
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 points 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.

Joshi: The Spring Festival

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.³ 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.⁴ 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*;⁵ the temple of *Jestak*.⁶ 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*.⁷ On the first day men visit the shrine of *Shingmou*,⁸ they clean it, decorate it with new branches and offer some dried mulberries and walnuts to the shrine.⁹

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 days¹⁰ while some songs represent affections and love. Second phase of *Joshi* represents the religious climax of respective festival. Many sacrifices are offered to *Mahandeo*¹¹ deity and the Kalasha people pray for welfare of the community.¹² 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.¹³ They all are allowed to go even the most sacred place of the Kalasha; goat sheds or barns and an *onjesta 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.¹⁴ 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."¹⁵

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.¹⁶ The songs of Joshi festival reflect themes ranging from Kalasha history to romance.¹⁷ 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.¹⁸

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*,¹⁹ 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.²⁰ Wheat breads, walnut breads and cheese are not only given to family member and married females of clan but also to neighbouring Muslim families.²¹ 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 dance²² at the open place, which is called *Gri*²³ 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*²⁴ 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 valley²⁵. 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.²⁶ 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*.²⁷

Another trait of this festival is fruit-picking rites; he said, “during my field visit in Birir Valley Mir Bacha Khan, *qazi*²⁸ 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.²⁹

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.³⁰

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.³¹

There are three types of *Biramor* in the Kalasha society as Muhammad Iqbal Kalasha³² categorized:

The small type of *Biramor* is such a way only male goats are sacrificed; one goat is divided among four families, but this time only males have privilege to eat the meat not females of the families. And in a smaller *Biramor* the performer does not keep *malery* symbol at *Sajigor* temple.

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 *jamily* 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.³³

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"³⁴ 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.³⁶ 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,³⁷ but in Rumbur valley fragrant juniper branches are burnt on the roofs of the villages which is a consideration of purifying the villages.³⁸ 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.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.⁴⁰

The Ritual Clash

“The Third day *Chuwiniari* 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.”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 *Jestak Han*.⁴² Meanwhile girls move towards river bank for singing competition and the Kalasha men cook beans in bulk, inside the *Jestak Han* for distributing among the all families in the valley.⁴³ However, Cacopardo and Cacopardo claim that, to cook the bean is exercised on the fourth day which is called *dau Pacek*.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 *Chawmos*, social ties are consolidated and strengthened. In these days the Kalasha society starts to turn into *onjesta* state from *pragata* state.⁴⁵

Rite of Fertility of Livestock

The ceremony of *Kutramu* ensures the fertility of domestic livestock and wild game (hunting).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 *Sharabirayak* while women bake walnut bread.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.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.⁴⁹

A Ritual Tribute to Dead One's

The *Mandaik* is the sixth day of the great festival, *Chawmos*. *Mandaik* is time to recall the souls of the dead people of the community. On the day of *Mandaik*: the Kalasha women bake walnut bread and pumpkin. As Akiko Wada writes, the *Mandaik* is communicational ritual among Kalasha with their ancestors' souls.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 *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”.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*.⁶¹ 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*.⁶²

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.⁶³ 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.⁶⁴ 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 jokes⁶⁵ and improvised teasing songs.⁶⁶ 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.⁶⁷

The Night of Torches

The above mentioned dance persisted in until the *dehar*⁶⁸ 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*.⁶⁹ 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.⁷⁰ 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.⁷¹

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

The Frightened Fox

When the guest god *Balumain* leaves the valley for Tsyam (in Bashagul Valley of Kafiristan, present Nuristan in Afghanistan), the *Lawak Biik* ceremony starts in the next morning. According to Loude & Lievre, French anthropologists) the *Lawak Biik* is practiced in one village of Bumburet valley. The people from village shout out and considered that the fox (virtually) is frightened.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.⁷⁴ Wada writes, "It does not have religious significance because Balimain is gone."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 *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 *Jestak Han*. The girls also collect dry fruits and thank the giver by singing the song and pray for abundant food for the household.⁷⁶

The Mythical Crows

The *kagayak* ceremony is also an extension of the winter festival. The ceremony of *kagayak* is considered the final activity of winter solstice; the night of the white mythical crow.⁷⁷ The *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.⁷⁸ They sing the songs for the abundant maize, for good earning, for the coming guests and the great increase in their goats.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

sense of belonging for culture, religion, society and for their own people. These festivals are the best source of sharing and learning the culture.

