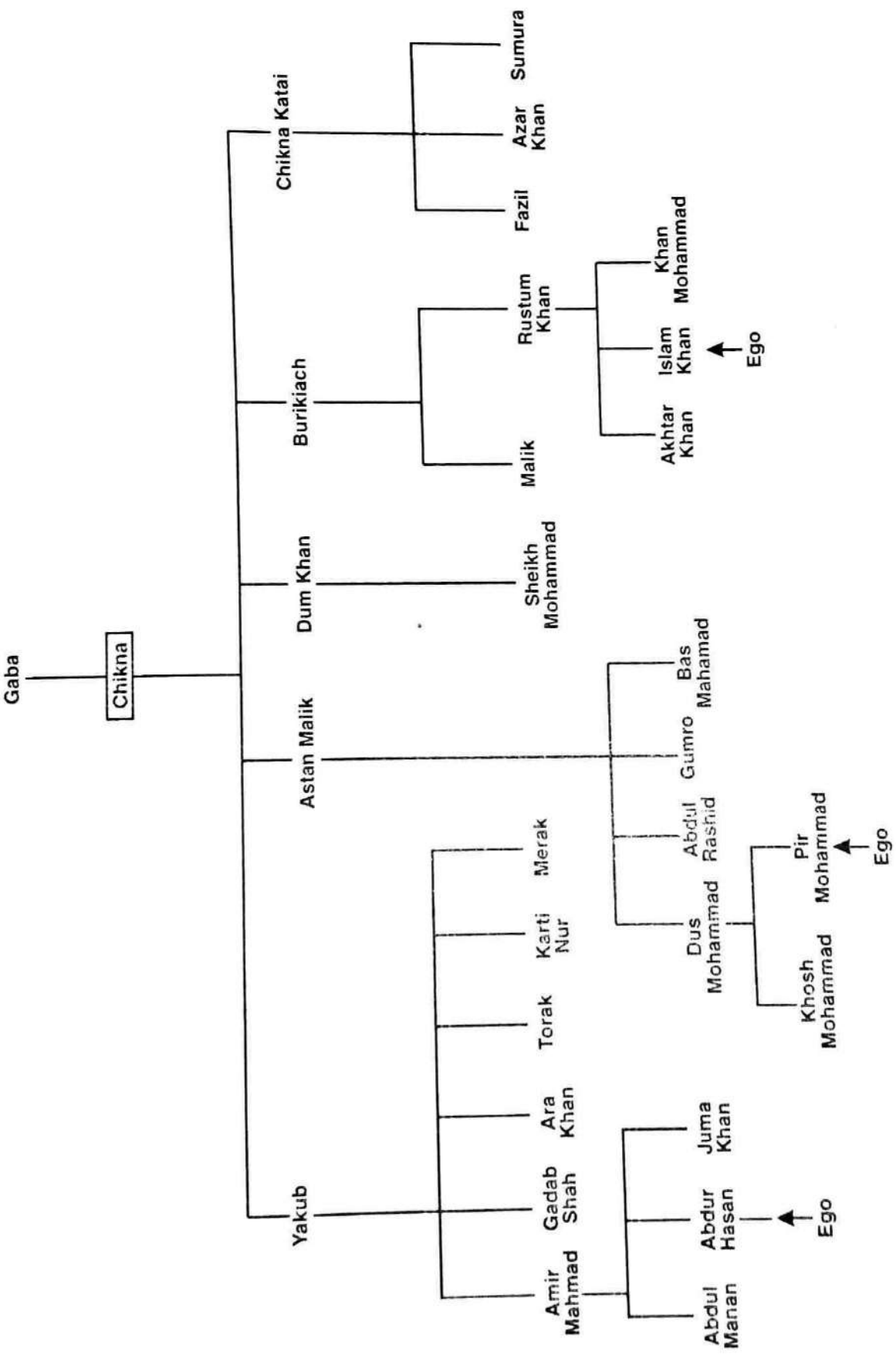
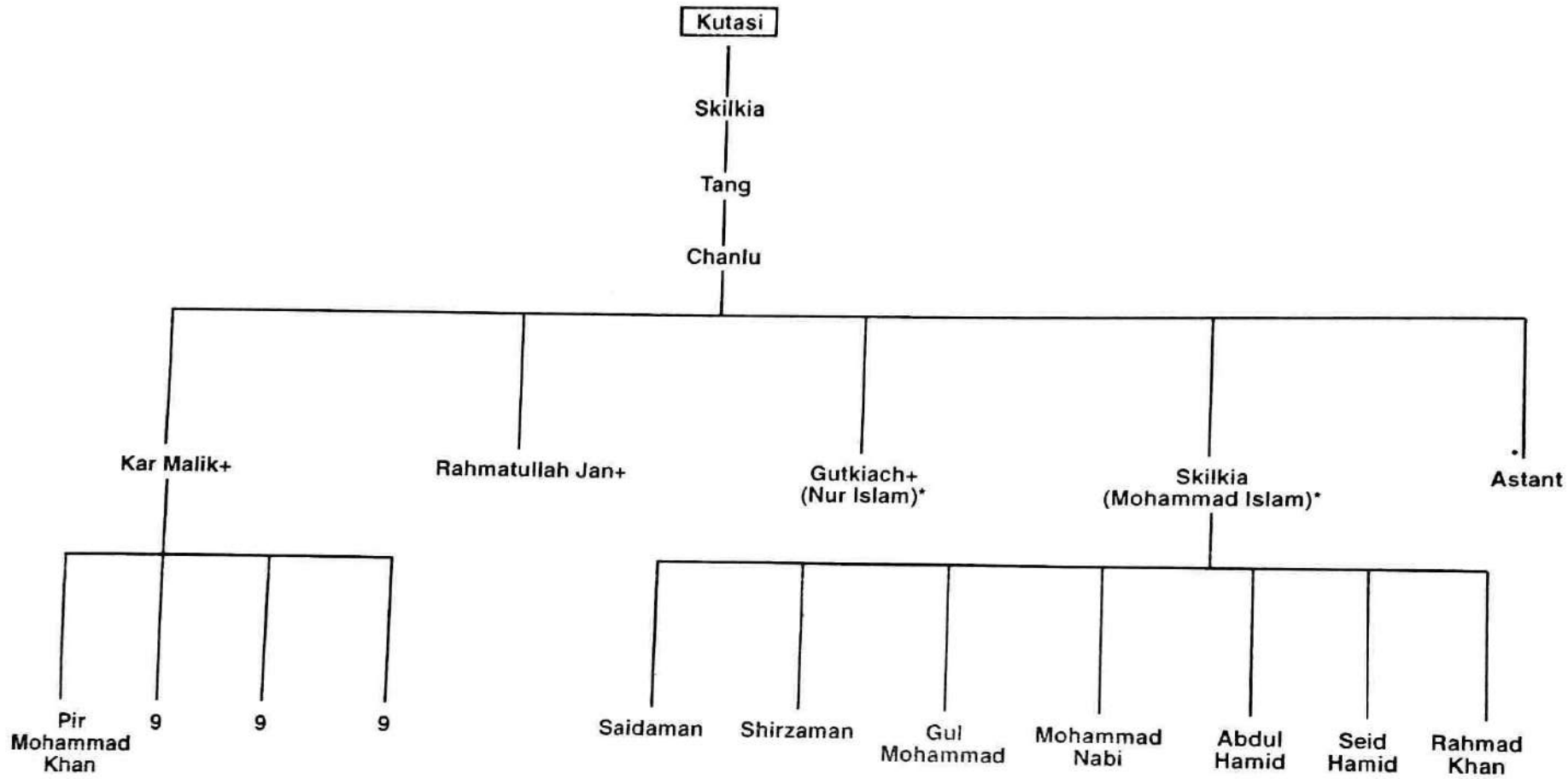
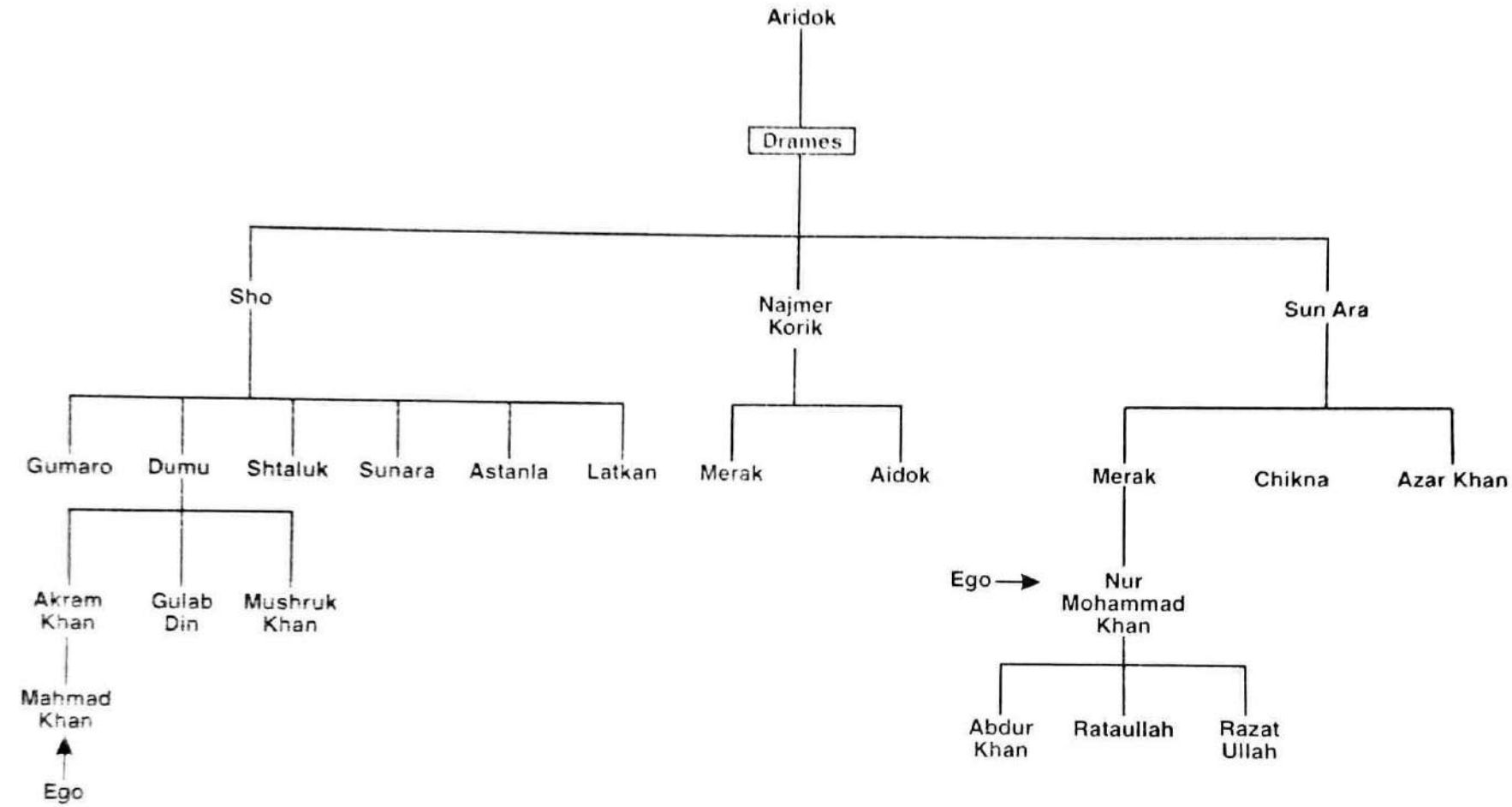


Figure 5 Chiknadari lineage. Urtsun, 19 July 1989. Informants: Abdur Hasan, Pir Mohammad, Islam Khan.



Urtzun : 29 July and September 1st 1989
Kam : Kutasi Dari
Informants : Nur Mohammad Khan - Mohammad Islam
* Muslim names adopted after conversion
+ Dead

Figure 6 Kutasi lineage. Urtsun 29 July and 1 September 1989. Informants: Nur Mohammad Khan, Mohammad Islam. * Muslim names adopted after conversion. + dead.



Urtsun : 29 July 1989
Kam : Drames Dari
Informant : Nur Mohammad Khan
Mahmad Khan

Figure 8 Drames lineage. Urtsun 29 July 1989. Kam: Dramesdari. Informants: Nur Mohammad Khan, Mahmad Khan.

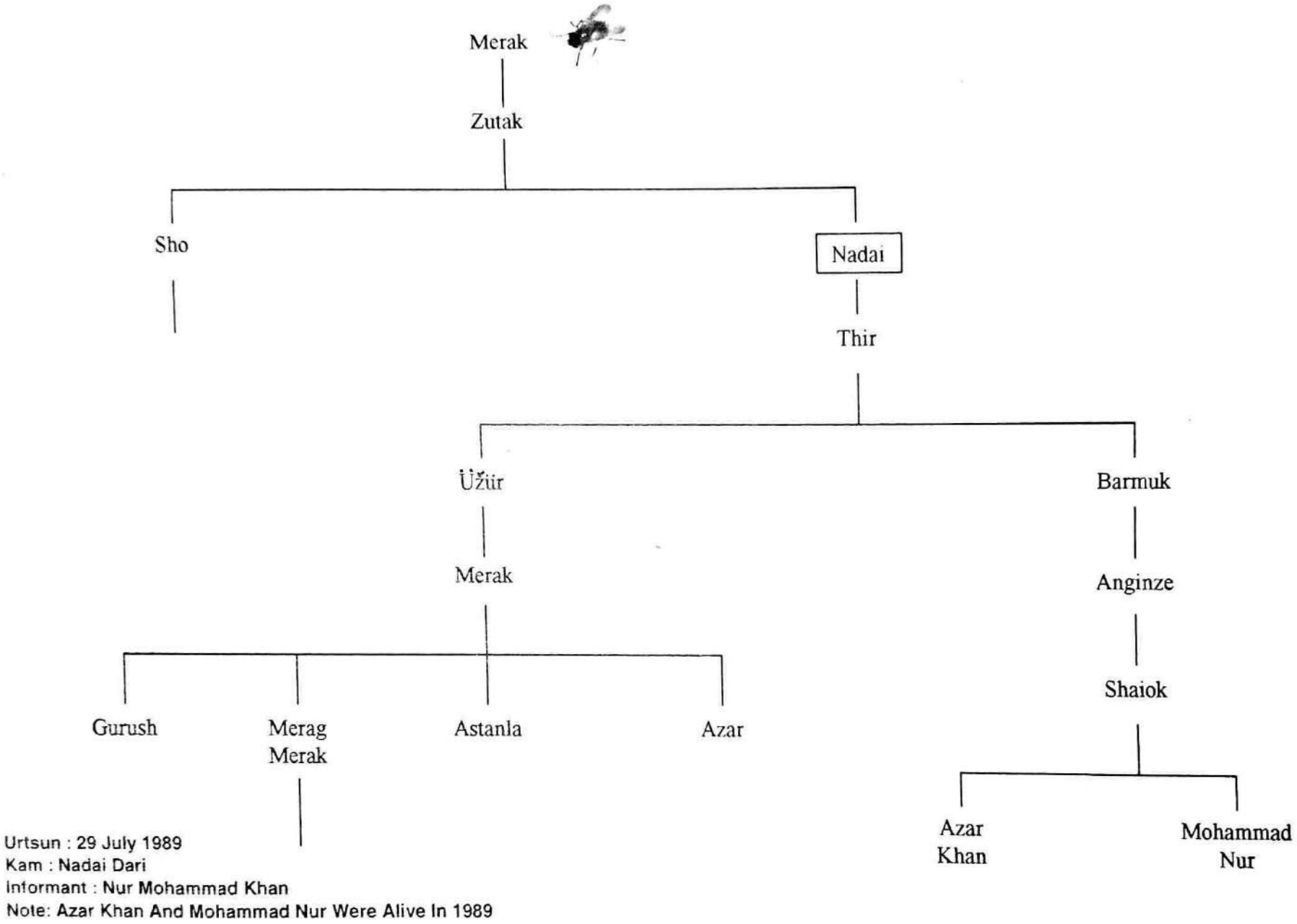


Figure 9 Nadaidari lineage. Urtsun 29 July 1989. Informant: Nur Mohammad Khan. Note: Only Azar Khan and Mohammad Nur were alive in 1989.

community by placing it right at its roots.

If informants did not quite agree about the place of origin of the apical ancestor, they all agreed about the circumstances that brought Merak to leave Birir. He killed two people in a quarrel and sought refuge in Urtsun that 'belonged' to his maternal uncle, Mahu, who subsequently gave it to him 'in heritage'. There he settled and his offspring populate the valley to this day. These events reportedly took place when the Rais dynasty was in power in Chitral, and Dumak himself was killed by the Mehtar's men who, according to this oral tradition, fought the Kalasha for seven years in Birir. This is not quite consistent with the genealogy we collected (Fig. 4), since only ten generations separate today's adults from Dumak, while the Rais were ousted by the Kator in 1570 (Afzal Khan 1975:13). This would seem to indicate that the lack of genealogical depth of Urtsun lineages, as suggested above, is due to the fact that some steps were actually left out by our informants. However, it is much more likely that this has happened in the highest part of the genealogy, while there is a fair chance that from Merak down the genealogy is at least vertically, if not horizontally, complete.

If this is the case, it would follow that the Kalasha of Urtsun — like those of Jinjiret Kuh — were all grouped in one single exogamous lineage, and the names listed above would denote only sections, which were not exogamous units. In Rumbur, similar sections, e.g. the Sherbek nawau of the Balroe lineage, are equally known with distinct names and practice a high degree of internal solidarity especially with regard to marriage expenses of their members.

A point in favour of this hypothesis is the fact that the other two lineages of Urtsun, the Grokdari and the Sharwadari, were not offspring of the same ancestor and actually they weren't even Kalasha; they had immigrated from neighbouring areas. The community was so small that many (if not all) of its members had to marry out, and they did so, as mentioned, not only with other Kalasha communities, but also with the Kam of Bashgal. In fact, one of these two foreign lineages — the Grokdari — came from Kamdesh about three generations ago. The name of this lineage indeed appears in the list of 'clans' given by Robertson (1974:85). The 'Garakdari', as he writes, were one of the largest and more important lineages of the Kam. The Urtsun branch was apparently formed by a group of Kam men who had married Kalasha women. A new lineage must have been quite welcome in a community whose members could not intermarry. The genealogy of this group was unknown to our informants. These immigrants still speak Kamviri, but they know Kalashamandr as well. Most Kalasha of Urtsun, on the other hand, are quite familiar with Kamviri.

The other foreign lineage, that of the Sharwadari, immigrated from Waigal about six generations ago, well after Merak's arrival. They have lost their original tongue and have adopted Kalashamandr. These two lineages lived in Grompisht with the five Kalasha ones and were well integrated in the community. They participated in the religious festivals and their dwellings were apparently not grouped in a specific area.

The unexpected presence of a Waigali lineage deserves some remarks. Edelberg and Jones (1979:17) have recorded in Waigal an oral tradition mentioning the existence of a branch of that tribe in Chitral. This might be seen as confirming Kalasha oral tradition (Morgenstierne 1932:51) of a migration of the Kalasha from the south to the Waigal valley and finally to Chitral. But the group referred to could indeed be just the Waigali lineage still living in Urtsun and not the Kalashamun speakers whose descendants now inhabit the

three unconverted valleys. Some doubts are thus cast on historical reconstructions based on that oral tradition (Siiger 1956:34–5; 1963:302; Loude and Lievre 1984:34). We can't deal here with the question of Kalasha expansion and migrations, but in this connection it might be of some interest to note that Urtsun oral tradition relates that before Merak's arrival the valley was populated by a different group who, because of a sacrilegious fault (cf. Aug. Cacopardo 1991), was punished by the gods with sudden extinction. It is not clear whether the language of those people was Kalashamandr or not.

This legend is in some conflict with the one stating that Urtsun belonged to Merak's maternal uncle, Mahu. The former probably belongs to a mythical cycle, and the second to a somewhat more historical one. The detail that Mahu was Merak's maternal uncle seemingly indicates that the valley was inhabited by Kalasha, while Merak's paternal ascendants probably were — as Mohammad Islam told us and as his name itself indicates—of Bashgali origin.

The Kam minority included three or four households of *bari*. These constitute a caste of artisan-slaves characteristic of Nuristani societies (Robertson 1974:99–103; Jones 1974a:94–102; Edelberg and Jones 1979:102). In Urtsun, as in Nuristan, the *bari* did not own herds nor land. They produced food for their needs on fields entrusted to them through a contract akin to sharecropping, called *somen* (Parkes 1983:64). They were leather workers, carpenters, woodcarvers, and blacksmiths; they also did some domestic chores like carrying grains to the mills and were the drum players at festivals. Their women were weavers. The *bari* did not intermarry with the rest of the population, were considered impure, and were usually kept at a distance.

This lower class of artisan-slaves is an element of social stratification at present unknown in the three unconverted valleys. But in the past a similar 'caste' did exist, at least in Bumburet and Birir: its members were called *bhaira*. Their descendants are now all converted to Islam.

As very little research has been conducted on this aspect of Kalasha society, the relation between the Nuristani *bari* and the Kalasha *bhaira* is still not clear. An important point is that *bhaira* became those who violated the exogamic rule indicated earlier. A legend we heard in Jinjiret Kuh relates that their ancestors were wild aborigines captured and kept as serfs by the Kalasha; but again their distinctive trait is disregard of the exogamic rule. People guilty of such an offense were considered impure and could not take part in religious ceremonies. A similar connection with the infringement of marriage rules is nowhere staged — to our knowledge — for the Nuristani *bari*, although they too were considered impure (Robertson 1974:100). Moreover, while the latter were very skilled artisans, the former did work for the other Kalasha but apparently didn't have such specialized skills. Unfortunately we could not ascertain whether *bhaira* existed in Urtsun as well, but informants were quite unequivocal in stating that the *bari* families all belonged to the Kam group.

The type of stratification brought about by the presence of this lower class of outcasts is however quite different from the one found in European or other centralized societies. The relevant difference is in the sizes of the social classes. While in stratified societies we usually find a small elite ruling over a vast majority belonging to a lower class, in Urtsun—as in Nuristan (Jones 1974a:95; Edelberg and Jones 1979:103) — the opposite is the case. Here the great majority of the population belonged to the higher class (differentiated as it was) while only ten percent of the families were confined to the lower one.

The boundary between the two classes was maintained by the rule forbidding intermarriage.

5. Women in Urtsun

The rough and incomplete picture we have given of the pre-Islamic social structure of the Urtsun community shows that a fusion had been developed not only between cultural complexes, but between ethnic groups as well: Kalasha, Kam, and Waigali lived side by side on the rocky crest of Grompisht.

The blend of cultural elements had perhaps its most visible expression in the dress of the women, that to this day is a symbol of cultural identity for the non-Muslim Kalasha of Bumburet, Rumbur, and Birir. The female costume of Urtsun differed from the one of those valleys by the lack of the most conspicuous element of the whole attire, the headdress. The women, in fact, did not wear the richly ornamented *kupas* or the *šušutr*.[13] They covered their heads with the *paček*, a piece of simply embroidered white cotton material that continued at the back down the neck; it was fastened under the chin with two thin cords of the same material.

An unexpected chance to see and photograph what might very well be the last example of this headdress was given to us by an old non-Muslim woman born in Urtsun and married in Birir. Mranzi — this is her name — is the daughter of Azermalik, who was apparently the last shaman (*dehal*) (cf. Siiger 1963) of Urtsun. When she left her native valley for her husband's house there were still about ten non-Muslim families left. Her father converted before his death.

She always wore the *paček* under the *šušutr* she had adopted. The same woman had previously been interviewed and photographed by Karl Wutt (1976:158–9). The *paček* seems to be quite similar to the cotton cap described by Robertson (1974:511–12) and worn by the Kam women 'on all occasions except at particular festivals and religious ceremonies, when the peculiar horned headdress is used.' In such circumstances the horned headdress (Robertson 1974:513; Jones 1983) was most likely used in Urtsun as well, since our informants usually recognized it by our description.

As for the rest of the female attire, we are not quite sure if the garment worn was, as mostly reported, the Kalasha *čeo* or the *budzun* of the Kam. They were both woolen robes of a dark-brown colour, but the *budzun* opened all down the front and reached only to the knees; the women kept it 'closely and decently adjusted to the body' (Robertson 1974:510). The *čeo*, instead, reaches to the ankles and is slipped on through the head. We are inclined to think that Urtsun women actually used the *budzun* since we were told that they also wore woolen leggings which only men wear in the non-Muslim valleys, and that would have been quite useless if their garment had been the much longer *čeo*. The reddish leather boots called *kalun*, as described for the Kam women by Robertson (1974:507) often completed their attire. It would seem, therefore, that the Kalasha women of Urtsun had adopted the full attire of their Kam neighbours.

Further Kam influences on the condition of women are shown also by the fact that funerary effigies (*gandali* in the Urtsun dialect) could be carved for females as well (cf. Robertson 1974:224–6), provided the necessary feasts were given. Moreover, while today in the unconverted valleys the drum is played only at a man's funeral feast, in Urtsun it

was played upon the death of a woman as well. We were also told that — unlike among today's non-Muslim Kalasha — women were allowed to eat the meat of the he goats sacrificed at the shrines of the male gods. In the three northern valleys, actually, women often do eat the meat of male goats offered to masculine deities, but a special sacrifice (*onjeshta marat*) must subsequently be performed to make amends.

The existence of female funerary effigies seems to indicate that the ceremonial status of women was somewhat higher among the Kam than among the Kalasha. But the division of labour between the sexes practiced by the former assigned to women many toils that the latter reserve to men. Ploughing is one example (cf. Robertson 1974:549–50). Unfortunately we could not ascertain whether the Kam or the Kalasha pattern of division of labour was adopted in Urtsun. In both societies, anyhow, women are considered impure and it was so throughout pre-Islamic Nuristan (Klimburg 1976:482–3; Jettmar 1986:39). They are particularly impure during menstruation and childbirth when they retire to the *bašali*. In Urtsun they had to spend seven days there for their monthly period and thirty days when they gave birth to a child.

Intense relations with the Kam had therefore created in Urtsun a unique cultural blend expressed also in the outward appearance of the people. The close contact with the Bashgal valley, however, was to play a significant role in the process of conversion that we now come to examine.

6. The conversion of Urtsun

In 1929, Morgenstierne (1932:45) found the old village of Grompisht inhabited by the non-Islamic population of the valley, while some Muslims had settled along the valley bottom. Today several Kho, Pathan, and Gujur families live in Urtsun (cf. Aug. Cacopardo 1991), but Morgenstierne does not state whether those Muslims were immigrants. It seems quite likely, however, that at least some of them were Kalasha converts.

The generation that converted is that of the parents of present-day elders. If we consider that only a few of today's old people were born in pre-Islamic times, it follows that the process of conversion must have started in the second decade of this century. It was not fully accomplished, however, before the very end of the 1930's. Since age is not kept track of, it is difficult to establish an exact date.

According to Hussam-ul-Mulk (1974a:26), Chanlu converted in 1938, but his son said his family became Muslim only a few years before the advent of Pakistan. Upon conversion his father received a horse and several yards of material as presents from the Mehtar Nasr-ul-Mulk. He had been an important man; he was an *aksakal* (a kind of tax collector) for the Mehtar's administration, and the office was subsequently taken over by his son Mohammad Islam. Chanlu's family was among the most prominent of the valley and he probably enjoyed such prestige in pre-Islamic society that his conversion was delayed to the very end.

According to Abdul Kahar, a Kho mullah from Urtsun, it was his own father, Seyid Jalal Bukhari, who converted the valley. Born in Orgoch, Jalal Bukhari moved to Nagar, where the local prince — Mir Aidar at that time — asked him to stay to preach in his mosque and offered him some fields. There he met one Salam-din[14] of the Nadaidari, the first Muslim of Urtsun, who asked him to come to his valley to bring his people to

embrace Islam. Jalal Bukhari accepted the invitation and gradually converted the whole community.

Not all informants were familiar with these details, but they agreed that conversion had taken place peacefully. In Birir, however, we heard quite a different story. Mranzi, the old woman mentioned above, who was born in Urtsun, remembered frequent raids by converted Kam from Bashgal. War parties of several dozen armed men came to burn houses and stables, to plunder livestock and kill all those who refused to convert to Islam. In one of these raids, she recalled, thirteen men and women were killed.

These were probably only the traditional raids already described by Robertson (1974:573), now masked as holy war. Although some conversions might certainly have taken place peacefully, it is quite certain that the continuous threat of these attacks exerted a heavy pressure on the non-Islamic population. The cultural ties with Bashgal, on the other hand, probably played their own role in the conversion of Urtsun. After the fall of the pre-Islamic stronghold of Kafiristan to the superior forces of Abdur Rahman — armed by the British (cf. Jones 1974a:4) — the Islamization of a peripheral centre like Urtsun was bound to follow, even if the connection with the Kalasha world to the north might have hindered it for a while.

The peculiar mixed culture of Urtsun has thus only recently come to an end and we can't help regretting that more research was not carried out there by Morgenstierne, Schomberg, and Siiger, who visited Chitral at a time when precious material could still be gathered in this unique multiethnic community.

However, a lot of work can still be done in Urtsun. Linguists will find a little-known dialect of Kalasha alive and in use, while anthropological research in this valley might still add useful elements to the general picture of the cultures of the Hindukush.

NOTES

1. The volume *Cultures of the Hindu Kush*, a selection of papers from the 1st Hindu Kush Cultural Conference, contains three contributions by Shahzada Hussam-ul-Mulk. In the introduction to this volume (Jettmar and Edelberg 1974:xiv), Jettmar, the editor, specifies that all the material presented by the Shahzada was collected under the simple title 'Kalash Mythology'. Having examined the text, he divided it into 'three separate papers corresponding to the ethnic groups among whom the informations were collected.' The first paper was thus titled 'The cosmology of the Red Kafirs'. However, the four myths it contains — although all but one from the Kam mythology — were given to the Shahzada by a Kalasha man, Chanlu, who was the father of our main informant. As our data will show, in Urtsun Kalasha and Kam cultures were integrated in a unique blend. The population was mixed and bilingual. Kam mythology plays the main role in Chanlu's account probably because it was richer than the Kalasha one (cf. Parkes 1990:2–3). Other material collected by Shahzada Hussam-ul-Mulk is now being prepared for publication by Prof. Jettmar (p.c.); possibly further data on Urtsun will thus be made available.

2. The Kam are one of the former non-Muslim tribes converted by Abdur Rahman. They live in the southern part of the Bashgal valley and they speak Kamviri, classified by Morgenstierne (1974:4) as part of the Kati group of the Kafiri languages. Their main village, Kamdesh, was chosen by Robertson as his base. The Kalasha call them 'Kushtia'.

3. A certain degree of uncertainty must be recognized to all our data for several reasons: (a) information was collected mainly from one informant, although several were interviewed; (b)

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In the first section of this report, we suggested some adjustments to Morgenstierne's classification of Kalasha dialects; here we shall only recall that the language of Jinjiret Kuh, according to our informants, and for what we could judge without being trained linguists, is very close, if not identical, to the one spoken in Birir and is therefore to be included in the Northern group of Kalashamun (see also Bashir 1988:33).

With conversion the use of Khowar has increased because, as in the other converted communities, acceptance of Islam has brought the people of Jinjiret Kuh to adopt Chitrali culture and language, in an effort to erase all traces of their heathen past. Islam apparently spread peacefully and gradually in the early decades of this century. Since the generation that converted is the one of the parents of present day elders, several of them must have been born in pre-Islamic times. We found however only one 'white beard', a man aged about 65 by the name of Halim Ullah, who was willing to fully answer our questions about them. Younger informants provided some additional data.

Our investigation first focussed on the material remains of the pre-Islamic culture. As is the case in the other Islamized communities, the zeal of the newly converted has destroyed all traces of the buildings connected to the former religion: nothing is left of the women's confinement house (*bašali*); a mosque has been built where the village temple (*rikhíni*) once stood, and the shrines of the gods have been razed to the ground. We were, however, shown the sites where two male divinities used to be worshipped. One of them is in the oak forest just above the village of Grom. Nothing is left of the shrine except the base of the front wall of the little stone construction. Nobody seemed to know for sure the name of the god worshipped there; it was possibly the shrine of Deu, which could stand for Mahandeu, a well-known god, worshipped in all Kalasha valleys. The other one is peculiarly located in a small cave overhanging a steep cliff on a mountain spur separating the main valley from a branch of it called Aruet Kui. It can be reached, with some difficulty, from the sloping top of the ridge. The two wooden horse heads typical of Kalasha shrines could once be seen from the path below, protruding from the front wall of the small construction which closed the opening of the cave. This shrine, therefore, departs from the usual open-air model and is, to our knowledge, the only example of a sanctuary within a cave. In this sacred place oaths used to be taken and, according to our main informant, it was believed to be the abode of the god Varin. Some traces, on the contrary, still exist of the *manDaujau*. In a small level place at the top of a steep slope down-valley from the main village, on the right bank of the river, a number of old coffins lay unburied — as Kalasha custom used to prescribe — among heaps of stones. The coffins are mostly lidless and empty, apart from some scattered bones that can still be seen here and there.

Although little is left of the pre-Islamic religious buildings, Jinjiret Kuh is of outstanding interest for an architectural feature that in no other Kalasha valley has been preserved so well. In Grom, the only real village in the valley, five ancient tower-houses (*koT*) are still standing, two of which are in very good condition. These, with a third one that has only one storey left, are disposed in the form of an 'L' delimiting a circular space shaded by ancient trees. A mosque, built on the site of the *rikhíni*, closes the clearing from the south, while the base of a fourth tower, only used for storage, closes it from the northwest. The fifth tower is at a short distance down-valley, and it has only one floor left. Apparently, the higher storeys of the ruined ones have only recently collapsed, since a man about thirty years old claimed to have seen them all intact in his childhood. The

best preserved ones, are both complete with three storeys, but the one behind them is said to have had four. This last *koT* that, as mentioned above, had only the bottom floor left in 1990, was partially standing in 1976 when Karl Wutt visited Jinjiret Kuh.[3]

The two intact towers are impressive buildings of stones and beams. We visited only one of them, said to have been built by the ancestor Katai. The other one was built, as we shall see later, either by the ancestor Mara or possibly by the founding father of the community, Bangush. They are presumably among the most ancient buildings in the whole of Chitral. As we have already noted, there is an urgent need for official steps to preserve the integrity of these buildings, which seems to be seriously threatened.

Katai's *koT* seemed to be lived in. The middle floor can be reached directly from outside, climbing up a very long ladder made out of a notched tree trunk. A single room occupies each floor. We didn't have a chance to inspect the bottom one, but it is likely used for storage. The middle floor is for sleeping: no windows, charpais along the walls, a hearth delimited on three sides by stone slabs at the center of a square marked by four wooden pillars. A square trap door placed in a corner, the only outlet for smoke, leads from this room to the last floor occupied by a veranda that opens towards the east-south-east; in summer, at least, meals are cooked here on a hearth located in a corner. Through a second trap door, the top of the roof can be reached. It is covered, like in normal Kalasha houses, by a thick layer of beaten earth. Wutt visited the interior of both towers in 1976. In one of them (most likely the one we didn't enter) he saw an emblem of Jeshtak, the Kalasha goddess that presides over the domestic sphere and kinship relations, in which the two horse heads protruding from the small wooden plank had been severed (Karl Wutt, p.c.). In Jinjiret Kuh, as in Birir, such emblems were found in every house.

We shall come back later to the history of these towers; now it will be enough to say that the whole population — obviously much less numerous then — of Jinjiret Kuh lived in them in the distant past. In those times, constant fear of enemy raids made life extremely difficult for the Kalasha. Ordinary houses appeared only later, in more peaceful times. The first one, built by the ancestor Tarok, is still standing at a short distance from the towers. Of the old Kalasha houses, however, only a couple are left today. New houses have been built to satisfy the needs of the Muslim way of life.

The circular space enclosed by the mosque and the towers, that functions as the village square, called *Godam Punduri Bronz*, was used as dancing ground in pre-Islamic times. A recently built house now occupies part of it. The place where the mosque has been erected is the site of the old village temple, the *rikhini*. Formerly the temple stood in a different place that we could not locate. The older structure is remembered as particularly beautiful and rich in carvings. We were told that it was destroyed and burned by the Pakhtun chief Umra Khan of Jandul, i.e. around the end of the last century (cf. Robertson 1899). The temple was most likely used as in Birir: the community gathered there for rites of passage that followed the pattern well known in the unconverted valleys and during some of the rituals of the winter solstice festival of Chaumos.

Ritual life and the cycle of yearly festivals were also the object of our inquiries, but we shall not go into the details of our findings here. It will be enough to say that the data

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3. This is shown in a photograph kindly made available to us by the author. A reproduction of it is included in the full version of this article (cf. fn. 1).

collected, although fragmentary and incomplete, are enough to highlight a close affinity with Birir. Culturally, Jinjiret Kuh was in fact a twin of Birir, like Rumbur is of Bumburet.

In the other sections of this report, we noted that, in the past, a southern cultural complex — still referred to in prayers and songs (cf. Loude and Lievre 1990:114), and surviving today only in Birir — was likely the main stem from which the slightly different culture of the two northern valleys branched out. The main distinctive elements of this Birir pattern are: a different function of the village temple;[4] the absence of Balimain, the god who visits Rumbur and Bumburet during the winter festival of Chaumos; and the Prun festival, now celebrated only in Birir.[5] All these elements are found in Jinjiret Kuh, and Urtsun, in fact, were closely connected not only from the point of view of culture (in spite of the Kam influences in Urtsun), but also from that of social relations. The three communities formed a wider social unit through intense intermarriage and common participation in seasonal festivals and feasts of merit. Bumburet and Rumbur formed another such unit; and probably a third one, or more, existed formerly in the Shishi Kuh and main valley Kalasha settlements. To better understand the web of social relations within and around the Jinjiret Kuh community, and to shed some light on its past, we shall now examine the kinship system and the oral traditions about the history of its people.

2. Kinship and oral traditions

The kinship system in Jinjiret Kuh was of course the same as in the rest of the Kalasha area. Patrilineal lineages were defined on the basis of a rule that prescribed exogamy to all descendants of a common ancestor in the male line until the seventh generation. Whenever two descendants of common ancestor in the male line got married in the eighth (or a further) generation, a new lineage was created with an appropriate rite.

In Jinjiret Kuh, however, the great majority of the inhabitants actually belonged to a single lineage called Balmushdari, i.e. the descendants of Balmush or Barmush (we also heard Bangmush). The inhabitants were, therefore, compelled by the exogamic rule to marry mostly outside the valley. This was a situation similar to the one that possible existed in Urtsun (Aug. Cacopardo this volume), and certainly in Rumbur until the generation of Mahaddin, son of Dremes, i.e. six generations above the living elders (see the genealogies of Rumbur, reported, with only very slight differences, in Alb. Cacopardo 1974:12, and Parkes 1983:382, 407), when the first marriage within the valley occurred. To start from the beginning, Halim Ullah, like all our informants in Jinjiret Kuh, was a supporter of the well-known theory of the Quraish origin (Robertson 1974:158; Dupree 1974:xviii),

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4. The more visible difference is that in Birir the emblems of the goddess Jeshtak are kept in the homes and not in the *rikhíni*, while in the other two valleys an emblem per lineage is kept in the *jéšTak han*. For a discussion of the *jéšTak han* institution, based on data from Rumbur, see Parkes in Jones and Parkes (1984).

5. For Chaumos see Wutt (1983), Loude and Lievre (1984), Aug. Cacopardo (1985), Alb. and Aug. Cacopardo (1989), Stiger, Castenfeldt, and Fentz (1991). For Prun: Palwal (1974), Lines (1988:224-32), Loude and Lievre (1988, 1991).

which was common also in Nuristan and in Urtsun (Aug. Cacopardo this volume). According to this story, the band Kalasha are descendants of a band of Quraish people who came from Arabia at the time of the Prophet, in order to escape conversion to Islam.

In Halim Ullah's story, when the Kalasha came from Arabistan they passed by Kabul and came into Chitral from the south, first settling in Arandu, Narei (Narisat), and Nangar (Nagar). The only 'ancestor' remembered from this time was named Satra, a name that does not recur, to our knowledge, in any of the oral traditions recorded in the Kalashgum. From Nangar, they then extended to the whole of southern Chitral, up to the present site of Chitral bazaar.

The first ancestor that Halim connected directly to the line of Jinjiret Kuh was none other than the famous king Chiu of Chitral (Schomberg 1938:166; Parkes 1983:16; Loude and Lievre 1990:169). Chiu was attacked and defeated by the Rais king[6], a Muslim wazir of the empire of China, who killed him and his son Khurkash, who had founded the village of Khurkashande. The son of Khurkash, Bedana, fled with his own son Jangashingar to Bumburet, where he lived seven years in the village of Krakar under the constant threat of the Rais' forces. Attacked once again, they crossed into Birir and settled in a cave in the gorge of Shang Kui above the village of Gazguru. Here he defended himself and his family for three years, until he was finally attacked by the Rais and killed with his son Jangashingar. Jangashingar, of course, had also a son called Bangush, who again fled after his father's death: this is the founding father of Jinjiret Kuh, who came to the place were the village of Grom now stands, and built himself a tower (*koT*).

When we tried to inquire about the existence of other inhabitants of the valley before the arrival of Bangush, the information we got was too vague to be of any use. Halim Ullah contradicted himself on this point, first stating that he found other Kalasha living there, then that it was uninhabited. Another informant, on the other hand, stated that the previous inhabitants were the ancestors of two small lineages still existing in Jinjiret Kuh, the Shumutudair and the Damuridari or Bashtukdari; these, however, in Halim Ullah's version, are of more recent Bashgali origin.

Halim Ullah, at any rate, was quite determined in stating that the Balalik (Alb. Cacopardo 1974:xxxix-xl; Loude and Lievre 1990:171-3), the mysterious people who are said to have been the inhabitants of Rumbur before the time of Adabog, did not exist in Jinjiret Kuh or Birir. In this he agreed with our informants in the Kalashgum.

