Socio-Cultural Life of the Kalasha People of Chitral: A Study of their Festivals

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The paper seeks to examine the cultural life of the Kalasha people and their festivals. It particularly focuses on Joshi, Rat Nat & Uchaw, Pul and Winter Solstice: the Chawmos festivals point out their role in the lives of the Kalasha tribe. Primarily, the study is based on documentary evidences recorded in secondary sources and combined with the data collected by the current researcher during various field visits and ethnographic surveys to the Kalashdesh (Kalasha valleys of Bumburet, Rumbur and Birir). The study probes the meanings of festivities and their cultural significance among the Kalasha tribe.

Kalasha; the sole pagan tribe of Pakistan and indigenous people, live in remote north-western part of Pakistan in Chitral district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The Kalasha people belong to Indo-Aryan stock and they speak the Kalasha language (it is also called Kalasha-mun and Kalashwar); a language of Dardic group. The total population of Kalasha tribe is approximately four thousand. The Kalasha are strongly attached to their culture and religion. However, during 1970’s and 1980’s the Kalasha people and the valleys observed drastic changes like: means of communication, tourism, religious conversion, demographic, values, burial practice, and change in social institutions like bashali$^1$ and budalak$^2$.

The Kalasha community of Chitral is considered the most festive community of Pakistan as the Kalasha dastoor rotates around the festivals, throughout the year. Primarily, the Kalasha celebrate two types of religious festivals; one type is of purely religious festivals with rituals only, while the other type is mixture of religious and cultural ceremonies; a combination of rituals, singing & dancing.
The spring starts in moorlands of Chitral region of the Hindu Kush in May and to welcome the spring the Kalasha community celebrates the Joshi (also called Zoshi) festival for three days. The people start storing milk when elders of the community announce the dates for the festivals. They start to store milk in their barns before ten days of the festivals. Later, the collected milk is distributed among the tribe-fellows. The first preparing phase of Joshi festival consists of ten days; the shepherds live in goat-houses and do not visit their homes for nine days. During the said days the shepherds clean the goat-sheds and all utensils. After the first phase of (ten days) the festival, young boys and girls fetch yellow flowers (Sophora Mollis) from the pastures and branches of walnut to decorate their houses, doorways, walls and also decorate barns and the Jestak han; the temple of Jestak. Practically, this is the first day of the festival. On the said day the collected milk is distributed among the tribe-fellows to celebrate the festival. The ceremony of distributing and drinking the milk is called chirik pipi. On the first day men visit the shrine of Shingmou, they clean it, decorate it with new branches and offer some dried mulberries and walnuts to the shrine.

During the Joshi festival the Kalasha women sing the melodic songs and they dance on the beats of the drums. Some songs are sung in the praise of Dramui who was a great hunter in past days while some songs represent affections and love. Second phase of Joshi represents the religious climax of respective festival. Many sacrifices are offered to Mahandeo deity and the Kalasha people pray for welfare of the community. With the start of second phase, celebrations of the festivals begin.

During the second phase of the festival a ceremony called gulprik is celebrated in which all those babies who born after the last Joshi are brought to highlands in each village with their mothers. They all are allowed to go even the most sacred place of the Kalasha; goat sheds or barns and an onjeta suda throws milk on them as a ritual to purify them. In this way in fact all the babies become the part of the Kalasha tribe. At the end of the celebration, the Kalasha elders sing the songs and dance. “The girls enjoy the Cha, an up-tempo dance in which groups of girls clasp each other’s shoulders and dance in spinning circles.”

Joshi’s third stage is celebrated for two days in the valleys. Different types of songs are sung and dances are performed during these two days. The songs attributed to love, tragedies and wars are sung by the community. The songs of Joshi festival reflect themes ranging from Kalasha history to romance. At the last day of the festival, elders sing Gatch: a very secret song, and all participants wave branches of walnut and they pray for abundance of milk of goats. Kalasha believe that fairies come to participate in this ritual and they also wave walnut branches.
Indeed, the Joshi is very unique and fascinating festival which represents the religious and social behaviours of the community.