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

<i>chanja</i>	Torch
<i>charsu</i>	See. Gri
<i>chawmos</i>	It is the great festival held in December for two weeks.
<i>chettai Adua</i>	A celebration of Chawmos held in remembrance of <i>Sajigor</i>
<i>chirik Pipi</i>	chirik=milk and pi=drink means drink the milk; it is a ritual of Joshi festival
<i>chitrmas</i>	See. Chawmos
<i>chuwinari</i>	Celebration of Chawmos
<i>dastoor</i>	The Kalasha religion and culture
<i>dau Pacek</i>	To cook the beans
<i>dau tatu</i>	March for beans; a smaller festival held after some days of Uchaw
<i>dau</i>	Beans
<i>dehar</i>	Shaman; the spiritual figure of the Kalasha society
<i>dezau</i>	Creator in the Kalasha cosmology
<i>dramui</i>	Great Kalasha hunter; a legend
<i>ghona Chanja Rat</i>	Night of the great torches, a celebration of Chawmos
<i>ghona chawmos yat</i>	Memorial of great Chawmos
<i>ghona</i>	Great/Big
<i>goshnik</i>	The ritual of initiation
<i>gri</i>	It may be termed as community house, usually used for dance during festivals
<i>gulprik</i>	A ritual held in <i>Joshi</i> and in this celebration, women are allowed to go to most purist place; the goat shed
<i>istongas</i>	Purification of the Kalasha men; a celebration of Chawmos
<i>jamili</i>	Married sisters of the clan
<i>jestak Han</i>	Jestak=god and Han=place means temple of Jestak god.
<i>joshi</i>	Spring festival, held in May
<i>kagayak</i>	Crow
<i>kalasha-mun</i>	Language of the Kalasha people, it is also called Kalashwar
<i>kameez</i>	Shirts
<i>qazi</i>	A religious institution/leader of the Kalasha people
<i>kho</i>	Language of the people of Chitral, it is also called Khowar

<i>kupas</i>	Head-gears used by the Kalasha girls and women
<i>kutramu</i>	A celebration of Chawmos ensure the fertility of livestock
<i>lawak Biik</i>	It is a celebration of Chawmos and the locals virtually chased the fox
<i>lawak</i>	Fox
<i>mahandeo</i>	A Kalasha deity
<i>malery</i>	Carved and decorated wooden plank installed at <i>Sajigor</i>
<i>mama-gan</i>	Maternal uncles
<i>mandaik</i>	A celebration of Chawmos dedicated to dead ones
<i>nagha</i>	The fruits-picking is prohibited between Uchaw and Pul; this spell is called nagha
<i>nat</i>	Dance
<i>onjesta suda</i>	Virgin boy
<i>onjesta</i>	Pure/Virgin
<i>pacek</i>	To cook
<i>pho</i>	See. Pul
<i>pragata</i>	Impure
<i>pul</i>	A festival held in October in Birir valley only
<i>pushao</i>	An assistant of Balimain
<i>rat Nat</i>	The festival of dance (at nights), it is held many weeks before the Uchaw festival
<i>rat</i>	Night
<i>sajigor</i>	It was formerly warrior god but now it is guardian/protector of territory and herds, its alter is only in Rumbor valley
<i>salom chatik</i>	Wrestling
<i>sambiek</i>	To help some on to put on the dress
<i>sarazari</i>	First celebration of Chawmos
<i>shalwar</i>	Trousers
<i>sharabirayak</i>	Baked animal
<i>shil</i>	Stone throwing; a game
<i>shishao Sutcheh</i>	Removal of impurity; a celebration of Chawmos
<i>suda</i>	Boy
<i>tambuk</i>	It is a gun shooting game and participants try to split a fat pumpkin
<i>tshatak Joshi</i>	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*.

³ Muhammad Kashif Ali, "Transitions in Kalash Valleys (1947-2006)" (M.Phil dissertation, University of the Punjab, 2010), 69.

⁴ Halfdan Siiger, "The Joshi of the Kalash: Main Traits of the Spring Festival at Balanguru in 1948," in *Cultures of the Hindukush: Selected Papers from the Hindu-Kush Cultural Conference*, ed. Karl Jettmar and Lennart Edelberg (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1974), 89.

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

⁶ Akiko Wada, *Kalasha: Their Life & Tradition* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publishers, 2005), 27.

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.

⁹ Halfdan Siiger, *Ethnological Field Research in Chitral, Sikkim and Assam: A Preliminary Report*. Vol. 36. No. I Kommission Hos Munksgaard, 1956, 25, accessed June 7, 2017, http://www.royalacademy.dk/Publications/High/623_Siiger,%20Halfdan.pdf.

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.

¹³ Imran Kabir and Luke Rehmat, "The Kalasha and the Kalash Traditions," accessed January 29, 2014, <https://thekalashatimes.wordpress.com/the-kalasha-and-the-kalasha-tradition>.

¹⁴ Shamim Kalash, interview by Muhammad Kashif Ali, 16 May 2008, Krakal village, Bumburet.

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.

²³ *Gri* is communal place of the Kalasha community; this place is used for ritual dances.

²⁴ *Budalak* was a social institution of the Kalasha society for centuries. But now it has been vanished from the cultural landscape of Kalash. He was supposed to stay high in the mountains having goat milk for better health and strong stamina, after many weeks' stay in mountains and on his return he was allowed to mate woman. The purpose of the this institution was to get a healthy generation as the Kalasha people were poor and had less resources so the community was bound to provide good food to *Budalak* every year. For details see, Alaudin, *Kalash: The Paradise Lost* (Lahore: Progressive Publishers, 1992).