We also inquired about the presence of the *bhaira*, the stock of artisan-servants once present in Bumburet and Birir (Parkes 1983:27, 204; Alb. Cacopardo 1974:19), who may be somehow related to the Nuristani *bari*, who, according to Robertson, were believed to be the aboriginals of Nuristan (Robertson 1974: 82, 99-103; Edelberg and Jones 1979:102, Edelberg 1984:xi-xiii). Schomberg (1938:195) reports a tradition stating that the *bhaira* were the aboriginal inhabitants of Birir before the Kalasha arrived there. In Jinjiret Kuh there were four or five families of these people, who were called Bara. They were artisans, who worked wood, built houses, constructed tools such as the plow, and carried wood and cooked bread for the feasts, for the benefit of all members of the

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6. Only when this work was already in press did we receive a copy of the important paper by Wolfgang Holzwarth (this volume) which questions the very existence of the Rais dynasty.

community. They were considered impure, did not intermarry with the Kalasha and were not admitted to the shrines of the gods.

According to Halim Ullah, the Bara were not aboriginals of Jinjiret Kuh but descendants of a group of seven 'wild men' described as very primitive hunter-gatherers, who lived in Balpanch in Shishi Kuh and were captured with a trick by Bangush, with the help of two men from Birir. These seven people, four men and three women, were said to be the ancestors of all the Bara of Jinjiret Kuh and the Kalashgum.

Bangush married a woman from Bumburet and had seven sons. He was killed in his old age during a Nuristani raid. His son Balmush is the first of the ancestors recalled by Halim Ullah who did not die by violence: he lived till his old age and died of illness. His six brothers, however, were all killed in battle and died without issue, except for Shang, whose line was soon extinguished.

At the time of Balmush there was still a single *koT* used as a home, but Balmush himself built a second tower to be used as storehouse and cellar. There was only one goat house at that time (which was called Najan Gosht, and is now destroyed), but they had *kutú* (Parkes 1983:46), or summer huts, by the fields, where, however, they did not dare to spend the night. The fields in those days were only in the right (southern) branch of the valley above Grom, in Pingauga, Duni, Chutikdesh, and Lashtchetrawat. Balmush is also remembered as founder of at least one *déwa dur*. At his death, he was honoured with the erection of an *istorí ghanDáu*, a mounted funerary statue.

Other *ghanDáu* were also erected for five of the six brothers of Balmush: Tazurek, Zika, Bacha, Rabi, and Shang. The latter had a mounted effigy which, contrary to the usual practice, seems to have been located at the Warin Dur. Halim Ullah claimed to have seen with his own eyes at least some of these *ghanDáu*, which had all disappeared at the time of our visit. Balmush had only one wife, who came from Bumburet. This wife gave him a child by the name of Kamiata, who, in Halim Ullah's version, is the last common ancestor of all the Balmushdari, and inherited the original *koT* built by Bangush.

The era of Kamiata must have been somewhat happier than the earlier times of hardship: though incursions from Nuristan certainly still continued, as they do, after all, to this very day, they seem to have been less disastrous if he himself, like most of his descendants, is said to have lived till his old age and died of illness in his bed. Kamiata is also credited with having held the famous *ek azár pai biramór*, of the 400 goats, which very few Kalasha are said to have done: this of course is another sign of his material wealth. It is therefore quite likely that, though our informant did not mention it, he too must have had a *ghanDáu* built at his death.

According to Halim Ullah, Kamiata married a lady from Birga in the Shishi Kuh, who gave him two sons: Kamkawara (or Kamkarwa) was the eldest and Katai the youngest. After their father's death, the sons shared the original *koT* for some time, then Katai built the second *koT* on Godam Punduri Bronz. This is the only one which was unanimously identified by several informants as the northernmost of the two that still stand intact on the square.

Kamkawara married a woman from Bumburet, while Katai got his wife from Urtsun. They both has a *ghanDáu* at their death, though only Kamkawara had made a *biramór* during his life. At this point, the genealogy of the Balmushdari branches off in two directions: the descendants of Katai would have been the first lineage to break away, had they not been converted to Islam before the seventh generation. The two sons of Kamkawara

the heads of the other two main branches of the lineage, which are often called Tarokdari and Maradari. Mara was the elder and it was he who built the third *koT* on the square: this is either the one standing intact to the south of Katai's, or the other one across the square, of which only one floor still remains. Mara also created the fields in the valley of Aruet, where many of his descendants live today. Mara married a girl from Biyon in Birir, who was daughter of one Phazil and sister of one Rakhan. Tarok had two wives, one from Suwir and one from Birir.

At this point, the village was still entirely made of *koT*. The home of Bangush, the storehouse of Balmush, and the more recent buildings of Katai and Mara towered above Godam Punduri Bronz, while a fifth *koT*, which seems to have belonged to the Dumuridari, was located not far down towards the river, where the first floor of the building is still standing. Of course, it is possible that other *koT* once existing have now disappeared, though we were not told about them. It is likely, at any rate, that the Shumutudari had at least one other. With this cluster of impressive towers, the village of Grom must have looked quite different from any of the Kalasha villages that can be seen today, though it is likely that, in those days, it was not the only one in this condition: many *kot* are said to have existed in Kalashgum, though only sparse traces of them survive today (Wutt 1976:139).

The first house of Jinjiret Kuh was built by Tarok for one of his four sons and it can still be seen close to the square below Katai's *koT*. This is one of the only two houses of Kalasha style still existing in Jinjiret Kuh, since all the others have been restructured or rebuilt to suit the Chitrali way of life.

With the children of Tarok and Mara, we are in the generation of the grandfathers of the living elders. At this time the community seems to be thriving with increasing population and wealth. The fact that no more *koT* were built after Mara shows that conditions had become less perilous and the Nuristani incursions less dangerous. The number of *biramór* that were held is also a sign of wealth: Jok, Laalbeg, and Shalibeg, all sons of Tarok, as well as Shash, son of Katai and Pranjulei, his grandson, were all generous donors of this feast.

3. General conclusions: The problem of Kalasha origins

With the above report on Jinjiret Kuh, the data collected in our survey of the converted Kalasha communities of southern Chitral are now completely presented. From this wider perspective, we feel some comments can be made about the controversial question of Kalasha origins and migrations. We certainly do not intend to solve here this complicated issue, but we think that, fitting together old and new data, a few points can be made clear.

The problem of the origins of the last pagans of the Hindukush has always raised the interest and curiosity of researchers and visitors, but the lack of written sources has never allowed any definite conclusion. Two hypotheses have however been formulated by scholars. One supported by Morgenstierne's studies, and shared by Schomberg (1938: 209), Jettmar (1975:325), and Parkes (1983:12), tends to connect the arrival of the Kalasha in the Chitral valley with the early waves of Indo-Aryan migrations. The second one sees them as relatively recent newcomers in the area.

While the former hypothesis has never been much elaborated, the latter, first formulated by Siiger (1956:32-5), has recently been developed at length by Loude and Lievre (1984:34-5; 1990:155-73). We shall, therefore, take it as a point of departure for our considerations.

Siiger and Loude and Lievre attempt to reconstruct the itinerary that finally led the Kalasha to Chitral, on the basis of oral tradition mainly from Rumbur. The well known story (Siiger 1956:33; Loude and Lievre 1990:161-2) tells that a legendary chief by the name of Shalak Shah[7] led his people from a mysterious country called Tsiyam to the Chitral valley, where the Kalasha were for a time their own lords. An established oral tradition from the Kalashgum further remembers the two Kalasha 'kings', Bulasing and Raja Wai, who, according to Loude and Lievre and Siiger, are variously considered brothers or otherwise related and somewhat uncertainly connected by descent to Shalak Shah[8]. The only other remembered Kalasha 'king' is Chiu, who however, is known only as builder of the famous bridge.

The written records of the history of Chitral (published as *Tarikh-e-Chitral* by Ghulam Murtaza in 1962 in an Urdu translation based on a Persian manuscript completed by his father Mirza Ghufran in 1893) date at 1320 A.D. the defeat of Bulasing by Shah Nadir Rais, the Muslim founder of Chitral state (Rahmat Karim Beg, in press), while they give 1531 A.D. as the approximate date of Raja Wai's death (Parkes 1983:21). The accuracy of these dates allows some doubt, which shall not be dispelled until some light is shed on the unquoted sources of *Tarikh-e-Chitral*, possibly early Persian manuscripts so far unidentified (Parkes 1983:17)[9]. However, the agreement with all Kalasha traditions which place their defeat at the hands of the Rais some fifteen generations ago, allows us

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7. According to some reports, Shalak Shah was one of Alexander the Great's generals (Parkes 1983:11), but the legend of a Greek origin of the Kalasha has by now been discarded by scholars. Descent from Alexander, on the other hand, is claimed by several ethnic groups of the Hindukush (Schomberg 1935:106, 129-30, 145; Caroe 1973:44-5) and, according to Caroe, since no trace of his famous campaign appears in the ancient Eastern sources, such legends are to be ascribed to the body of Western knowledge translated into Arabic at the time of the Abbasid Caliphate of Baghdad. Furthermore, linguistic evidence is definitely against such a hypothesis for what concerns the Kalasha, despite unfounded statements common in popular literature such as: 'The Kafir language (Kalashwar) is a mixture of Greek, Persian and Sanskrit, which indicates that the Kafir community is a mixture of Indo-Aryan and Greek races' (Afzal Khan 1975:68).

8. Our own genealogical inquiries with the two best informants in Rumbur (Khoshnawaz and Shah Juwan) afforded a clear connection between Raja Wai (from whose brother the Rajawaidari lineage of Batrik traces descent) and Adabog's father Banguta, the first colonizer of Rumbur, who are considered sons of two of three brothers: Krishnuk, Mirnuk, and Wornuk or Barnuk. Sahil was their father, according to Khoshnawaz, and that is as far back as his impressive genealogical knowledge went. Shah Juwan, on his part, declared to ignore the name of the father of the three brothers. Both informants, therefore, could not establish any connection between them and Shalak Shah. Separate genealogies remounting to Bulasing (ancestor of the Bulasingdari lineage of Brun), said to be the brother of Chiu, have been recorded by us in Bumburet, again with no connection with Shalak Shah.

9. This is exactly the kind of research undertaken by Holzwarth in the paper mentioned above (see fn. 4) which radically questions the common historiography of Chitral.

to accept a loose dating of this conflict (which possibly extended over more than one generation) between the fourteenth and the sixteenth centuries A.D. In the haze of this remote past, Siiger with some caution (1956:34) and Loude and Lievre somewhat more boldly, venture however to make some hypothesis to establish an approximate date for the supposed Kalasha migration into the Kunar valley: 'To date the arrival of the Kalasha in Chitral, we would need to know how many generations separate Bulasing and Raja Wai from their common ancestor, Shalak Shah' (Loude and Lievre 1990:162). With perhaps exceeding trust in the statements of Kazi Khoshnawaz (cf. fn.6 above), who mentioned only four generations, they suggest that the Kalasha possibly appeared in Chitral at the beginning of the fifteenth century, A.D. (on the basis of the date of Raja Wai's death) or, alternatively, at the end of the thirteenth century, on the basis of the earlier date of the defeat of Bulasing by the Rais. Similarly, Siiger (1956:34), relying on Kuwat Shah from Rumbur (who was presumably one of the sources of Khoshnawaz's knowledge), places the Kalasha 'invasion' of Chitral 'some time before the middle of the fifteenth century or a little earlier'.

On the basis of our field research, however, it seems quite clear that whereas the genealogical memories about Raja Wai and Bulasing are likely to have some historical foundation[10], Shalak Shah hovers above the founding fathers of the existing communities in a rather mythical age that does not have an established connection with present society. The four generations given by Khoshnawaz, could just as soon have been some thirty or forty: their significance for the community is not the same as the succeeding ones. Furthermore, the story of Shalak Shah is not universally shared by the Kalasha: this is proved by the fact that of all our informants in Birir, Jinjiret, Urtsun, and the whole Eastern Area, not one mentioned his name. So, if there is a kernel of truth in the Shalak Shah, story of we may assume with Jettmar 'that the newcomers were only a (politically important) strain in the ethnic fabric of the Kalasha' (Jettmar 1975:326; cf. also Siiger 1956:34).

But the strongest objection against the hypothesis of the recent arrival of the Kalasha in Chitral derives directly from linguistic evidence. The language of the Kalasha is closely related to Khowar and, according to Morgenstierne 'probably the two language belong to the first wave of Indo-Aryan immigrants from the south' (1932:51). Khowar, he further remarks, is 'in many respects the most archaic of all modern Indian languages' (Morgenstierne 1974:3). As Siiger (1956:34) himself notes, following a suggestion directly received from Morgenstierne, the common linguistic elements connecting Khowar and Kalashamun 'are deeply rooted in the linguistic structures of both languages, must be very old, and cannot be explained by mere cultural contacts dating back to the fifteenth and the sixteenth century'. We would, therefore, be forced to imagine the Kalasha and the Kho reaching Chitral together about 500 years ago, which would be an extremely far-fetched hypothesis.

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10. The genealogies remounting to founding fathers of present communities, such as Raja Wai, Bulasing, or Adabog, are not mere curiosities, since they have great functional relevance not only as far as the exogamic rule is concerned (see above), but also with regard to disputes about the rights of property on land and real estate in general.

Always on the basis of the Rumbur tradition, Siiger and Loude and Lievre also speculate about the route followed by Shalak Shah on his way to Chitral from the mythical country of Tsiyam. They assume that he followed with his people the Kunar River upstream along a path recalled in the list of place names of the famous *Luli* chant (Morgenstierne 1973:57-65), sung for Joshi, the spring festival. Before that, it is said in Rumbur, the Kalasha stayed for a time in the Waigal Valley, in present Afghan Nuristan. Some grounds to this tradition are given by the fact that the Waigali call themselves Kalasha; moreover, oral records of a migration to Chitral are reported from Waigal (Edelberg and Jones 1979:17).

During our research in the Urtsun valley, however, we learned of the existence of a lineage that reportedly immigrated there from Waigal about six generations ago. As we already suggested (Aug. Cacopardo this volume), the Waigali oral records could very well refer just to that lineage. The common name Kalasha (*kaláSa*) in both cases) is somewhat more puzzling, but linguistic investigations do not authorize any connection between the two groups (Morgenstierne 1974:5 fn.). It could be that such a name was once applied to a wider group, of which the present Waigali and the Kalasha alike could be only fragments. This group might have been something akin to the Sufed Posh, the white-clad Kafirs, that included the Prasuni and the Waigali, and to which the Kalasha of Chitral could have been connected, since the men's traditional dress was woven with white wool.[11] Altogether, we may agree with Morgenstierne that 'it does not seem probable that the Kalasha ever came from Waigal' (1965:189 fn.).

On the other hand, the whole story of the migration from the original homeland of Tsiyam *(tsiyám)* may be seen in a different light if we consider the hypothesis that the name of this country may be connected with toponyms like Sanglechi *Sam* (northern Chitral) or Prasun *šim gul* for Chitral proper (Morgenstierne 1932:47), perhaps related, as Tucci (1977:63, 80-1) suggests, to Syāmarāja, Šāma, Šāmāka, and most likely reflected in the Chinese Shê-mi, Shang-mi which Tucci, along with other scholars, tends to identify with northern Chitral[12] (see also Jettmar 1977:415, 416, 423). The hypothesis seems reasonable in view of the fact that the Kalasha phoneme /ts/ normally corresponds to an Indo-Aryan /š/ (Morgenstierne 1965:198), thus making *Ciyám* virtually identical with Šyāma. In this light, the 'migration' from Tsiyam may simply reflect an expulsion of the Kalasha from (some part of) northern Chitral caused in very ancient times by an expansion of the neighbouring Kho people.

The idea that, after all, the Kalasha may always have been more or less where they are now is not in conflict with the results of our field work. In our investigations about the origins of the various Kalasha communities in the converted and unconverted valleys, we found actually a great variety of reports, while the Waigali connection popular in Rumbur was never mentioned at all was the only exception was Urtsun where, however, the main group of lineages claims as apical ancestor a member of the Kam tribe of Bashgal who married a Kalasha woman (Aug. Cacopardo, this volume). In Jinjiret Kuh,

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11. Would it be too daring to suggest a connection between this wider 'Kalasha' group and the *kaSa* or *khaSa* evoked by Tucci (1977:82) in connection with Ch'ieh-shih?

12. Only when this article was already in press did we realize (thanks to the author himself) that Parkes (1991:78 fn.) had independently formulated the very same hypothesis.

as we have just seen, the main group claims to have come from Khurkashande (Chitral) and two small lineages from Bashgal.

The population of Birir, unlike that of Rumbur, does not descend from only one ancestor. An important section, the Sunachaidari, which comprises the *Kam* of the Ghilasurdari, Baburadari, Awazedari, and Aliksherdari of Gurul and Aspar, claims Bashgali descent (Majam). Three lineages from the upper village of Biyou, the Punjapaodari, the Jangudari, and the Manjabekdari, on the other hand, have memory of a founding ancestor, Bangule, born miraculously from a girl of the Shishi Kuh valley.

The situation is even more complicated in Bumburet, where it is equally impossible to trace the whole population of the valley back to a common ancestor. Only some lineages, as we have seen, are related with the people of Rumbur, and may therefore be somehow connected with the epic of Shalak Shah, i.e. the Rachikoshdari and Bumburdari of Krakar, the Rajawaidari of Batrik, and possibly the Budadari of Kandarisar. Of the others, the ones of Anish village (the Ashpayindari and the Baramukdari) claim to be autochthonous and no memory is kept of any former residence. Then there is a lineage, the Turikadari of Darasguru, who is said to have arrived from Wirishikgum (Yasin), and another, the Bazikdari of Brun, that claims again Bashgali origin.

All these oral traditions, of course, are no less (or more) reliable than the one referring to Waigal heard in Rumbur. What happened is that, since research from Morgenstierne onwards was carried out mainly through informants from Rumbur, a tale of origin peculiar to that valley has been applied to the whole Kalasha population. This flaw appears, for example, in Loude and Lievre's work where they discuss the role of Nanga Dehar in the original migration of the Kalasha from Tsiyam (1990:174). In their informant's account, it is the god Balimain who directs the great shaman to guide the people to Bumburet. And since this particular god is only worshipped by the people of Rumbur and Bumburet, it is easy to argue that such a tradition only concerns those two northern valleys. As we have already remarked, the results of our survey in Lower Chitral indeed seem to indicate that the southern cultural complex surviving in Birir can probably be considered the main stem from which the northern variety branched out. And it could very well be that the northern complex with its peculiar Balimain cult represents a specific reaction to the increasing pressure of Islam. A movement that did not involve the southern valleys of Birir, Jinjiret Kuh, and Urtsun, nor, most likely, the Eastern Area.

If we really want to draw conclusions on the basis of oral tradition, the point is that when we consider all the data available, we find that there are tales of origins from the south, the east, the west, and the north; and, as far as their own memory is concerned, we get the impression that the Kalasha could have come just about from any direction. This may actually indicate that the area occupied by the Kalasha in a more distant past was simply somewhat larger than the area classically ascribed to them, i.e. at least all southern Chitral, perhaps extending further south in the Kunar to border with the Waigali tribe; perhaps extending west into parts or side valleys of Bashgal, before the Kam arrived there (Robertson 1974:158-60; Morgenstierne 1932:52); perhaps, in more remote days, extending into large parts of northern Chitral. [7]

To sum up our argument, we think that for the reasons listed above, the hypothesis of a relatively recent arrival of the Kalasha in Chitral suggested by Siiger and Loude and Lievre, must be ruled out. On the contrary, as remarked by Parkes about Dardic and Kafiri people in general, the results of linguistic investigation strongly indicate 'that they

must have arrived in this area around the time of the earliest Aryan migrations into North Western India, i.e. from the end of the second millennium B.C.' (Parkes 1983:12). The most likely hypothesis, therefore, is that Khowar and Kalashamun developed from a common language in Chitral itself, in agreement with Schomberg's suggestion that the whole of Chitral was once inhabited by one people (1938:209). This was also the conviction of some of our informants, although it is difficult to say whether they just referred to the fact that the Kho as well were once 'pagans'.

One last point is now left to investigate. Did the Kalasha find Chitral uninhabited or did they supplant or subjugate an autochthonous group? And, in this case, who were these people? Loude and Lievre (1990:109, 222-4, 293-4), following Jettmar (1961:93) suggest that the Kalasha religious system is a synthesis of Indo-Aryan elements and local cultural forms. As we have seen, the oral tradition of the Kalashgum relates that the valleys were formerly inhabited by a mysterious people called Balalik (see also Morgenstierne 1932:47). This is a very well established tradition and every Kalasha knows about them. According to one of our main informants (Shah Juwan of Rumbur) the Balalik were Kalasha as well, but others declared that they were of a different stock. Both Parkes (1983:205) and Loude and Lievre (1990:172) identify them with the Dangarik whom they consider to be — agreeing on this point with Schomberg (1938:195) — the indigenous and conquered population of southern Chitral. While we cannot rule out the possibility that the Balalik were the indigenous non-Kalasha people of lower Chitral, it seems quite certain that they have nothing to do with the so-called Dangariks. This term is applied to this day to a small group inhabiting the Ashret and Byori valleys just below the Lowari pass (Biddulph 1986:64), who speak an archaic form of Shina, called Palula (Morgenstierne 1932:54), and claim to have come from the area of Chilas in the Indus Valley.

Thanks to the courtesy of Inayatullah Faizi and Ahmad Sayid of Chitral, we have been able to learn the results of a very extensive genealogical inquiry carried out by these two Chitrali researchers, who have reconstructed the story of the original migration of these people from the area of Chilas (precisely the Darel valley) under the leadership of two brothers, Choke and Machoke (Ahmad Sayid:1987; Inayatullah Faizi:1989). The first is considered the ancestor of the people of Ashret, who call themselves Palulo, while the second settled in Northern Chitral, where his descendants now living in Laspur valley and in Kushum (Mulkho) have lost the language in favour of Khowar. The story of Choke and Machoke's migration after their quarrel with their elder brother Bote in Chilas has been independently recorded in Laspur, in Ashret, and in Darel, their original land, as well as in various other places, such as Sau near Asmar, a village where Palula is also spoken. Even Biddulph (1986:16) heard it in Chilas. The events are said to have taken place some thirteen to fifteen generations ago, which are all remembered in detail by some living elders. It may, therefore, be dated some time around the middle of this millennium. From various details of the different legends of this cycle, it may be easily concluded that the immigrants had a pre-Muslim religion (obviously Shina) which had elements in common with that of the Kalasha.

Moreover, Ahmad Sayid has collected a detailed narrative which relates how, upon his arrival in Ashret at the time of the Rais, Choke and his people conspired with part of the local Kalasha population to overthrow a petty Kalasha ruler who had managed to impose on his people a primitive form of tribute (Ahmad Sayid:1987). A detailed treatment of this whole matter, which sheds some light on some important points of the

Kalasha past, deserves a separate study, which we hope to carry out in the future. For the time being, at any rate, it is safe to conclude that, contrary to the above mentioned assumption, it was the Dangarik who found the Kalasha in Chitral when they first arrived there.

One of the versions given in the Kalashgum about the fate of the Balalik tells that at one point they fled to Byori and Kalkatak to escape slavery. Our own field work in this area seems to indicate that the people of the two lower villages of Byori valley, Damaret[13] and Mingal, are indeed related to the Kalasha of Kalkatak, as descendants of two brothers, respectively called Thondi and Dhondi. Could it be that these people are actually the offspring of the Balalik, who would thus be identified as a particular Kalasha sub-tribe who have later adopted Palula under the influence of the Dangarik of upper Byori village[14]. This would perhaps explain the confusion between Balalik and Dangarik.

Loude and Lievre (1990:172) also connect the Balalik with the *bhaira*. Parkes similarly specifies that 'there were several orders of Bhaira, including a separate caste of true slaves derived from the indigenous conquered populations of lower Chitral (the so-called Dangarik and Balalik)' (1983:204-5). Since the Bhaira become those who violate the exogamic rule, it is obvious that many of these outcasts cannot be descendants of the Balalik; but it is possible that the first Bhaira were actually subdued indigenous people. It seems wise, however, to keep them distinct from the Balalik, as the Kalasha usually do. This is also confirmed by the that in Rumbur we find the Balalik, but, in the common notion, not the Bhaira, whereas in Jinjiret Kuh and Urtsun, they had the Bara, but no trace of the Balalik.

Summing up, speculations about the Balalik remain highly hypothetical. They may have been, as we have suggested, of Kalasha stock, but we cannot exclude the possibility that they were rather the remains of some autochthonous people inhabiting the Hindukush before the arrival of the Indo-Aryans. Furthermore, they may have been just another Indo-European group who populated some side valleys of Chitral in the Kalasha era of glory.

At any rate, the mere support of oral tradition is not enough to establish any sound conclusion about the pre-Kalasha population of Chitral. Only with the help of archaeological investigation, which has so far never been carried out in Chitral, will we be able to shed some light on this fascinating subject.

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13. The ending in *-et*, according to Morgenstierne, is typical of Kalasha toponyms (1965:190).

14. Since to have Kalasha ascendants is considered highly disgraceful by the Muslim population of Chitral (cf. Alb. Cacopardo, this volume), we are aware of the responsibility we are assuming in suggesting that these communities might be of Kalasha stock. Yet, to be true to science, we feel we cannot omit to formulate a hypothesis that, on the basis of our data, seems to have some grounds. Still, it is only a hypothesis, and as such it is open to further investigation.

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Comments on Cacopardos' papers

Schuyler Jones: I was particularly interested in the plea in the Cacopardo paper to have some of the early buildings preserved. There is clearly scope for a great deal more research in these areas. I welcome the suggestion that more linguistic research is needed.

Nawaz Tair: Some place names are also being changed in Swat and Dir. Those names also have historical significance. Historical names of villages and various places should be kept intact.

Kalasha Oral Literature and Praise Songs

*Peter Parkes**

In this paper I outline aspects of my current research on Kalasha oral literature, based upon material collected since 1972 (see Parkes 1975). My interest in this field is both archival and theoretical: to document a rich indigenous culture of verbal arts, and to use this material to examine processes in the transmission, elaboration, and reception of traditional knowledge in a predominantly non-literate society.[1]

Oral genres

Kalasha oral literature comprises a wide range of different genres or speed styles, corresponding with different social contexts of verbal expression. Following Kalasha terms (Fig. 1), one can broadly distinguish between prose narratives or 'stories' (*kisá*), on the one hand, and 'songs' (*gřhū*) on the other. This distinction between prose and verse is particularly important, since Kalasha prose narratives are not normally recited on public occasions; they rather provide what one might call 'backstage' stock of knowledge, told in relatively private contexts, that is, drawn upon for the more formal composition of songs and recitative speech. Compared with many societies where story telling is a more public event, Kalasha prose stories seem relatively free or unstructured in form and

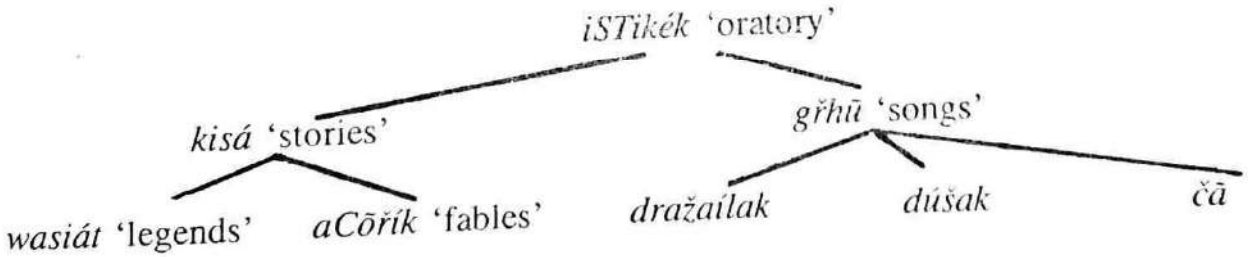

Figure 1 Kalasha oral genres

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1. I am grateful to the Leverhulme Trust for a three-year research fellowship on Kalasha Language, Music and Performance' at the Department of Social Anthropology and Ethnomusicology at Queen's University, Belfast. Field research on Kalasha oral tradition and music in 1989 was funded by the Economic and Social Research Council, U.K. (Grant R000 22 1087), while my attendance at the 2nd International Hindu Kush Cultural Conference in Chitral was supported by a grant from the Queen's University of Belfast. I am indebted to Saifullah Jan and Kazi Khosh Nawaz of Rumbur valley for assistance in this research, and to Jonathan Stock's collaboration in subsequent musical analysis.

content. Unlike what we know of their Afghan Kafir neighbours in the nineteenth century, for example, the Kalasha seem to have little indigenous prose literature that might be called 'myth' (Parkes 1991).

Prose narratives or *kisá* are comprised of two main type of story. Most important are historical traditions or legends that the Kalasha call *wasiát*. These may be translated as 'testaments' or 'stories of advise' from elders (for the Kalasha here conflate the Persian-Arabic loan words *wasiāt* and *nasiāt*), consisting of lineage legends that recount all the famous activities of patrilines (*kam*) of ancestors, over seven or more generations, down to living elders. Secondly, there are what Kalasha call *aCōřík*, which we may translate as 'fables', being typically wonder tales about kings and princesses, or Aesopian animal fables. These fables are of great comparative interest, for it is primarily in this genre that the Kalasha absorb much of the prose literature of their neighbours: not only common Persian and Indian folktales, but also, intriguingly, some of the religious mythology of the Afghan Kafirs. Yet such stories are clearly marked as non-serious fables, typically with an opening 'once upon a time' (*kaimína*) phrase, and with the use of a special verbal tense for hearsay narrative that Morgenstierne termed a 'second, narrative preterit' (1973:230-1). Despite the significance of such fables in the shaping of Kalasha knowledge, I refer in this paper only to *wasiát* traditions about lineage ancestors, which provide an essential contextual background for understanding Kalasha praise songs.

Between pure prose and verse lies an intermediary genre of what might be called recitative speech, consisting of oratory (*iSTikék*) and also prayer (*suál*). Panegyric oratory is in many respect more closely related to the praise songs that I shall be treating below than these are related to other type of Kalasha song. For oratory similarly consists of regular phrases (*khóNDi mun*) of speech, usually between five and ten words, interspersed with shouts of praise (*SabáS! šehé ~ !*) from listeners, enunciated in a quasi-musical prosody that moves from high to low pitch. Oratorical speech also closely follows the narrative structure of *wasiát* legends, typically reciting the famous deeds of a patriline of ancestors, generation by generation down to living elders, so that they may last up to twenty minutes. Praise songs, particularly those of spontaneous composition (*nom-noménk gřhū*), might therefore be characterized as abbreviated versions of oratory, subject to more stringent metrical rules; while oratory is often merely a formalized and abbreviated verbal expression of *wasiát* legends. One should recognize, however, that oratory and song are contextually distinct modes of panegyric expression, contrastively marked by the absence or presence of drumming and dancing as their accompaniment, and frequently alternating as separate performances at funerals and feasts. Legend, oratory, and song also appear to have separate but interdependent, roles in the cognitive organization of Kalasha historical knowledge (Parkes 1975:47-71).

Songs

Kalasha songs may be classed according to their thematic content, distinguishing 'praise songs' (*namusí gřhū*), for example, from 'love songs' (*ašekí gřhū*) and 'lullabies' (*išpaDék gřhū*); or according to their appropriate festal season (e.g., Joshi songs, Uchao songs, Chaumos songs). But cutting across such thematic varieties is a more pertinent distinction

of these basic types of song recitation, corresponding to these associated styles of dancing on festal occasions — those of *dražaílak, dúšak*, and *čā*. These three styles of song-and-dance regularly alternate as successive 'rounds' (*ráu*) at Kalasha festal performances, accompanied by distinct types of drumming and dancing, which may be characterized as follows (cf. Kojima 1986):

a. Firstly, the *dražaílak* mode of singing, which may be translated as 'stretched' or 'prolonged' recitation, is the most textually focused and elaborate style. It typically consists of ten or more lines of verse, sung according to a regular 17-syllabic metre in a prolonged two-tonal chant, which requires a breath pause after the seventh syllable. After repeated solo recitation by a singer, allowing an audience to memorize the verse, the song is taken up by male and female singers in an intentionally staggered 'heterophonic' chorus, followed by dancing to the accompaniment of slow drumming, where the song is again collectively repeated by dancers (see Appendix). The accompanying dance (*dražaílak naT*) is a stately procession of long chains or 'lines' (*tren, šaŋgř'āyak*) of men and women linked shoulder to shoulder, shuffling in a slow side-step counter-clockwise around the central drummers and singers at the dancing place. The performative emphasis is thus upon collective recitation of the singer's verse rather than upon virtuosity in dancing.

b. Secondly, the *dúšak* style is an abbreviated and faster paced rendition of singing, following a similar melodic contour to the *dražaílak* mode but being more loosely structured metrically. Most songs in this style are of traditional rather than original composition, although it may also be used for brief panegyric. Unlike *dražaílak* singing, however, dancing beings at the same time as solo recitation, and dancers sing quite separate verses, usually traditional refrains. For the majority of people, the song therefore provides an appropriate context for dancing rather than being a focal object of listening. Dancing in the *dúšak* mode is indeed a more vigorous performance, accompanied by faster drumming. It consists of short chains of four to eight people, shuffling sideways at a quick pace for eight or nine steps before sharply retreating to the edge of the dancing place in order to stampede forward and collide into another chain of dancers with the excited shout *dusiá! ha! ha! ha!* 'We confront, ha! ha! ha!' Kicking up clouds of dust, the dance movements supposedly represent the clashing of wild goats in the mountains.

c. Thirdly, the *čā* or 'clapping' style of song-and-dance has minimal emphasis upon song composition and maximal emphasis upon virtuosity in performance and dancing. *čā* songs are invariably of traditional rather than of individual composition, usually short refrains of just one or two lines, frequently in praise of spirits rather than humans, although this style includes some elaborate traditional lyrics such as the Daginai and Luli songs of the Joshi spring festival (Morgenstierne 1973:50-65). Lines of verse are repeatedly taken up in turn by a circle of male singers, clapping in time to a fast pace of drumming, while others are dancing. In the *čā naT* dance, partners of either sex form groups of three or four, which pivot around like a wheel three times in either direction before leaping off in a counter-clockwise direction to begin pivoting on new site. As the dance develops, individuals disengage to demonstrate their virtuosity in

dance: women twirl with elaborate hand gestures (*bazú· kai*), while men perform more vigorous hops and leaps, whistling with their fingers and brandishing sticks or dancing-axes (*prečéu*), reminiscent of the warrior dances of the Afghan Kafirs described by Robertson (1896:617–22, 627).

In the context of these song-and-dance styles, the *dražaílak* is clearly distinguished by its emphasis upon individual song composition. Indeed, newly composed songs in this style are repeated three or more times to ensure their collective memorization — so that an entire performance may last up to an hour. We should also note that these three styles, which ideally alternate as a sequence, seem expressly organized to provide both aesthetic variety as well as distinct opportunities for both individual and collective performance; i.e., all people have an opportunity to sing while dancing; most adult men will contribute at least a line of traditional verse in the *čā* style; some individuals may compose brief songs for a small circle of elders in the *dúšak* style; or they may have lengthier songs collectively memorized in the *dražaílak* style. The letter therefore foregrounds song composition as its central performance, being designed to permanently instill such composition in collective memory.

Composition

How, then, do Kalasha compose praise songs in the *dražaílak* style? As I have indicated, these songs follow quite precise metrical rules of syllabic length and stress for singing (see Appendix). Yet unlike many societies with comparable panegyric verse, the Kalasha have no truly professional class of praise singers. *dražaílak* songs should in fact be recited by all senior men or 'elders' (*gaDérak*) invited to a feast or festival in public recognition of their hosts, whose women reciprocally honour singers with finger-woven sashes and garlands (*čitróyak, šumán*). A large proportion of adult Kalasha men have therefore learned an implicit grammar or formulaic 'tool-kit' for the composition of such songs.

A lineage elder (*kam gaDérak*), for example, may be invited to the feast or funeral of some other elder, of whom he feels obliged to compose a praise song. First, he needs to know some noteworthy deeds in the life of his host, and of his host's lineal ancestors, that will provide a sufficiently glorious theme for the song. These details a singer might pick up from oratorical speeches and other songs at the festival itself. But to compose a memorable song in advance he would probably need to consult some recognized expert on the *wasiát* legends of the man's lineage ancestors (someone like Kazi Khosh Nawaz in Rumbur, for example). He need not memorize such legends in their entirety, merely requiring brief allusions to some memorable deeds man's ancestors that should recall the full legends to other listeners, ideally suggesting some thematic continuity with the life of the elder being praised.

A. Song of Jirman (Bulasing-nawau lineage, Brun, Bumburet)

1. *SábaS o mími hátia,/ mutimír nawáu že bakár nawáu!*
   Bravo to you, descendants of Mutimir and descendants of Bakar!

2. *básun mastrúk dranále,/ rúa ghaziná bíana čhalés.*
The month of spring emerged, and you pulled out a silver treasure.

3. *ǰamíli-Sír ásale,/ ta(s)i ǰagái, khošán tre kaláSa deš.*
It was your clanswomen, and looking at them, they please the three Kalasha communities.

4. *loT móndro kíla déke?/ aSóis tai durúST že mraT-n'ōřik*
What great talk shall we give? It became so beautiful at your doorway and beneath your mulberry tree.

B. Song of Janduli Khan (Mutimire-nawau lineage, Rumbur)

1. *SábaS o tai hátia,/ mai išpašur, šerbeka pílin bek!*
Bravo to you, my father-in-law, Sherbek's (son) Pilin Bek!

2. *sat góSTai pai lasála/ tai báyalo, daǰál že šuralá*
From seven stables he freed the goats, your brother(s) Dajal and Shurala.

3. *pútrao šer khan namChiri/ -kán uphuǰúna, súči anóga dhap.*
Your son Sher Khan first-named he was born, (at the) *suči* spirit's waterless hill.

4. *rúa že s'ūřa-o pirí/ gála, thárao kaláSa-grom.*
Piling up gold and silver he went, up there in Kalashagrom.

5. *tai sadakát dewláto/ ughúzi pirís, tai kaláSa-grom.*
Your sincere wealth swarming (like bees), it filled your Kalashagrom.

6. *pútrao mizók bíra-kumbřá/ lasála, thárao puNDúri-šat*
Your son Mizok cross-horned he-goats he let free, up there at Punduri-shat.

7. *tré-gř'ūřak bíra Sumber/ -ái lasála, thárao khóNDawiST son.*
Triplet he-goats in front he let free, up there at Khondawisht Pass.

8. *khóNDawiST cónani oS/ -thūř čhínila, tai bíra kambūř'āk.*
From Khondawisht Pass the icicle he broke, your cross-horned he-goat.

There are two main themes of praise or renown (*namús*) that are appropriate as topics of panegyric: those concerning the prosperity of a man, such as his successful management of a large household, together with his wealth in goats or land; and his personal achievements or prowess as an elder. These attributes sometimes trivial in real life, may be poetically heightened by the use of an extensive repertoire of traditional epithets for renown (see Songs A and B for illustration). The patriarch of a large extended household, for example, may be referred to as a 'king bee' (*maCérik Sa*) commanding a prosperous 'beehive' (*maCérik mřū*) of married sons, or as the main 'roofbeam' (*baš*) supporting his house. His property, particularly if he and his ancestors have given feasts in the past, will

be referred to as 'ancient wealth' (*báluS dewalát*) or as a 'gold and silver treasure' (*rúa že s'ūřā khaziná*) poured out in feasting (Song A, line 2; Song B, line 4). His goats if he is a major herd-owner, are invariably 'cross-horned' (*Si-kumbř'āřa*) or 'sacred' (*'ōǰiSTa*), connoting some special relationship with the spiritual world (Song B, lines 6–8).

Such epithets are elements of recurrent phases, which form the traditional building blocks from which Kalasha praise songs are largely constructed. They are indeed typical 'formulas' or formulaic expressions: characteristic features of oral composition, as exemplified in the pioneering work of Milman Parry and Albert Lord (see Lord 1960) on South Slavic oral epics (cf. Finnegan 1977:58–87). Kalasha song composers can thus draw upon substantial chunks of metrically appropriate verse for singing. Opening lines, for example, tend to be narrowly stereotyped: an exclamation of 'bravo!' (*SabáS*), followed by the lineage identity of the elder (named as descendant or grandson, *nawáu*, of an ancestor) and the singer's kinship relationship with him (Song A, line 1, Song B, line 1). Closing lines are equally regular, serving to alert an audience that the song may now be repeated in chorus. They end typically with expression of modesty in attempting to convey sufficient praise (Song A, line 4), or that to recount fully all the deeds of an elder would be like a 'water channel that will never come to an end' (*dríga žai uk nási ne draSníu*).

There are also common formulas for other lines of verse, particular those of time (e.g. 'the month of spring emerged...' Song A, line 2) or of location, such as crossing over named mountain passes (Song B, lines 7–8). Neighbouring peoples or places are also alluded to with regular epithets: Chitralis, for example, are inevitably a 'white butterfly army' (*ghóra paCh'ōřik báu*, presumably from their spotless clothing), and Chitral itself is typically a 'golden bazaar' (*s'ūřa bazár*, see Song C below, lines 11 and 14) or a 'great city' (*ghóna šarán*); while neighboring Nuristani peoples, notorious for their rustling of Kalasha herds, are disparaged as 'black cruel folk' (*kríSna ázur-lok*), 'wearers of dead men's skins' (*náSTa postiǰigón*), or 'eaters of calf stomachs' (*baCh'ōřa zárai-tok*)!

Formulaic phrases thus provide an extensive repertoire of metrically appropriate verse for the construction of praise songs. Yet a memorable composition obviously cannot be built upon stock formulas alone.