The Uchaw and Rat Nat Festivals

The thanks giving festival Uchaw (in Khowar spelled as Uchal) is celebrated in the month of August, each year. Before the celebration Uchaw another festival is celebrated for two months which is called Rat Nat, Rat denotes night while Nat the dance so, in this long festival, dance is performed in alternative nights.

The final dates of the festival are announced by the elders of the community. The Uchaw is held to ensure good crops of wheat. The first ceremony of the festival is performed at the sanctuary of Sajigor, in Rumbur valley. The shepherds climb down to the sanctuary from high pasture. They bring abundant cheese with them. Other Kalasha from the villages also gathered at the sanctuary and after religious rituals bread and cheese is distributed among the attendants, the food can only be eaten by males. Wheat breads, walnut breads and cheese are not only given to family member and married females of clan but also to neighbouring Muslim families. After this the festival starts, and continues till late night or till the next morning. All the Kalasha community makes marry; they sing songs and dance at the open place, which is called Gri in Kalasha and Charsu in Kho language.

Pul Festival

Pul (also spelled as Pho) the autumn festival is celebrated only in Kalasha valley of Birir in early October or sometimes in late September. The Budalak had been the key trait of the Pul festival. The Pul was associated to return of budalak and to mate with the Kalasha women of Birir valley. The budalak is a lost institution of the Kalasha community.

According to history, Budalak had been used to gather his herd at the start of the summer season to left for the high pastures and returned in September/October at the time of Pul festival. The budalak, during the festival, was welcomed and he could choose any girl for himself. No doubt, the Pul festival is still celebrated in Birir, but without Budalak. It is held at the time of the grape and walnut harvest. The virgin boys crush the grapes, this ceremony has a prominent place in local customs. A. Raziq Palwal unveiled that after the harvesting and collecting all the grains, a male goat is sacrifice to Mahandeo.

Another trait of this festival is fruit-picking rites; he said, “during my field visit in Birir Valley Mir Bacha Khan, qazi of Birir valley, explained that at the
time of *Uchaw* (in mid of August), fruit picking is forbidden, for forbidding the term *nagha* is used. The *nagha* is lifted before the commencement of the *Pul* festival. The *nagha* is applicable on walnut, peach, grapes and pear, but not on apple because they grow apple in bulk. The watch-men are appointed to monitor and to prevent fruit picking before *Pul* until the *nagha* is called off. When *nagha* is called off a goat is sacrificed and all the people start fruit picking.”

**Biramor Festival**

The *Biramor* is rare and optional type of festival of the Kalasha people which is celebrated in winter, especially in the months of November or December. During winter, the Kalasha people have nothing to do, so, they celebrate festivities. Only a male Kalasha member can offer the *Biramor*.

*Biramor* is, in fact, a feast of merit; it is very important feature of the Kalasha society. Although this feast of merit is expensive and feast giver has to spend expensive commodities: like goats, cows, wine, cheese etc., and sometimes feast giver gives the dowry or gifts to relatives, even *Biramor* has important place in the Kalasha culture. The status of the feast of merit giver rises, the feast of merit is a symbol of the prosperity and generosity.

If a Kalasha tribe fellow wants to offer a *Biramor*, he has to publicize it in any festival or at any great gathering; he shows his intentions sometimes couple of years before and even sometime a decade before the *Biramor*. Usually he shows his intentions in a *Biramor* organized by any Kalasha member. Before publicizing the *Biramor*, the host obtains the consensus from his clan fellows for economic and moral support for the whole festival.

Loude & Lievre describes the criteria for the host of *Biramor*

> Wealth is generally inherited….But wealth is not all that is needed to be a giver of feasts, and a “rich man’s son” is not necessarily a “distinguished man”; he must prove his worth. He must have the dynamism to produce surpluses,… In addition to this talent for developing his material heritage, he must prove his virility: engender sons,… He must also be able to impose his authority on his family and his ascendancy over his lineage brothers, from whom he will expect economic assistance.