²⁵ J.F. Staley, "The Pul Festival of the Kalash of Birir," *Folklore*, Vol. 75, No.3 (Autumn, 1964): 198, accessed 28 February 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1257977>.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ A. Raziq Palwal, "The Harvesting Festivals of the Kalash in the Birir Valley," in *Cultures of the Hindukush: Selected Papers from the Hindu-Kush Cultural Conference*, ed. Karl Jettmar and Lennart Edelberg (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1974), 93.

²⁸ Qazi is a religious institution of the Kalasha people; previously there are 5 Qazis in each valley (total 15 in three Kalasha valleys), now numbers are being increased by the government. These Qazis are appointed by DCO Chitral with the consultation of the Kalasha people.

²⁹ Qazi Mir Bacha Kalash, interview by Muhammad Kashif Ali, 24 August 2007, Aspar village, Birir.

³⁰ Elizabeth Gillian Darling, "Merit Feasting among the Kalash Kafirs of North Western Pakistan" (M.A Thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1975), 123 and Loude & Lievre, *Kalash Solstice*, 110.

³¹ Loude and Lievre, *Kalash Solstice*, 141-142.

³² Muhammad Iqbal Kalasha, email to Muhammad Kashif Ali, 12 November 2010, Bumburet Valley.

³³ Loude and Lievre, *Kalash Solstice*, 113.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 121-122.

³⁵ For details see Loude and Lievre, *Kalash Solstice*, 129.

³⁶ Akiko Wada, *Kalasha*, 70.

³⁷ Alberto Cacopardo and Augusto Cacopardo, "The Kalash (Pakistan) Winter Solstice", *Ethnology*, Vol. 28, No. 4. (Oct., 1989), 320, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3773537>; accessed 1 October 2007 and Kabir and Rehmat.

³⁸ Akiko Wada, *Kalasha*, 70.

³⁹ Kabir and Rehmat.

⁴⁰ Alberto and Augusto, *Winter Solstice*, 320.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 321.

⁴² Kabir and Rehmat.

⁴³ Akiko Wada, *Kalasha*, 70.

⁴⁴ Alberto and Augusto, *Winter Solstice*, 321.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Akiko Wada, *Kalasha*, 71.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 71.

⁴⁸ Loude and Lievre, *Kalash Solstice*, 231-239 and Kabir and Rehmat.

⁴⁹ Alberto and Augusto, *Winter Solstice*, 322.

⁵⁰ Akiko Wada, *Kalasha*, 72.

⁵¹ Loude and Lievre, *Kalash Solstice*, 241-242.

⁵² Akiko Wada, *Kalasha*, 73-75.

- ⁵³ Loude and Lievre, *Kalash Solstice*, 259.
- ⁵⁴ Akiko Wada, *Kalasha*, 76-77.
- ⁵⁵ Alberto and Augusto, *Winter Solstice*, 323.
- ⁵⁶ Loude and Lievre, *Kalash Solstice*, 259.
- ⁵⁷ Alberto and Cacopardo, *Winter Solstice*, 324.
- ⁵⁸ Akiko Wada, *Kalasha*, 79.
- ⁵⁹ Loude and Lievre, *Kalash Solstice*, 258.
- ⁶⁰ John W. Santrock, *Adolescence*, 12th ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2008), 434.
- ⁶¹ Loude and Lievre, *Kalash Solstice*, 281.
- ⁶² Shah Jawan, interview by Muhammad Kashif Ali, 13 May 2008, Grom village, Rumbur.
- ⁶³ Mytte Fentz, *Natural Resources and Cosmology in Changing Kalasha Society*, (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 1996), 15.
- ⁶⁴ Akiko Wada, *Kalasha*, 84 and Loude and Lievre, *Kalash Solstice*, 290-91.
- ⁶⁵ Alberto and Augusto, *Winter Solstice*, 325.
- ⁶⁶ Akiko Wada, *Kalasha*, 86.
- ⁶⁷ Alberto and Augusto, *Winter Solstice*, 325.
- ⁶⁸ Shaman; the spiritual figure of the Kalasha society, in Khowar dehar is called *bitan/betan* as well.
- ⁶⁹ Akiko Wada, *Kalasha*, 87.
- ⁷⁰ 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), 78.
- ⁷¹ Loude and Lievre, *Kalash Solstice*, 272.
- ⁷² Alberto and Augusto, *Winter Solstice*, 325.
- ⁷³ Loude and Lievre, *Kalash Solstice*, 301.
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 302.
- ⁷⁵ Akiko Wada, *Kalasha*, 88.
- ⁷⁶ Loude and Lievre, *Kalash Solstice*, 311-317 and Kabir and Rehamt.
- ⁷⁷ Loude and Lievre, *Kalash Solstice*, 321.
- ⁷⁸ Alberto and Cacopardo, *Winter Solstice*, 326 and Kabir and Rehmat.
- ⁷⁹ Loude and Lievre, *Kalash Solstice*, 325-326.