Creativity

The two brief songs I have used to illustrate formulaic composition are by no means masterpieces of Kalasha oral literature. They are somewhat mechanical compositions, heavily dependent upon stock praise formulas, which is why they served as useful examples. Both were composed during the Joshi festival in Rumbur valley in May 1976, and they were obviously intended to be no more than token gestures of praise for Rumbur elders. The first song (A), for example, merely names two major lineage groups (*kam*) in Rumbur, praising the beauty of their women at the dancing place, who appear like a silver treasure' in the singer's eyes. The second song (B) is more detailed: it names specific individuals, sons of Sherbek (of the *Balōřé-nawáu* lineage of Kalashagrom village in Rumbur), commemorating the wealth they amassed and the great mortuary feast given

on the death of Sherbek, likened to a 'swarming of bees'. Reference to their herding prowess in the pastures in the last three lines also alludes to *wasiát* legends about this family's special relationship with the *súči* spirits of the mountains.

Even in simple praise songs, therefore, we note the use of allusion to *wasiát* legends (as well as echoes of other songs), which implies a reliance upon extensive shared knowledge with one's audience to make otherwise oblique formulaic expressions personally meaningful. The significance of this shared background knowledge is perhaps neglected by scholars who regard formulaic language as a 'paralysis' of verbal expression, even as an ideological reinforcement of 'traditional authority' in non-literate societies, through its apparent constrains upon creative communication (e.g. Bloch 1974; cf. Irvine 1979). I would rather emphasize that the very ambiguity of meaning inherent in formulaic expression actively encourages an audience to search for personal 'implication' in such verse, with reference to a vast repertoire of shared traditional knowledge (including gossip) that is especially characteristic of small-scale communities. Kalasha singers indeed presume such mutual knowledge in ironically employing formulaic expressions to convey personal allusions.

To suggest the nature and extent of this shared knowledge, I take as my final example a more elaborate form of Kalasha praise poetry: the song of Buda (Song C), which represents a more skilful type of Kalasha panegyric that is likely to be preserved in collective memory and to be repeated in subsequent generations. To begin with, one needs to know that Buda, aged over seventy years in 1976 (when I first recorded his song), is one the most senior elders (*gáDa baSára*) of Rumbur and the valley's most prestigious feast-giver, as well as being recognized master of song composition. His wealthy family, of the Mutimie-nawau lineage (mentioned in Song A), has also provided many of the *asakal* 'headmen' of Rumbur over the last three generations. His song, as we shall see, honours his paternal cousin Mashar, himself a renowned elder who pioneered Kalasha enfranchisement from feudal servitude as a political in the early 1950's. But directly eulogized in the song is Mashar's father, Fauch, who was *asakal* 'headman' of Rumbur in the 1920's and 1930's (see Morgenstierne 1973:170 *paúS*, photograph p. 260).

C. Song of Buda (Mutimire-nawau lineage, Kalashagrom)

1. *tu pári-o paChíak,/ l'ūři že ǰagái-o, piSTyáka í!*
   You go, little bird, look and see, and come back!

2. *mai dizik-wéu ta suál/ -ghir húla, rukmúla gřářūří*
   At my time of creation a prayer-assembly happened, of Rumbur menfolk.

3. *šum zamaná parále,/ badél húla, khubí že jawalí.*
   The bad time went away, changed it became, for goodness and affection.

4. *šató manzúr árale,/ niméšila, álai parwadigár*
   That (prayer) he accepted, having written it, up-there the Creator.

5. *mai wasiyát uphrái, ba/cí kai dyéte, rúa že s'ūřa híu.*
   My advice uphold, in pocket keep (it), it will become silver and gold.

6. *kúlani bátia ira / gá hūle, Da ǰagawálak híu.*
   From a goat-pen the kids became alike, admirable to look at.

7. *šaté khiálai grí-o,/ a modés pai, piNDúri Si že brho.*
   Those thoughts seizing, I wandered, around the peaks and mountains.

8. *dandíli mun že othák/ šai khaNDér-o, šára niwárim a.*
   At Dandili peak and Othak-meadow in the ridge, markhor I will separate.

9. *zinaganí ta šamún/ -mi húle, mai deš že dunyá.*
   Life so-much-indeed became, (for) my community and world.

10. *SábaS o tai hátya-e,/ mai báyao, wazír dadáa putr!*
    Bravo to you, my brother, a wise father's son!

11. *khóNDawiST son bihóTi,/ bigházi pai, čhetráu s'ūřa bazár*
    Khondawisht Pass crossing over, spreading out you went, (to) Chitral golden bazaar.

12. *tu ta tará nisí-o,/ pursán ári, dádao mušakatí.*
    You (were) sitting down there, a petition making, (over) your father's troubles.

13. *sé-o biná že maha/ lúm háwau, dádao karíli krom.*
    This news and knowledge became, your father's doing deed.

14. *šasé khabár íta-o,/ Chómai átau, ghóra paCh'ōřek báu.*
    That news having come, to earth it fell, the white butterfly army.

15. *tai ta maksád puráe,/ ačhíni-o, brikho armán akhér.*
    Your purpose fulfilled, it ended, with death's passion in the end.

16. *šandái piSTyák-o duni/á ǰagéme, ki-khé ~ baró paríu.*
    From here afterwards the world I will look at, just how time will go.

First, a free translation of the song, which I have punctuated to reflect Kalasha prosody:

1. Fly away little bird, look and see, and come back!
2. At my time of birth a great prayer was made by the menfolk of Rumbur:
3. That the bad times should go, and be exchanged for goodness and love
4. God accepted that prayer, having written it up in heaven
5. Uphold my advice and keep it close, for it will become gold and silver
6. Kids from one goat-pen appear alike, admirable to look at!
7. Thinking these thoughts I went wandering, over the peaks and mountains
8. In the ridge between Dandili and Othak pastures (in Rumbur) I stalk markhor
9. Life is so rich, for my valley and my world
10. Now bravo to you, my brother, who is a wise man's son!
11. Crossing Khondawisht pass, you cam down to Chitral, that golden bazaar
12. You sat yourself down there, petitioning over your father's troubles

13. This became famous news, the work of your father's doing
14. With that news the 'white butterfly army' (of Chitralis) fell to earth
15. Your purpose was thus fulfilled, in death there was passion in the end
16. Now I look back at the world...and I wonder how times will pass.

I should explain that, like all good poets, Buda breaks some of the implicit rules of song composition that I outlined earlier. Indeed, he creatively mixes two sub-genres of *dražaílak* composition: those of contemplative verse (in the first 9 lines), followed by a true panegyric for his paternal cousin (starting with the formulaic 'bravo' of line 10). I should also add that Buda further misleads his audience by using the characteristic opening verse for a love song (*ašekí gřhū*) in his first line, where the 'little bird' conventionally refers to a messenger between lovers!

Turning to the thematic content of his song, we see that its first half (lines 1 to 9) is mainly self-reflective. In line 2, Buda recalls that his father had given a great sacrificial feast at his birth, where all the people of Rumbur gathered to pray for his long life; and in line 4, he implies that their prayers on that occasion also resulted in the general welfare of Rumbur as a whole, its passage from evil to good times (line 3), which was largely achieved through his own family's political leadership. As an aged elder, he now advises his successors to follow his example (line 5) and to heed his precious words of advice. The remarks of line 6, on 'kids from one goat-pen appearing alike' contain a private allusion, as we shall shortly see; but they are generally interpreted to mean that the grandsons of his illustrious family appear equal in glory to their forefather. In lines 8 to 9, Buda reflects on his good fortune, contemplating retirement in the mountain pastures where he will hunt wild markhor, and he concludes with some self-satisfaction about his life and times.

The second half of the song (from line 10) is directly addressed to Buda's paternal cousin Mashar, commemorating his father's successful petitioning at the Mehtar's court to reclaim property in Rumbur that had been encroached upon by Chitrali neighbours. Following a characteristic poetic formula for such petitioning, he crosses over the Khondawisht mountain pass from Rumbur to Chitral, successfully pleading his case with the Mehtar so as to confound the 'white butterfly army' of Chitralis (in line 14). Finally (in line 15), Buda alludes to the great mortuary feast given on the death of Mashar's father, concluding with his hopes for the future of the Rumbur community, now under the leadership of his son. Thus, by addressing a close agnate, Buda skillfully conveys a fair amount of self-glorification (for himself and his son) without overt boasting.

Such is synopsis of the meaning of this song as it is generally understood by other Kalasha. But I should point out that there are deeper and more personal allusions, also conveyed through formulaic phrase, which even a general Kalasha audience might miss. Taking just line 6, the verse about 'kids from one goat-pen being all of one colour; this was widely interpreted as referring to the singer's lineage grandsons ('kid goats') being alike in virtue ('of one colour') to their ancestors; or, more literally, it was said to refer to Buda's own recent feast (a *sariék* assembly feast to commemorate the award of dowry), where he actually distributed kids of one colour to his daughters. But the singer himself explained that the verse had a more private allusion for his own family. In his words: "My son had taken a second wife by elopement, and I had long been angry about this, having arranged his first marriage myself; but now that he has children born from both wives,

I find these grandchildren equal in my eyes—they are like kid goats of one colour, coming from one stable." Thus pointed allusions can be directed at specific people (e.g. between family members, lovers, or political rivals) through an intentionally ironic employment of formulaic expressions.

Conclusions

Much of my current research on Kalasha oral literature and performance concerns such ambiguities of meaning inherent in formulaic verse, comparing the 'intended' and received meanings of singer and audience, which may illuminate how shared frameworks of interpretation may emerge in non-literate cultures such as that of the Kalasha. But apart from this theoretical interest, I hope to have shown that Kalasha oral literature is of greater complexity than may be apparent without the background knowledge that locally informs it. Indeed, it seems more elaborate in semantic scope and poetic creativity than much of what we know of the verbal arts of neighbouring peoples (cf. Morgenstierne 1967; Morgenstierne and Wazir Ali Shah 1960), evincing an ancient legacy of epic praise recitation in the Hindukush that perhaps now uniquely survives among the Kalasha.

APPENDIX: Syllabic Metre and Vocal Style in *dražaílak* Recitation[2]

Kalasha *dražaílak* lyrics are organized as a series of regular 17-syllable verses or lines (*khóNDi*) with occasional use of padding syllables (*loghát mun*). In prosaic enunciation or 'spoken recitation of songs' (*maíli kai gřhū dyek*), verses are prosodically segmented as two measured sections of 11 and 6 syllables, with particular emphasis on the final segment (Figure 2, syllables 12–17), usually marked by a comma in my transcriptions. Phonetic stress, which coincides with vowel length, appears metrically indeterminate in verse construction, although final segments tend to have a predominant 'iambic' pattern, their first stressed syllable also being strongly accented and enunciated in a higher pitch in spoken recitation. Final segments, which are most frequently formulaic epithets, may also be used as 'deferred' subjects or agents of preceding phrases in the verse, inverting normal (Subject-Object-Verb) Kalasha word order.

In sung recitation (*gřhū dyéli kai*), lines of verse are alternatively divided into two distinct phrases of 7 and 10 syllables, separated by a breath pause in singing that invariably occurs after the 7th syllable, irrespective of word boundaries and thus frequently bisecting words (e.g. Song C, lines 5, 6, 13). Rhythmic and melodic treatment similarly corresponds with syllabic order, irrespective of phonetic stress. Figure 2 shows a sample line of verse (Song C, line 2) in the initial solo rendition of (*dražaílak*) singing, divided for purposes of reference into eight rhythmic and melodic motifs:

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2. Musical analysis and transcription by Jonathan Stock (adapted from Parkes and Stock n.d.).

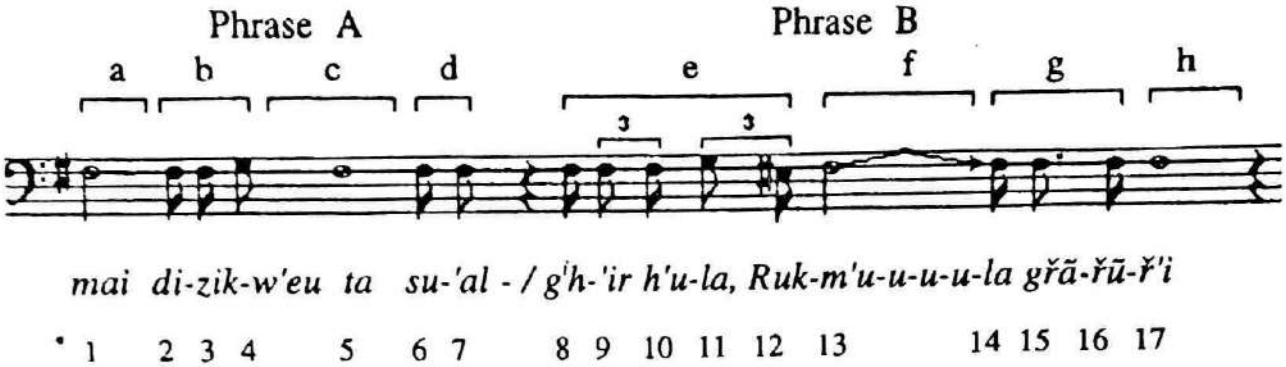

Figure 2 Phrase, motif, and syllabic structure of *dražaílak* solo recitation (Song C, line 2).

Phrase A: **(a)** a middle-length opening note on the tonal axis (here F#–G), preceded by a lower anacrusis and ascending glissando in words beginning with a non-stressed syllable. **(b)** a series of three brief notes, the last slightly longer in duration and higher in pitch. **(c)** an extended note, with ornamental decoration of rapid vibrato and multiple voice breaks, featuring sudden drops and resurgences in volume and pitch ranging to an octave below the tonal axis. **(d)** a pair of brief notes returning to the tonal axis, the last marking the expiry of breath concluding Phrase A.

Phrase B: **(e)** another series motif of five fast notes, the penultimate stressed by higher pitch. **(f)** a long and elaborate melisma, with strong and wide vibrato, rising and falling over a minor third above the tonal axis with re-articulation of the ongoing vowel sound. **(g)** another fast series of thre notes with a durationally emphasized penultimate. **(h)** a final long note on the tonal axis, continuing to expiry of breath.

1. Solo recitation. In initial solo recitation, both phrases A and B last an average 7–8 seconds, the patterned alternation of fast and slow motifs in Phrase B forming an effective answer to Phrase A. Initial *dražaílak* recitation is usually sung in a quiet and modest fashion by the singer, surrounded by a packed audience of listeners at the centre of the dancing ground. Pitch is predominantly restricted to single tonal axis (e.g.,F# to G below middle C in Figure 2), with occasional pitches of a higher tone occurring within motifs b and e, while the melismatic figure (motif f) ranges over pitches a minor third higher, and from a third to an octave below in its rapid voice break ornamentation.

2. Recitation with chorus. On conclusion of the song in solo recitation, it is immediately repeated again as a chorus, shortly to be accompanied by drumming and dancing. The singer's role is now to lead other male and female voices, who follow in a broadly heterophonic style. The pattern of singing is similar to the initial solo recitation, although the duration of lines is now extended to over a minute. The melodic contour is also characterized by a more distinctive two-tonal framework: phrase A begins with three or four quick notes on (e.g.) G below middle C (in motifs a–b), followed by a long A with an ornamented fall back to a very long G (motifs c–d). Phrase B begins with three fast A's, a middle-length A, and a fast G (motif e) followed by a long G (motif f), then a quick A and G (motif g) and a long final G (motif h). This tonal contour (GAG/ AGAG) is followed by other male singers, sometimes lagging behind the main singer by two or three seconds; and female singers similarly duplicate this shape a fourth above the male

singers (e.g. applying the tones C and D in place of male G and A), frequently displaced to minor thirds and fifths by a similar time lag between their parts, thus creating a resonant heterophonic texture of staggered male and female voices that is peculiarly distinctive of Kalasha choral performance (cf. Brandl 1977; Kojima 1986).

3. Display rendition. While the majority of the audience dance to the accompaniment of drumming, and continue to sing the song independently as a chorus, the singer ultimately repeats his song in a vocally ornate rendition, accompanied by dramatic flourishes of a stick (*guNDík*) or dancing-axe (*prečéu*), pointing out places or individuals alluded to in his verse. This dramatic recitation, usually performed for a small circle of elders (*gaDerakán*) at the centre of the dancing place, is rendered in the 'name-naming style' of singing (*nom-nomaíli kai gřhū dyek*), otherwise used in impromptu panegyric verse or 'name naming' (*nom-nomék*) as subsequently performed by other elders present in praise of the singer. This display rendition is strikingly more elaborate in its vocal ornamentation, using a full pentatonic scale (G–A–C–D–E, with G as its fundamental). Each verse is also prefaced by an introductory phrase of some nine vocalized and usually aspirated vowel-sounds (*he, ho*, e.g.), ascending from middle C to E, then some E to D alternation, ending on a brief middle C, which is accompanied by excited shouts of approval and support from other elders (*SabáS!* 'bravo!' *šehé* ~ 'that's it', *ay-ay-ay...ya!*). Phrase A then normally starts with an E (motif a), dwells on D (motifs b–c) and falls from E again to cadence strongly on C (motif d). Phrase B compresses this movement in its first section (motif e), adding brief A's below middle C, and finishes with a sustained G cadence (through motifs f–h), thus defining an overall falling contour. Despite its greater melodic elaboration in comparison with other renditions, the rhythmic structure of this display style similarly combines motifs of long notes, decorated with melismata and vibrato, with series motifs of rhythmically disparate fast notes.

The three successive styles of rendition are evidently intended to facilitate collective memorization of newly composed songs (which may be repeated several times with intervening *nom-nomék* panegyric verses in honour of the singer), providing separate opportunities for both choral harmonization and individual virtuosity in performance. Robertson (1896:616–21) apparently alludes to similar styles to similar styles of choral singing among the pre-Islamic Kafirs of eastern Afghanistan, characterized as 'like Gregorian chant' (1896:215–6); but no comparable styles of singing of praise verse have since been recorded in Nuristan, or indeed elsewhere in the Hindukush (cf. Alvad 1979; Pressl 1976).

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Discussion on Peter Parkes' Paper

In response to a question about Kalasha metrical structure, Professor Parkes made the the following additional comments. "Kalasha metre should not be measured in terms of feet, since Kalasha is a stress language. The first, third, fifth, and last syllables tend to be stressed. The point of the formulaic cadences or final parts is to allow the singing to end with a stressed form in the last syllable and on the third or fourth but last syllable. Thus it is a form of syllabic metre, and one cannot use the terms of Greek prosody to describe the verse. Nevertheless, with the stressed syllables, it does relate to the sort of pattern that Roman Jakobson argued in Slavic poetry may go back to forms of early Indo-European metrical organization. Morgenstierne mentioned that some of the songs that he collected from Bashgal Valley were typically three strophes with an eight-foot metre, which looked very much like the *gayatri* mode in Vedic recitation. But he was rather cautious to actually argue anything definite, saying only that it is interesting and looks

similar. I hope my work can demonstrate that some of the Kalasha recitation may be related to some forms of Vedic meter like *anustubh* and *tristubh*. But this is highly speculative."

The Kalasha Shamans' Practices of Exorcism

*Jean-Yves Loude**

The Kalasha, the last remaining non-Muslim people of the Hindukush and Karakoram ranges, provide a remarkable example of cultural resistance at the end of this twentieth century. From generation to generation, the whole community has maintained a trust in its own singular view of life, fate, and the world, and stood up for it against the successive storms of history. The Kalasha must have attached great importance to foreign influences in arranging their own beliefs but they never renounced their faith. What is the basis for this resistance? What has given the Kalasha such a strength in their convictions?

The Kalasha oral tradition is full of stories of the ability of some men to enter into trance. At this time, those so inspired have asserted that they were able to communicate with the gods and spirits, who were using them to give advice for the future and provide answers for any present community problems. Kalasha society must have greatly respected and heeded these messages transmitted from the invisible world by these human go-betweens, whom they considered elected by those same powers.

These inspired men, called *dehar* by the Kalasha, would properly be called shamans, more by virtue of the role they played in generally benefitting their society, than by any similarity to the trances of Siberian shamans. We have devoted several years of research and produced a complete book on this religious phenomenon that was formerly found along the whole Hindukush and Karakoram ranges.

The institution formed by successive intermediaries has always held a central position in the elaboration, evolution, and resistance of the Kalasha's symbolic system. Today, as previously, it provides a structural identity in spite of the decrease of the shamans' election. Everywhere else in the Hindukush and Karakoram ranges, the shamans have disappeared or they have been pushed to the periphery of the religious sphere dominated nowadays by Islam. Among the ex-Kafirs, the present Nuristanis in Afghanistan, the shamans (called *pshur wrear deal*) were swept away by the monotheistic faith as early as the beginning of the twentieth century. Among Hunza and Gilgiti people, the shamans (*bitan, dayial*) have been driven to the fringes of their society but they are still active in spite of the three great Islamic groups, Sunni, Shia, and Ismaili. In the Chitral area, the Kalasha's closest neighbours now have healers whose function has replaced that of the shamans (*betan*): they act as exorcists and are consulted for intervention in the actions of evil spirits, and for deflection of spells cast by jealous enemies. They are called *perixan*: from *peri* 'fairy', and *xan* 'master', 'master of the fairies' or, according to P. and M. Centlivres, from *peri* 'fairy' and *xandan*, 'to sing' in Persian (Centlivres 1988).

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From generation to generation, the Kalasha shamans (*dehar*), have been serving their society, doing the duties expected of them. They have guided their community from its original country, Tsyam, to the present Nuristan and thence to the Chitral area. They have justified successive and forced Kalasha migrations through God's orders. They have revealed the benevolent presence of unknown gods or settled old divinities on the newly subdued lands. They knew how to make 'real' the chosen places of settlement, giving them meaning within an organisation based on the opposition between purity and impurity, men and women, up and down. They have laid down the rules for the seasonal feasts and arranged essential and joyful meetings between gods, spirits, ancestors, and living beings.

They always explain epidemics or climatic calamities as serious mistakes by one or all of the members of the society towards the gods and spirits. They are brought in to diagnose a person's bad luck or sickness, thus acting as healers among other traditional healers: diviners with a bow or a bracelet, dreamers, or soothsayers.

In former times, to be sick used to mean to be guilty of an offence against the invisible world. But with the increase of Islamic pressure during the nineteenth century, with the conversion to Islam of both the old Kalasha country (the Shishi Kuh, Jinjiret, and Urtsun valleys) and of Kafiristan, the explanations of disease and bad luck have inevitably changed. The idea of a spell cast on the victim has now replaced that of the victim himself being culpable. During the first part of this century, some Kalasha shamans did their best to react to this trend, and changed their practices towards those of the Gilgiti and Hunza shamans, or these of the Chitrali exorcists, within a Muslim environment. Several Kalasha *dehar* became famous because of their inventive performances 'under the influences of the fairies'.

The Kalasha tradition is vulnerable to the constant attack of Muslim zealots owing to its lack of a written holy text: they have no Book! They pay no attention to the precepts written down in the Quran. This permanent accusation of godlessness has begun to play on the minds of the Kalasha. One day, at the beginning of this century, Tanuk, a man from the Birir valley, displayed a shamanistic bent, but the special peculiarity of his vocation appeared as a book!

First, one morning, Tanuk had been found seriously wounded on his stable roof. His body and limbs had been struck by blows from an axe. Tanuk's father asked a shaman to reveal the identity of the attacker. The shaman fell into a trance and informed the community that fairies were responsible for the injuries. He ordered that sacrifices be made to help him to recover. When Tanuk regained consciousness, he said that the fairies had brought a book for him and sit it down on the highest branches of an evergreen oak. In another version of the same story, collected by Peter Snoy (1965), Tanuk did not show the book immediately but one month later after his complete recovery. He brought the book and with its help provided the Kalasha with an explanation for the late snows that had fallen in June that year on their crops. Thus the Kalasha community knew that a new *dehar* had arisen.

So the fairies had 'deliberately' delivered a book to a human intermediary. This book was written on birch bark (considered a pure tree) in a supernatural language illegible to the common herd. It had 'fallen down from the sky', we could say. It is difficult to imagine a more similar approach to their neighbours' beliefs, even if this imitation deviates from accepted shamanistic practices that reject the use of writing. Tanuk dehar

seizes upon a rival symbol to the Muslim religion's Book, whilst intending to use it in his own way or rather in the way inspired by the fairies.

Tanuk used to sit on a stool on a stable roof. There he would open the book and gaze at it 'for twenty minutes' (at the rough guess of my informant). Tanuk did not allow people to remain with him. He wanted to stay alone. He would kiss the book, lift it to his forehead, put it on his head, and then the book would fly away. It flew away like a crow. The book would turn three times around the place where a spell was supposed to be buried. Afterward the book would come back and land on the *dehar*'s head. Tanuk would shut the book, bring it down to his mouth to kiss, place it to his breast and finally raise it to his forehead. Then he would call the people and send them to dig at the very place above which the book had spun around. The place might be near or far. The book had revealed to Tanuk the hiding place of the spell.

"For my part," Saidan Shah, a man of influence from Birir, told me, "I have seen the book describing circles in the sky... The spells could have been paper, kids' heads or only bones... To start this kind of performance there's no need to slaughter a goat nor to burn juniper branches."

Kazi Khoshnawas, one of the foremost among the men of knowledge, explains: "When the book was flying away, Tanuk was not really in a trance. We may consider the book as half of Tanuk's soul, *rui rawan*, the part of the soul able to fly and to discover the location of the answers, as it is in a dream." (The other half of the soul, *rui badan*, is considered to remain corporeal).

Thanks to the fairies, Tanuk Dehar was able to renew the method of soothsaying by use of an accessory (the book), obviously an Islamic influence, because he was responsible for expelling foreign curses. His power devolved from the supernatural because his society wanted to believe so. The book, according to the contemporary witnesses, gave Tanuk an extraordinary divinatory faculty. This peculiarity led to his being appreciated as a very powerful shaman within and without his community. This reputation added to his efficiency. Known as an expert in 'spell hunting' (*tawis*), Tanuk was also famous for discovering the whereabouts of those lost in the mountains. The people of Chitral used to beg his help.

"One day, a man from the Bumburet valley died in the high pastures. His name was Timurik Shah. Nobody could find him. The people of Bumburet asked Tanuk to come. Tanuk went to Bumburet. He lifted his book to his head and the book flew off. The book hung in the sky above Shawala pastures. Tanuk said, 'My book hangs in the sky above Shawala pastures!' He delivered his message to the people who then climbed to the spot and discovered the corpse."

Tanuk Dehar died in the 1950's. Immediately afterwards, the power of his book faded away. It is even rumoured that the book itself vanished. First, it was lodged in Tanuk's granary. But as this place was open to women and thus threatened by their impurity, Tanuk's descendants removed it to a mountain cave near the shrine to the god Varin. The book was wrapped in birch bark to protect it against dampness. Peter Snoy saw it and took a dozen photographs. Describing the writing within it, Snoy speaks of 'scribbling' and thinks that the signs and marks look like those produced by the *tawis* makers (Snoy 1965). We would add that they appear very much like the geometrical drawings one can see in clan houses (Jeshtak Han), carved on the pillars and doors. Nowadays, it is impossible to see the book any more.

Before dying, Azer Malik, the last *dehar* of the Urtsun valley in the Kafir times, predicted that three generations later — after Tanuk's death — one of his descendants would use the book again and know how to make it fly.

The shamans' axes against spells

Tanuk was the only shaman able to work with a book. Some *dehar* waved axes to detect hidden spells inside a house, to expel them, and even to kill them. By doing so, they showed how much they needed weapons to fight against the 'prejudicial strength of writing'. Budok from Bumburet, Azer Malik from Urtsun, Khan and Wirishik from Birir, and Tanuk himself became famous by using this method. According to Kazi Khoshnawas, "Fairies prompted the shamans to use axes." Axes against spells and curses: it was something like a declaration of war. At the beginning of this century, the *dehar* were still inspired enough to counterattack.

In Rumbur, the valley of our main research, everybody remembers Budok Dehar, in trance, running throughout the house, staggering around, waving an axe. The performance could last for an hour if the problem was hard to solve, if the spell was difficult to discover. Budok spun around in the only room of the house; or he might also move out and climb up on the roof. If the spell resisted, he could rush to the stable. At the end, he would throw up the axe or drive it violently into a beam, and fall unconscious. On his regaining consciousness, the members of the troubled house rummaged and dug near the spot where the axe was embedded. Usually they would unearth a talisman hidden in the wall between two stones, or concealed in the crack of a pillar, or buried under the fireplace... The paper was burnt in order to eradicate its harmful intention.

Budok may have inherited this method from his father Rabadan, who was already known to fight spells with an axe. But Budok attended a great reputation for efficiency. Another *dehar*, Khan, the last shaman from Birir, also used axes or 'swords' (*nirang*), or pickaxes. He only acted at night. If bad luck or distress afflicted a family, Khan dehar was called out. Juniper branches were burnt and a goat was slaughtered. After this sacrifice, 'two male fairies' used to appear to him, he said. Khan Dehar followed the invisible beings, into a trance, waving his axe, and the rest of the company followed him holding torches. Sometimes it happened that the night walk was long. Suddenly, Khan Dehar would cast his axe and immediately fall down unconscious. The others would start to search in the place where the axe had struck. Usually, a *tawiz* was found: it could be a small box containing hair, wheat grains, or a sheet of paper with the victim's name upon it. The *tawiz* was soon burnt to stop its evil effects. A spell could jeopardize the fertility of the land and the health of the humans and their animals.

"My father, Azer Malik from Urtsun, was famous for expelling any spell," Mengzi told us (Mengzi is married in Birir and she is the last Kafir woman originally from Urtsun). "When an epidemic broke out in a stable, the unlucky family asked for my father. In the stable, the shepherds lit a juniper fire and killed a he-goat, then my father entered into a trance. He walked wildly among the goats, holding an axe and suddenly struck a goat's horn. In this horn, there was a spell, either a sheet of paper or a small piece of metal..."

Rabadan, Budok, Tanuk, Khan... by expelling these evil curses from their hiding places, by causing their destruction, have helped to change the methods of the Kalasha shamans from practices of conciliation to those of exorcism.

"Sometimes it happened that one could not find any spell in the place indicated by the axe. Then Khan Dehar replied: 'the solution to this disease, epidemic, trouble...lies with God alone!' and he recommended making a sacrifice." Thus the *dehar* was never at a loss for an answer. Led by the fairies, he could pinpoint the hypothetical site of an actual spell. If nothing was found, he would immediately return to his function of soothsayer: no *tawiz*, no human deed. Harm devolves from God through the supernatural.

A recent story illustrates the depth of Kalasha acceptance of spells causing their hardship, for any conciliation with their Muslim neighbours or any sacrificial overtures proved irrelevant. Some years ago a man of influence from Rumbur had a dream. He saw himself attacked by two dogs. When he woke up, he interpreted his dream as a harbinger of misfortune. He was convinced that somebody bore him a grudge. To confirm this, he sent for Budok Dehar.

"Budok arrived. Meanwhile a young boy washed his hands and arms to purify himself. The boy lit a juniper fire in the stable. Budok entered into a trance. For five minutes, the *dehar* searched and searched, moving far and wide, with his head thrown back. Then catching sight of a hatchet on the floor, he grabbed it. With the hatchet, he struck the door lintel, and then digging deeply, discovered the hiding place of the charm, whereupon he fell backwards and lost consciousness. While in trance, Budok Dehar revealed: 'Five charms have been hidden in the vicinity; a mullah has prepared five spells and concealed them, two in the stables, one in the house, and two under the paths between the nearest fields.' To expel each charm, we were obliged to light five juniper branches and the *dehar* fell into a trance five times. He laboured from the rising of the sun until the high noon, 'the time of the sweat'. He was exhausted. The curses were written in chicken blood. Budok Dehar ordered them burnt."

At the beginning of this century, curses and spells were on the increase. The *dehar* have to juggle with two concepts: to heal the breach (between human beings themselves and with the supernatural forces) and to eradicate evil power. Formerly, the would find the sick person himself guilty and dénounce his behaviour, thus implying anger and revenge from the gods and fairies. The result would be illness or bad luck. Little by little, the *dehar* indicated outside responsibility for these same consequences. Therefore the victim is no longer responsible for his pain, and his disease is no longer considered a penalty. Victims are dogged by someone jealous. Envy of success might make a relative, a neighbour, or a foreigner turn nasty. A spell carries the desire for wanton revenge. Nevertheless, the victim may also sometimes have provoked, intentionally or unintentionally, these feelings of hate. This is beside the point. When he is in a trance, handling an axe or a book, the dehar always makes visible an invisible evil: the object containing such a curse is really displayed in front of the audience. It becomes manifest and it may be destroyed by fire. Peace offerings and non-aggression pacts with gods and men as witnesses are of no use now. The evil is burnt, its source is supposed to wither at the same moment. If the supernatural world is involved, it not only witnesses the oaths as before, but interferes in the course of the performance by helping the dehar to throw the axe or make the book fly.

The *dehar*'s bite against spells

Nevertheless, fairies are not totally left out of the category of troublemakers. They have been accused of being able to introduce manifest evil not only into a victim's house, but also within his own body. The spell is not necessarily paper but might be a bone or a piece of flesh. Several *dehar* belonging to the same generation – Budok, Khan, and Azer Malik – are distinguishable from others by their ability to pull spells out of the victim's flesh with their teeth. Many eyewitnesses to this violent surgery are still alive.

"Khan Dehar pulled a white bone as long as a nail out of me," Saidan Shah told me. "It was a fairy bone. He bit me above the scapula. I was very tired in those days. I was all aches and pains. My shoulders and knees were hurting me. A lot of my kids were dying. My brothers asked for Khan Dehar to come. We slaughtered a goat in our stable and lit a juniper fire. Khan entered into a trance. He was waving his axe in front of me. He was growling, his eyes were wild. Suddenly, he threw his axe away and drew his sword and waved it in every direction. Still he was growling. Then he cast his sword away and rushed towards me biting me on the shoulder (after asking me to remove my shirt). He pulled out a small bone with his teeth without my bleeding. Then he spat out the bone. Still he didn't collapse. He seized his axe again, started to move around the stable. In the end, he threw the weapon towards a beam. Then he collapsed. Where the axe was embedded, there was a spell, the one that made my kids die. My brothers went down the valley to burn the charms. They gave Khan Dehar a he-goat, an axe, and an iron tripod."

"My father Budok used to pull out evil spells from people's bodies," Budok's daughter, Sitin Bibi, told me. "During the spring festival, my father entered in a trance. He flung away Shirin's cap and pulled off his trousers and shirt. Shirin was totally naked (it happened in a stable far away from women). My father beat him on his thigh with high axe, three times, and the bit him in the same place. He tore out a small piece of flesh without his bleeding. He said that this very piece of flesh was a fairy spell. My father did it one more time during the winter festival for the benefit of another man, Janduli. The two victims offered a sacrifice to God, slaughtering a he-goat. They also gave my father one goat each to thank him."

Evidence of evil or of disease has often been shown by shamans or healers, for instance by the Indian shamans of Vancouver Island (described by Levi-Strauss), or by the Philippine surgeons with their bare hands. They all used to cut off some cotton tufts or pieces of flesh, tinged with blood, from the sick body. The Kalasha do not know the origin of this method of expelling evil. For them, one thing is of importance: the efficacy of the shock caused by this rough demonstration of human power over evil supernatural forces.

The supernatural beings, Muslim or Kafir fairies, are not satisfied only with the insertion of foreign objects into their victim's flesh. They may also be liable for neurotic behaviour and are sometimes accused of entering people's bodies to possess them. The increase in mental disorders such as nervous breakdown, hysteria, and apathy, is typical of these recent confusing decades. This kind of trouble may last a long time. Formerly, the Kalasha used to explain it as the kidnaping of half the soul by angry fairies. Today, the Kalasha healers confess that they are powerless to cure madness. Therefore, the Kalasha are begging for new therapeutics outside the society. They now go and visit the Muslim *ziarat* where holy men have been buried and where some *perivan* used to perform

as exorcists. The Kalasha have recourse to Muslim exorcists because they think that foreign evil has to be overcome by foreign healers who know better about the source of the impurity. The main consequence of this new credit being given to their neighbour's literate healers is the loss of influence of the Kalasha's illiterate ones.

Nowadays, this new attraction from the Chitrali world is one of many reasons for the vanishing of the shamans' vocation.

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The Status of Kalasha Women in the Religious Sphere

*Viviane Lièvre**

The Kalasha are the last polytheists of the Hindukush, and up to the present time their shamans (*dehar*) are the only religious practitioners to have structured the symbolism of the society. They have set up, through repeated revelations, a highly developed concept of purity and impurity linked to a system of prohibitions. The life of the whole community is steeped in this dualistic ideology which imposes on women a constant impure status requiring some rites of purification. We will present here the consequences of this sexual antagonism on female participation in the religious sphere. It seems, by reference to the oral tradition, that this discrimination has not necessarily always been so strict. The shamans (*dehar*) have handed down most of the traditional laws, and we will here try to analyze the reasons for their cultural attitude towards women.

The present situation

The end of the Kalasha myth of 'the golden age' mentions the separation between the world of supernatural beings and that of humans, but there is no reference to a distinction between men and women. It announces simply that 'the humans will have to learn the rules of purity and impurity through the *dehar*'s words.' So the main function of the *dehar* has been defined as the ordering of the customs and related symbols, building up their vision of the world. This has resulted, over a period of time, in a dichotomy developing between the pure and the impure that now constitutes a symbolic polarity touching on most aspects of Kalasha life. It affects the natural environment and the economy. The sexual division of labour among the Kalasha has reserved goat husbandry and hunting exclusively for men and certain agricultural tasks to women. Specific areas — mountain pastures and goat stables — the goat itself, and two foodstuffs, consecrated male goat meat and home-made honey , are taboo to women. In this pastoral society of transhumant goat husbandry, men are related to the pure world of the mountains and their products, while women are linked to the impurity of the valleys. This sexual dualism could have resulted in a natural complementarity, but it here implies a hierarchical ideology, pure (*onjeSTa*) being sacred and superior to impure (*pragata*). This cultural inequality derives from the sexual prejudice inherent within this patriarchal society. As in many other communities, the pretext is a woman's natural biological specificity, i.e. the blood of menstruation and parturition. These manifestations are considered to be very dangerous and polluting. Consequently women are treated as permanently impure and temporarily extremely impure during their periods and childbirth. Kalasha women must go and stay in a house of seclusion, *bašali*,

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isolated from their villages during the time of their periods each month; and for twenty-one days after giving birth in Rumbur and Bumburet and three months in Birir. So these elements of a woman's sexuality crete a social class of potentially polluting women from puberty to menopause. The permanent impurity attached to women affects their relations within the religious sphere: they are not allowed to approach or enter the altars of the Kalasha pantheon's deities located in the upper reaches of each valley, in pure places. So women do not take part in general worship where men offer animal or vegetable gifts to the gods, pray, and eat the male-goat meat at the altar itself. There is a kind of sanctuary where the presence of women is tolerated — the Jeshtak Han, covered clan temples situated in the villages, in not very pure places. The familial goddess Jeshtak is honored there by men, who ask her for the fecundity of their wives thus bringing perenniality to their clan.

The only female cult is devoted to the goddess of birth, Dezalik, who is depicted in a wooden sculpture within the seclusion house, *bašali*, the most impure place in every valley. She presides over new-born lives. Women pray to her during parturition and offer her walnuts to help the delivery. Once a year, in spring, two prepubescent girls sacrifice a lamb on the roof of Dezalik's house to protect both the women giving birth and their babies.

Men and women together participate in the worship of their ancestors which requires them to go, on some occasions, to the cemetery — an area very impure because of the corpses—to throw pieces of bread on or in the direction of an ancestor's grave, to nourish his soul and ask for his kind attention.

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

Women's exclusion from shamanistic practices

We have seen above how women are banned from the sanctuaries where deities and supernatural beings like fairies, *sučі*, are supposed to come down when they are invoked by juniper fumigations, offerings, and prayers. Consequently, there is no chance for a woman to be 'elected', which means to see or hear a deity calling her, and thus enter into a trance and deliver a supernatural message. This is the usual way to become a shaman *(dehar)* in Kalasha society. There is neither an hereditary nor initiatory tradition leading to this position. The *dehar* has to guide the community and provide answers for most of its problems through words inspired by the supernatural: his role cannot be considered either as that of a priest or sacrificer. The permanent impurity attributed to women by men has definitively excluded them from being shamans. Thus the Kalasha religion is mainly a masculine cult of communication with the divinities wherein the religious practitioners are exclusively male.

There has been one exception within the Kalasha oral tradition: a female *dehar* called Mali. She lived in Drosh (south of Chitral) at the time preceding the first waves of Islamic conversion in the Chitral area (thirteenth or fifteenth centuries). This is Mali's story: 'In olden times there was a *dehar* woman in Drosh, the only one in Kalasha history. In trance, she jumped from one place to another and walked on embers. She delivered prophecies: "In three years, a materialized spirit will come with a bird. If you accept this bird, it will mark the beginning of your decline and the community will vanish." Three

years later her prophecy came true. The Kalasha, having paid no attention to Mali's advice, accepted the bird. From this time date the Muslim assaults and conversions. When they realized their mistake, the Kalasha declared a taboo on poultry, hens, and considered them impure.'

Among the ex-Kafirs of present-day Nuristan, (west of the Kalasha valleys), the situation of women within the religious context was the same in pre-Islamic times. No woman ever had access to any of the three sacred positions: priest (*uta*), chanter (*debi-lata*), or shaman (*pshur, pshé*). Conversely, among the people of the Gilgit area (east of the Kalasha valleys) both men and women were shamans (*daiyal, bitan*). They entered into trances during public seances and made prophecies or cured people. There was even a majority of female shamans up to the end of the last century, but the situation changed in this century, under pressure from Islam, and women no longer performed this function.