There are three types of *Biramor* in the Kalasha society as Muhammad Iqbal Kalasha categorized:

In the second type of *Biramor*, both male and female goats are sacrificed for all the Kalasha members; males and females, but the goats which are sacrificed at *Sajigor* are only for male members while the goats sacrificed in village are for both sexes; one goat is distributed among four families. It is a bigger *Biramor* and this time *malery* is installed at *Sajigor* as ritual.
The third type of Biramor is common like second one, but in this Biramor dowry is given to jamili of the feast giver. The goats are sacrificed and distributed among tribe fellows.

During the festival, food is distributed, the feast giver is praised by elders of the clan as Loude & Lievre pronounced that praise giving is an art of the Kalasha community and during the event each participant tries his level best to express himself and praise the feast giver in a different way. In praise giving speech, the participants recall the local history, social values of the tribe and virtues of the feast giver. The Kalasha people seek chance to enjoy life, so, during the Biramor they dance enthusiastically on the drum beats and they sing the songs of different verities. The rituals of Biramor are performed at Mahandeo and sometime during performing the rituals (i.e. to burn holy juniper, sacrifice goats etc.) dehar enters into trance and “The god now spoke through the mouth of the shaman” and dehar predicts the future.

Biramor is a socio-religious festival having some religious rituals and social aspects. Therefore, different games like tug of war, tambuk, salom chatik and shil are included.35

The Chawmos Festival

According to Akiko Wada the Chawmos is the longest, the most complex and religious festival of the community as it is held in the month of December each year. The festival lasts for fourteen days, during this period the community makes merry while dancing and singing and many religious rituals are performed along with the sacrifices of goats and sheep. The community believes that the god Balumain visits the Kalashdesh during the festival from Tsyam, an unknown place in eastern Afghanistan. This festival is a symbol of the end of the year's fieldwork and harvest; now people have nothing to do but celebration. People store cheese, fruits, vegetables and grains in bulk for this festival, because there are many stages in Chawmos and it requires many offerings. It is the last festival of the year, which is celebrated for two weeks. The festival has a long series of ceremonies, phases and rituals:

The Inauguration of Chawmos

The Chawmos starts with the celebration of Sarazari. In this celebration the young boys and girls of Bumburet valley under the leadership of elders go to the high scared place, which are considered the dwelling of gods, where this celebration is always celebrated, there they lit fire at two places, one for women and one for men, but in Rumbur valley fragrant juniper branches are burnt on the roofs of the villages which is a consideration of purifying the villages. Then the ceremony formally begins with the offerings and one of the participants washes hands for rituals and sacrifices. The boys and the girls sing different types of songs
of the festival, while singing and dancing they go house to house. They are offered fruits and food by the tribe-fellows.\textsuperscript{39} This ceremony is celebrated for two days in some of the villages. Goats are slaughtered, while the men pray in this ceremony. Each day ends with a dance, during which dry fruit is distributed. Only songs are sung, however drum beating is forbidden in whole celebration.\textsuperscript{40}

The Ritual Clash

“The Third day \textit{Chuwinari} is characterized by a ritual clash fought with insults, often a sexual nature, between nubile girls of the two sections of the community: up-valley and down-valley.”\textsuperscript{41} In this ceremony the Kalasha young boys and girls fetch the reeds from nearby mountains and draw pictures of sheep, goats, human etc. on the walls of \textit{Jestak Han}.\textsuperscript{42} Meanwhile girls move towards river bank for singing competition and the Kalasha men cook beans in bulk, inside the \textit{Jestak Han} for distributing among the all families in the valley.\textsuperscript{43} However, Cacopardo and Cacopardo claim that, to cook the bean is exercised on the fourth day which is called \textit{dau Pacek}.\textsuperscript{44} All these activities show that they have nothing to do and they are returning to their leisure life. In fact in first four days of \textit{Chawmos}, social ties are consolidated and strengthened. In these days the Kalasha society starts to turn into \textit{onjestha} state from \textit{pragata} state.\textsuperscript{45}