The participation of Kalasha women in the religious aspects of life

If Kalasha women are excluded from shamanistic activities, they may, however, have indirect communication with the invisible world. They share this ability with men and are called in as healers during private seances by families. They use two different means for curing people:

The gift of foresight. During dreams they receive messages from animals or dead children which help cure snake or scorpion bites and evil eyes. This type of healer is called *damdao*.

Soothsaying technique with an accessory. Women healers, who use a ring, are called *istingawao;* and men, who use a bow, are called *tumkutčawao*. Patients suffering physical or mental troubles may require such diviners: the female healer makes a pendulum of one of her rings with a thread (in sheep's wool, an impure animal), and endeavours to diagnose the cause of the sickness: a deity, a fairy, a dead or a living person who is supposed to be angry. Then she prescribes the ritual, an animal or vegetable offering to enable recovery. This divinatory ability is acquired by transmission from one relative to another and is not a question of being 'elected' by a supernatural being as it is for the shamans. So women have a place among the male healers and thus maintain an indirect contact with the sacred sphere.

It is imperative that Kalasha women take an active part in all the seasonal and religious feasts. These ceremonies, as often in traditional societies, include both sacred and profane moments. Thus Kalasha custom requires mixed dances and songs and these occur on the dancing grounds of the villages.

During the winter solstice feast, Chaumos (*čaumos*), the most important ceremony of the year, the union of the pure and impure has social and religious significance. The rites of inversion produce the unthinkable: an exchange of sexes and thus status. During this celebration, there is one day on which men and women dance in each others clothes: disorder is temporarily authorized. Several days are dedicated to ritual sexual hostility: aggression in both words and gestures, the women provoking the men's authority by mocking pastoral values, virility, etc., a symbolic rebellion against male control. The

society is conscious of the necessity for women to express their energy, vitality, and sexuality, and the cross-fertilization resulting mimics for a while the original harmony of mythical times, when humans (men and women without distinction) and supernatural beings were living together.

The historical difference in the status of women

The Kalasha oral tradition mentions a time when girls were allowed to keep goats in the high pastures. Such cases were rare but it seems that two fathers, without sons, sent their daughters to herd the goats. This situation would never be authorized nowadays! A famous song 'Roli Shai, Roli Malio' tells the story of a young girl who made love with a shepherd in the pastures. A great flood occurred shortly afterwards and the lovers died. A *dehar* accused them of responsibility for the disaster and revealed that the pastures were too pure for love-making. Ever since it has been strictly forbidden for post-pubescent women to spend the night there.

There is a very important myth abut women's participation in worship which helps us to understand the changes that have taken place in their status: 'In the good days when the Kalasha were lords of this land and fairies and humans could mix, then both men and women could go to *maloS* (altars) for sacrifice. On one occasion, there was a big sacrifice at *maloS*, and afterwards they were returning with the meat: the men in front and the women following. On the way they were met by a fairy who asked the men how the sacrifice had gone and how much meat they had been given. They replied that everything had gone very well and they had been given a lot of meat. Then she asked the women the same question. One answered that it had been a very poor sacrifice and they had been given nothing. As she was saying this she slipped suddenly and the heap of meat which she had been hiding was revealed. The fairy disappeared. Malosh (the deity) ordered that from that day on no woman should come into his presence and no male goat flesh was to be eaten by a woman. The fairy had also said that from that day all women's confinements should be kept separate, each month and at birth'. (Budok Dehar reported by H. Siiger in 1948, personal notes).

We collected another version in 1978, which placed the event during the funeral of Sumalik, the last Kafir king of upper Chitral (thirteenth-fifteenth century?). It tends to show that the idea of women's culpability was introduced towards the beginning of Muslim encroachment in the Chitral area. This myth stresses two elements contributing to the exclusion of women from the religious sphere. Firstly, there is a mistake, a negative action leading to the socio-religious impurity of women, and secondly, the fact of femininity itself constituting physical impurity. While studying numerous oral texts within the Kalasha tradition, we discovered that this 'primordial fault of a woman' was essential to the ideology of the rules elaborated by successive shamans. Definitively guilty, women were therefore considered incompatible with the religious sphere. This original condemnation of women, stemming from a *dehar*'s interpretation, presents their guilt as a natural tendency thus introducing the idea into the collective subconscious. We have found several Kalasha stories built both on the scheme of the 'golden age myths' and on the 'female culpability theme' carried over from the monotheist religions (in the Bible and the Koran). So, in some myths, natural defects of nature like snow in winter or the scarcity of wheat

in their fields are blamed on women by the Kalasha. Even though these events take place in a mythical time, we are of the opinion that the idea of women's culpability is not original to the Kalasha tradition but borrowed from their Islamic neighbours. Similarly we found a myth blaming a woman for the scarcity of wheat in the Gilgit area (Staley 1982:118). We believe there has been Islamic pressure on the status of Kalasha women over a long period of time. To the concept of their physical impurity seems to have been added the idea of guilt; as we saw that at the end of the golden age there was a split between supernatural beings and humans but as yet no notion of culpability.

Women's participation in genuine sexual practices has now disappeared from Kalash feasts, but belongs to the very ancient fecundity rites which occurred all along the Hindukush/Karakoram ranges. During the autumn feast in Birir, Prun, a young shepherd called *budalak*, who had spent the whole year in the pastures and goat stables, cam back to the village and had the right to choose from any of the dancing women as his sexual partners. Subsequently, this physical act was replaced by symbolic erotic dances, but the purpose was the same: to stimulate the women's fecundity. This rite would have been particularly shocking to their Muslim neighbours and was finally denounced by the *dehar* themselves who put a stop to it, some time during this century. Similar sexual fecundity rites, now vanished, were present in the Gilgit area: once a year a feminine cult dedicated to the female deity, Murkum, allowed a male priest, *šaban*, free sexual choice amongst themselves. He was called the 'buck of the women's flock' (Jettmar 1961:88).

The evolution of the status of Kalasha women

We may now try to analyze the function and evolution of the system of prohibitions, linked to the dualistic ideology of purity and impurity, and how it has led to a segregation of the sexes. Men, through the words of their shamans (*dehar*), have sought to increase the taboos imposed on women and thus establish their authority and superiority in all the major fields of life. We can trace some reasons for this cultural attitude and its concomitant social, religious and political consequences. Throughout Kalasha history, and mainly since Islamic pressures in the Chitral area (fourteenth-fifteenth century) there has been a progressive regression in the status of Kalasha women, leading to a sexual polarity. An important consideration is that Kalasha society has often been in danger and had to face enemies, the Kho and the Bashgali, and that they also owed allegiance to the Mehtars of Chitral. Resisting conversion has been a constant battle for them, especially during the wave of forcible conversions imposed on their Kafir neighbours in Afghanistan (presently Nuristan) in 1896. So they felt isolated and encircled by a dominant ideology and religion. As they were willing to preserve their own beliefs and ceremonies, successive shamans have tended to strengthen the inner structure of their vulnerable community. As women are considered to be potentially disruptive, the shamans have restricted their liberty, and increasingly controlled their activities. Impure, they have been excluded from religious functions and ceremonies; guilty, they have provided convenient scapegoats.

Thus many crises have been blamed on women. The *dehar* have also been responsible for encouraging an antagonistic representation of femininity: purity, the fairies (*suči*), spirits of nature living in the pastures and able to fall in love with shepherds; and impuri-

ty, the women in the valleys able to pollute men. This is why the shamans observe special rules avoiding women's impurity and try to preserve their highly valued state of purity.

We may compare a woman's destiny to the position of female deities within the Kalasha pantheon. If we consider the present place of the goddess Dezalik, supposedly the sister of Dezau, the Creator (Morgenstierne 1973:155), she has been assigned the most impure spot of the valleys, the seclusion house (*bašali*). This situation might well not be original: the role of the goddesses as guardians of specifically feminine interests may have differed in olden times. The position of the male and female gods within the pantheon seems to reflect directly the social organisation of the community. This could also have been influenced by the monotheist religions, mainly Islam where women are restricted to a lowly, often inferior place in most of the religious, political, and social fields.

Kalasha women have however maintained certain freedoms: there is little preoccupation, for instance, with female virginity or extramarital liaisons. The woman herself can quit a marriage and the numerous resulting elopements could be considered as a female power over male authority. This ability for women to initiate and dissolve marriages, is particularly outstanding in the light of the surrounding subordination of her Muslim sisters.

The position of Kalasha women has always been in a state of flux, and together with the influence of Islam, contemporary attitudes are beginning to effect their relations with both men and tradition. Even if they are not admitted into the religious sphere, Kalasha women are nevertheless keen to maintain their identity: they continue to wear, and indeed embellish, their traditional robes, headdresses, and ornaments, those outward signs that make them so proud to be different from their neighbours.

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Kalash Buildings

*John Harrison**

In this paper I do not intend to explore the architecture of the Kalash in any great depth, but simply to provide an introductory text to a few of the survey drawings which I made during two visits to the area in 1990. My study is continuing and will I hope lead to the publication of a more detailed record of these unique buildings.

The Kalash now occupy only three narrow valleys south west of Chitral town — Rumbur, Bumburet, and Birir — whose rivers flow down to the Chitral River from the watershed on the Afghan border. Jeep tracks now penetrate all three valleys, but twenty years ago the only access was by mountain passes or tortuous footpaths through the river gorges, and this isolation, together with the tolerance of the Mehtar of Chitral, enabled the Kalash culture and religion to survive.

The Kalash appear to have migrated at some stage from further west across the Hindukush mountains, and although some 600 years ago they controlled much of the Chitral valley, they are more closely related to the tribes of Kafiristan (now known as Nuristan) across the Afghan border than to the Kho of Chitral.

Their architecture too is more Nuristani than Kho: tight clusters of houses built on steep hillsides, with much timber in the construction, balconies hanging on long cantilevered beams, and richly-carved woodwork. Guru, in the Birir valley, is the most dramatic of the Kalash villages (Fig. 1) — a delicate matchstick construction balanced precariously on a cliff above the river. But Guru and Grom in Rumbur, are the only really defensive sites of all the Kalash villages. Perhaps in the past the Kalash generally relied on the inaccessibility of their valleys to deter intruders rather than on the defensive capabilities of individual sites.

Brun, in Bumburet, is more typical (Fig. 2). The village is situated on a steep hillside some distance above the river and the road, and built on arid rock and scree overlooking the cultivated fields. The buildings straddle an irrigation ditch which brings water along the side of the valley from a source on the river half a mile upstream. The buildings are terraced along the contours, stepping down the hillside, with the flat roof of one house sometimes forming the access to the house above. Houses occupy the lower part of the village, with goat and cattle stables higher up (Fig. 3).

Each clan or lineage group of the Kalash has its own communal house of ceremonies, the *Jeshtak han*, the sanctuary of the goddess Jeshtak, protectress of the family and children. In Brun there are two lineages, and two *Jeshtak han*. But in some villages two or more lineage groups may share a *Jeshtak han*, and some smaller groups may have no *Jeshtak han*, simply a wooden board with horse head carvings kept in a dwelling house.

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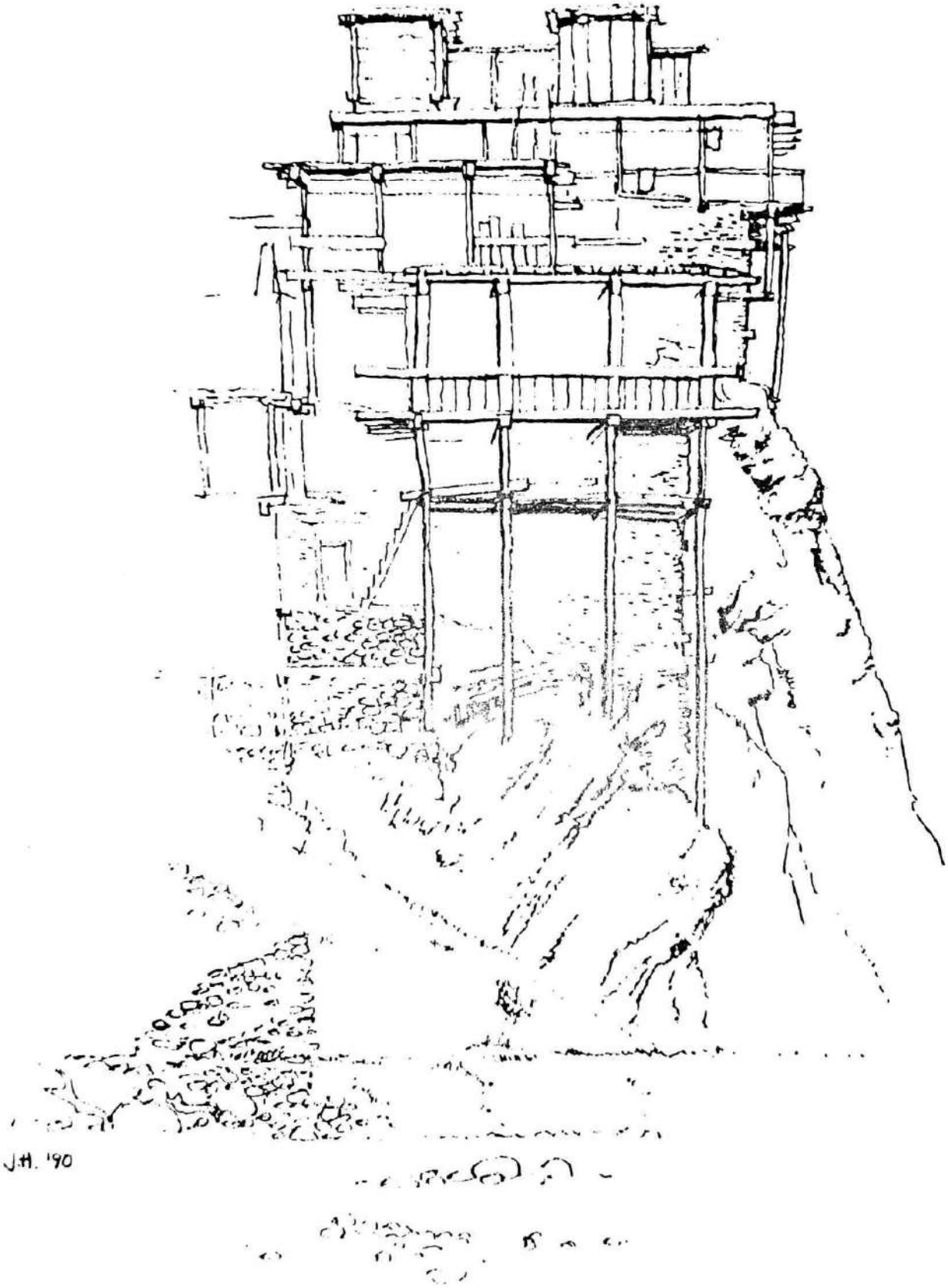


Figure 1 Houses in Guru village, Birir.

The *Jeshtak han* is a square stone and timber structure, from six to ten metres across, with a flat earth roof supported by two principal beams and four columns. The carved columns with heavy bracketed capitals form a central inner square lit by a central

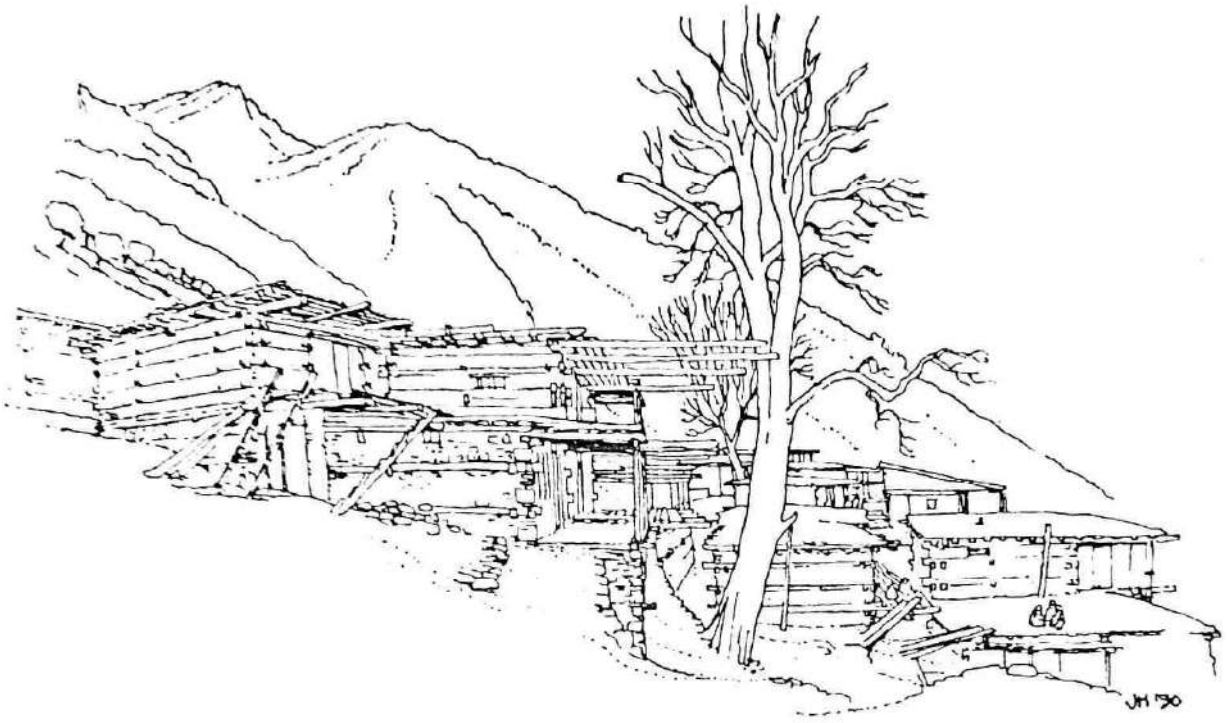


Figure 2 Brun village, Bumburet. Entrance to the village from the southwest.

corbelled lantern smoke-hole (Figs. 4, 5, 6). In Kalash mythology this form originated at the temple of Mahandeo in the Parun valley, Nuristan, and the central skylight framed an invisible column connecting heaven, earth, and the lower world.

The *Jeshtak han* is the only sanctuary which takes the form of a building; all others are open-air sites, usually a stone platform with a carved board and crudely fashioned horse heads, where animal sacrifices are made. The Mahandeo shrine in Brun (Fig. 7) stands on a rocky outcrop at the top of the village, immediately above the goat stables. Its lower part is another stone and timber platform with carved and incised posts known as *maleri*.

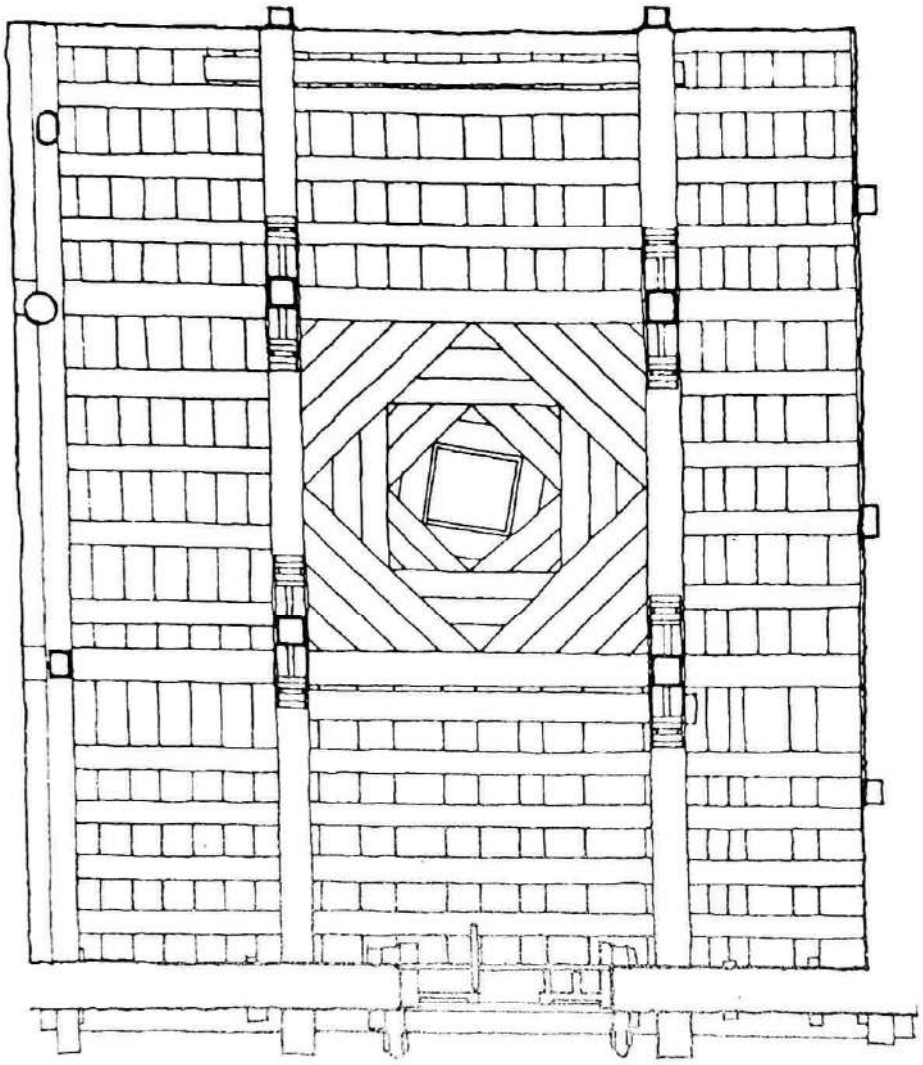
The dwelling houses are built on exactly the same pattern as the *Jeshtak han*, but on a smaller scale: four central columns and a diamond-shaped corbelled roof-light, with two main roof beams running from beside the entrance door to the ritually 'pure' area at the innermost part of the house. The door opens from the entrance gallery or veranda, which may be fully roofed and enclosed, and forms the summer living area, facing out over the lower valley, while the pure area inside touches the mountain slope behind and the realm of gods and goats (Fig. 8).

The traditional house consists simply of this one square room, (Fig. 9) with cooking and eating taking place in the centre around the fire, and sleeping on charpais crowded into the side aisles. Larger houses may have storerooms opening off the back or side of the living room, or on a lower floor with access through a hatch in the floor. Underground corn bins are often found below the living room floor. Internal decoration is minimal; occasionally some face carving on a post or shelf front in the pure area, sprigs of juniper

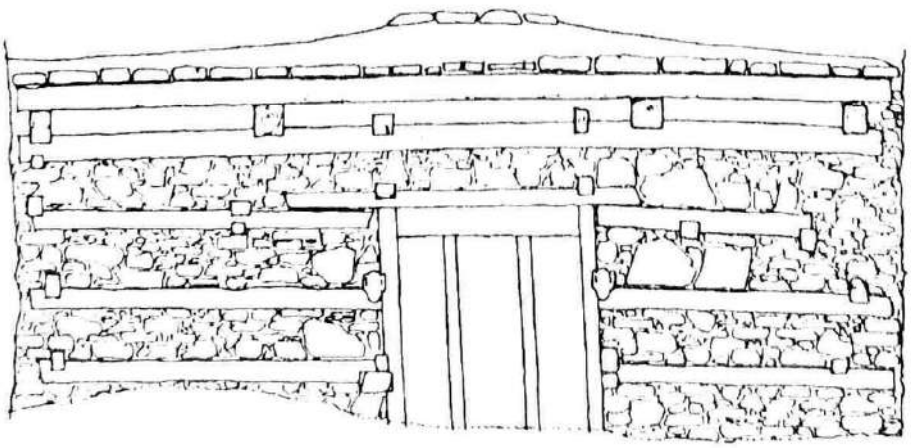
1. Water channel
2. Footpath from Batrik and from valley bottom
3. New dance place
4. Jestak-han of Bazik-dari lineage
5. Jestak-han of Bulesing lineage
6. Mahendeo Shrine
7. Goat houses
8. Old dance place
9. Former bashali (menstruction house)
10. Graveyard
11. Cornfields

Figure 3 Brun village plan

and markhor horns, and in the Birir and Rumbur valleys a small Jeshtak board with carved horse heads. What decoration there is, is obscured by thick encrustations of soot from the open fire (although domestic life is now becoming a little less grimy with the introduction of tin stoves from the Chitral bazaar). But these are much simpler interiors than in the *baipaS* houses of the Kho with their carefully defined floor levels, rails, screens, and carved woodwork.

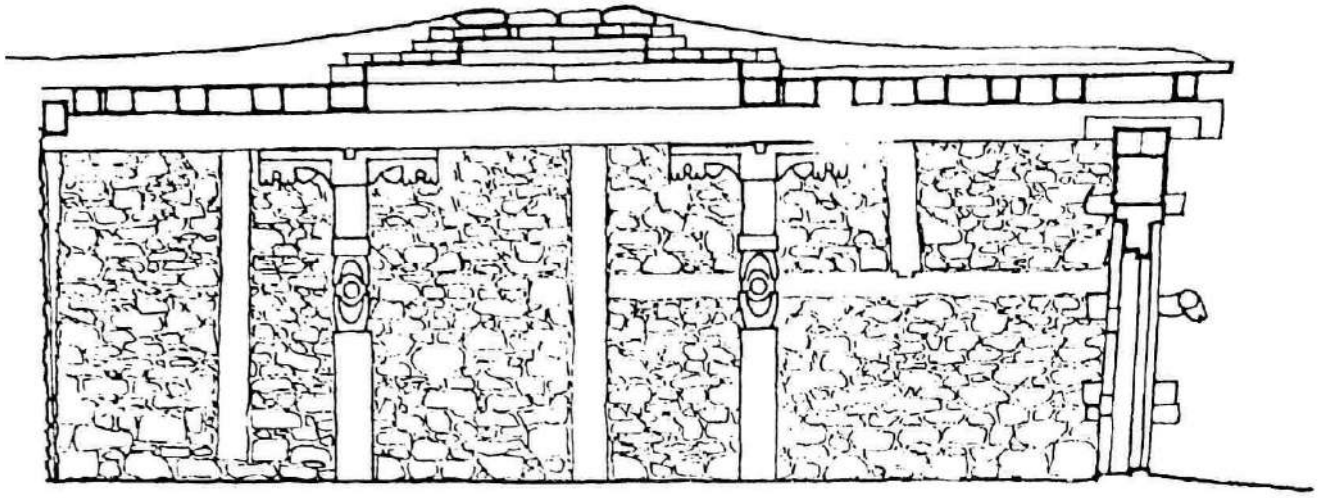


Reflected ceiling plan



Entrance

Figure 4a Jeshtak han of the Bulesing lineage, Brun village.



Cross section

Figure 4b Jeshtak han of the Bulesing lineage, Brun.

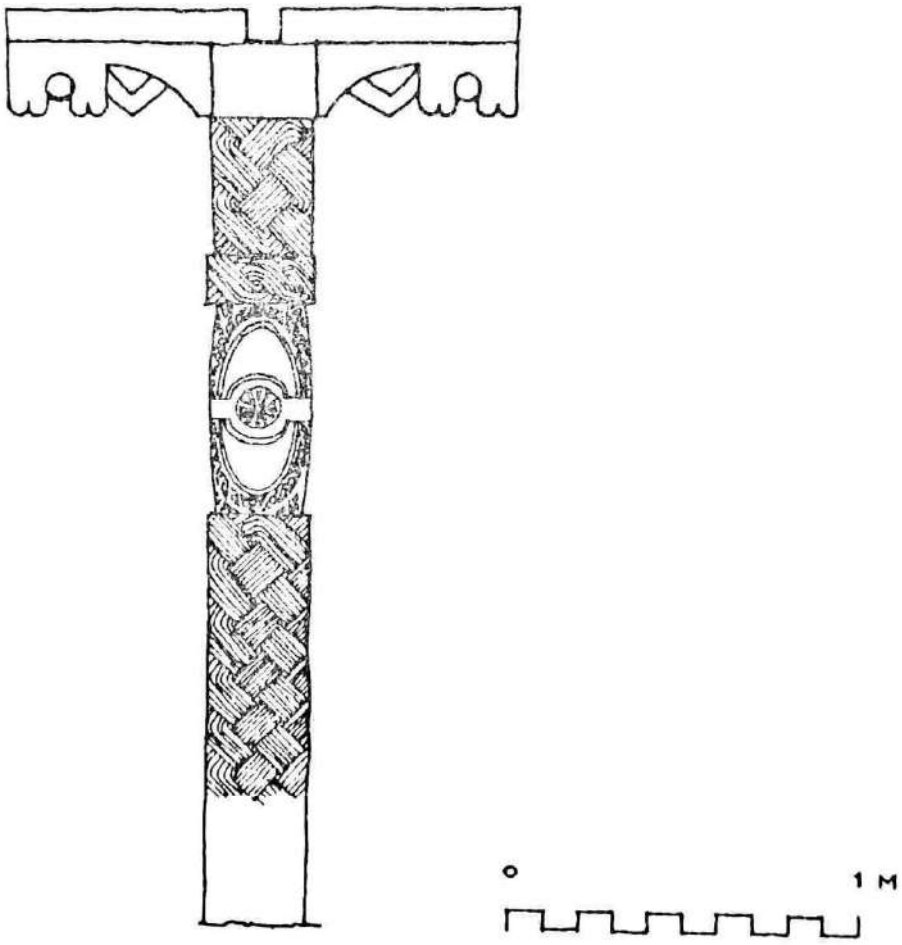


Figure 5 One of the four principal columns in the Bazikdari Jeshtak han, Brun.

Architectural decoration is reserved for the front of the house, where a display of conspicuous consumption indicates a man of wealth and status in the community. Little carving is done today, when one carved column costs a cow, but a number of fine house fronts remain in Bumburet, where presumably the influence of Nuristani woodcarvers was strongest. Balcony columns are carved with a cable design representing wild goat horns and ingeniously jointed over the handrail; carved sun discs on the lower panels are symbols of rank borrowed from Nuristan (Figs. 10, 12). The door into the living room often has a massive central handle, carved from the same block of wood as the entire door and never attached separately to it (Fig. 11). Doors pivot inward, with a pin fitting into sill and head sockets, and there is sometimes an outward opening half door.

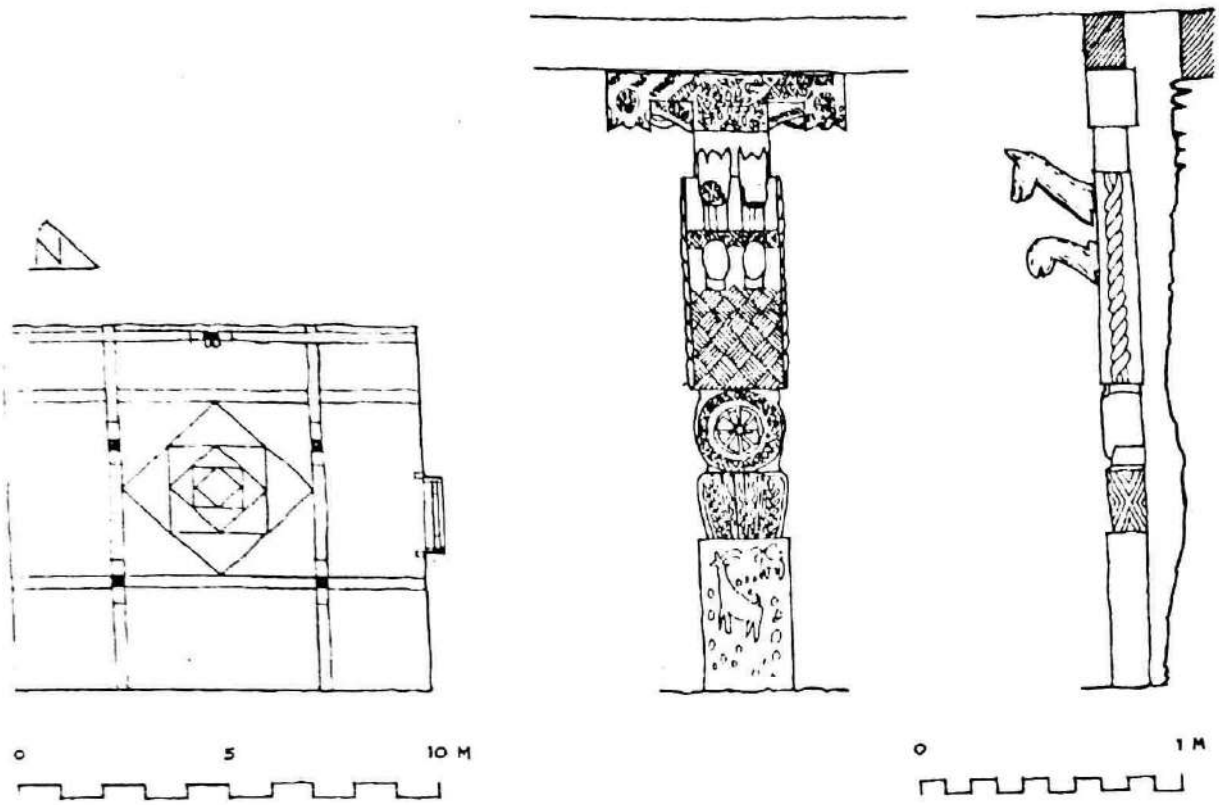


Figure 6 Jeshtak column on rear wall of *Jeshtak han*, Anish village.

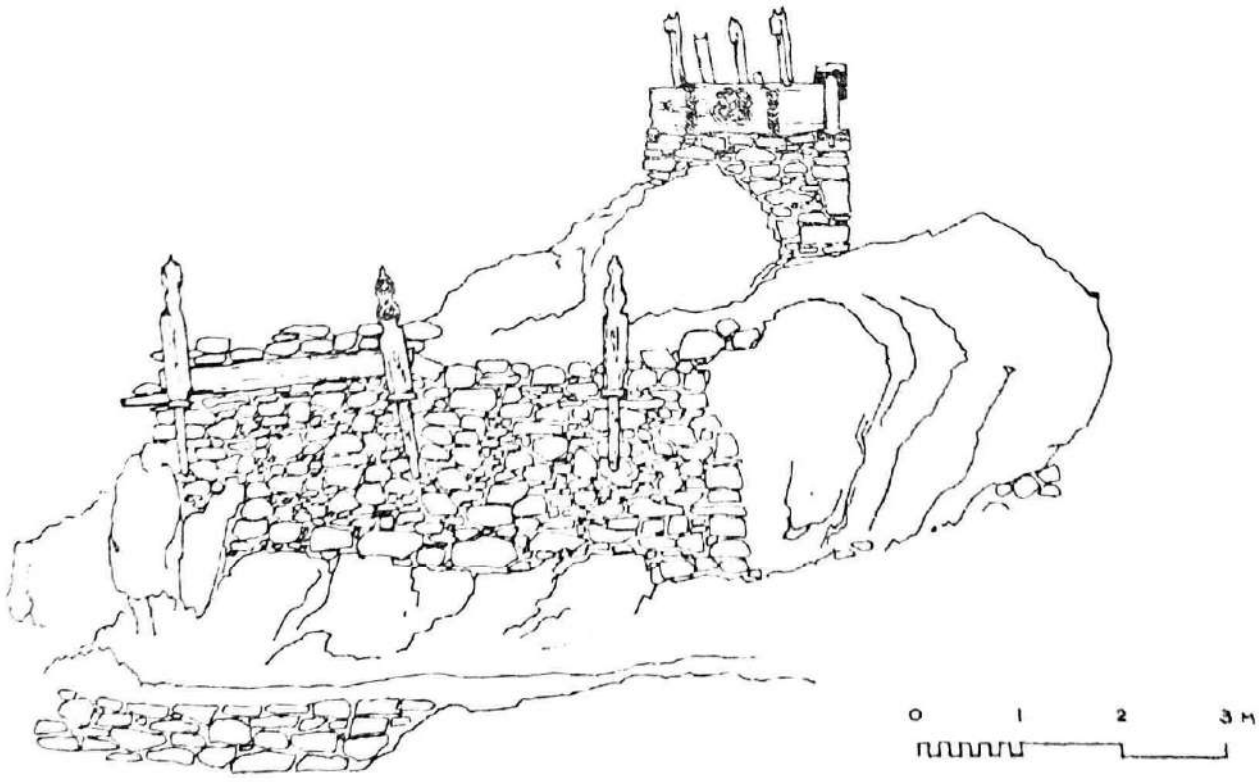
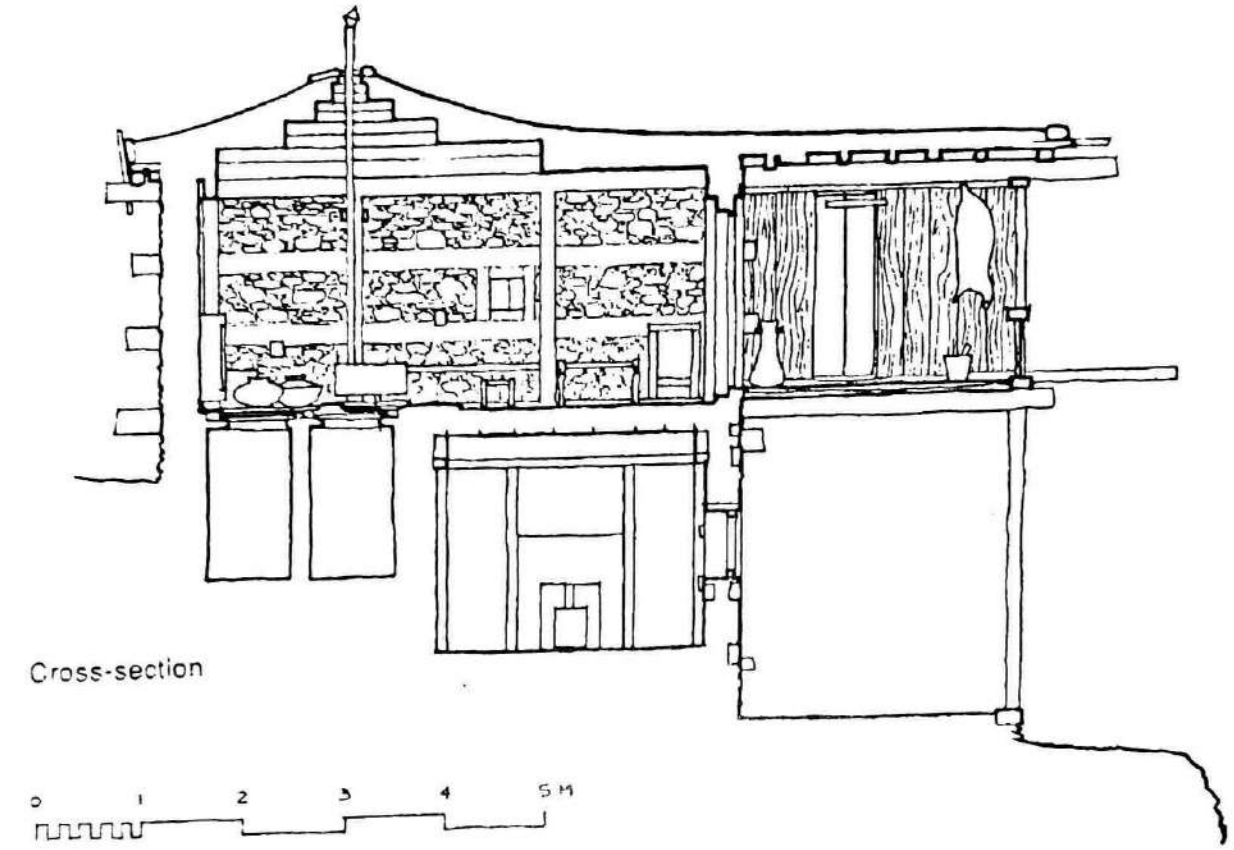


Figure 7 Mahandeo shrine, Brun village.

The Kalash build their houses from the materials at hand: cut rocks and scree stones for the walls come from the hillside; earth for mortar, floors, and roof covering from the fields; and timber for framing and joinery from the pine forests higher up the mountains. A government permit is now required to fell timber, and the huge roof beams have then



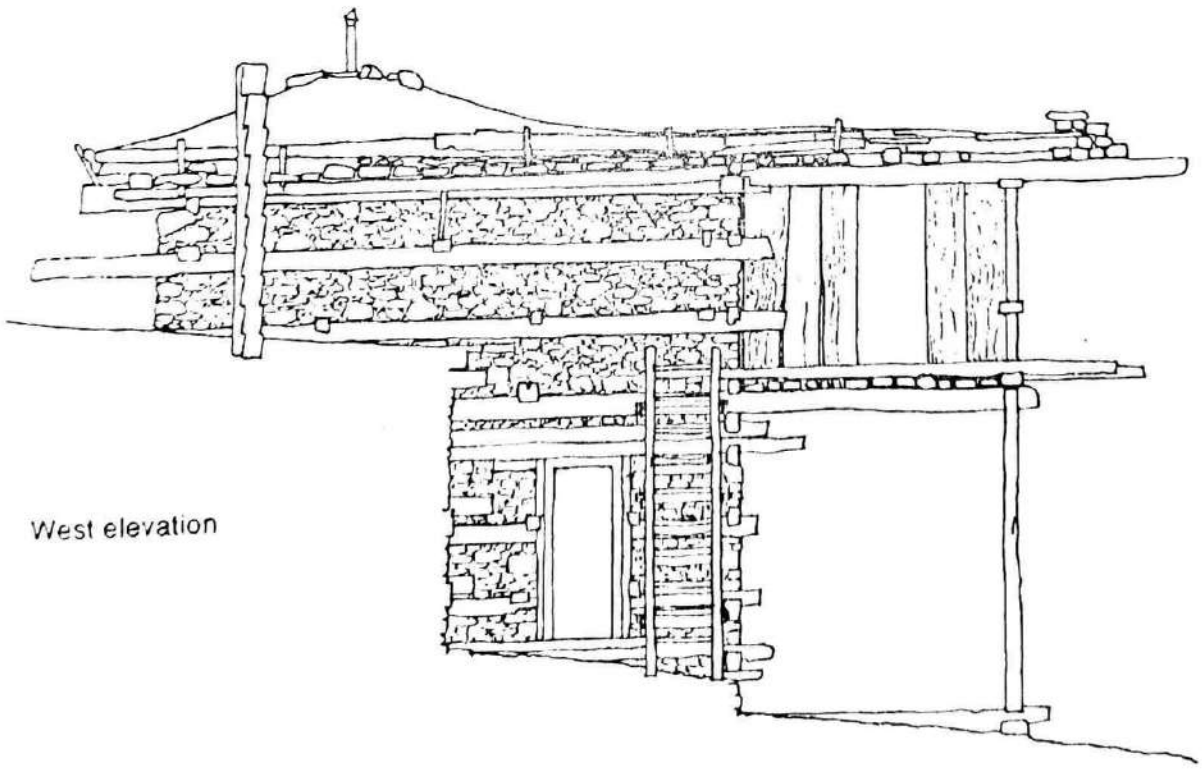


Figure 8a House of Bumbur Khan, Brun village

to be carried to site by hand. Labour is provided by the family building the house, but a carpenter will be hired for all the woodwork.