Rite of Fertility of Livestock

The ceremony of \textit{Kutramu} ensures the fertility of domestic livestock and wild game (hunting).\textsuperscript{46} For this ceremony the people grind the wheat and at night men make sculptures of goats and sheep with dough (of wheat), these animals are called \textit{Sharabirayak} while women bake walnut bread.\textsuperscript{47} Next morning, the Kalasha people wake up early and perform the ceremonial ritual of driving their animals away for mock hunting. Then the models of sheep and goats are given to the cows some time and sometimes given to Muslim children to play with them.\textsuperscript{48} According to Cacopardo brothers, drawings and paintings on the wall of temples interpret the memory of a distant past when human beings, fairies, deities and animals were living altogether, but later on, there held a separation among them for some unknown reasons.\textsuperscript{49}

A Ritual Tribute to Dead One’s

The \textit{Mandaik} is the sixth day of the great festival, \textit{Chawmos}. \textit{Mandaik} is time to recall the souls of the dead people of the community. On the day of \textit{Mandaik}: the Kalasha women bake walnut bread and pumpkin. As Akiko Wada writes, the \textit{Mandaik} is communicational ritual among Kalasha with their ancestors’ souls.\textsuperscript{50} The Kalasha believe that during the ritual the dead come back to share their meals. The celebration of this day starts at the evening when all the food is amassed along with fruit in the \textit{Jestak Han}, the doors of all the houses are kept closed while an elder calls loudly to the souls of the dead saying “Come and eat”.\textsuperscript{51}
Some food is placed outside of the temple for ancestors and rest of the baskets full of food are put inside the Jestak Han for rest of the people. Akiko Wada observes that a signal of fire is lit to attract ancestors for sharing the food.\(^{52}\)

**A Ritual of Turn into the Purified Life**

The next day, everyone from the community washes him/herself to get purification for the whole year. The rite *Shishao Sutchek* to purify the women performed with walnut bread, water and fire.\(^{53}\) The walnut breads are baked by men. The hands of men should be clean and men should not touch anything, even themselves. Each woman and girl receives five breads.\(^{54}\) The day of the purification is considered as the most sacred time of the year. At this point the Kalasha society has to follow some obligations and restrictions. The kitchen utensils and other articles are replaced with new ones. The milk or tea is forbidden and imported goods are also illegal and not allowed to use. The Kalasha who have converted to Islam must leave the village and further sexual intercourse is banned for a week.\(^{55}\)

Loude & Lievre wrote that “The element of water”, “was believed to wash away the secular, the solid marks of one’s previous condition, which must be shed in order to be able to accede without danger to this period of suspended time filled with the presence of the divine.”\(^{56}\)

**Purification of the Kalasha Men**

*Istongas* is a rite of purification of the Kalasha tribe men, and this rite is performed on the tenth day of *Chawmos*. The men purification ceremony is held late in the evening at the goat sheds. This ritual is dedicated to *Dezau*: the Creator. On the terraced roofs a fire is lit and burning juniper braches are circled over the heads of the contributor.\(^{57}\) A lamb is also sacrificed and its blood drops are sprinkled on the faces of men present there. This ceremony is held on the roofs of goat shed to ensure the fertility of the herds and unbeaten hunting. The same day the Kalasha men gathered on the open air sanctuary of *Sajigor* (in Birir valley) and sacrificed forty goats to *Balumain*, but these sacrifices are presented to *Pushao* an assistant of *Balumain*\(^{58}\) as on this stage the Kalasha society is not completely purified, so *Balumain* is supposed to visit the valley yet. These goats are offered for prosperity and good health.

**Ritual of the Initiation**

The most sacred element of the winter festival is *goshnik*. The Kalasha community does not consider a Kalasha kid as the member of the Kalasha society until or unless *goshnik* ritual is done for the specific kid. This ceremony is done when a boy becomes seven years old and a girl becomes four years old.\(^{59}\) *Goshnik* in fact is rite of initiation or rite of passage. Rite of passage, in fact, is an important ritual which is performed when an individual (most probably a kid or young) from specific community enters from one phase of age to another, generally when he or she enters to adulthood.\(^{60}\)
**Goshnik:** the rite of passage of the Kalasha community, is held at Jestakhan, where all kids of about four years are brought and are given dresses to become the member of the community. Boys are given a white cap, while the little girls are given black woven dress and head-gear: the *kupas*. Without their *goshnik* the kids are not believed to be a part of the tribe. Shah Jawan: (legendary spokesperson from Rumbur valley) adds that the dress is given to young girls and boys by their *mama-gan*.