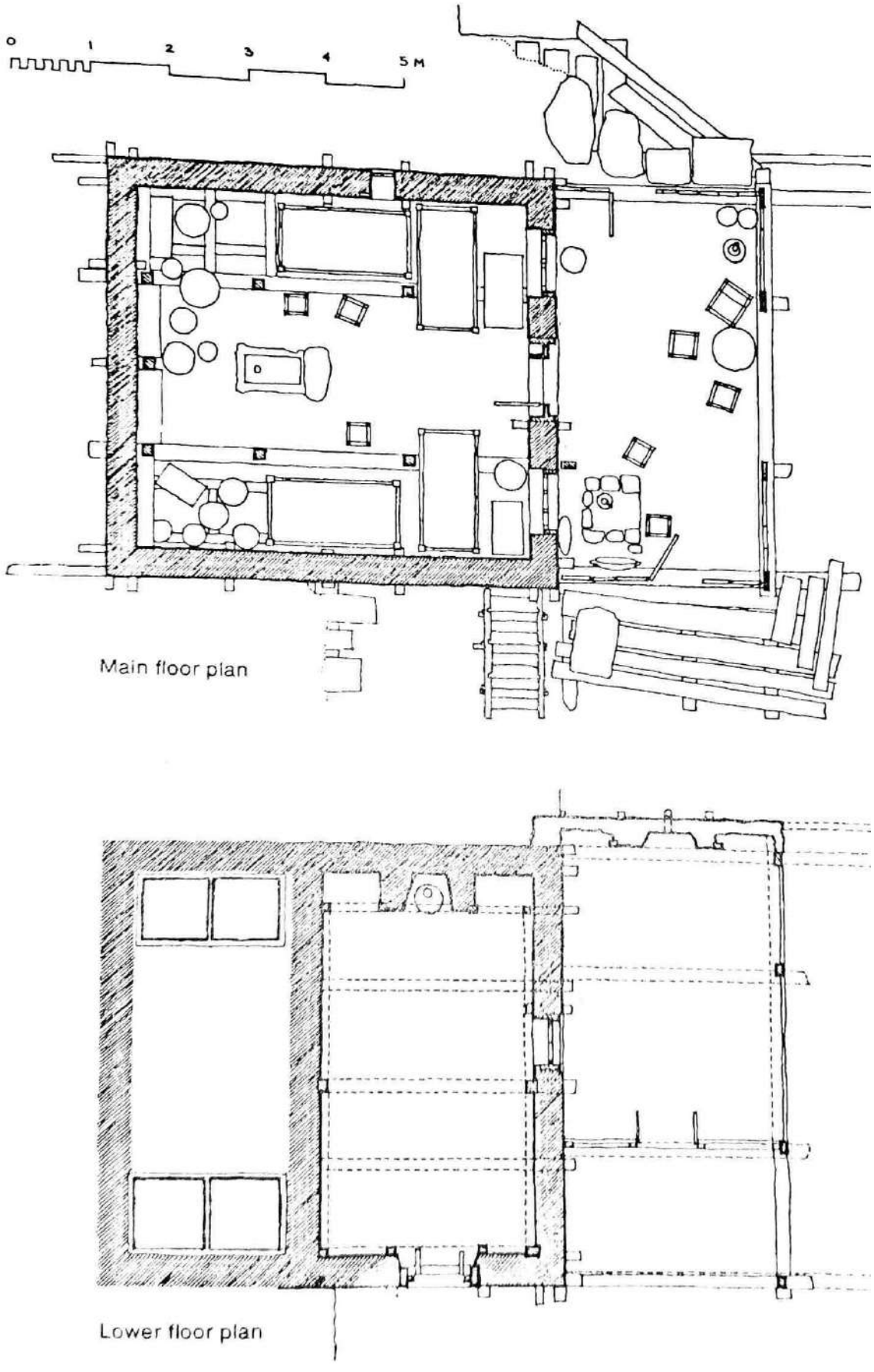


Figure 8b House of Bumbur Khan, Brun

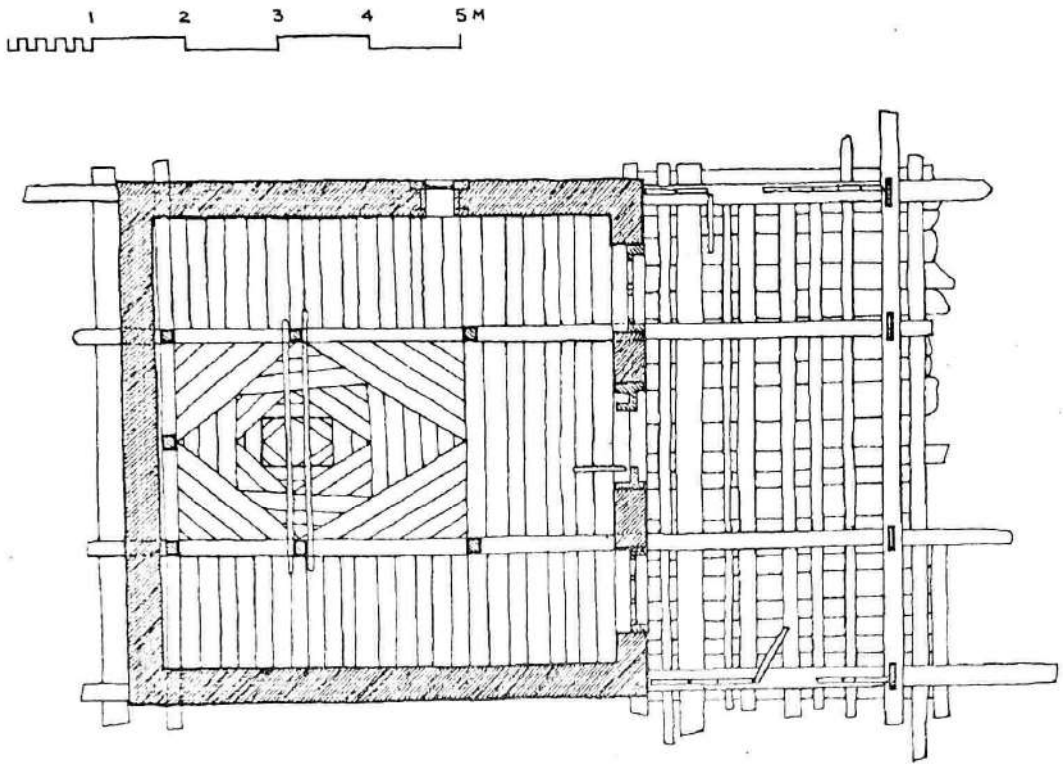


Figure 8c House of Bumbur Khan, Brun

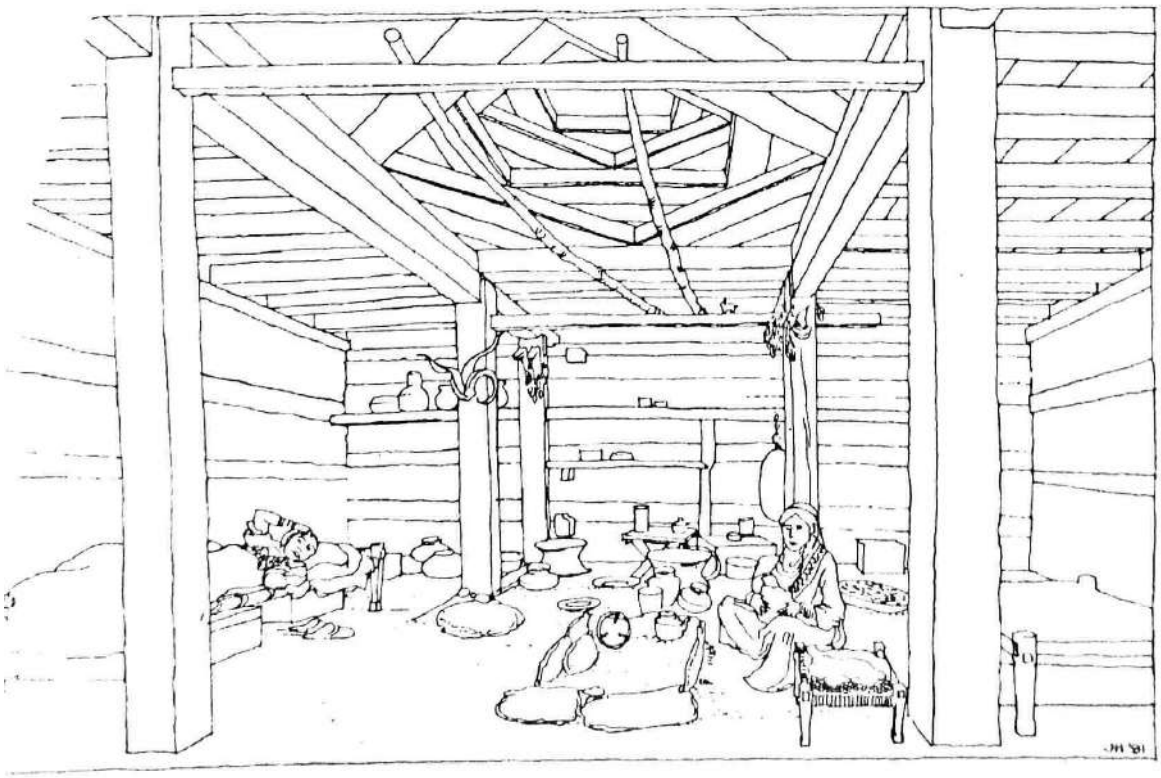


Figure 9 Interior view of Shelbek's house, Guru village, Birir.

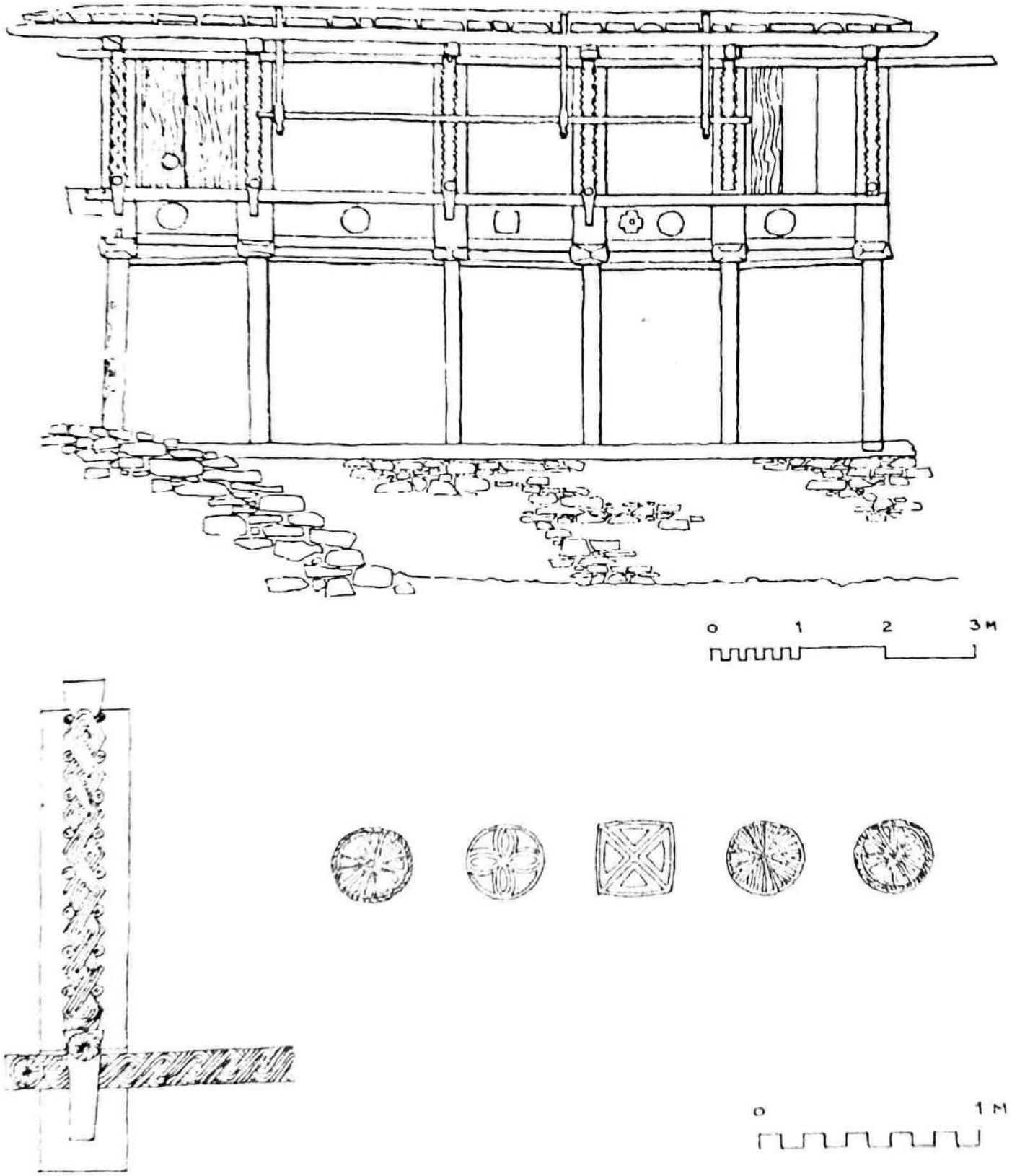


Figure 10 House front in Batrik village, Bumburet

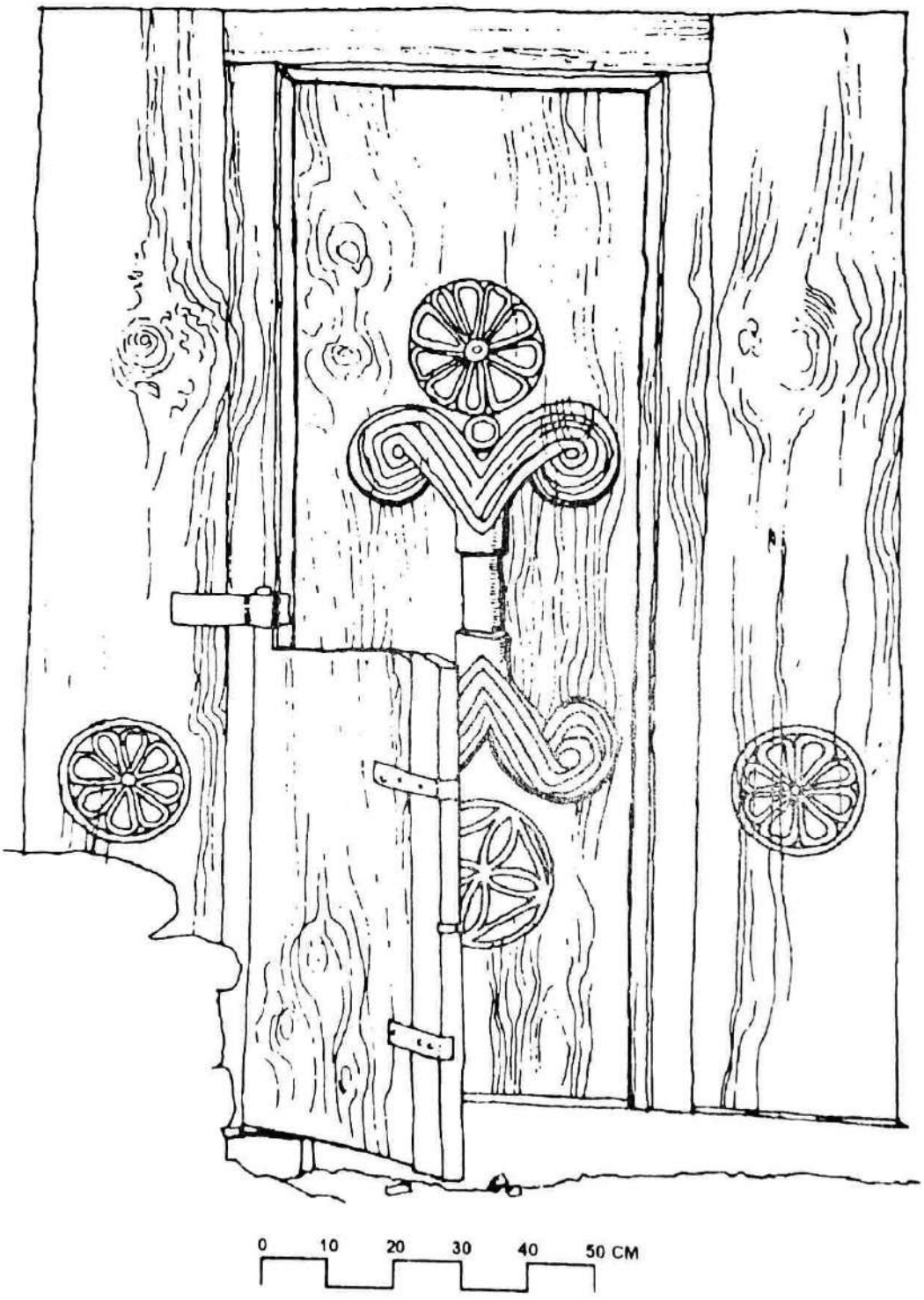


Figure 11 Carved door, Batrik

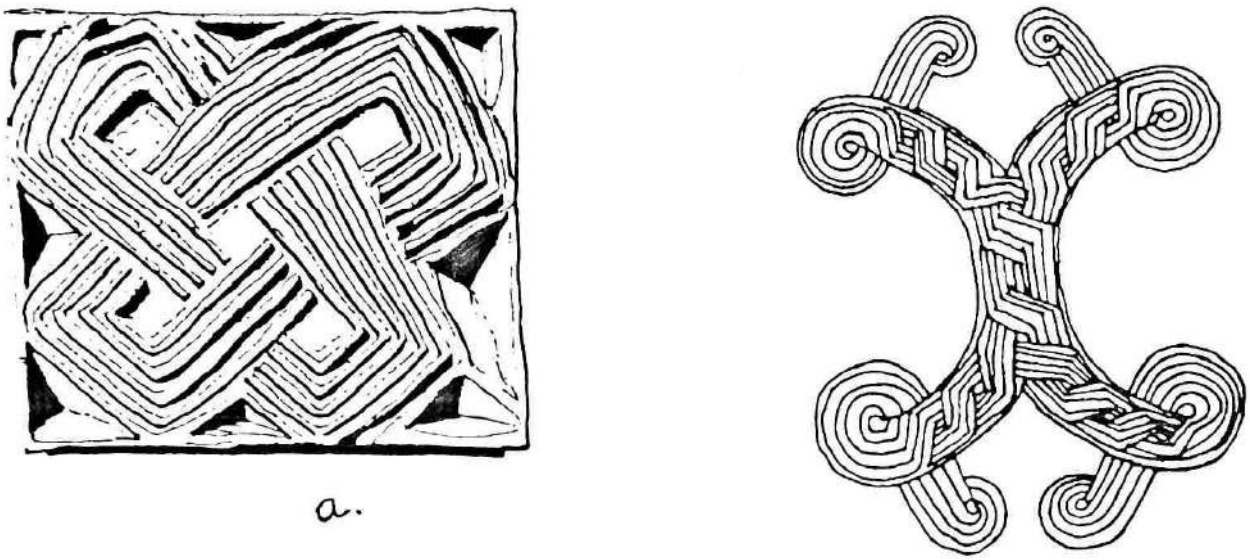


Figure 12 a. Wood-carving in Jeshtak han, Anish; b. Carved door handle, Brun.

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Tsyam Revisited: A Study of Kalasha Origins

Gail H. Trail[*]

1. Introduction

The people of the Kalasha valleys of Northern Pakistan intrigue those who visit them. Their special cultural traits and the unique dress of the women often prompt the question, 'Where did they come from?' This paper is a summary of research on their origins done intermittently since 1984 and reflects some highlights of what has been discovered so far in an ongoing project.

Current theories. The current scholarly theory holds that the Kalasha are most likely remnants of Indo-Aryan tribes. The neighbouring Nuristani languages are believed to be derived either from Indo-Aryan, reflecting a separation from the main stock before the era of the Vedic language (the oldest form of Indian Sanskrit), or alternately from an even earlier split off the Indo-Iranian parent language (see Morgenstierne 1945:225-38, 1974:9; Burrow 1973:73-4; Edelberg and Jones 1979:14-16; and Skalmowski 1985: 5-15.). Kalasha and most other languages of the northern Pakistan mountain area constitute the Dardic group of languages. They have been found to be derived from a much later form of Sanskrit (Fussman 1972). The Kalasha people are being studied with the belief that their religion probably reveals some features of the popular religion of the Indo-Aryans because of their partially Vedic pantheon (Loude 1984:15). Certainly their geographical isolation and resistance to conversion have preserved many ancient practices. Thus on the basis of the Vedic cults (and perhaps because of the close proximity to Nuristan with its ancient speech?) their origin has been thought to be the same as that of the Nuristanis — pockets of Indo-Aryans.

The other theory is that the Kalasha have some direct tie to the Greeks of Alexander's time, such as being remnants of his soldiers. This is based mainly on their legends and the various comparisons people have made between the Kalasha culture and Greek culture, plus the physical likenesses (e.g. Schrieider 1968). Now that several extensive studies have been made on Kalasha culture, it seems appropriate to attempt to make a more definite statement about their origins. What exactly do their legends tell us? Is there any evidence in their language and culture which throws light on the problems? What contribution do the archeological studies in the general area add to the issue? We believe there is enough new information to urge a more objective look at this second theory.

Reinterpretation of Tsyam. The Kalasha (and Nuristanis) maintain that they came from *Tsyam*. Loude has worked out a proposed history of the Kalasha people's movements from their accounts, and he places *Tsyam* south of present-day Nuristan (1984:13). We would like to start with a different interpretation of Tsyam and follow where it leads us.

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Gail H. Trail[*]

1. Introduction

The people of the Kalasha valleys of Northern Pakistan intrigue those who visit them. Their special cultural traits and the unique dress of the women often prompt the question, 'Where did they come from?' This paper is a summary of research on their origins done intermittently since 1984 and reflects some highlights of what has been discovered so far in an ongoing project.

Current theories. The current scholarly theory holds that the Kalasha are most likely remnants of Indo-Aryan tribes. The neighbouring Nuristani languages are believed to be derived either from Indo-Aryan, reflecting a separation from the main stock before the era of the Vedic language (the oldest form of Indian Sanskrit), or alternately from an even earlier split off the Indo-Iranian parent language (see Morgenstierne 1945:225-38, 1974:9; Burrow 1973:73-4; Edelberg and Jones 1979:14-16; and Skalmowski 1985: 5-15.). Kalasha and most other languages of the northern Pakistan mountain area constitute the Dardic group of languages. They have been found to be derived from a much later form of Sanskrit (Fussman 1972). The Kalasha people are being studied with the belief that their religion probably reveals some features of the popular religion of the Indo-Aryans because of their partially Vedic pantheon (Loude 1984:15). Certainly their geographical isolation and resistance to conversion have preserved many ancient practices. Thus on the basis of the Vedic cults (and perhaps because of the close proximity to Nuristan with its ancient speech?) their origin has been thought to be the same as that of the Nuristanis — pockets of Indo-Aryans.

The other theory is that the Kalasha have some direct tie to the Greeks of Alexander's time, such as being remnants of his soldiers. This is based mainly on their legends and the various comparisons people have made between the Kalasha culture and Greek culture, plus the physical likenesses (e.g. Schrieider 1968). Now that several extensive studies have been made on Kalasha culture, it seems appropriate to attempt to make a more definite statement about their origins. What exactly do their legends tell us? Is there any evidence in their language and culture which throws light on the problems? What contribution do the archeological studies in the general area add to the issue? We believe there is enough new information to urge a more objective look at this second theory.

Reinterpretation of Tsyam. The Kalasha (and Nuristanis) maintain that they came from *Tsyam*. Loude has worked out a proposed history of the Kalasha people's movements from their accounts, and he places *Tsyam* south of present-day Nuristan (1984:13). We would like to start with a different interpretation of Tsyam and follow where it leads us.

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In Urdu, Persian, and Arabic *Sham* means Syria. In comparing the words *Sham* and *Tsyam* the relation of the sounds *sh* and *ts* brings us to the special area of linguistic difference carefully studied by comparative linguists where Sanskrit has *sh* and Nuristani has *sh* or *ts* (Block 1965:51). Morgenstierne sees the Nuristani *ts* in Kalasha in some words as well (1973:198). Therefore *Sham* and *Tsyam* are very possible referring to the same place, the country called Syria in Greek and English. This gives us a linguistic basis for examining the Kalasha as a people from Syria, also known as *Aram* from the Aramaean people there (IBD 1980, V.I:88).

Primary objections addressed. The immediate objection to this — namely that the Kalasha speak a language derived from Sanskrit rather than Aramaic or Greek — is easily answered. A change of language is often the natural result of living over a period of time in contact with another language which is the widespread lingua franca. In Alexander's time the *Prakrits* (regional Sanskrit dialects) were widely used across Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India. So we would suggest that the Kalasha learned the Northwest Prakrit long ago, before their fortunes changed and they became isolated groups in the side valleys of Chitral. How the original Kalasha language may have disappeared is exemplified by the fate of the Greek spoken by the Bactrian Greeks. Its slow decline and corruption of forms can be verified by a study of the Greek written on coins of the Indo-Greek kings and of the succeeding dynasties in control of Afghanistan and northern Pakistan (Mitchiner 1978). Woodcock states that in the second century A.D. the Bactrian Greeks had become absorbed into the surrounding population of India and lost their language (1966:22), though Greek legends on coins are still seen until 410 A.D. (Mitchiner 1978:205). So whatever they spoke when they came from Tsyam the fact that the Kalasha language is Indic now is not an insurmountable objection. Instead, it accurately reflects the historical process for Greek as documented by coin legends. Another major objection to address at the beginning is the problem of Vedic religious remnants. Do these not prove that the Kalashareligion came from the Indo-Aryan beliefs and thus the people must have been Indo-Aryans? Our response to this is that the Hellenistic era was a time of great religious experimentation and change. The cults of Syria, Egypt, and Asia Minor appealed to the philosophical Greeks who were dissatisfied with their classical religion and ready to try something new, especially if it had personal experiences of a god and promised eternal life. They also had a belief that some gods were associated with a particular geographic location, and would naturally want to be sure they properly honoured the powers of their new homeland. Since the Hellenized peoples were very syncretistic, and tended to adopt new gods as alternate forms of ones they already believed in, the stage was set for the amalgamation of their own beliefs into Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism when they came to India. The Kalasha coming from Syria would have been subject to those trends of the time. (In a later paper we plan to explore more deeply the various layers of the Kalasha belief system and its possible origins.)

We will begin this paper by looking at background information on Syria. A close look at the history of the Seleucid activities in the East follows. Then the Kalasha legends of their origins are examined in connection with the Seleucid era. Further historical, racial, and epigraphical details which contribute to the theory are explored. Comparisons are made between some specifics of the cultures of the Mideast and of the Kalasha people. In conclusion the author suggests the wider implications of this study and areas where further research is needed.

2. Syrian history

Ancient times. Briefly we review the history of Syria to see exactly who we are talking about when we say 'Syrians'. The geographical position of Syria made it one of the greatest highways of the ancient world. Because it was surrounded by stronger countries and because its rainfall was not adequate for it to compete on equal terms with Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Asia Minor, it became a place which the larger countries conquered as they fought among themselves. The new cultures which these invaders brought mingled with the old, and Syria became a melting pot of ideas, languages, and art. Thus a distinctly 'Syrian' culture is difficult to identify (Glubb 1967:8, 17–18).

From Glubb (1967:18–34) we will summarize the main features of Syria's past. About 3500 B.C. the Sumerians dominated Syria and Iraq; their origin is unknown but they were non-Semitic and highly civilized. Some time before 2500 B.C. the Amorites, perhaps nomads from Central Arabia, defeated the Sumerians and imposed on them their Semitic language, although Sumerian remained as a learned language for several centuries. The Amorites learned reading, writing, and agriculture from the Sumerians. In the 2400's both Babylon (also apparently a Sumerian–Semite fusion) and Egypt had periods of domination, Egypt retaining influence along the coastal area.

About 1600 B.C., the term 'Canaanite' appears on the coastal plain, perhaps not a distinct race but a word for the people living in the area. Their dialect was akin to Arabic, but as skilled metal workers and horse breeders they may well have come from the north. The Hurrians or Horites also seem to have infiltrated from the north as early as 2400 and perhaps were part of the Hyksos who conquered Egypt in about 1730 B.C. About 1500 B.C. the Hurrians (non-Semites) formed a powerful state in northern Syria. Meanwhile the Hittites were a strong kingdom in Asia Minor with extensive contacts in Syria; about 1450 B.C. they conquered all of Syria and after further clashes with Egypt gained a long term of control over Lebanon — Syria. (Their language is related to Indo–European though different in some major ways.)

The existing mix of peoples along the coast began to be called Phoenicians by the Greeks in the fifteenth century B.C., the name coming from the Greek word for 'purple' from the dye made in Tyre. Though they were of mixed Semitic–European origin, they spoke a Semitic language. They were great traders and colonists, later going probably as far as Britain one way and India the other, and founding Carthage and other colonies. They were a major sea power for nearly a thousand years!

In the thirteenth century, a new wave of nomads from the desert and northern Mesopotamia (IBD, V.I:89–90), perhaps from Central Arabia before that (Glubb 1967:23), began infiltrating Syria, and the Hittite empire declined to small states. The newcomers were Aramaeans, and as they settled they learned the culture of the former peoples but imposed their Semitic language, Aramaic. The language was written using the Phoenician script and in later times became an important trade and governmental language. It was used as far as Central Asia and India where its script was adapted to write other languages, the script being called *Kharoshti*.

After 860 B.C., the armies of the great powers extended their rule over Syria. Assyria with its notorious cruelty was first, largely controlling it for over two centuries until 612 B.C., when the Babylonians or Chaldeans allied with the Medes captured Ninevah. The Chaldeans in turn were conquered by Cyrus in 538 B.C. and the Persians

with the Medes ruled Syria for 200 years of prosperity and stability. As the Persian empire grew weaker in the 400's, Greek businessmen began to settle in along the sea coast, while the Syrians' ports were home to the Persian fleet. The Greeks' classical age was flourishing, and Greek mercenaries in service to the Persians were exploring their world.

The Greek era. When Alexander burst on the scene to fulfill his father's desire to defeat the Persians, Tyre was one of his victims. In 322 B.C. he laid siege to the city for eight months and finally crushed it, taking many thousands captive as slaves (Bevan 1902:229). Other parts of Syria were subdued more easily and a new era of foreign rule began. After Alexander's death his officers fought over the far-flung empire he had just wrested from the Persians. By 301 B.C. Seleucus emerged as the ruler of Syria and the lands to the north and east as far as India. He decided to make the capital of his kingdom in Syria, founding Antioch in his father's honor.

From 306 B.C. until their defeat by Rome in 64 B.C., the Seleucid dynasty ruled with varying fortunes (Bevan 1902). It is important to note that their empire was known as 'Syria' even though the Greeks dominated it (Bar-Kochva 1976:224, n. 94). The term Syrian-Greek is sometimes used by scholars to designate it more specifically as the Seleucid era. In the Persian *Dinkard* (quoted in Finegan 1952:105-6, 110), the Seleucid era Syrians were referred to as *Aruman* (from *Arum*, the Persian version of *Aram*, and subsequently the name of the eastern empire of the Romans). So the old terms continued to be used for the new mixture in Syria as Hellenistic Greeks with their institutions and culture intermingled with the native peoples.

Colonies of the Greeks. Following Alexander's example of founding colonies of soldiers to retain control over his realm and to reward his mercenaries (seventy foundations according to Plutarch, quoted in Cohen 1978:1), many new colonies were started by the Seleucids. The major period of foundation was up until about 250 B.C., the work of Seleucus I and his son, Antiochus I, whom he sent to oversee the eastern satrapies. Cohen has done an extensive study on the Seleucid colonies and finds seventy possible foundations by the Seleucid rulers, fifty of them by Seleucus I Nicator according to Appian (Cohen 1978:1, 11), though many are hard to trace now.

Since Alexander, Seleucus, and their successors drew from a wide range of peoples for their armies, there were a variety of cultures in the colonies they founded. The Macedonians were joined by other Greeks from Asia Minor, Crete, Illyria, Thrace, and Attica, plus other nationalities such as Medes and Asians. Thus through both the settlements made up of military retirees and the active garrisons many cults of that time spread into far distant places.

Some known colonies in Afghanistan. One of the several colonies recorded for Bactria and Sogdiana (Strabo says eight; Justin, twelve — quoted in Bevan 1902:276), the excavated city of *Ai Khanum* in northern Afghanistan gives us a good view of the mix of Grecian and non-Grecian elements. It had a Greek gymnasium but an oriental style temple. It was probably Alexander's foundation Alexandria Oxiana, established as an outpost of his Bactrian satrapy. There are many ruins of other settlements of the same era in the area around it (MacDowell and Taddei 1982:218).

Alexander founded *Nicaea* near present-day Jalalabad (or where Kabul is now) and at least four settlements in the area of the southern approaches to the Hindukush: *Alexandria-on-the-Caucusus* (probably Bagram near Kapisa), *Cartana* (later *Tetragonis*), *Cadrusi*,

and *Asterusia* (a Cretan colony named after the Cretan mountain now called Mt. Ida) (Bevan 1902, V.I:274). (Bevan says the Cretans were great as fighters in mountain areas; they were archers, slingers, and javelineers who could easily climb precipices as they carried small shields (1902,V.II:19)).

What colonies did Seleucus I establish in the east? To help us in this question vital to our theory, a brief focus on the first years of Seleucus' reign is needed. When Seleucus regained Babylon from Antigonus in 312 B.C., he needed to march again to the eastern areas and assert his control over the lands won by Alexander. From 311 to 302 B.C. he made his authority supreme from the Euphrates to Bactria and western Arachosia. Very unfortunately for us, no materials survive telling of specific campaigns and foundations during this nine-year period (Bevan 1902:57). We only know that his encounters with Chandra Gupta, the Mauryan empire-builder, resulted in Seleucus ceding him the Indus Valley area — eastern Arachosia, Parapamisidae (perhaps), Taxila, and Gandhara — in 303 B.C. (Dupree 1980:284; Mitchiner 1978:63). He gave Chandra Gupta his daughter and gained 500 elephants, a vital factor at the Battle of Ipsus in 301 B.C. when Seleucus gained Syria from Antigonus.

But Seleucus still held the great city and province of Bactria which controlled a major prosperous trade route to China and India — the development of the eastern trade being a major concern of Seleucus (Bevan 1902:282–3). Bactria was also important because of its horses and the valuable products of the ancient Badakhshan, lapis lazuli and ruby mines, the minerals, and the gold from the mountains — 'Bactrian gold'. (Formerly, Darius's satrapy of Bactria — the Gandharans, the Sattagydes, the Aparaytes, and the Dardicae — had given 170 talents of gold as tribute (Herodotus, quoted by Peissel 1984:197)!) Since the Hindukush and Dardic areas were included in the former Persian satrapy of Bactria (Jettmar 1980:11), we may surmise that the areas in the mountains which Alexander conquered as part of Bactria were reconquered and kept under Seleucid control — areas like Kunar, Bajaur, Swat, and Dir. Since the expedition took nine years to complete, Seleucus might even have gone beyond where he went as Alexander's companion in his desire to control the wealth of the East.

Fate of the eastern colonies. The defeat of Seleucus's grandson Antiochus II, when he marched east to subdue the rebel Parthians, Bactrian Greeks, and Sogdian Greeks, cut off the Seleucid colonists from direct rule from Syria around 250 B.C. His successor Antiochus III succeeded in subduing Bactria in 206 B.C., letting their rulers be called 'kings'. He marched south and made an agreement with the Mauryan ruler (probably his relative from Seleucus' daughter's family) in the Kabul valley to get more elephants and supplies for his army. For about 200 years the Greek dynasties ruled Bactria and Sogdiana, leaving beautifully crafted coins as their main record for us. How extensively their rule, which lasted until about 130 B.C. when the Central Asian nomads took over, was maintained in the Hindukush and the Dardic part of Greater Bactria is uncertain, but perhaps it was administered through the mountain passes to the south and east via the Munjan area.

The Bactrian Greeks, forced south by the nomads, ruled from about 110–10 B.C. in new Indo-Greek kingdoms in the Kabul valley, further east in the Gandhara and Taxila areas, and beyond. But they had difficulty keeping control of their small kingdoms for long. Coins provide the most concrete evidence of this turbulent era. The belief that their origin was from Alexander maintained by many local rulers may have come from this and

the preceding period, since Greek colonists gained control of various areas in the mountains and on the plains. Coins indicate small kingdoms located even in far-away Hazara, Mathura, and Jammu (Mitchiner 1978:299–306).

Perhaps the suggested origin of Skardu as an Alexandria may come from those days. The gold of Bactria's mountains could possibly have attracted Greek adventurers as far as the upper Indus, but maybe they came from the north rather than up the Indus. Peissel's lengthy search for the gold of the Persians 'and Greeks' in Ladakh had intriguing results (see his *L'Or Des Fourmis*). This whole three hundred year period of eastern Greek dynasties and city states proves that the myth that Alexander just left a few stragglers behind is totally unfounded.

Native Syrians. Let us return to Syria at the point of the beginning of the Seleucid era. We remember that the native Syrians were a racial mixture — stock from the Amorites, Hurrians, Hittites, Arameaens, Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians mixed in varying amounts. They were conquered by the Macedonian Greeks and their mixed Greek armies. We see the native Syrians keeping their ways and language in the villages but being incorporated into new Greek cities as second-class citizens (Walbank 1981:125). We observe the extensive colonization of Syria itself by new immigrants from Greece, and by the military retirees, as Seleucus attempted to make a 'New Macedonia' there (Glubb 1967:34; Bar Kochva 1976:72).

On the other hand, there is a noticeable lack of native Syrians being recruited for the army. Bar Kochva says it probably was a policy of not arming the locals lest they rise up against their conquerors. Instead they acquired new Greek recruits from various countries and from the retired military families and in that way kept an army that would be loyal to the Greeks (1976:52–3, 69).

There is a possibility that some native Syrians were recruited — or forced — to be civilian or military colonists to help consolidate the empire. They would be particularly useful in maintaining garrisons where the control of territory conquered by the Greeks was threatened by nomads or warlike tribes (Cohen 1978:4, 51). A historical example of this population transfer is the record of 2000 families of Jews living in Babylon being sent to rebellious Lydian and Phrygian colonies and given home sites, farmland, and land for vineyards in order to man the garrisons and most important places there (Cohen 1978:5–9, 30).

We thus arrive at the quite plausible theory that Seleucus I could have sent native Syrians to far-away Greater Bactria to hold his territory there. By that he would gain their lands in Syria to give to his retiring Greeks, rid himself of possible internal revolt, plus have his extensive realm guarded — a good deal! An alternate possibility is that the Greek soldiers may have taken Syrian wives and settled in the far east in Seleucus' land grant program when they retired. We suggest that both of these scenarios quite possibly happened together.

3. Kalasha history

Shalak Shah legends. Let us turn now to the tales told by the Kalasha themselves about their origin. We and others have recorded this brief text: *'Shalak Shah* came from *Tsyam* leading his army. He won Chitral, and the Kalasha then occupied Chitral up to the

northern valleys.' We see a different version with similar information in Morgenstierne's Text E (1973:66). There the person *Bacha Shah Laksha* we would read rather as *Bacha* 'great king' *Shalak Shah*. The text is similarly just a brief statement: 'The great king *Shalak Shah* went on an expedition and captured Kunar, Bajaur, and Balashkuran.' (This was recently confirmed by a Kalasha friend as referring to *Shalak Shah* and recognized as a song sung by the women at the *Rat Nat* dances.)

Loude records the first *Shalak Shah* origin legend, plus gives an additional legend about *Shalak Shah* fighting in the service of *Sikander Mukadas*, King of Yarkhun in the north of Chitral (Loude and Lievre 1980:61, 166) against the *Rais* in the north. But this was the *Sikander* which other legends he recorded clearly connected to Alexander the Great (Loude and Lievre 1980:156-62). The story relates that since *Shalak Shah* fought for his area and defeated the *Rais* 'chief' *Shah Nasser*, Sikander wanted to divide his kingdom with *Shalak Shah* as a reward. But *Shalak Shah* wanted only a free place to have a good life. Chitral was then rather unoccupied so he asked for a home there from *Sikander*. His four sons divided the Chitral area among themselves, becoming fathers of the Chitralis. Some later became Muslim, some stayed Kalasha. Different versions of the sons' land divisions exist. Loude recounts the version where Gahiret, Drosh, Chitral, and Lutkoh valley are named (Loude and Lievre 1980:166). Siiger says the four parts were Gahiret, Drosh and Birir; Bumburet and Rumbur; Chitral Fort and its surroundings; and the Lutkoh valley (Siiger 1956:33) — the main difference being the addition of their present valleys.

Legend interpretation. We would like to propose that there is a connection between Seleucus and his eastern campaign in 311-302 B.C. and the Kalasha's *Shalak Shah* leading his army from *Tsyam*. Linguistically it fits; the Sanskritized form of Seleucus would reduce the vowels to *a*'s and pronounce the *s* as *sh*, the *-us* dropped later, becoming *Shalak*. Since Seleucus proclaimed himself king of the eastern part of the former Persian empire in 306 B.C., the use of the Persian *shah* 'king' is not surprising. *Sikander* is a common local name for Alexander. The historic relationship between Alexander and Seleucus parallels that between *Sikander* and *Shalak Shah* in the legend.

This possibly telescoped story prompts several questions. Was *Rais Shah Nassar* possibly a reference to Ptolemy, Greek King of Egypt (Arabic *Messer*)? Was his defeat by *Shalak Shah* an allusion to Seleucus' struggles over the years after Alexander's death as he progressed from being one of Ptolemy's captains to being his rival as master of the eastern empire of Alexander? Did Alexander have a colony at Yarkhun in upper Chitral? Why is there no mention in the land distribution of the lower Kunar (Chitral) river area where the *Joshi* song 'Luli' records the celebration of the spring festival as far south as Asmar in Afghanistan? If this story is actually representing the Alexander and Seleucus relationship it has probably become more logical over the centuries in that Seleucus' four sons inherit the different areas rather than his officers. (We have found no record of his having sons other than Antiochus, though he might have.) Actually it is an astounding thing for the story to have apparently survived almost 2300 years in as clear a form as it has!

Evidence that there might actually have been a son involved survives in Brun in the Bumburet Valley. There live the *Shalak-Dari* 'Shalak clan' (claiming to be named after their ancestor) who came in retreat from Chitral when their last king was defeated about five hundred years ago. Of course this legend could just represent a later *Shalak Shah*

named after the great king rather than a telescoping of two different hero stories. We have been told that the Kalasha reigned in Chitral for 500 years rather than a few generations as recorded by Loude, so the people themselves are not in agreement in these matters of long ago.

We would like to posit, however, that the above texts give us a distant, 2300 year old Kalasha-eye view of Seleucus Nicator's reconquest of the Bactrian areas won by Alexander. The second *Shalak Shah* legend gives a broader location to this expedition, Kunar, Bajaur, and Balashkuran (= Balasgur? of Luli 4 which is located in the lower Kunar area near Sau by Morgenstierne (1973:58, 60)). This would connect with the reconquest of that area previously won by Alexander as recorded by Arrian. Perhaps the legend of the famous *Kator*, ancestor of the former Kator dynasty of Chitral and of the Khushwaqt dynasty of Yasin, are another view of this same conquest by Seleucus. *Kator* is said to be a *Kafir* who ruled from Jalalabad to Gilgit. His name might have come from *Nicator*, 'the Victor', Seleucus I's title!

Later history. We will not try to refigure Kalasha history after that early point since it needs further study. The archeological findings from Bagram and Hadda and other places in the area should be examined for more clues in this regard. Edelberg and Jones state that the Waigali people — who also state they are Kalasha (Morgenstierne 1973:1) but speak a Nuristani language — claim an origin in the Jalalabad area (Edelberg and Jones 1979:17). They also knew of the Chitrali-Kalasha's sojourn in their Waigal valley in Nuristan. Twenty generations have now passed since the coming of some Kalasha to Bumburet based on the list of ancestors by Morgenstierne (1973:170). At thirty years per generation, this would have happened 600 years ago, around A.D. 1400. In general, Loude's system of an earlier and later Kalasha movement in Chitral makes the most sense out of the known details (1984:190-91). Certainly the many invasions — Parthians, Saka nomads, Hephtalites — and particularly Mahmud's repeated attempts to destroy idolatry after A.D. 1000 — disturbed and scattered the settled peoples of the Jalalabad and Kunar region (Loude and Lievre 1980:165; Haig 1928:III,11-27).

4. Corroborating details

Epigraphical clues. Looking at archeological evidence for further corroboration of the Syrian-Greek origin theory, we would suggest that the kinds of people in Seleucus (or Alexander's) settlements in this area are reflected in the inscriptions found in Laghman and Kandahar. Abstracts of Ashoka's edicts were found written in Aramaic in three inscriptions in the Laghman area (McDowell and Taddei 1981:192), one with Prakrit words inserted as helps for understanding.

Because Ashoka used the languages and scripts of the localities in which he set up his inscriptions, the use of Aramaic with Prakrit translations would seem to prove the existence of numerous Syrians along side the expected speakers of the Indian Northwest Prakrit. (Prakrit was the common language there at that time, rather than Persian.) We suggest therefore that there could have been people movements of native Syrians to this area following the time of Seleucus's conquest while the Greeks were taking over their homeland. Though the Laghman area is Islamic now, some of the women even today look very similar to the Kalasha with their many braids, black dresses with embroidered necks,

fairness, and blond features. They speak either Pashai or Parachi, languages classed as Dardic along with Kalasha. (Greek and Aramaic inscriptions found in Kandahar show that people there around 250 B.C. knew these languages. One Aramaic inscription also has phrase-by-phrase translation into the Prakrit (McDowell and Taddei 1981:193). This may point the way for some serious research into the Balochi legend that *they* came from Syria!)

Place names. From Chinese records, Jettmar finds a Chinese name for a district west of Little Bolor (the Gilgit River Valley area). It is called *She-mi* and is located by Jettmar in Nuristan. Because of the fact that Sung Yun crosses this area traveling from the Zebak region to Swat (Jettmar 1980:7–9), we would place it in the Chitral (Kunar) valley rather than in Nuristan itself. This Chinese *She-mi* may be a form of *Sham* or *Tsyam*, a reference to the Syrian-Greek kingdom. In this respect in the lower Pech River valley (which leads to the Waigal area of *Kalashum*) there is a place called *Shamir Kot* at the juncture of a side valley. This may be another Sham/Syria reference, *kot* meaning 'fort'. In the upper Waigal area there is *Tsam-gal*, while off the Pech River is *Tsari-gal* (from Syria?), and off the Alingar River is the *Shama* valley.

There are many place names in the Kunar and Hindukush areas which may have originated from Greek or Syrian names. *Kandarisar* in Bumburet, said to be the first place inhabited in Bumburet, may have been Alexander's *Hissar* 'fort (Pers.)', place of the original *Balaliks* whom Raja Wai from Waigal conquered around A.D. 1400. The word *Balalik*, whether or not referring to people who were Kalasha, might have come from Balkh (= same word that is found in 'Badakhshan' since /l/ and /d/ were often interchanged in this area?). (Incidently, could the mountains of Balkh possibly have been renamed after the Balkan Mountains north of Macedonia, and the Oxus river after the Axios of Macedonia?) On the other hand *Balalik* may be derived more easily from 'Little Bolor' (*Balal* plus diminutive ending *-ik*). (Could *Bolor* come from Persian *bala* 'height' and the 'small' and 'great' be reflective of the relative size of the surrounding mountains of the two areas, thus 'smaller heights' and 'greater heights'?).

The name of Birir Valley, *Biriu* in Kalashamun, might be related to Berea, a Macedonian city, while its highest village *Beo/Bio* could be named after Boeotia, an area north of Attica in Greece. The *Ramgal* Valley might have originally been *Aram-gal*, *gah* or *gal* being 'valley' in Nuristani. The *Rumbur* valley (called *Rugmu* by the Kalasha) may also have been from *Aram/Arum* plus *qu—ku* or *qu* being 'valley' in Kalasha—becoming *Rugmu* through metathesis and the dropping of the initial *a*. It seems significant to us that there are seven names possibly referring directly either to *Sham* or *Aram*.

Please permit some further speculations about names. The *Ashtara-gala* pass above Chimi sounds like the Syrian goddess *Ashtoreh* and also reminds us of the Cretan colony of Alexander somewhere in this area, *Asterusia* (from *Aster* and *Usha* being the 'dawn' goddesses of East and West?). *Nishei-grom* in the Waigal valley area, and *Nisar* at the junction of the Birir Valley and the Chitral River are similar to *Nysa*, the fabled Thracian place where Dionysus was brought up. *Ayun* (*e h e* in Kalasha) might come from the old capital of Macedonia, Aegae. The town of *Pech* and the *Pech* River recall Pech in Macedonia. Either the Alingar or the Alishang Rivers which flow into the Laghman area might possibly be from Alexander's name. As a final guess perhaps *Hadda*, near Jalalabad, was a Sanskrit or Persian form of *Hella*, name of the Greek world!

Now we would like to turn to an examination of the people and their culture and state some things which corroborate the theory that the Kalasha may have been Seleucid Syrian–Greek colonists originally.

Physical appearance. Both Semitic and Caucasian features seems to be common in the native Syrians of Seleucus' time. The Hittites have been linked with tall and large-nosed Caucasian features. The Semitic type is contrasting in that they are generally shorter, slight of build, and have dark hair and eye colouring with a more olive skin tone. The resulting mixture is similar to the mixed physical features of the Kalasha. The leading Kalasha families do seem to have a higher incidence of lighter colouring so it might reflect an old hierarchy in that way. Dupree cites Professor Debets' 1965 research on the fringes of Nuristan where he found a greater proportion of Mediterranean–Indian types among the people than in Nuristan itself — especially in the central and remoter areas. Dupree himself puts blondism at least thirty per cent in those areas (Dupree 1980:65). So this may collaborate our positing Syrian colonists in the fringe area of Nuristan.

Kalasha dress. One of the most striking features of Kalasha culture is the women's outfit. The black cotton or brown wool dress, *čeo*, is made from a length of fabric with the neck hole cut as a slash and trimmed with embroidery of stylized crossed goat horns or branches. A similar long dress of Greece is the Ionic *chiton* but it was usually made in a different way with the fabric sideways. The corresponding long dress in Syria is made the Kalasha way. A clay model of two women musicians from north Syria in the first century A.D. shows this type of dress with a belt tied below the waist (Weiss 1985:420–1). Wrapped in the same place, the Kalasha belt, a long woven wool *paTi* with designs woven into the ends, hoists the extra-long dress off the ground and forms a pouch for carrying things in. A *paTi* is either red or white. In a photo labeled 'Women in the hills of Judea' similar black dresses and red belts are seen even today (Alexander 1973:536). In Jordan and Israel we have seen the Palestinians dress similarly except for two lines of stitching or embroidery full length down the front of the dress. Topham (1981:67) shows a similar Arabic tribal (Bani Malik) dress, *thowb*, from the Asir area in Saudi Arabia.

The *kupas*, the Kalasha women's headdress (see Loude 1984:41–2), has cowrie shells over much of its surface. These shells, long ago used as money, are seen as fertility symbols. They are also used on a young girl's decorated *quba'a* (Arabic) from the Hijaz, Saudi Arabia (Bani Salim tribe), made about 1900. The word *quba'a* comes either from the primitive Semitic root 'to cover' or from a Philistine word for 'helmet' which may have come from the same root (Ward 1971:42). The Arabic *quba'a* has two long strips that look like ibex horns going back from the top of the forehead (Topham 1981:106). It also resembles another headdress from Sardinia (home of Phoenician colonies) called a *capricorna* 'goat-horn' (Harrold and Legg 1978:pl. 21). There are two places on the Kalasha *kupas* called *SingOyak* 'horn-points' where feathers or stalks of wheat are sometimes attached. When they are it looks like two horns coming out of the top of the head.

The Kalasha women's braids are distinctive in that there are five of them, and one comes forward from the top of the forehead (perhaps also like a horn?). On the present Syrian one hundred lira bill is a woman with a helmet which has a taller and shorter horn combined together in the center. There is an old horn headdress from the Druse women on Mt. Lebanon with a single central forward-angled horn pictured in Kitto's *Illustrated Commentary* (1840, Vol. iv:280–2), a 'distinguishing badge of wifehood'. Ward (photo

opp. p. 64) and current postcards in Syria show an upright horn covered with a light cloth as part of the national costume of Lebanon. A nineteenth century scholar traveling in Lebanon, Walpole, (*The Ansayri* 1851, Vol.iii:16) quoted by Hislop (1916:36), regarded the Lebanese horns as relics of the ancient worship of Astarte.

The Kalasha *šushutr*, a decorated headband with a band hanging down the back, may have some relationship to the *shutfa*, the Bedouin woman's scarf (Topham 1981:104, 188). The piles of red beads sported by the Kalasha women are called *māhāyk*, and Topham lists 'coral necklace' as *mehnaka* in his Arabic list (1981:186).

The geometric designs of Kalasha embroidery and decoration parallel the 'oriental' patterns of Syria much more than purely Greek patterns. They use lozenges, crossed horns, sunbursts, zigzags, triangles, cross-hatching, checks, etc. (Loude 1984:113). The designs which can be seen carved by young girls on their dancing sticks at *Joshi* festival time are very similar to patterns found on Moroccan and Algerian flutes (Jenkins and Olsen 1976:56). (North Africa was also an area of Phoenician colonization.) They are also found on ivory items dug up from the Hellenistic layer in Kadesh, near Homs in Syria. The nested circle design on the bone spacers of a nine-strand Kalasha necklace is also on ivory objects found in Kadesh (Pezard 1931:pl.xix, Fig. 1, 2).

The Kalasha use fringes, tassels, beads, chains, buttons, pompons, feathers, and bells for decorations, favouring the colors red, black, and white. Topham shows similar use of these in Arabian folk productions. Use of henna to dye hands and antimony for the eyes, tattoos, and lots of jewelry are practices of both the Kalasha and the Bedouins (Randall 1968:170–2). Jewelry which includes neck torques and wide bracelets are similar as well. An ornament on display in the Palmyra Museum in Syria (said to be for the side of a woman's head but with no indication of era of use) is very similar to the central design on the pillars of the *JešTak han*. It looks like three phases of the moon connected by chains.

The Kalasha *kaSong*, the flat-topped wool cap of the men, is found in a wide area in northwest Pakistan and eastern Afghanistan. It might have derived from the Macedonian *kausia* which the Seleucid and Ptolemaic kings themselves liked to wear (Bevan 1902:274). It was a wide felt disk with a short lower piece which held it on the head. One can be seen on a coin of Antimachus of Bactria (about 185 B.C.) (Boardman 1986:393). Schomberg says the Kalasha effigies used to be carved with a flat cap (he saw one) but then they began to copy the more ornate Kati headdress meant to be a turban (1938:50).

The old costume of the men has not completely died out. It is worn sometimes for shepherding and for festivals. The young boys undergoing initiation are also dressed in this outfit, which is like that on the effigies (for photo see Loude 1984:283). *But*, wide pants of white wool, come to below the knees where they are bound by puttees down the legs. The special version of this is called *dašak but* and has *dašak* 'fringe', plus woven-in designs on the top that folds down over the waist band, looking somewhat like a kilt. Topham says the *burda* 'mantle' of the Arabs is from the word *burd* 'wool' from which it is made (1981:186). Perhaps a similar source can be proven for Kalasha *but*. The fringe reminds one of the fringe on Assyrian and Sumerian clothes. The Assyrians were also noted for their skillful weaving of designs.

The other shorter Kalasha wool pants are called *šualak* (*-ak* meaning 'small'), which may come from the same root as do *shirlwal*, Arabic for underdrawers or pantaloons (Topham 1981:188), and Urdu *šalwar*, the wide loose pants of Pakistan. This example

shows the constant problem of distinguishing between Semitic words coming from Arabic relatively recently through Urdu or Persian and much older words coming from Aramaic.

The bright shiny robes of Kalasha men worn on special occasions, robes of honour, recall the robes of the Syrian high priest, Elagabal, who became the Emperor of Rome in later Roman times (Tarton 1974:150). He wore jewelry as well. He was from the town of Emesa in southern Syria, near modern Homs. One name the Kalasha call a fully decorated man performing the *biramor*, the highest level of feasting, is *arman shah*, 'chief like in ancient times' (Loude 1984:132). This could be 'Aruman/Aramean king', the ancient chiefs of *Arum/Aram!* Another reference to *Aram* is that their different method of animal slaughter, decapitation, is called *aram mos* 'Aram meat' (Loude 1984:124).

Kalasha buildings. The houses of the Kalasha and others in a wider area have the same structure as the very old megaroon 'palace' buildings found in the Danube area, in Asia Minor, and on Crete. They have a square main room, central hearth surrounded by four pillars, and a front porch or entrance. The Kalasha wood and stone type of construction is similar as well. A series of plaques in faience from Middle II Minoan culture (on Crete) shows very similar houses. They have windows in the upper floors, are two or more storeys high, and have flat roofs with sometimes a small building on top. The construction shown is of plastered or bricked areas alternating with squared beams or round beams with the ends showing (Mackendrick 1962:28, 52, 54). The Kalasha word *dur* 'house' may be related to the Aramaic *dura* 'fortress (used in *Dura-Europos*, a Macedonian colony on the Euphrates) (Weiss 1985:370).

The *han* is the clan meeting hall and temple of the family goddess, Jeshtak. Its structure is similar to the megaroon structure above and it brings to mind the Hestia and Vesta temples of the Greco-Roman world where fire from the fatherland was kept burning at all times (except no fire is kept burning for Jeshtak). Hestia, Vesta, and *Jeshtak* are similar in being virgin clan goddesses who accepted sacrifices. The name 'Jeshtak Han' may be similar in form to the Greek designation for temples, like Artimision. The rams' heads on either side of the door are like Hittite and Urartu decorations, projecting out in full round, while the four horses of the Jeshtak plank recall the way horses symbolize divinity for the Greeks.

Religion and values. The non-material culture of the Kalasha makes a fascinating study. Many have made our work much easier by their excellent research. Gillian Darling's thesis on their feasts of honour, Palwal's thesis on the Mother Goddess, and Jean-Yves Loude and Viviane Lièvre's two books on the overall society and religion make a solid basis of information and interpretation. Professor Jettmar's forthcoming book on their religion which we were kindly able to read, and a recent article in *Ethnology* by the Cacopardo brothers help in analysing the Kalasha system. We have also benefitted from Peter Parkes' and Schuyler Jones' 1988 article in *Man*, and look forward to the publishing of Parkes' work on the social order and economy. All these scholarly analyses will be important in our next paper where we will try to present an assessment of the origins of the Kalasha beliefs.

To comment here on a few details, we would like to draw attention to the similarities between Kalasha and Mideast religions. The sacred groves of the Kalasha where altars to the gods are made are like Syrian and Greek groves. Altars on high places, *Asherah* planks, and *Baals* were characteristic of the Canaanite religion. Similar things are to be found among the Kalasha. The *Kasi* who supervises their religious ceremonies (also a term

in Islam) may be derived from the word for Chaldeans, Heb. *kashdim*, which Herodotus uses both racially and as a special class linked with magicians (IDB, 1980:930).

We have found clues to some possible identities of Balimain, the Kalasha god of Chaumos, who comes from *Tsyam* in their cult. The *Baals* or 'Lords' of Syria have many names since each city state had one. The 'national' god of Syria is *Baal-Shamin*, 'Lord of Heaven', equivalent to Zeus or Jupiter. He is symbolized on various steles as an eagle above two other eagles or above the sun and moon symbols (Godwin 1981:151-7). The eagle stories and the design on the large bread prepared at the Chaumos festival of the Kalasha (Loude 1984:267-70) are possibly related to one of these eagles. The identical eagle design may be seen tattooed on the hand of a Bedouin woman camped near Main, in North Yemen, in a photo (Abercrombie 1985:505). Another *Baal* to be considered is *Baal-Hammon* chief god of Carthage, a Phoenician colony, who was worshipped in Syria as well. More study is needed on these *Baals* that Balimain may have come from before a definite statement may be made.

The dualistic pure-impure system of the Kalasha seems to have ties to the Mideast. It seems to us that the Kalasha belief system may hold a key to how some of the post-Vedic changes came into Hinduism. It also will shed light on the now partially buried cults of those east and west of them. (We note that Nayyar's findings on colour symbolism from Astor go along with the system we find among the Kalasha (Nayyar 1984:69-75).)

5. Projects for the future

The origin of the Nuristanis. This paper has tried to explore just the Kalasha angle on the question of origins. We believe the evidence is weighty enough for serious consideration. Whatever the verdict for the Kalasha we also believe a theory of Syrian-Greek layers in the picture of origins for Nuristanis should not be ruled out. The myths, religion, material culture, and physical features all seem to indicate some strong connections with the Mid-east and Macedonia besides their obviously Vedic features. We offer some speculations on the origins given by the Nuristanis as areas for further research.

There are layers of people quite probably to be identified with the Persians, such as the name and traditions of the Kam tribe may illustrate. They say they come from the Kam tribe of the Jalalabad region and left rather than be converted, while others of their tribe remained. We suggest seeing them as the remainder of the *Kambojas* mentioned in ancient writings in association with the Yonas 'Greeks' in the Northwest India area. The word 'Kamboja' is the Persian form of Cambyces, one of the early Persian rulers, so his colonists might be revealed by that!

The widespread 'Qureish tribe of Arabia' origin claimed by some Nuristanis (Newby 1958:242) might just have been an association with the enemies of Islam which they heard about, particularly so if Qureishis were among the Syrian settlers of Seleucus and they remembered their old tribal name. (The Qureish are found in Syria today.) Or, if there had been continued contact between Seleucid Syrian settlers and their country of origin (for example, as traders would have had) there might have been a move by some Qureish to go east and settle near their distant kinsmen when Islam came and conquered their own country.

We do know that there were some Arabs in the Seleucid army. This is attested by Polybius, who refers to Zabdiel's 10,000 Arabs at the battle of Raphia (5.79, quoted by Bar-Kochva 1976:49, 229). The Arabs were famous as archers and were widely used later by the Romans. Bar-Kochva states they were probably tribes of the Syrian desert under a local sheikh, perhaps in the Tadmor (Palmyra) area, and probably considered Seleucid allies, not mercenaries. He believes their control of the main commercial route from south Arabia and India to the Mediterranean ports then occupied by Antiochus may have driven them to make overtures to him.

Another place of origin mentioned by Nuristanis is 'Maka'. There are three possibilities to explain this. Maka could be the Mecca of the above Qureishi group and refer to the city of Mecca in legendary identification or actual earlier residence. It could refer to *Makkah* north of Damascus, an area of sheep herders. Otherwise Maka may refer to Macedonia (pronounced *Makadonia*). This would fit nicely with the statement that the new Nuristan area was the 'Maka of the poor', a possible reference to Macedonian colonists being forced by overpopulation and their military obligations away from their beloved homeland. A historical reference to this homesickness is found in the attempt by over 20,000 foot and 3000 horse troops to march home from Bactria across Asia in 321 B.C. (Bevan 1902:32). This was stopped by the Macedonian chiefs in Iran (Dupree 1980:283). In thinking about the Nuristan peoples permit us some further speculations about their names.

The Seleucid colonies were called either *katoikiai* or *klerouchiai* (Walbank 1981:131). The *katoikiai* were military colonies and *klerouchiai* were land-grant colonies. The name of the *Katir* people of Nuristan might possibly have come from *katoikoi* 'military colonists' (Cohen 1978:4-5, 20-1). Or it may be from *Nicator*, Seleucus' title. *Atrozan*, 'nobles' which some Nuristanis call themselves, might have come from Gk. *hetairoi*, 'the companions', an elite group around Alexander who were from noble families in Macedonia. The *Bari* class in Nuristan, and among the Kalasha in the old days, people who are like a craftsmen's guild but looked down upon, may have come from the Gk. *barbaros* 'foreign'. The widespread prevalence of slavery, usually of foreigners, among the Greeks fits with this thesis. *Shewala*, a lower class, is related to an Indian word for 'servant'.

Linguistic objection. We would also like to address the linguistic objection to seeing a strong Syrian-Greek component in the evolution of Nuristan, namely that a few sounds show conclusively that the Nuristani branch must have been an early split off the Indo-Iranian (Block 1965:54-6; Edelberg and Jones 1979:14-16). Could the phonetic changes from IE *k'* to *sh* and *s* which are realized as *ts* in Nuristani have rather been the result of language contact between Greek and/or Aramaic and Sanskrit? The speakers who were learning the local language may have transferred some of the allophones of their native tongues to it. (The phones *ts* and *s* were allophones in Aramaic, and alternated with /š/ in the Greek dialects, also taking the place of the affricate and in Doric becoming *dz* in some verb forms.) This is another research topic.

The following scenario suggests one possible explanation for the difference between the Nuristani branch and the Dardic branch which we believe agrees with Fussman's findings (1972). Let us suggest that when the colonial Greeks conquered the Hindukush fringe area they learned the current form of Vedic Sanskrit of the area for administrative and trading purposes. Later nomad invasions forced them to escape into the mountains where they probably subjugated the tribes already there – if they didn't kill them!

(Indo-Greek King Hermaeus' retreat to the mountains about 30 B.C. is a historical event of that time (Banerjee 1981:12).) There is also the possibility that the Greeks (or Syrians) learned an even older Indic dialect in the mountains from those they met there. After that the languages of the inner valleys developed in isolation because of mountains and hostilities. Migrations and conquests played their part in producing further divisions until we have the present Nuristani branch. Studies to find Greek and/or Syrian words and characteristics in Nuristan should help prove or disprove this theory.

In contrast, the Dardic branch appears to represent peoples who spoke the Northwest Prakrit language and stayed much more in contact with the plains, their languages thus developing similarly with the Prakrit there. The conquests of Mahmud around A.D. 1000 and others later forced some of the groups like the Kalasha into pockets in side valleys where their dialects underwent development in isolation, becoming more different. These tongues are clustered together as the Dardic branch, more of an areal designation than a strictly linguistic one. Comparative work on both Nuristani and Dardic languages is very much needed to arrive at a more accurate classification.

Dardic origins. Looking to the east of the Kalasha the situation is more complicated since so many layers of invasions and traders are represented there. One very interesting study which needs to be done is to compare the Kalasha with the Minaros, early Shins of Ladakh, to explain some common features. Each of them have retained an old belief system and there are many parallels (see Peissel 1984). There just might be effects which proceeded from the Syrian colonies we have posited all the way over through the upper Indus and perhaps even into Nepal where some similarities are visible as well (see Tucci 1960:pl. 28-30 for similar statues). As Buddhism traveled very widely with the missionaries of Melander (one of the Indo-Greek kings involved in its propagation) and with those of the Kushan rulers, other peoples nd ideas were also on the move in those days of the development of the Silk Road trade. (This is shown by the studies being done by German and Pakistani scholars on the Indus petrographs).

6. Conclusion

Our conclusion to the question of Kalasha origins is that a serious reassessment should be made of the 'Indo-Aryan origin' theory, the one which sees only the Indo-Aryans as their source. We have explored historical, linguistic, and archeological records showing a significant presence of Greeks and quite probably Syrians in the Afghanistan-Pakistan area in Hellenistic times. We have identified features of the Kalasha people which may be traced to the Syrian-Greeks. Their legends which support an origin as people who came from Syria under Seleucus I have been presented. Our hope is that this theory will be given careful consideration. We hope also that this study will give a new impetus to more objective research on the effect of the Greek era in the wider area of Nuristan and its surrounding peoples.

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Kalash: Dresses and Textile Techniques

*Birgitte Glavind Sperber**

Abstract. The Kalash dresses are the most conspicuous part of the Kalash culture. The dresses are important in many ways. The age, the status, the stages of life and death, and even the relations between the sexes are reflected in the dresses, the hairstyles, and other decorations. They are an important element of the Kalash identity; they are of growing economic significance (tourism); and they have indirectly caused changes in the funeral traditions. The dresses are products of the Kalash women's highly developed skills as textile artists. Work of elaborate technique and beauty is done with simple tools — sometimes the fingers alone.

Present changes—contacts with the surrounding world, transition into money economy—also influence the dress culture. Things disappear, other things develop, and innovations are made resulting in greater variation. My studies from 1983-90 have shown that even a traditional culture has changing 'fashions' created by individual 'trend-setters'.

Foreword. This work was done during ten stays in the Kalash Valleys from 1983-90—in winter, springtime, and in the summer. These have been ten months of increasing admiration and respect for the Kalash women and their work, ten happy months as a member of a beautiful community. The bulk of this work is based on my own observations and the information given me and demonstrations made by the Kalash women, Washlim Gul and Noor Jan in particular. I also paid a visit to Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford to study the traditional men's dresses there, and I am grateful for the kindness shown me there by Dr. Peter Parkes. Whenever I use his information or materials, it is indicated in the text. After my return from the Hindukush Conference, I have found additional information about Kalash dresses in Elisabeth Gillian Darling's M.Sc. thesis, *Merit Feasting among the Kalash Kafirs of North Western Pakistan* (Darling 1979).

The work is dedicated to Noor Jan and Washlim Gul — who gave me their knowledge and love; to Esther — who gave me the handicraft skill; to Khosh Nawaz — who gave me

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*Senior Lecturer in handicrafts, Ribe State College of Education.

Editor's note: The complete manuscript of this paper was too long to include without some shortening. Since the detailed drawings illustrating the technical aspects of the production of various items of clothing and for the vivid first-hand documentation of cultural change within the confines of a traditional culture, particularly the relation between the availability of various materials and the elements of design are especially notable, we have selected two sections of her paper for complete publication in these proceedings. It is planned to publish the complete manuscript in a subsequent volume. The author's spellings of Kalasha words have been normalized, according to the transcription scheme described in the editor's preface.

the reasons why; and to Saifullah — who gave me an entire world.

Dresses

The *kupás*

The *kupás* is the major headdress of the women — the most conspicuous part of the Kalasha culture. It has similarities to the turquoise covered headdress of Ladakh and apparently also to the headdress of the Indo-European Dards in Ladakh. It is a woolen cap hanging down the back — heavy from its cover of cowrie shells and other decorations. Its front corners are named *Singóiak*; since *Sing* means 'horn', there might be a relationship with the horned cap which was used by the women in Nuristan before conversion in 1895-96.

The *kupás* looks difficult to wear, but is actually very practical. In summer the sun is so strong that everybody who needs to walk to another part of the valley hurries away at dawn before the sun reaches down into the valley. It is far better to walk or work in the sun wearing the *kupás* than without it. It shades the eyes and insulates against the heat — the white cowries reflect the sunlight. In winter it warms the head and shoulders. The weight balanced by the big tuft prevents it from sliding off (Fig. 1).

The **character** of the *kupás* is **ceremonial**, solemn. The *kupás* is always worn during festivals, funerals, and other celebrations and mostly during dancing. The small three-to-four-year-old girls receive their first *kupás* at a celebration during the winter festival Chaumos and are then considered true Kalash. A woman can only weave a new *kupás* just before Joshi, the spring festival. If a person dies, all women of the same clan take off their *šušút* (the minor headdress) and wear only the *kupás* until the end of the mourning period two days before the next festival. When somebody dies the closest female relatives also take off the *kupás* for three days and bare their heads as a sign of deep grief. During the mourning period for her husband, the widow removes everything but the cowries from her *kupás*, which indicates that the other things — brass, buttons, and beads — are less

Figure 1 The *kupás*, showing the different styles in Rumbur/Bumburet and Birir.

solemn than the cowries. When a woman dies most of the decorations except the cowries are likewise removed from her *kupás*. These things are then distributed among the other women who were close to her. This suggests that the *kupáses* sold in shops outside with the lower part almost empty have been stolen from graves.

Shape. In **Birir**, the front part of the *kupás* hangs down like a hood. This is the way the *kupás* used to be shaped in all the valleys, as seen in Morgenstierne's book from 1932 and in Siiger's photo from 1948 (Fig. 2, top) (Siiger 1974). In 1956 (according to Peter Parkes), one woman had the idea of rolling the edge of her *kupás* upward. This idea spread rapidly and became fashion and then tradition in Rumbur and Bumburet, as it makes the *kupás* rest more firmly upon the head. In Marc le Berre's photo from the 1960's the *kupás* looks broader than now — maybe then only one row of cowries was rolled upward (Fig. 2, middle). Now two rows are folded upward (Fig. 2, bottom). Apart from this change, the *kupás* is conservative; it looks the same in the oldest photographs and now. On a closer view, though, another change has come. The traditional home-spun and (natural) *rang*-dyed yarn for the **tuft** is no longer considered as beautiful as brilliantly red, synthetic knitting yarn, either from the shop or from an unravelled sweater bought second-hand in Chitral.

Fabrication. Normally every woman makes her own *kupás*. Mothers, though, love to make them for their daughters, even if the daughter is adult but maybe busy with her own small children. Giving work is a sign of love.

The **warp** is made from home-spun and dyed, rather thick, single-threaded wool set in the lowest hole of the loom. It consists of stripes made from four threads of each colour in this sequence: (Dark Brown - Blue - DB - Mauve - DB - M) x 7.

The **weft** is fine thread of the natural dark colour with inserted coloured *soumak* borders in each end. The material becomes warp-faced. The warp loops are left rather short (about 12 cm) and are made into **fringes** according to colour. Then

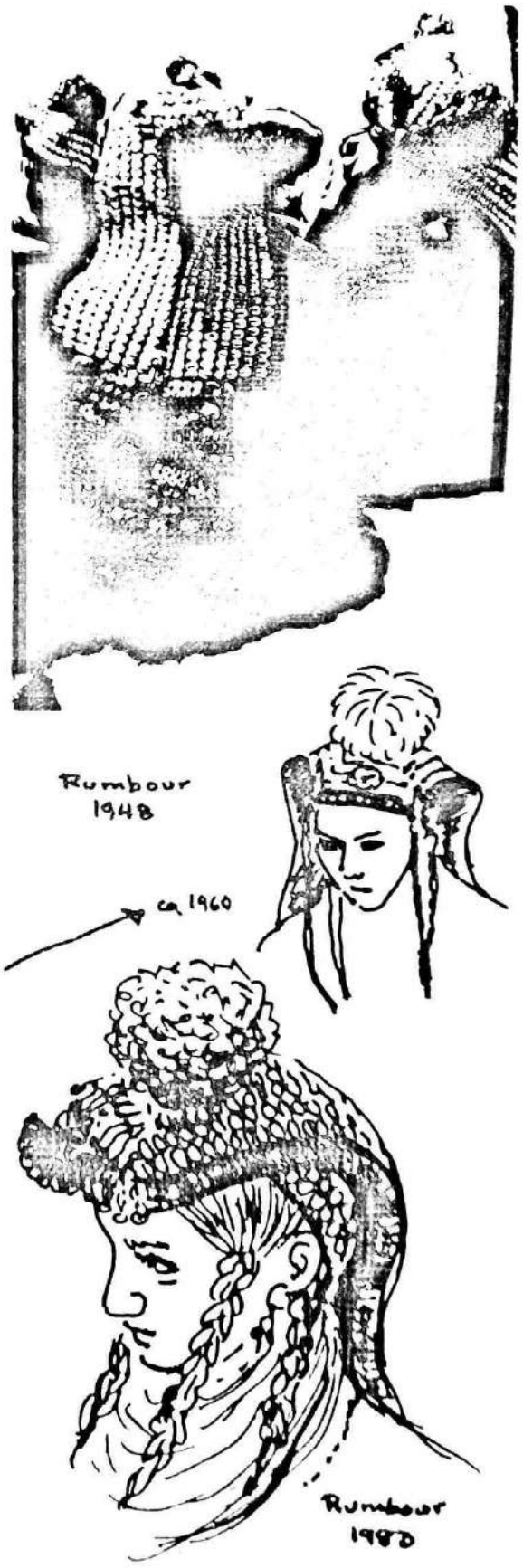

Figure 2 *kupás:* top–Rumbur 1948 (after Siiger 1974); middle–ca. 1960; bottom–Rumbur 1983.

the fringes are bound in the **lish border**, which strengthens the edge of headdresses, belts, and trousers. The spinning and weaving work lasts seven days. The seven blue lines are made to separate the seven lines of cowries and border the **middle seam** of stitches. Doing this seam and the front seams lasts one day.

Then the **cowries** are attached one by one in seven lines; it takes two to three days to do this work. The cowries are brought by migrant tradesmen from Karachi via the bazaar in Peshawar. Before a cowrie shell is attached, it is necessary to make a hole on the top of the shell. The small cowries are considered most beautiful; sometimes the big ones may be stitched on a worn out *kupás* which the woman tries to sell to tourists. Cowries are also used on the hats and in the necklaces of the small children, as they protect against the evil-eye. About the reason for the use of cowries on the women's head-dresses, they say that it is just *dastur* — custom.

Finally the **rest of the decoration** is done. The tufts, the shield design in the middle of the lower part, brass rosettes, small and big buttons (called coat-beads), badges from the border police, and rows of beads and bells like on the *šušút*.

Shield design. The shield is an important design on the wood carvings in the temples (shields were earlier used in combat — some few still exist). Before it was used on male clothing as a sign of 'hero-warrior' status (according to Peter Parkes). According to Darling (1979), the shield symbol once was reserved for men of 'man-killer rank' in Bashgal. Could this be the origin of the shield design on the sashes the boys wear at their initiation? The shield design is also important on the headdresses. "It was adopted by the Kalash women after being earned by a famous female demon-killer .... some eight generations ago. ... the 'four-cornered' arrangement of cowrie shells ... indicates festal rank of the owner's ancestor (Fig. 4, top)" (Peter Parkes). Noor Jan (1990), says: "Ten years ago this inner circle of cowries, surrounded by white buttons (Fig. 4, middle), could only be worn by the daughters of a big man. The other women had two circles of buttons instead. It was also only a big man's daughter who could wear the *čiš*, a bundle of braided straw stems with the blue feathers of the mountain pheasant at the top, on the right corner of their *kupás* at festivals (Fig. 4, bottom). I could wear the cowries and the *čiš*; my father was a big man. He made a *bira mor* (merit feast); he knew many songs. My daughter could also wear it, since my husband is a big man too. He has killed two Nuristani robbers in fighting; he has made a *bira mor*, where he gave a thousand female goats to the people.... But nowadays everyone wears it — it started ten years ago. Our customs are disappearing." As she spoke, I was looking at the cowrie circles on my head-dresses and was thinking of the *čiš* her daughter made for me. I told her that actually my father was a big man, and that the newspapers wrote a lot about him, when he died. "How many goats did your family give to the people at his funeral?" she asked.

The *šušút*

The *šušút* is the **minor headdress** of the Kalash women. It is a ring around the head from which a 'tail' hangs down the back.

Its character and use. The *šušút* is less formal than the *kupás*; it is mainly for beauty, adornment. The *šušút* is given to a little girl for the first time after she has received the *kupás* during Chaumos. It can be given at any time without formalities and is worn

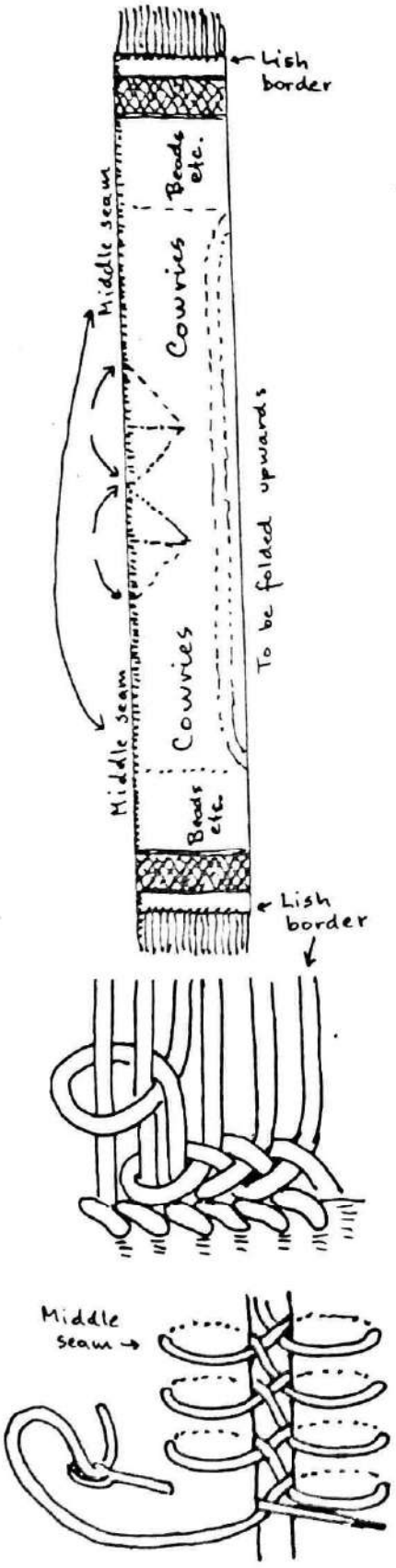

Figure 3 Structure of the *kupás*

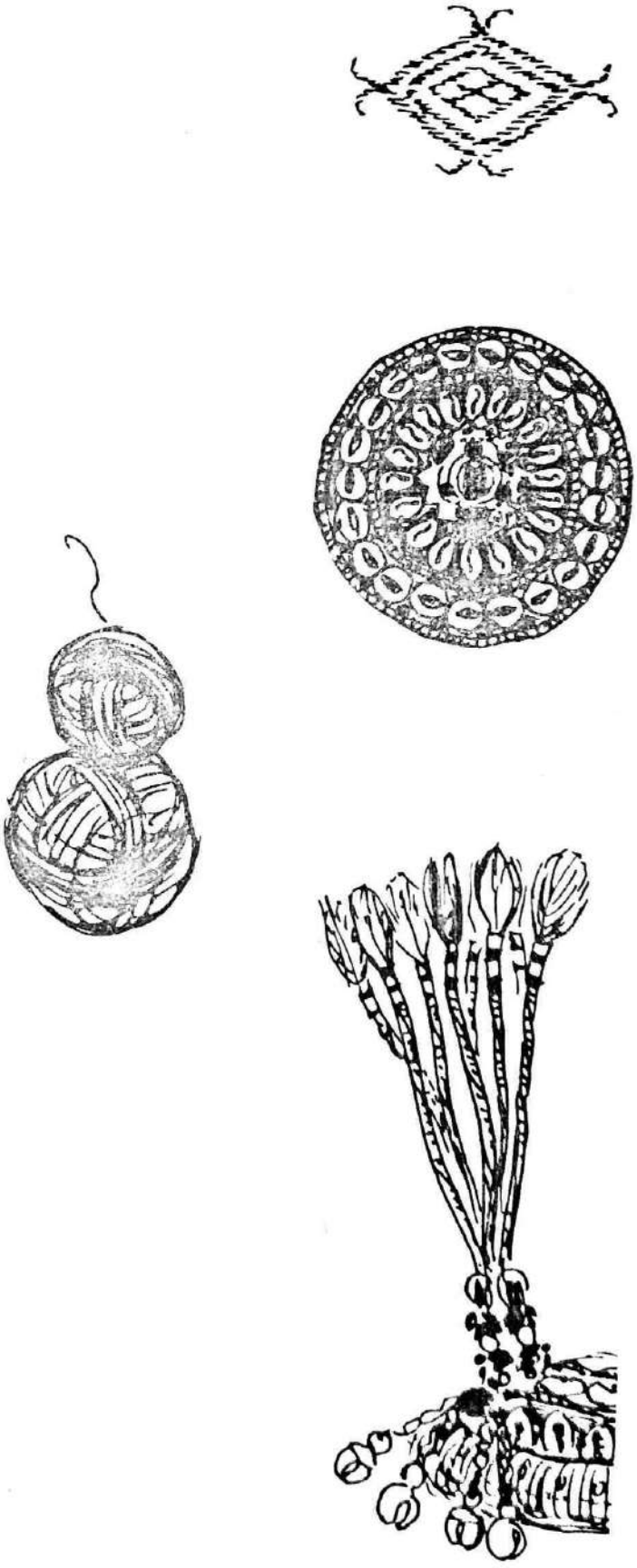

Figure 4 Details of *kupás*: top–four-cornered design; middle–shield design; bottom–*čiš*.

from then on. It can be produced in any month of the year. When wearing the *kupás*, the woman normally wears the *šušút* under it. A woman takes off her *šušút* only when she goes to sleep or when in mourning. A woman is also buried with her *šušút* (if not dressed instead in a *surmadék*, a decorated ribbon around the front) under her *kupás*.