**Tradition of Census of the Kalasha Tribe**

This ceremony takes place at the shrine of *Sajigor*, the Kalasha deity. *Sajigor* is open air sanctuary, which is situated outside the village, where only men and boys can go. The Kalasha, in old days, were instructed by great Nanga Dehar to take a willow branch in hands which would help Balumain to count them, according to tradition. This ritual of counting of tribe-fellows by Balumain is called *chettai adua*. During the whole ceremony of *chettai adua* no sacrifice of sheep or goat is offered to Sajigor. However, juniper smoke and loafs of bread are offered as sacrifice while back at the village men and women sing the songs, they dance, and exchange sometimes crude sexual jokes and improvised teasing songs. The people keep dancing until *dehar* or the Kalasha elders start to make a pile of branches about 12 feet high for *Chanja Rat* and get back to home for a brief rest.

**The Night of Torches**

The above mentioned dance persisted in until the *dehar* and other elder members of the Kalasha society have started heaping up the wood on the ground and mound of branches, which reaches at the level about twelve feet. This was for the huge bonfire of the approaching of the *Chanja Rat*. During this ceremony, the night prayers are attributed to the *Balumain*. The *Balumain* is a god who lives in Bashagul, in Afghanistan. Some Kalasha traditions refer that *Balumain* lives in Tsyam: an unknown place in Afghanistan. He comes in the Kalasha valleys only for two days, once in a year. All the offerings are made for this divine; all the songs are sung for him like:

- Balimain is descending, he is arriving.  
- Make the males spread like shadows.  
- Balimain is descending, he is arriving.  
- Bring joy, multiply the people like stars in the heavens.  
- Chawmos is the feast of the gods.  
- We are going to meet the great Sajigor.  
- After you have brought us health, you can leave again.  
- Give us health, Balimain, we beseech it of you.  
- Take away our worries and our troubles.
You Balimain, give us cascades of milk.\textsuperscript{71}

Late at night qazi leads a slow-paced procession while singing ritual songs. Each person holds a torch (\textit{chanja}), several feet long. Indeed it is \textit{Balumain}'s returning time, who is god of fertility. He stays with Kalasha for two days.\textsuperscript{72} The \textit{change} night is the most amazing picturesque scene of the winter festival in the Kalashdesh.

### The Frightened Fox

When the guest god \textit{Balumain} leaves the valley for Tsyam (in Bashagul Valley of Kafiristan, present Nuristan in Afghanistan), the \textit{Lawak Biik} ceremony starts in the next morning. According to Loude & Lievre, French anthropologists) the \textit{Lawak Biik} is practiced in one village of Bumburet valley. The people from village shout out and considered that the fox (virtually) is frightened.\textsuperscript{73} It is said if the fox comes back in the village alive, it is sign of good luck for the New Year. However, in Rumbur valley, on the same day, the Kalasha people dance while men putting on the dress like women and vice versa.\textsuperscript{74} Wada writes, “It does not have religious significance because Balimain is gone.”\textsuperscript{75} In fact this activity is extension of the Chawmos, it is not an integrated part of it. Secondly, it is not celebrated unanimously in all three Kalasha valleys.

### The Forward March for Beans

The meaning of \textit{dau tatu} is “forward march for beans.” In this ceremony or custom the girls gather beans from all houses while singing songs, then the boys cook them at \textit{Jestak Han}. The girls also collect dry fruits and thank the giver by singing the song and pray for abundant food for the household.\textsuperscript{76}

### The Mythical Crows

The \textit{kagayak} ceremony is also an extension of the winter festival. The ceremony of \textit{kagayak} is considered the final activity of winter solstice; the night of the white mythical crow.\textsuperscript{77} The \textit{Kagayak} songs are sung by the community, songs in fact are like prayers, in which the people ask the crow to bring them the things they need. Traditionally, it is believed that the white mythical crow carried their wishes to gods.\textsuperscript{78} They sing the songs for the abundant maize, for good earning, for the coming guests and the great increase in their goats.\textsuperscript{79}

### Conclusion

The Kalasha festivals are a source of unity of the Kalasha tribe fellows and they are celebrating these festivals for centuries. These festivals are not only source of amusement, but have socio-cultural, socio-religious and socio-economic impacts for the community. These festivals and performing rituals enhance the

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The Kalasha festivals and cultural events have potential economic impacts, many of the Kalasha fellows earn handsome amount during the festival seasons. The festivals fascinate and attract the world, and thousands of international tourists visit the valleys.

During the festivals the young Kalasha boys and girls come closer and in this way they select their life partners according to their likeliness. These festivals also serve as the platform to perfume the rites of passage. The feasts are also offered during festivals and the frequency of the feasts determined the rank of the feast giver.

However, now unfortunately, bad time is running for the Kalasha people as after 9/11; all three Kalasha valleys receive less international tourists. These valleys are located on Durand Line (Pak-Afghan border) and Taliban phenomenon has hit badly the tourism industry. During one of my field visits in 2008, I noticed a little number of participants in Joshi festival, because the Kalasha people were threatened and were afraid of terrorist threats, so about half of population stayed at home during Joshi. A Greek volunteer Athanasious Lerounis had been working for the welfare of the Kalasha people since 1993. He used to spend almost three months in the Kalasha valleys for the uplift of indigenous people every year. He also had a welfare organization, focusing on education and health of the Kalasha people. In 2009, he was kidnapped from Bumburet and was taken to Nuristan, Afghanistan. This was the first kidnapping in local history. Although, he came back after many months, but this incident raised many questions regarding security in the valleys. Another incident of kidnapping has been recorded in September 2010 in Bumburet valley. Ten labourers of Dir were working in jungle of Bumburet, they were kidnapped. According to updates by local internet based newspaper: The CHITRAL TIMES, four of them have been killed with a message that ‘don’t fight with Taliban’. Later in 2014, Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) threatened the Kalasha people to convert to Islam or be ready to homicide. This type of events badly hit the tourism industry and if such security threats continue, the Kalasha may hesitate to participate in their vibrant religious and cultural festivals and it would be a great loss of a unique culture of the world.

**Glossary**

**Balumain**
A god, lives in Bashagul (Afghanistan), but pays a visit to Kalasha valleys during Chawmos

**bhut**
Trousers

**budalak**
He was welcomed in Pul but now this social institution has been vanquished; his function was like a breeding bull

**celik**
Robe

**cha**
It is a type of a dance
chanja
Torch
charsu
See. Gri
chawmos
It is the great festival held in December for two weeks.
chettai Adua
A celebration of Chawmos held in remembrance of Sajigor
chirik Pipi
chirik=milk and pi=drink means drink the milk; it is a ritual of Joshi festival
chitrmas
See. Chawmos
chuwinari
Celebration of Chawmos
dastoor
The Kalasha religion and culture
dau Pacek
To cook the beans
dau tatu
March for beans; a smaller festival held after some days of Uchaw
dau
Beans
dehar
Shaman; the spiritual figure of the Kalasha society
dezau
Creator in the Kalasha cosmology
dramui
Great Kalasha hunter; a legend
ghona Chanja Rat
Night of the great torches, a celebration of Chawmos
ghona chawmos yat
Memorial of great Chawmos
ghona
Great/Big
goshnik
The ritual of initiation
gri
It may be termed as community house, usually used for dance during festivals
gulprik
A ritual held in Joshi and in this celebration, women are allowed to go to most purist place; the goat shed
istongas
Purification of the Kalasha men; a celebration of Chawmos
jamili
Married sisters of the clan
jestak Han
Jestak=god and Han=place means temple of Jestak god.
joshi
Spring festival, held in May
kagayak
Crow
kalasha-mun
Language of the Kalasha people, it is also called Kalashwar
kameez
Shirts
qazi
A religious institution/leader of the Kalasha people
kho
Language of the people of Chitral, it is also called Khowar
kupas  Head-gears used by the Kalasha girls and women
kutramu  A celebration of Chawmos ensure the fertility of livestock
lawak Biik  It is a celebration of Chawmos and the locals virtually chased the fox
lawak  Fox
mahandeo  A Kalasha deity
malery  Carved and decorated wooden plank installed at Sajigor
mama-gan  Maternal uncles
mandaik  A celebration of Chawmos dedicated to dead ones
nagha  The fruits-picking is prohibited between Uchaw and Pul; this spell is called nagha
nat  Dance
onjesta suda  Virgin boy
onjesta  Pure/Virgin
pacek  To cook
pho  See. Pul
pragata  Impure
pul  A festival held in October in Birir valley only
pushao  An assistant of Balimain
rat Nat  The festival of dance (at nights), it is held many weeks before the Uchaw festival
rat  Night
sajigor  It was formerly warrior god but now it is guardian/protector of territory and herds, its alter is only in Rumbor valley
salom chatik  Wrestling
sambiek  To help some on to put on the dress
sarazari  First celebration of Chawmos
shalwar  Trousers
sharabirayak  Baked animal
shil  Stone throwing; a game
shishao Sutchek  Removal of impurity; a celebration of Chawmos
suda  Boy
tambuk  It is a gun shooting game and participants try to split a fat pumpkin
tshatak Joshi  Tshatak means smaller, it is first day celebration of Joshi festival
tsyam  