Development. As the *šušút* is less formal than the *kupás*, it is also less conservative in its shape than the *kupás*. So the *šušút* has been changing faster than the *kupás*. According to the very old people, the *šušút* was 'always' there. Noor Jan, who may now be in her mid-fifties, remembers that the *šušút* originally was only a ring around the head with long fringes hanging down the back (Fig. 5, top frame). The ring was decorated with the two rows of cowrie shells that are still universal. She also relates that chains along and between them have always been preferred, though not always available — in which case they are replaced by rows of red beads. Also, the pairs of oblong red beads upon the chains were there all the time, she remembers. The fringes were stitched together to close the ring and this place was decorated with crosses of cowries surrounded by red beads. During the last ten to fifteen years the 'tail' decorations have grown downwards — placed upon a flat upper part made from fringes stitched together transversely with big needles bought from the Nuristani smiths (Fig. 5, second and third frames).

In 1983, I observed that old women still had *šušúts* with short 'tail' decorations and long fringes (Fig. 6, top). Since then the long fringes have disappeared. As a result of the growing money economy, the long fringes have an increasingly large part decorated. The 'tail' has grown longer — from hanging half-way down the back to the waist, or even longer. The *šušúts* have also become broader, both the ring part and the 'tail'. From having only two chained rows of shells, the ring now frequently has three rows — an extra row on the top made from buttons and beads. This is the case at least among the young women who care most about their looks. Now the ring stands up — coquettishly aslant above the front plait. It can be worn decidedly on top of the head or decently on the back of the head; the same woman wears it in different ways according to her moods.

In the last five to six years another innovation has begun. The 'tail' is now woven instead of made from fringes stitched together. A firm woven 'tail' is a better support for decorations. Two to three years ago yet another innovation arose in Bumburet and Rumbur. It became the fashion to insert coloured borders when weaving the 'tail' (Fig. 6, bottom).

The *šušút* also shows **regional differences**. **In Birir** they are unique: the 'tail' is decorated with a long row of cowrie shell crosses ending in a short part decorated with one or two shield designs and rows of beads and bells above the fringes. Also in Birir, small bells are placed along the stitched lower edge of the ring, which is still placed low, as it used to be in the other valleys (Fig. 7, top. **In Bumburet and Rumbur**, the short row of cowrie shell crosses is surrounded by beads and only placed at the top of the 'tail', which is dominated by rows of buttons, bells, and beads, and never more than one shield design. In Bumburet, there was always a longer part of cowrie shell crosses (six to nine of them), whereas in Rumbur there used to be only three. Now the 'Bumburet style' is spreading in Rumbur. From the higher villages in Bumburet, another fashion is spreading down this valley and also in Rumbur. The shield design is disappearing and the entire tail is covered with rows. In 1990, Gulmandeh from Anish (the lowest village of Bumburet) told me that the shield design in Bumburet is used only by the women in her village and by some of the women in the next higher village, Brun (Fig. 7, bottom).

Fabrication of the *šušút*. The **warp** is set with the top beam in the lowest hole of the loom — the number of stones here decides the length. Traditionally only the ring part was woven and the tail made by stitching the long fringes together. Now also the tail part is woven — often with inserted patterns, and a part of the warp is left empty for stitching the ring and bending of the tail. Traditionally the tail fringes came from both sides. Now, only one tail part is provided with fringes, so these are made double length as each fringe later is doubled. Before closing the ring, the **edge border** *dori* is stitched. Then the work is **fulled** and dried in the sunshine. After this, the double row of **cowries** are attached two by two with the same stitches. The stitches through the tops of the cowries also attach the infolded top edge. Then the **other decorations** are done. At the end of the 'tail' the **lish-border** is bound from the right — first on one side and then on the other side. Finally the **fringes are doubled** into half length (Fig. 8).

Figure 5 The evolution of the *šušut*

The woman's dress (*čöu*)

For ages the women have been wearing the **dark woolen dress**. It is beautiful; it insulates against heat and cold; and it is practical, as it repels dirt. **The first one** is given to a little girl at the initiation ceremony during the winter festival, when she receives her first *kupás*. It is often made from white wool with many *sumák* borders on the top (Fig. 9).

The next ones will be made from the dark wool with decorations only on the back above the middle hem. The headdresses also have most of their **decorations on the back**. When asked what the men first notice about a woman, a Kalash man said, "the way she looks from behind". The narrow paths only allow people to walk one by one. The women, erect from the weight of their headdresses, are mostly asked to walk ahead of the men, who can then keep watch over them. Everywhere women know how to attract the eyes of men.

The woolen dress requires the spinning of six huge balls of fine dark woolen yarn — four for the warp and two for the weft. It is necessary to weave two pieces — each of the maximum length the loom allows. So it needs two to three months of work, but it can also survive at least two years of hard daily use.

Nowadays the woolen dress has been partly replaced by cotton/synthetic dresses. These are less heavy and more comfortable during the hot summers. They can be much more heavily decorated, and are made in only three days. After about four months of daily use they need to be renewed — perhaps with other decorations; and it is nice to have changes, new fashions. They cost money, so they give higher status than the home-made dress.

How the cotton dresses came. Washlim Gul relates: "When I was about 16-18 years old (ca. 1974), there was a folklore festival in Islam-

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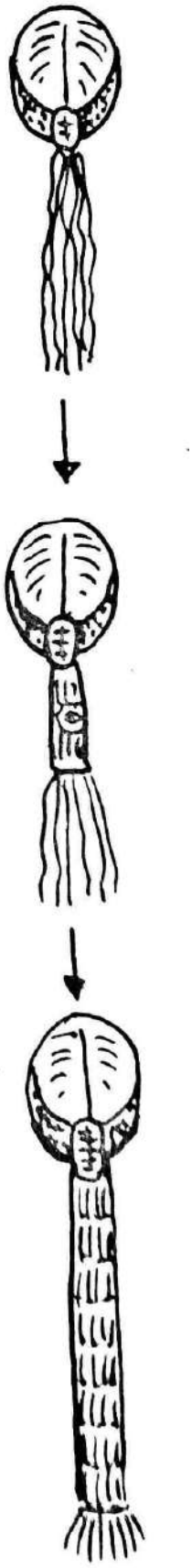

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How the cotton dresses came. Washlim Gul relates: "When I was about 16-18 years old (ca. 1974), there was a folklore festival in Islam-

abad arranged by President Bhutto. We Kalash were invited to come and show our dances. From Kalashadesh came Kata Singh, Shah Jehan, four men from Birir, two women from Bumburet, three from Birir, and from Rumbur came myself and another woman, who now has died. We came down to Islamabad in our woolen dresses, and it was far too hot for us to wear them there. Then one of the women from Birir made *piráns* (the cotton dresses) for all of us. When we came back, everybody thought the pirans were ugly, but gradually more and more women had them made. Previously we had them made only before Joshi (the spring festival), but now many women make new *piráns* also for Uchao and Chaumos (the other big festivals)."

In 1983, many of the old and a few of the young women were still wearing the woolen dress in the summertime. My photographs from the winter festival 1983 show that about 80 per cent of the girls and women were wearing them then. Gradually the woolen dress has gone out of use in the summer period. My photographs from the winter festival 1987 show that at that time only about 20 per cent of the women were wearing the woolen dress, and that the small girls receiving the *kupás* now were dressed in cotton *piráns* (Fig. 10).

Figure 6 Top–šušut in 1983; middle–in 1990; bottom–the contemporary *šušút* with woven borders.

Is the woolen dress disappearing? It is still considered special and very beautiful. Skilled work is very honoured among the Kalash. Everybody knows that a woolen dress represents a lot of work and skill. Also now it has acquired a high money value; it can be sold to foreigners for what it costs to make four or five cotton dresses. Some woolen dresses are sold in this way, and more are produced in the hope that they may be sold. A high price gives a high status — so maybe the woolen dress will not disappear after all (Fig. 11).

The *pirán* has always been black. The first of them were **decorated** with thin machine borders in red and green cotton thread used as top thread. The already known designs — goat's horn (zigzag) and *mišári* (checked) — were easy to transfer from weaving into machine-sewn borders. Six or seven years ago, skeins of fine **synthetic yarn** in vivid colours came to the shops in the valleys, and they were very soon used, as bottom thread, because the synthetic thread repels dirt and does not absorb dye from the cotton cloth. Recently, colour-fast polyester cloth has come into use. Five or six years ago various **ribbons** reached the shops and began to be used as decorations on the pirans. Then two to three years ago, thick **knitting yarn** reached the shops. It was machine-stitched onto the material with fine thread. The introduction of this soft thick thread inspired the women to make more gently curved designs, like flowers, above the hem.

By 1990, many women have reached a high stage of expertise in the use of the sewing machine. Now they stitch the fine synthetic threads so closely together that the squares and triangles of the pattern look like brilliant patches in orange, green, and red sewn upon the dress.

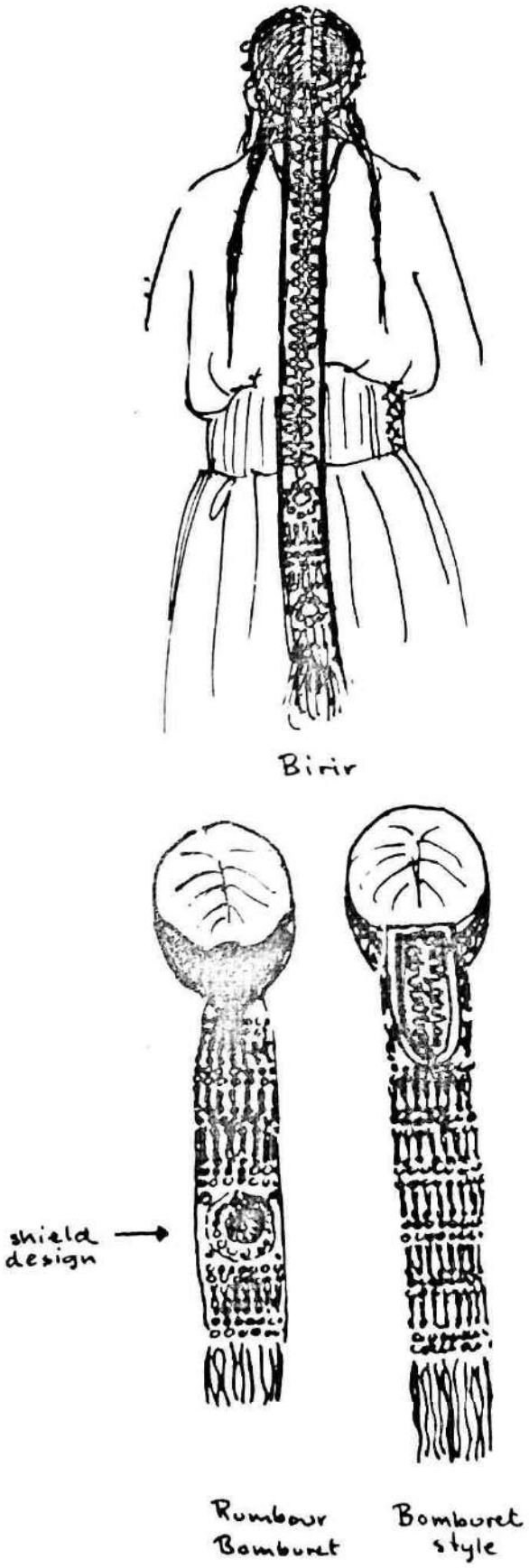


Figure 7 Top–the Birir *šusut*; bottom–Rumbur and Bumburet styles.

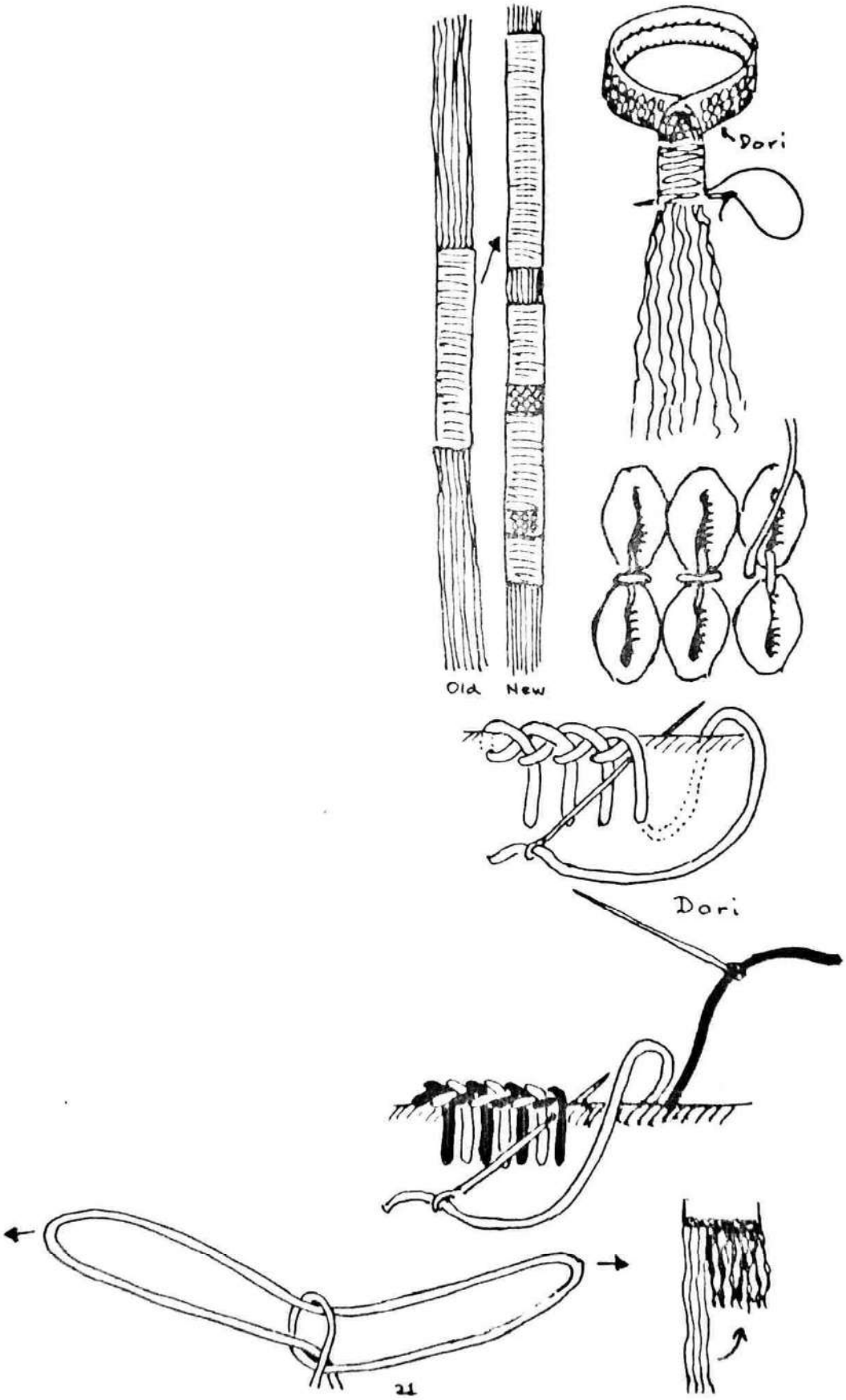


Figure 8 Steps in making the *šušut*

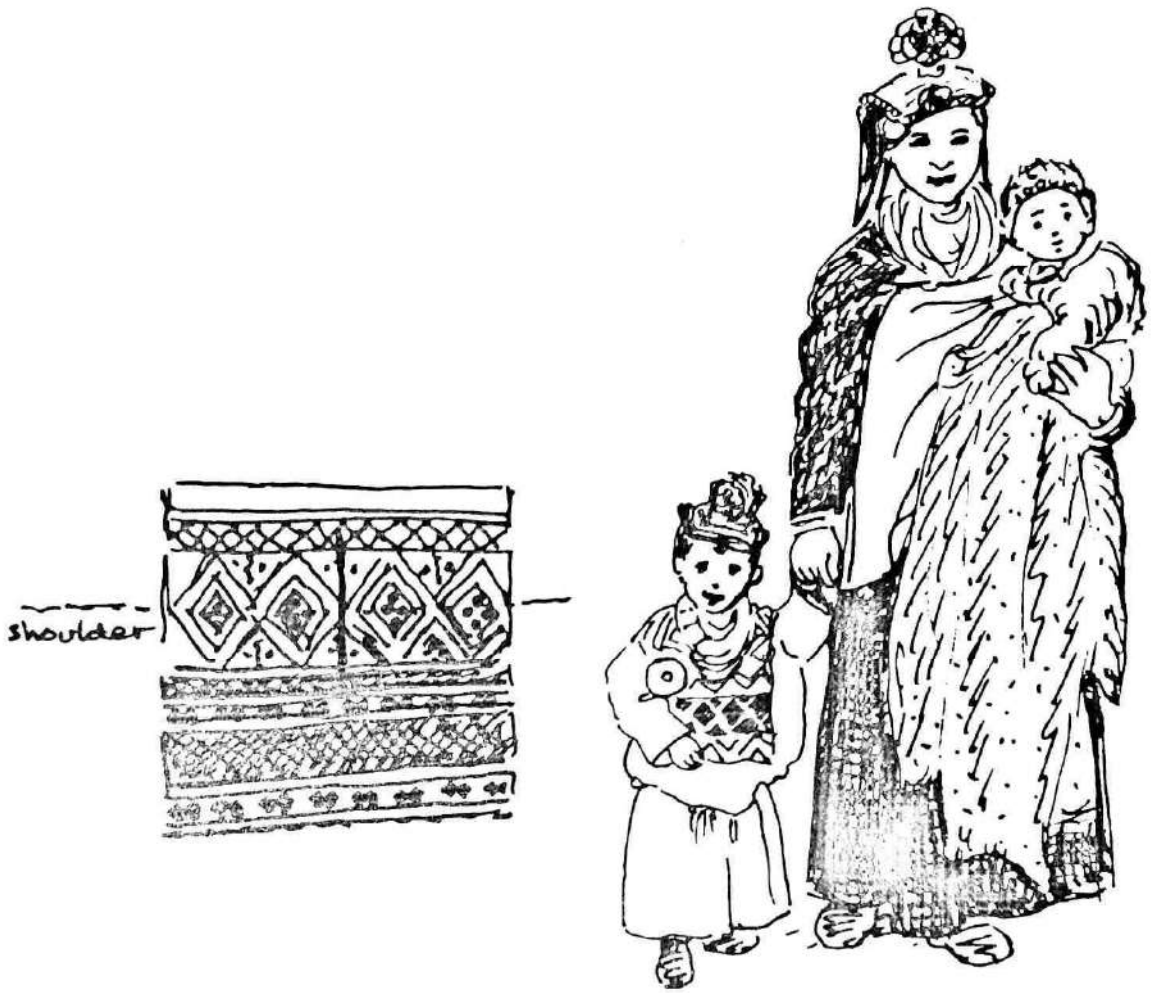


Figure 9 The traditional dark woolen dress, ca. 1983.

páTi, the woman's belt

The long woolen belt with borders and long fringes is wound around the hips letting the long dress hang baggy. The loose dress and the tight belt are used as 'pockets'. The dress has room for walnuts and apples, that can be distributed through the sleeves. In the belt may be the *naswarin* — the mirror-box with snuff or needles, thread, hairpins, etc. (Fig. 12, left)

Every woman wears the belt whenever she is not in her bed. Before going to sleep, she takes off her belt and sleeps in her dress. Taking off the belt is a very private thing, never to be done in public. 'She puts on her *páTi*' is an other way of saying, 'Now she is well after her illness'. Before a birth, both the woman to be confined and the two midwives take off their belts: hard work is to be done and everything must be loose.

The *páTi* for the adult women is woven in the third hole of the loom and so has a length of about 360 cm, plus 2 x 45 cm lish-bound fringes at the ends. Its width is 13-16 cm. For small girls it is adjusted to their size. The warp is made from fine single thread, whereas the weft is made from double-twisted thread. So it becomes warp-faced. The weaving is six-rowed twill alternating with one or two wefts of double-threaded, plain weave. Three or four broad **coloured borders** are inserted — the more brightly coloured

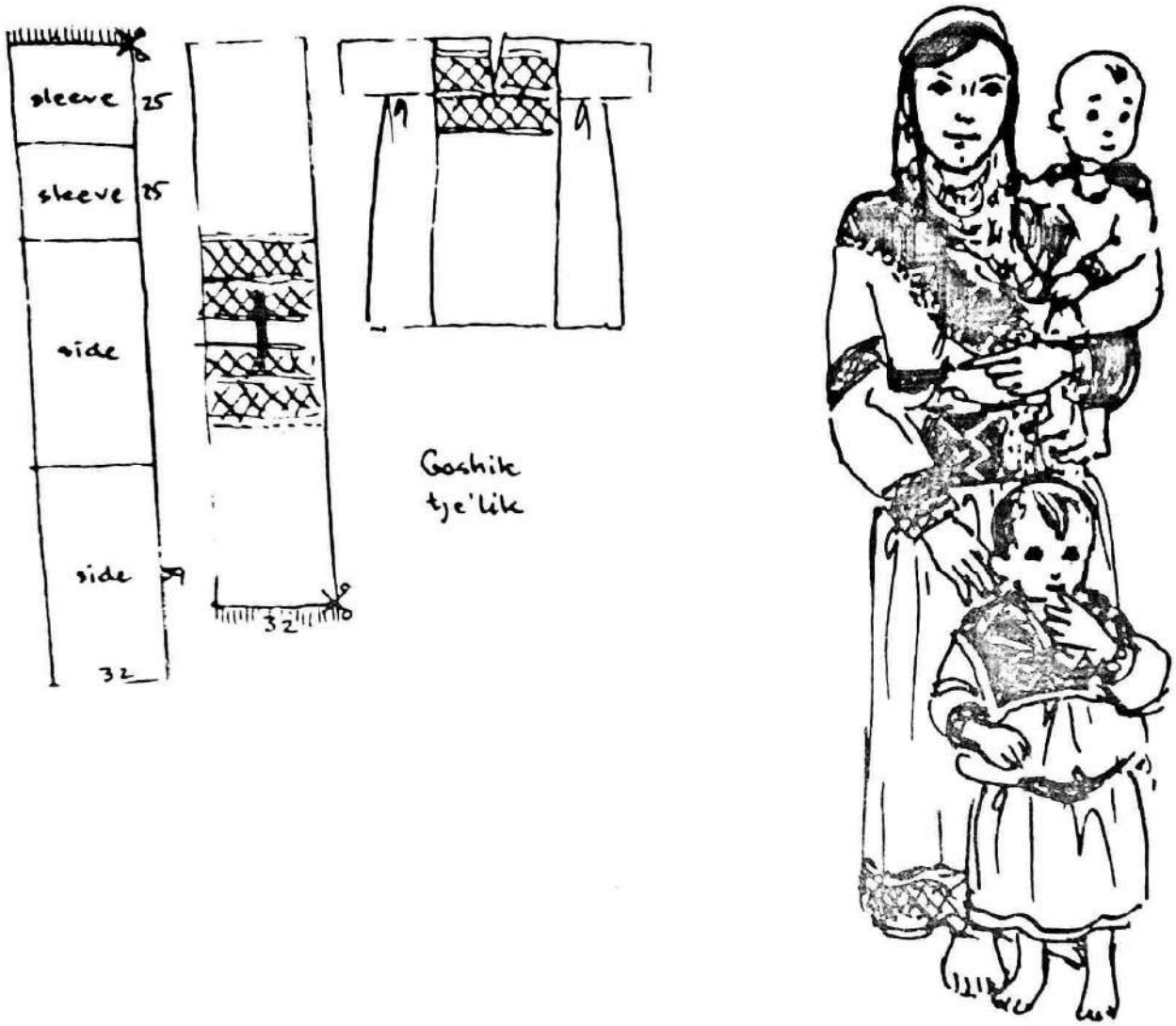


Figure 10 A child's *pirán*

the better. So the home-dyed yarn has been replaced by synthetic yarn for the borders. Typical is the *páTi* design in kelim technique (maybe combined with *sumak*) surrounded by triple stripes of *kaošélak*, which are still made from home-dyed yarn in indigo, green, and dark brown. Sometimes a shield design is placed inmost.

To put on the *páTi*, the woman lifts up the upper part of the very long dress and may keep it between her teeth. Then she holds some of the fringes in her left hand while she winds the belt around herself clockwise from the front as many times as she can. Finally some of the **fringes** at the other end are thrust into the belt to attach it, and the rest remain loose. These fringes are used as decoration hanging down after the *páTi* is wound. *PáTis* are also made and used for the traditional men's dresses — traditionally in red colour.

The women's shawls

During the winter, particularly at festive occasions, the women may wear the traditional shawls. Two traditional types exist — the *čarúšdi* and the *jil*.

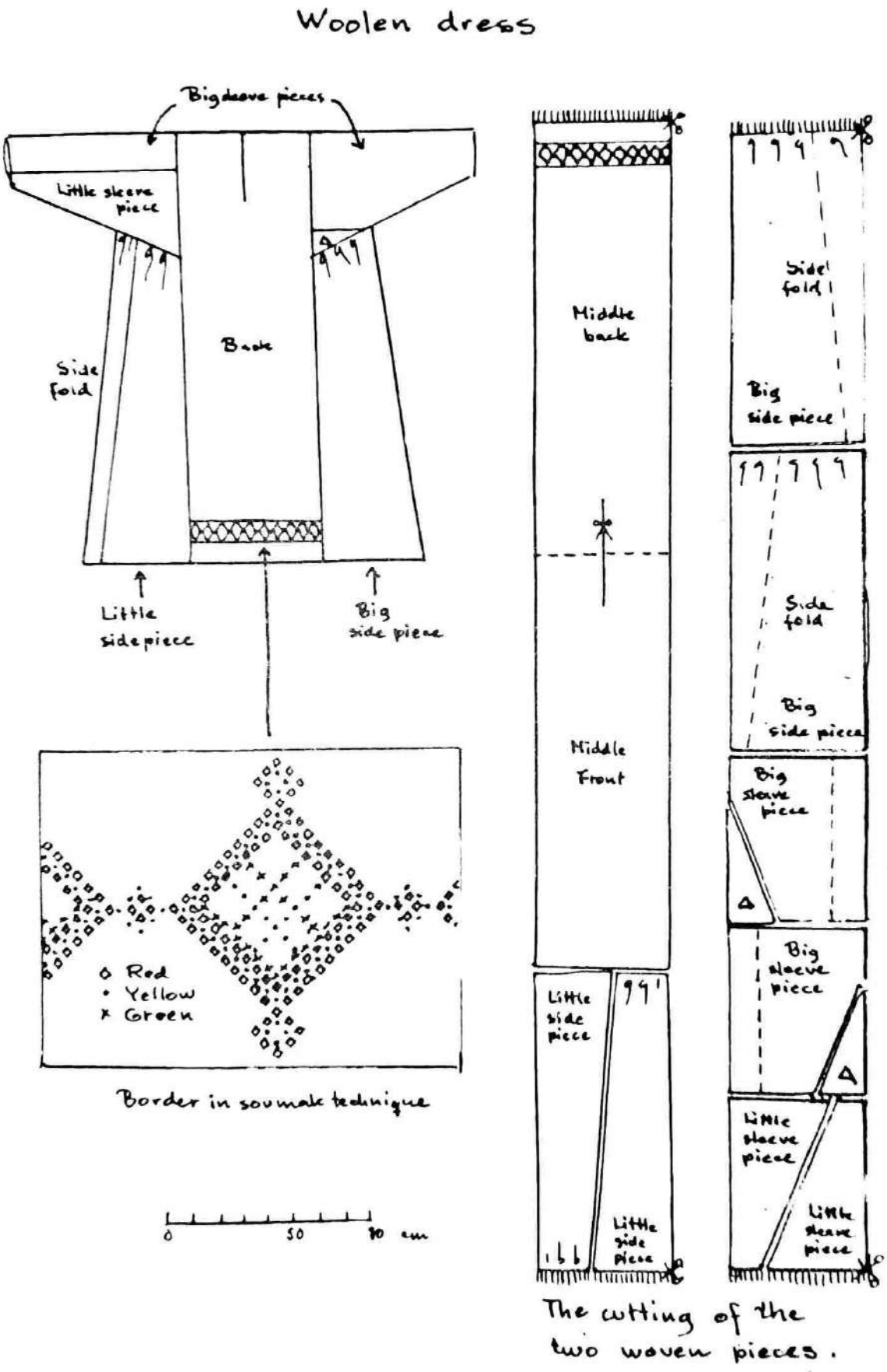


Figure 11 Pattern for the woolen dress

The *čarúšdi*. The *čarúšdi* shawl is made from one length of white woolen cloth; at each end are broad, coloured *sumak* borders and fringes bound in lish. The cloth is cut in two parts, which are then joined together by a middle seam.

The *čarúšdi* can be worn by every woman. According to Peter Parkes, it is specially made before Chaumos by the mother of a little girl who is going to receive her first *kupás*. The *čarúšdi* is worn around the body covering the left shoulder and attached by a pin (Fig. 12, right).

The *tsaddár*. If they do not have a traditional shawl, or if it is not too cold, the women wear a piece of cloth from the shop — the brown woolen *tsaddár* also used by the men during the winter, or just a piece of patterned cotton cloth round the body tied on the left shoulder (Fig. 13).

Sometimes a woman without the *kupás* can be seen with a cloth wound around her head and shoulders and maybe around her baby too, the cloth made into a bundle in one corner. This indicates that the woman then has probably started bleeding and is on her way to *bašáli* — the menstruation house. She is wrapped in the *tsadár* (sheet) that she is going to sleep upon. The *tsadár* is tied around some flour for the bread she is going to eat there. She may also have some yarn tied in the *tsadár*,

Figure 12 Left–the *páTi*; right–the *čarúšdi*.

as many women weave *šumáns* during their stay in the *bašáli*.

The *jil*

The *jil* shawl is more rare, as it can only be worn by the daughters of a big man (feast giver who has made a *bira mor*). The Kalash have very strict rules for exogamy; marriage inside the father's clan is first allowed after seven generations, and inside the mother's clan after five generations. So although the women marry into other clans, they keep their **strong identity as a member of her father's clan**. She is always considered a member, *jamíli* 'clan daughter', by her father's clan. To show her that she is remembered, she receives presents of bread, goat cheese, and maybe *šumáns* at each of the big festivals. Thus it is the honour of the father and not that of the husband that is reflected in the dresses she wears — whether she can wear the *jil*, and, before these began to be used by all women, whether she could wear the *čiš* and the shield design with the inner circle made from cowries.

Figure 13 The *tsadár*

The *jil* is made in one very long piece covered with a special combination of transverse stripes in indigo and dark green, and with lish-bound fringes at the ends (weft-faced weave). The stripes are narrower in the middle part, which can be folded inward. The edge on one side is made into a middle seam, and so the *jil* can be worn as a big hood, which I have seen some young women do. The elder women, however, say that it is not the way for decent women who respect the traditions. Either the 'hood triangle' has to be folded inward and the shawl worn like the *čarúšdi*, or it can be worn double as a shorter shawl (Figs. 14, 15).

Textile techniques

The wool

The wool is **sheared** with a pair of shears. Then it is **whipped** with a bifurcated twig and after that **carded** with a bow made from a bent twig and a string. The wool is **spun** by hand at a spindle. The women spin the sheep's wool into fine threads on a 'disc-wheeled' spindle. The (elder) men spin the goats wool on a 'cross-wheeled' spindle into coarse threads, which they later twist into the threads the women use for weaving the mattress blankets for the charpai beds. If the threads are to be woven into cloth ending in **fringes**

(women's belts, trousers, *šušút*, *kupás*, shawls), the work is done in **single untwisted threads**. When taken from the loom, the warp loops are easily twisted into fringes, that may be doubled or bound into the lish border along the edges of the belt, *kupás*, or pants. Threads that are to be woven into **cloth without fringes** (for the woolen dresses) are **double twisted**. After weaving the cloth is **fulled** by washing and rubbing (Fig. 16).

Natural wool colours. The 'white' is used for women's belts, trousers for boys and men, men's traditional jackets, leggings, women's shawls, and for the small children's first dresses. The 'black' is for women's woolen dresses, and for *šušúts*. The 'red' is used for knitting socks and for borders in the woven cloth.

Traditionally the women dye woolen yarn. Some women are experts in this work and do it for others, but all know how to do it.

Yellow: The wool is put into water with stone lichen from the pine forest region as stain and bark from apple trees as dye. Then the mixture is gradually heated up over the fire and slowly cooled again.

Red: A red powder (*rang* 'colour') from the shop is used for dyeing wool as well as for eye (also against eye infections) and face paint.

Mauve: After being dyed yellow the yarn is dyed with the red *rang*.

Dark-brown: This colour used for the dark stripes in the *kupás* and for borders. First the yarn is heated in water with walnut shells, then stained with lichen, then dyed with red *rang*.

Blue: Indigo (looking like small glistening grains) is bought from the Muslims. Cow urine is kept in a pot with a lid for six or seven days. Then the indigo is added, and then the yarn. It is not heated, but is kept for another five or

Figure 14 The *jit*

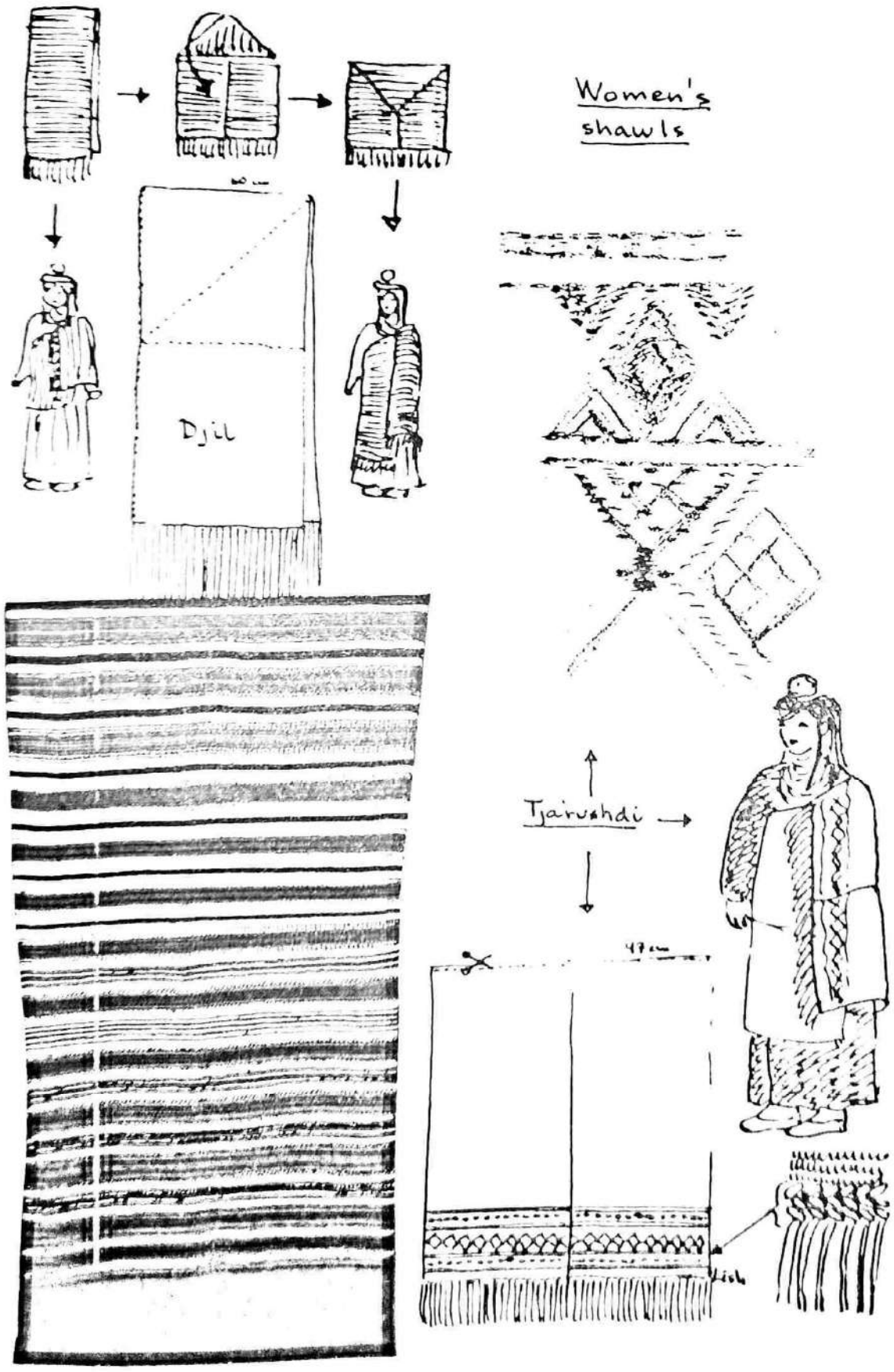


Figure 15 Patterns for women's shawls

six days with frequent rubbing and kneading of the yarn. After this it is hung in the sunshine. Men are not allowed to look at the yarn during the whole procedure; if they do, the colour becomes of bad quality.

Dark green: After being dyed yellow, the yarn is dyed in indigo.

Artificial colours. During the last seven to ten years, yarn in vivid **synthetic colours** has been sold in the small shops in the valleys. An increasing money economy has enabled the women to buy this yarn, which is used in the borders of the woven dress parts and for the sewing machine decorations on the cotton dresses, as synthetic yarn repels dirt. During the last two years it has become high fashion among the women to make **belts from synthetic knitting yarn** in red or orange; the twenty balls needed are costly, and so give high status. The work required is almost the same though, as this yarn is also spun by hand into a firm thread before the weaving.

Significance of colours. Generally colours have no particular significance or importance in the Kalash (textile) culture. The language only has names for the clear colours — red, yellow, blue, green, black, and white — one name only for all the different shades and tones of the basic colours. The light shades are called 'whitish blue', etc. Mixed colours like orange, brown, and purple have no specific names. When children have access to different colours for sketching, the colours are used for contours without relation to the actual colour of the object (Fig. 17). In textiles, the synthetic colours are used without any symbolic value, but in accordance with their availability, and for their brilliance and contrast. Tradition, though, decides where the home-dyed colours are to be used.

Figure 16 Preparation of the wool

The Loom

Kazi Khosh Nawaz says: "The loom is *pragata* because a Baira made the first loom for his wife. Baira are the people who became very *pragata*, because they married a too close relative and so

had to convert into Islam". As the loom is *pragata* (impure, belonging to the sphere of women), it is never placed inside the family house, but always kept outside. When not in use, the posts are laid or stood somewhere; when in use they are leaned against a wall or a tree (Fig. 18).

Figure 17 Typical children's drawings

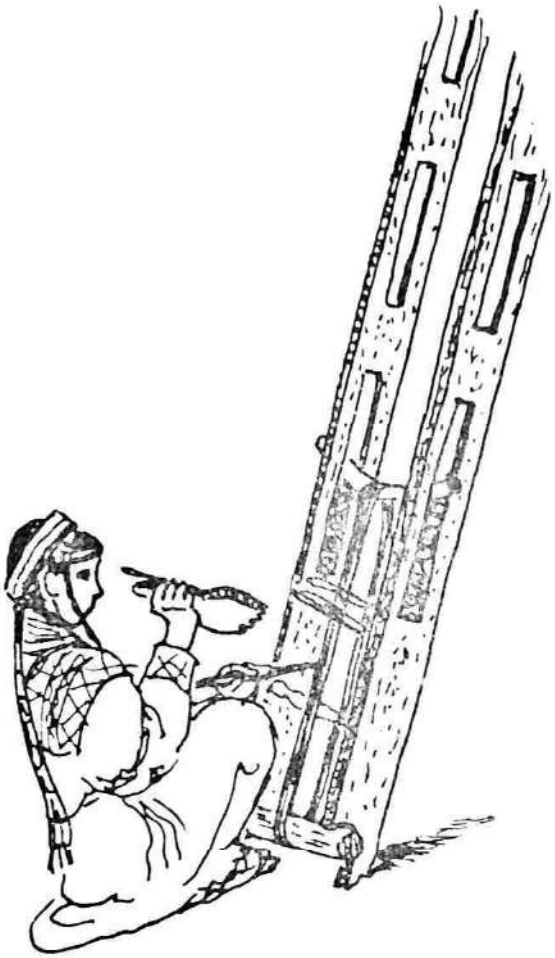


Figure 18 A woman weaving outside.

The other tools for weaving — the finely carved sword, the shed stick with fine teeth cut along the edge, the heavy 'comb', and the hedges are a woman's treasures. Like the spindle, they are made by a man and given to the woman as a token of devotion. The woman using the tools tells who made it and never forgets.

As the houses are very dark, outside is the best place for weaving anyway. When done in public, the weaving also becomes a nice social act; sometimes, like before the festivals of Chaumos and Joshi, when new dress parts are being produced, several looms are placed beside each other, and the woman at work always has the company of other women, who admire or frequently 'give a pattern' — that is, insert a border they know. In this way the knowledge of patterns is spread.

The small girls start learning to weave as early as the age of five or six. They may start by helping behind the loom, when the warp is set; later they help doing the work itself. The first work of a girl may be a new *šušút* for Joshi - a rather simple and short work.

The loom consists of two long posts with holes punched out at special intervals for the different warp lengths needed for the different dress parts (Fig. 20). Through the holes the horizontal warp beams are inserted supported by stones. The stones can be removed gradually, if the warp shortens. In principle it is a round warped loom, but **the warp is divided** by a stick, which is taken out after weaving and then the resulting loops can be

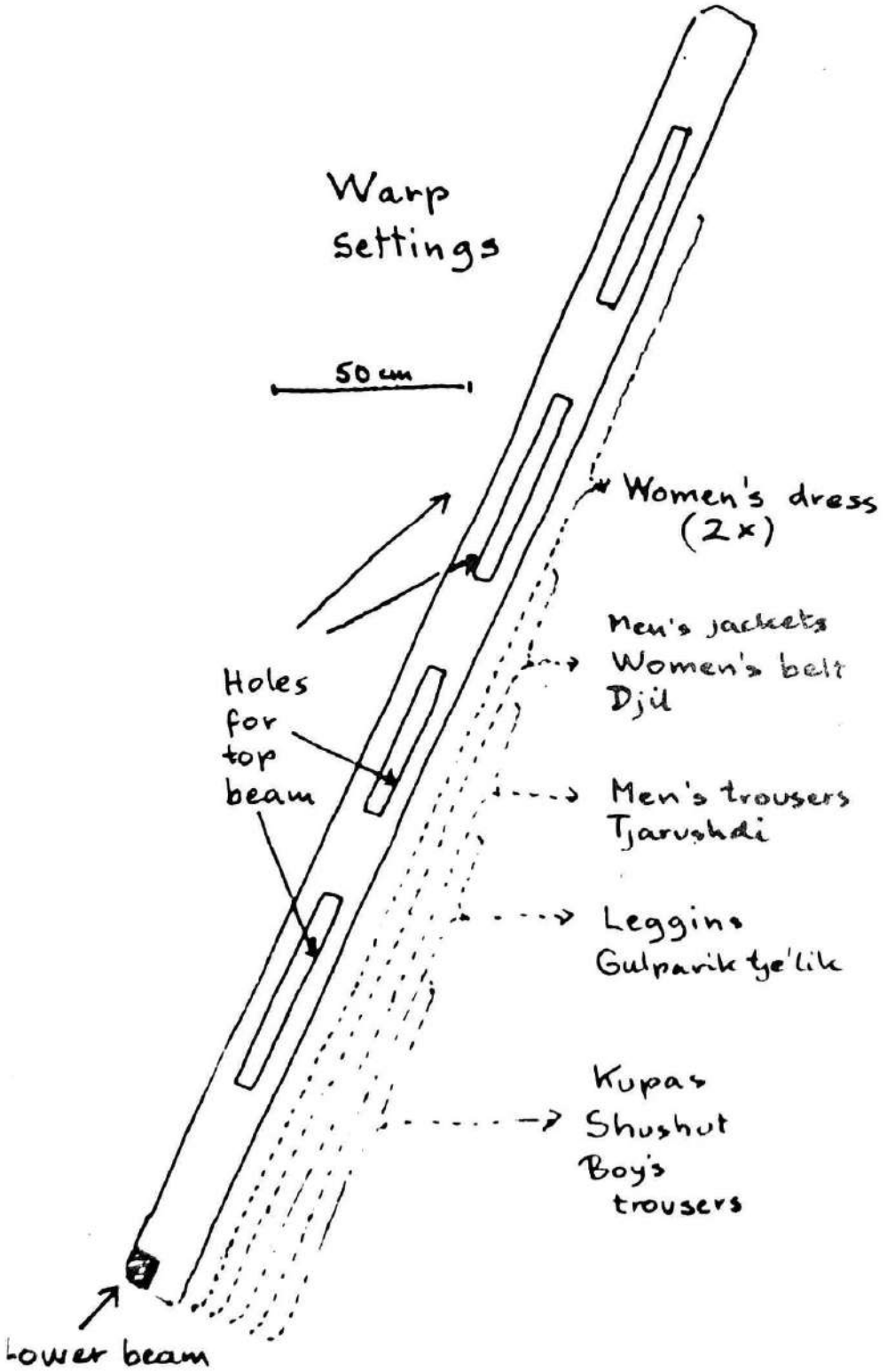


Figure 19 The loom posts

twisted into fringes (Figs. 19, 20).

When the warp it set, **the shed** is formed around the wooden sword. After the setting of the warp, the sword is pushed upwards and an extra stick is inserted into the shed made from the dividing stick. The shed stick is provided with small teeth, which arrange the warp threads in regular intervals. After this, **leaches** are made around one heddle for **plain weave** (used for dresses, leggings, trousers, jackets, shawls, and head dresses) and

around four heddles more for the **twilled weave** used for the women's belts to prevent them from slipping loose (Fig. 21). Before the leaches are made, the sword is inserted to lift up the threads for the leaches. Then a thread is shot in along the sword, and the leaches are lifted up between the warp threads around the heddle. The warp threads are mostly finer than the weft. So the tissue mostly comes out warp-faced (with the warp covering the weft).

The weft is wound on a spool stick, and the weaving can start (Fig. 22, top). For each shoot, the sword is pressed down and the weft is hammered down with a heavy wooden 'fork'. When **weaving** the woman sits on the ground and the work is done upwards. As the warp — though divided — is round, it can be pulled down gradually as the work proceeds. In this way the optimal working position is maintained.

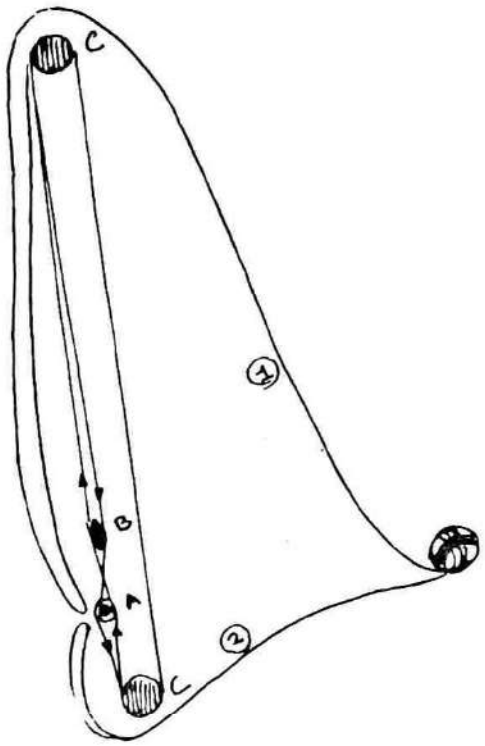
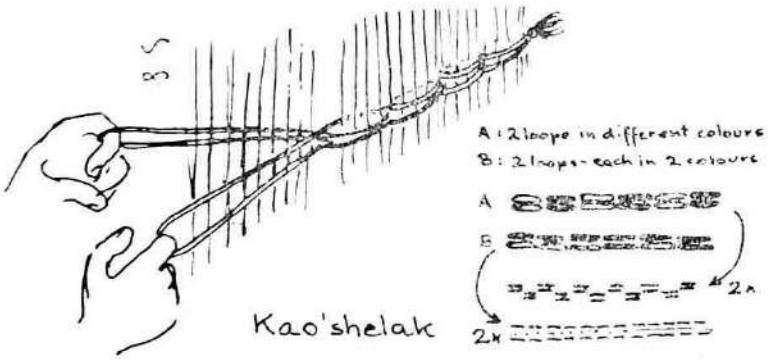


Figure 20 The parts of the loom



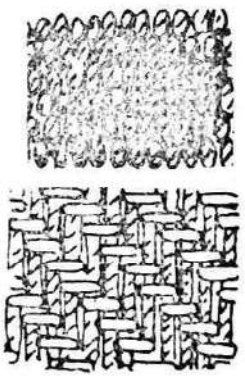


Figure 21 Plain and twilled weaving patterns

Borders are inserted with the fingers; loose or skeined threads hanging on the front of the loom are inserted and left there after the work is finished. In women's belts and *čarúšdi* shawls, in pants, leggings, and (during the last two or three years) also in the *šušút*, a miniature *kelim* technique is used — diagonal designs with small holes where the colours meet. In dresses, pants, shawls, and *kupás*, the

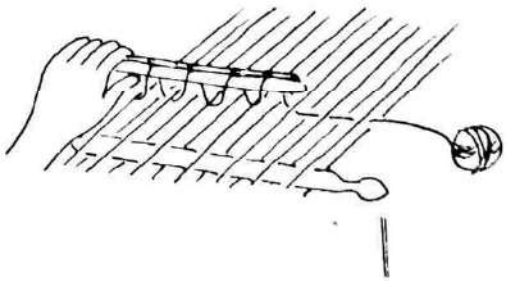


Figure 22 Top–the spool stick; bottom–the *kaošé-tak* technique.

sumak technique is used; the weft alternates with extra coloured threads inserted like stitches around the warp. Also a particular Kalash technique (*kaošélak*) is used for horizontal dotted or multi-coloured stripes (Fig. 22, bottom). It is made by attaching loops of coloured yarn at one side of the warp and putting the loops into each other, alternating up and down around some few warp threads to the other side of the warp.

Finger weaving

The Kalash women also weave without a loom when making the *šumán* (Fig. 23). These are ribbons used around swaddled infants, as belts for children, as the special decorated ribbons for the initiation ceremonies of the small boys, and as the straps of the women's (Nuristani manufactured) conical *kawa* baskets made from twigs and thread spun from goat hair and carried on the back. In particular, the *šumán* is used as **a woman's present** honouring an appreciated guest, a person of importance, a beloved one at the spring festival Joshi, or a person giving a feast, like the father of a child receiving the first *kupás* or trousers. The *šumán* is hung around the neck of the honoured person (who later may use them as string in the shalwar trousers) (Fig. 25). As giving a *šumán* is a sign of special feelings, everybody curiously ask the person who received it: "*Kura prau?*" ('Who gave (it to you)?')

Figure 23 Woman weaving a *šumán*.

The women also produce long strings with beads of apricot kernels. These are given in the same way as a sign of appreciation. Men's gifts may be cheese, walnuts, or small things from the shops.

Šumáns nowadays are made from threads bought in the shop — mostly in white cotton with synthetic colours as decorations and as stripes wound around the fringes. The very exquisite *šumáns* decorated with warp designs all over are made from synthetic threads in several colours. The weft then is in one colour and is covered by the warp threads picked up in the different designs (Fig. 25). These *šumáns* were earlier made from fine dyed woolen thread.

The warp. First all the skeins are tied together and wound into balls. Then the thread is wound like a spiral into a circular warp between the right big toe and the left hand. Then the warp is placed around the body stretched by the right knee, as in weaving. The **shed** is now made by the fingers: the threads are alternately placed above or below the forefinger and the middle finger. After this, small sticks are inserted for a short while to keep the shed. **Leaches** are made in one of the sheds as at the loom. Only the leaches are not tied around a stick, but tied together with a strong string. Around the warp threads

forming the other shed a strong string is also tied. The **weaving** of undecorated parts is done by lifting the leaches and the shed string alternately (Fig. 26).

Decorations are made on the white warp by inserting coloured threads using kelim or *sumak* techniques. For the finest *šumáns* with warp designs, the warp consists of two contrasting colours — one colour in each shed. Thus horizontal stripes are made automatically. For the different designs, with her fingers the woman exchanges the warp threads, so that whenever one colour is lifted up, the opposite colour is lowered. In this way the designs become double-sided with one side the negative copy of the other side. These designs are bordered with warp threads in different colours along the edge and in the middle so that two symmetric borders adorn the *šumán* (Fig. 27, top).

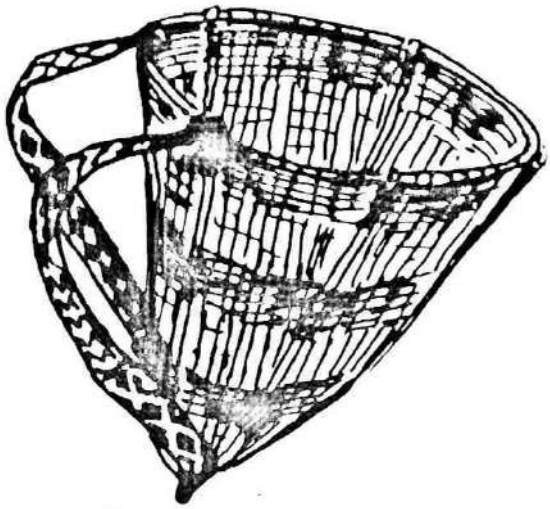


Figure 24 The *kawa*

During the late 1980's **embroidery** (flowers and cross stitch) was introduced as decorations on the *šumáns* — probably inspired by the Chitrali embroidered napkins from the bazaar of Chitral or by the work of the Muslims living in the valleys (Fig. 27, bottom).

Braided *šumáns*. Sometimes the women also produce ribbons by braiding twenty to thirty strings in two to four groups of different colours. During the work, the colours are often arranged symmetrically, and 'V'-shaped designs are made. The tool for this work is a stick held between the knees. The ribbon is attached to the forked end of this stick and twisted as it grows in length (Fig. 28).

Knitting

Some Kalash women knit — mostly socks for the men, rarely sweaters for their children. They use their own spun wool in its different natural colours and sometimes make coloured patterns. Sometimes second-hand sweaters from Chitral bazaar are unravelled and reused; knitting yarn is expensive. The needles are pieces of stiff wire. If a Kalash woman who likes to knit is presented with some good needles she will be very happy. When making the meshes, the women use both hands as well as the mouth to hold the threads. When knitting, the thread is twisted around the right forefinger and gradually taken off again, a very slow procedure (Fig. 29).

As knitted items are not parts of the traditional dresses, knitting seems to have been introduced from outside — perhaps from Afghanistan, where highly decorated socks, mittens, and gloves are produced, or from Chitral, where decorated gloves are made. The knitting method is not like in Chitral, but like the English method, so knitting may have been introduced by the British.

Usually the women are not interested in learning new or better knitting methods. During my stays, I have produced nine pullovers as presents for men and boys. The work was very much admired; many women said, "Oh how fast you can do it; please also make

one for my son/husband." No women asked, "Please show me how to do it."

Sewing machines

During the last twenty to thirty years, the men have adapted the Pakistani shalwar-kamiz suit for daily use — first those who had contact with the outside world, and later all men. Tailoring is cheap in Chitral, so these dresses were made here. About 1974 the first women started to wear cotton dresses, which were also made by Muslims in the bazaar. As the cotton dresses became popular, and as outsiders did not know how to decorate them, a strong demand for sewing machines was created among the Kalash women. This demand, in close connection with the growing money economy (cloth and thread cost money), has made the number of sewing machines increase in the valleys (Fig. 30).

In 1989 Washlim Gul told me: "In Rumbur the first sewing machine was bought by the Muslim, Durdan, twelve years ago. Then his family produced all the shalwar-kamiz for the men and the cotton dresses for the women. Eight years ago Parker Gul's mother had one. Five or six years ago Kausal Khan had one; three years ago Nur Mahmad Khan had one. One and a half years ago there were five sewing machines here in Rumbur. Now there are twenty-two: four in Kalashagrom, five in Grom, eight in Balanguru, three in Maledesh, one in Baladesh, and one in Patet." She named everybody who had one.

A machine is a good investment, as it can become a source of income for the family. The machines are also influencing the dress culture. The woven dresses for the small children are being replaced by quickly-made cotton dresses: *gulparík čelik* is now out of use, and the *gošnik čelik* is dwindling. On the other hand, beside the still highly valued woolen dresses, the women's dresses from ready-made cloth are getting still more beautiful due to the machines (and the decoration materials from the shops that increasing amounts of money enable the women to buy). As dresses now can be produced in days instead of in months, a woman can have

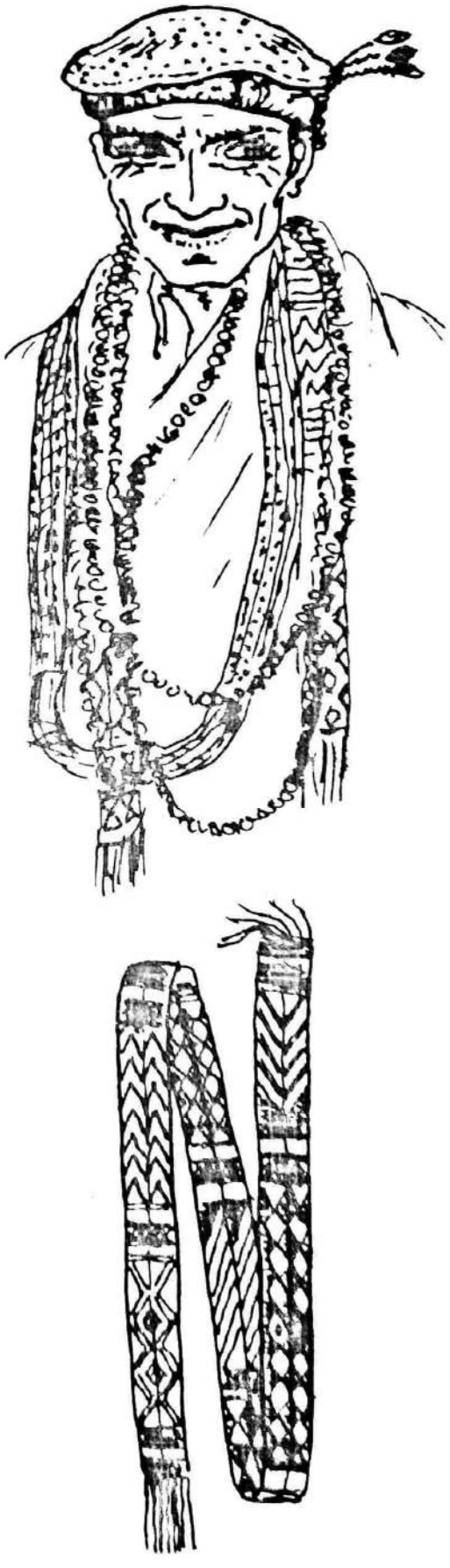


Figure 25 Top–a man being honoured with a *šumán*; bottom–a elaborately woven *šumán*.

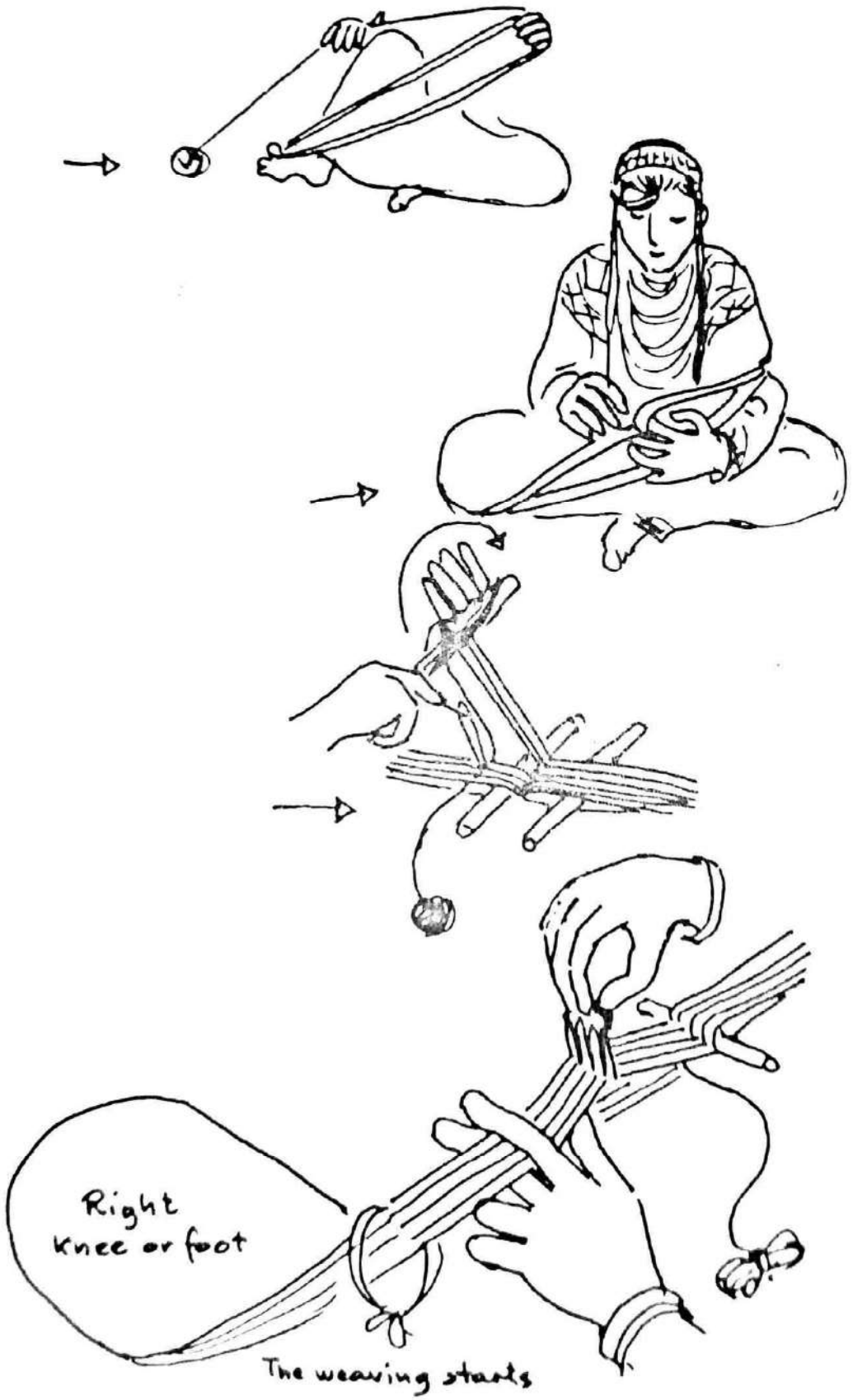


Figure 26 Steps of weaving the *šuman*

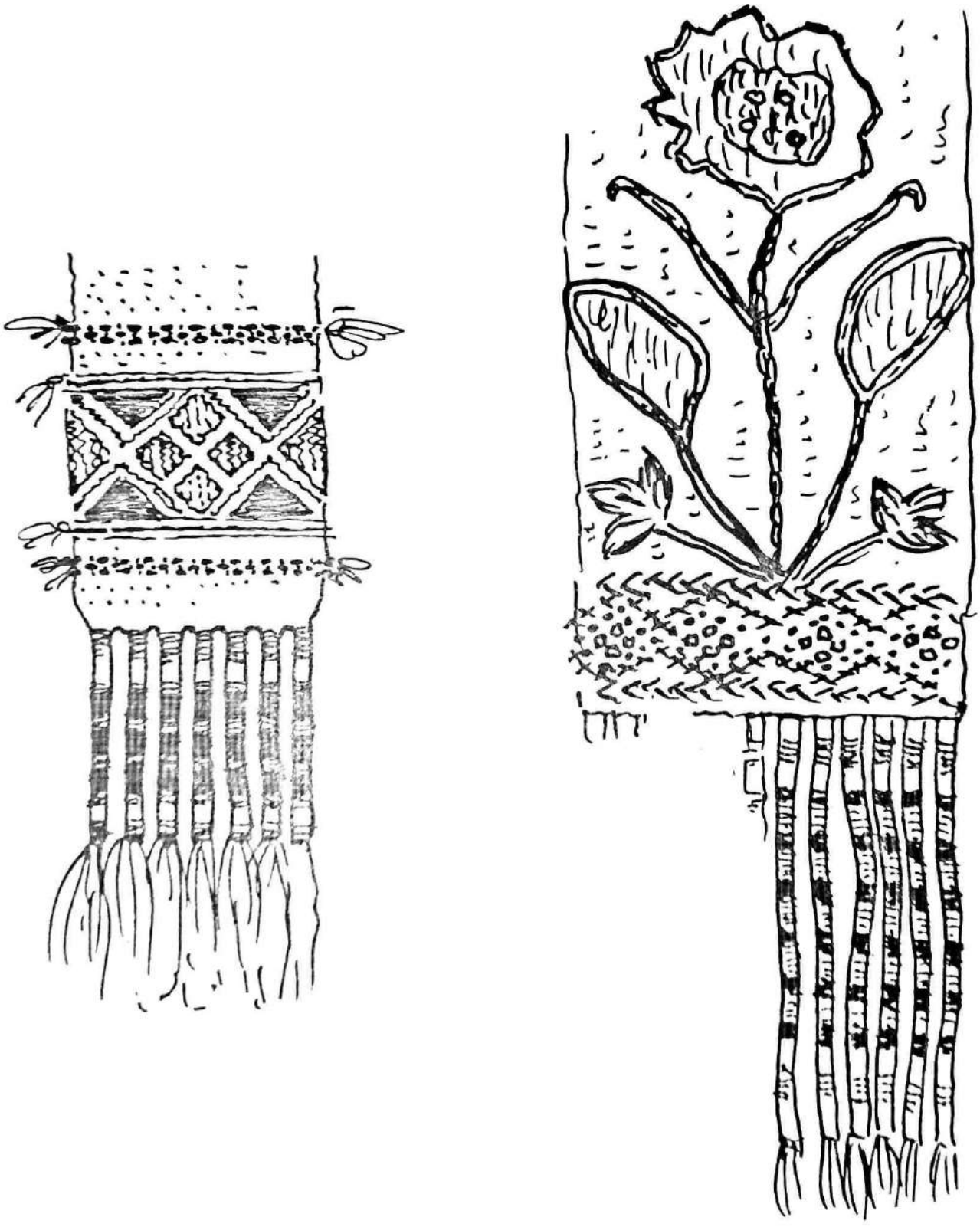


Figure 27 Left–*šuman* with fine woven warp design, right–embroidery on a *šuman*

more dresses every year. This stimulates innovations, and in this way the introduction of machines has stimulated a rapid development in designs and in 'fashion' in the valleys. The machines have also inspired women to make new patterns on their dresses — designs

that can be stitched in curved lines. Thus, due to the sewing machines a new world of possibilities has opened up beside the old traditions, a world which is still not fully explored.

Charpai weaving

The traditional beds in the whole subcontinent are the charpais with a bottom of strings on a wooden frame with legs in the corners. The Kalash mostly use strings of goat hair instead of spending money to buy the usual plant fiber ropes from the shops. The stringing of a charpai can also be considered a textile technique.

First, strong strings are tied transversely around the lower end to make the braided area almost square. Then the braiding begins. The string ball is lying on the floor, and only loops are pulled diagonally on the bed from the transverse strings over the frame and under the opposite leg. The next loops are braided up and down under the previous ones, and so forth. After finishing the braiding, the first transverse strings are attached to the end frame by a zigzag running string, which will support the feet (Fig. 31).

Figure 28 Braided *šumans*

Textile patterns

In the **weaving** many designs are made — mostly in borders like on the belts, dresses, pants, belts, headdresses, jackets, the *čarušdi* shawls, the leggings and on the greatest part of the *šumáns*. Some types are decorated all over — the finest *šumáns* and the *jil*-shawl, which is covered with coloured weft stripes in a special combination. Also, the *kupás* is striped, but from the warp, forming the lines where the cowrie shells are placed, and upon these stripes *sumak* borders are woven just above the fringes along the bottom.

All the designs have **names** known to everyone — both men and women. Sometimes the names and shapes tell about **inspiration from daily life**: (1) Goat's horns in different designs (the goat is a sacred animal); (2) the hour-glass shaped little ceremonial drum; (3) the pillars of the house; (4) flies; (5) butterflies; (6) flowers; (7) teeth; and (8) scissors = crossed horns (Fig. 32).

Some names just describe the **shape,** like the *pundyírak* (9), which means 'round', but actually comes out diamond-shaped in weaving, or the checked patterns, that are only called *mišári* ('mixed') (10), the *čaok'öiak* ('with four shields') shield design (11). Some names indicate the number of lines in the design, like in *treš'öiak* (12). '*páTi* pattern' (13) means the design for the women's belt *páTi*, but it is also used elsewhere. *kaošelak* (14)

indicates the special Kalash technique (Fig. 33).

In general these designs are used for many purposes according to the taste of the woman. Their function is only decorative and they can be used by everyone. A **special goat's horn design** (15), though, indicates a man of high rank. It is rarely used now, but can be seen on the *gulparík čöu*, on the traditional man's jacket (Peter Parkes' dress) and sometimes on the men's winter hood, which is now out of use. Some dress parts are always decorated the same way — the striped *jil*-shawl and the stripes of the kupás.

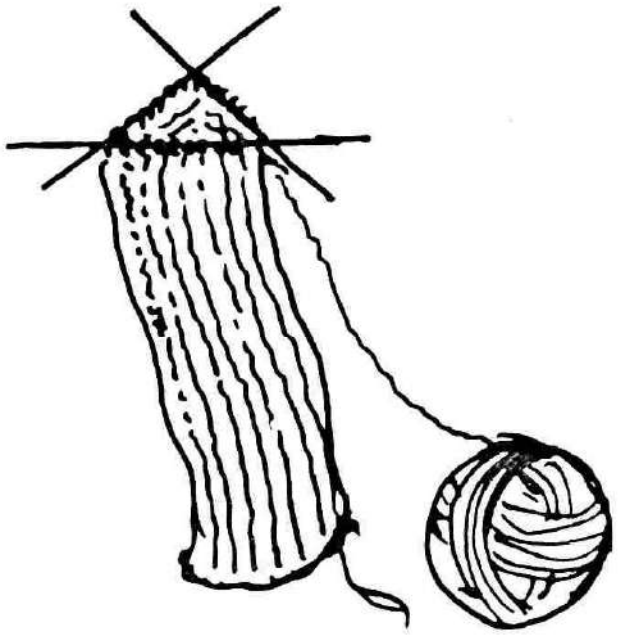
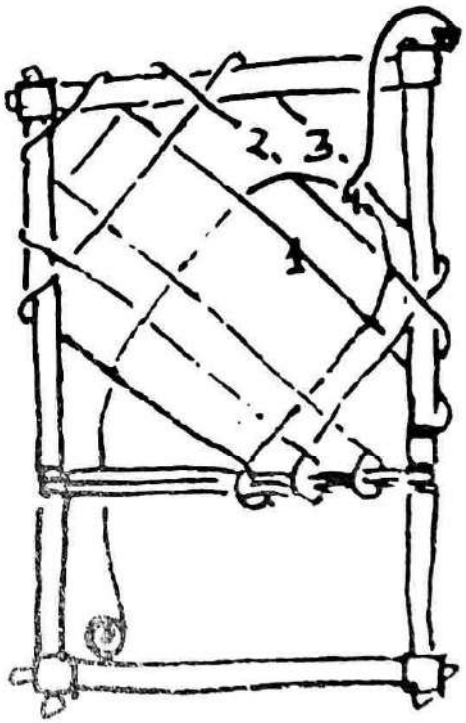


Figure 29 Arrangement of the knitting needles

Use of sewing machine technique for decorations of the cotton dresses and caps for babies creates new designs that can be made in one line: flowers (16), pine trees (17), etc.

Figure 30 A woman sewing on a machine.



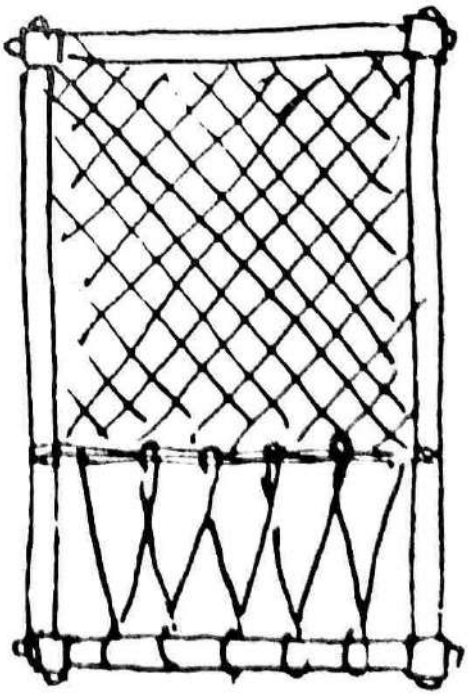


Figure 31 Weaving a charpai

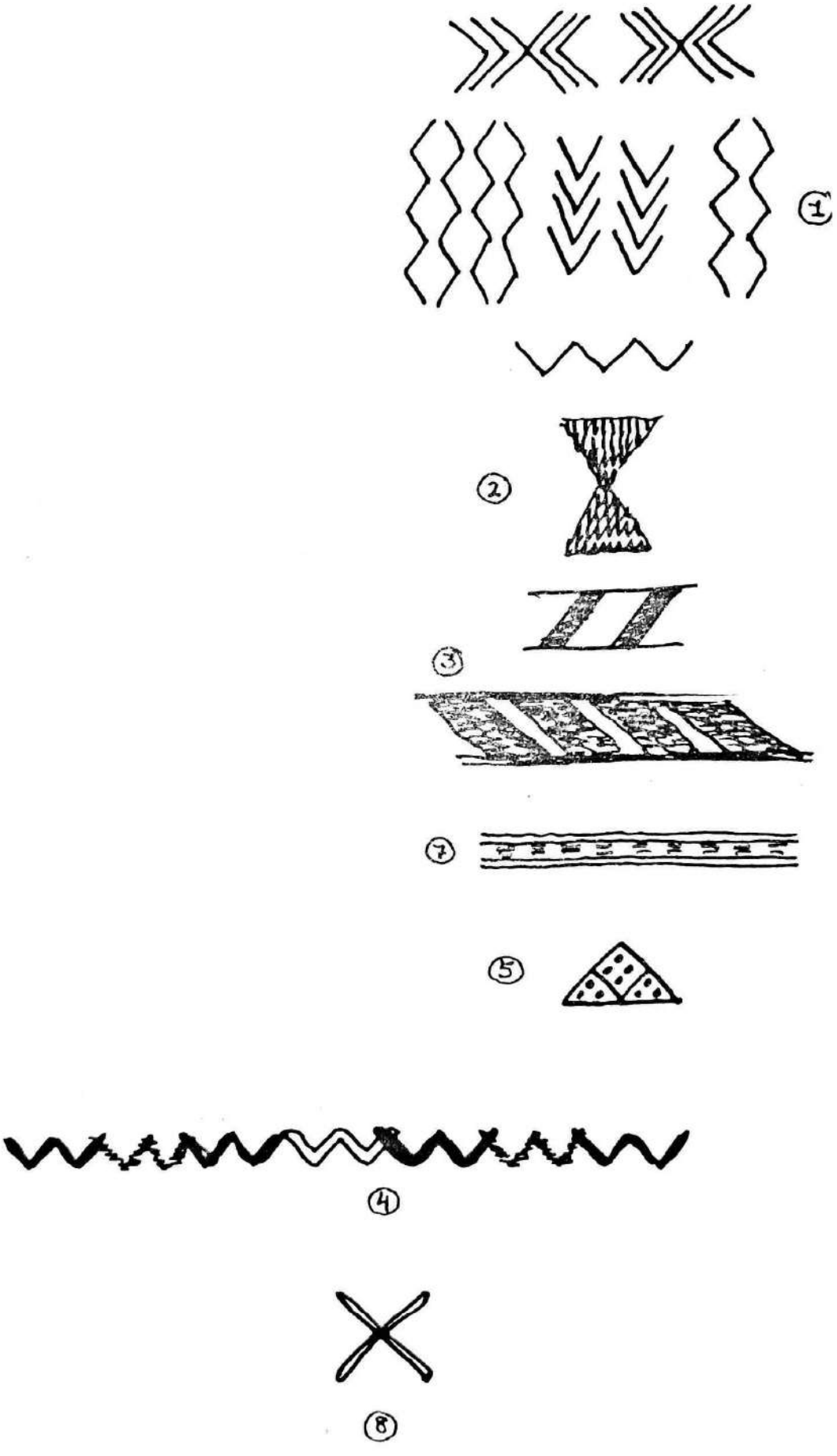


Figure 32 Designs taken from daily life

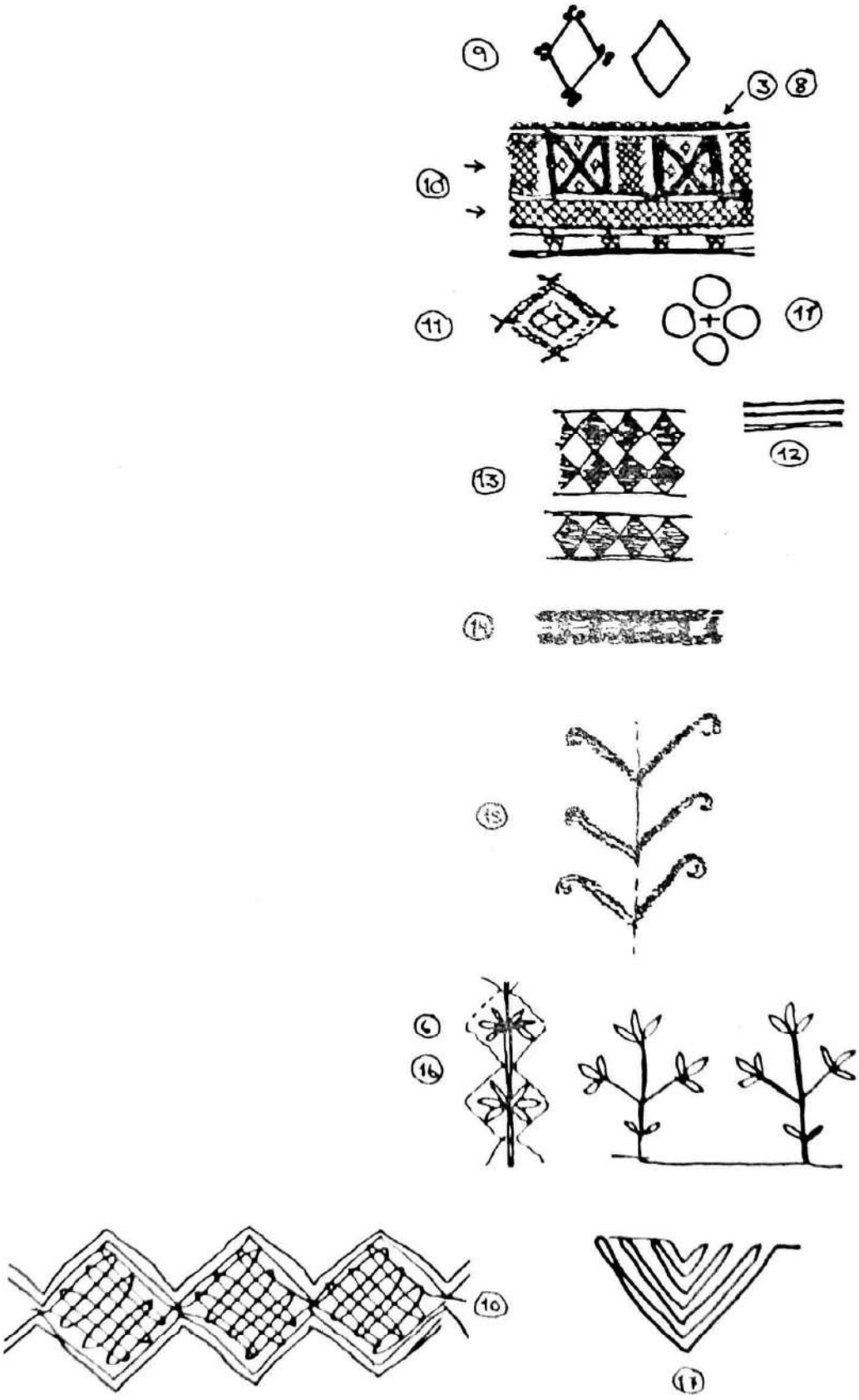


Figure 33 Some designs whose names refer to their shapes.

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Remarks by M. P. Bhandara*

Although scholars are probably more interested in the Kalasha past than in their future, Professor Loude has at my request produced a small Kalasha primer for children which I look forward to seeing. As a former political representative of the Kalasha, I am deeply troubled about certain aspects of the Kalasha situation. But in conclusion, I would say that things are not so dark as they were in the last century or in the earlier parts of this century. The world is on the move, and the Kalasha are on the move. My experience points in very positive directions. Eight or nine years ago the Kalasha were far more timid than they are today; now they are also communicating and interacting with the world as it is. This movement has been a very positive one, because the Kalasha must relate intimately with their neighbours, the people of Chitral. Friends of the Kalasha are duty bound to see that the relationship with the majority community progresses and improves and that they get their fair share. Such conferences help toward these aims. They convey to the Kalasha and to all Chitralis that the scholarly community are deeply concerned with their problems.

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*Former minorities representative to the National Assembly.