The mythical abode of the Kalasha, no one knows about its location

uchaw  

Harvesting festival, held in August
Notes and References

1 Bashali is a house for menstruating women and for those going through the process of childbirth, in the valleys of pagan Kalasha people. The Kalasha women are considered impure during the process of child birth and in their periods. So they have to spend these days in bashali, out-side the village.

2 See heading Pul Festivals to know about Budalak.


5 The temple of Jestak can be approached by both genders. Jestak is female divinity of the Kalasha cosmology.


7 Ibid., 28.

8 Shingmou is a smaller shrine in Grom village of Rumbur valley and the Kalasha believe that fairies, during festivities, sit there to see the festive activities.


10 Halfdan Siiger, The Joshi of the Kalash, 89.

11 Mahandeo is the great deity of the Kalasha tribe with the character of warrior god, protector of corps, herds and hunting.

12 Halfdan Siiger, The Joshi of the Kalash, 89.


15 Akiko Wada, Kalasha, 30.

16 Halfdan Siiger, The Joshi of the Kalash, 90-91.

17 Akiko Wada, Kalasha, 31.

18 Ibid., 33.

19 The sanctuary of Sajigor is in Rumbur valley, only. The Sajigor originally lives in Bashagul and his shrine or nishani, as Kalasha termed, was taken to Rumbur by the legend ruler of Kalasha, Raja Wai. See, Wazir Ali Shah, “Notes on Kalash Folklore,” in Cultures of the Hindukush: Selected Papers from the Hindu-Kush Cultural Conference, ed. Karl Jettmar and Lennart Edelberg (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1974), 77. Sajigor was warrior god formerly, now it is considered the guardian and protector of territory and herds. It brings richness to Kalasha society. See, Jean Yves Loude and Viviane Lievre, Kalash Solstice (Islamabad: Lok Virsa, 1988), 351.

20 Inyat Ullah Faizi, Chitral (Urdu), (Islamabad: Lok Virsa, n.d.), 71.

21 Akiko Wada, Kalasha, 48-49.

22 Kabir and Rehmat.
Gris communal place of the Kalasha community; this place is used for ritual dances.

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54 Akiko Wada, *Kalasha*, 76-77.
55 Alberto and Augusto, *Winter Solstice*, 323.
57 Alberto and Cacopardo, *Winter Solstice*, 324.
66 Akiko Wada, *Kalasha*, 86.
68 Shaman; the spiritual figure of the Kalasha society, in Khowar dehar is called *bitan/betan* as well.
72 Alberto and Augusto, *Winter Solstice*, 325.
73 Loude and Lievre, *Kalash Solstice*, 301.
74 Ibid., 302.