

Glossary

ačhám̄bi	A ceremony celebrating the birth of a baby. On the fifth day after the birth, young girls gather at the <i>bashali</i> to purify the new mother with water and smoke. Then they run to the temple of Jestak, make a small fire, and take turns jumping over it while shouting, “ <i>ačhám̄bi aaaaa.</i> ”
alagúl	Chaotic, noisy confusion (often used to describe a large, happy household).
aluá	A sweet, comforting pudding made of slightly fermented wheat.
aḷaṣíŋ	Elopement.
amátak	Means you have left the period of holiness and reentered the everyday world. The <i>amátak sáras</i> ceremony at the end of Chaumos marks the end of ritually proscribed sexual abstinence. If you touch a Muslim person during Chaumos, you become <i>amátak</i> and may no longer participate in the festival. <i>amátak</i> is also applied to the prohibition on eating walnuts before Uchau, the fall harvest festival.
aŋgár-bat	“Fire rocks,” quartz crystals.
aŋglís	English, a reference to Westerners in general, and including Japanese people. Kalasha from Bumboret say <i>aŋgrís</i> .
áya	Mother. The only Kalasha kinship term reserved for just one person. <i>Fathers, brothers,</i>

	<i>sisters, grandparents, aunts, and so on are terms that name relationships with many others (e.g., one's father's brothers are all called <i>dáda</i>), but <i>mother</i> refers only to one's birth mother.</i>
azát	Free.
azát masaháp	Free tradition; free religious practice; free culture.
barabár	Equal, the same, good. A name children born in the <i>bashali</i> call each other (also <i>burubér</i>).
bas hik	To spend the night somewhere.
bashali (bašáli)	Community menstrual house where Kalasha women live when they are menstruating or giving birth.
baṭií	A measure of about 2.5 kilograms.
béru	Husband.
bešárum	Without shame; embarrassing.
biłahí	Relative-in-law; used as a kinship term for the relation of ego to all relatives of a child's spouse except the child's spouse's parents (who call one another <i>khaltabár</i>).
biramór	A large and important feast of merit.
boniátyak	Diminutive form of <i>boniak</i> , a swaddling cloth.
bronzíkik	A little (term uses the diminutive form) grassy spot for resting, chatting, or relaxing.
bumbarák bo	Many congratulations!
čaumos	Chaumos, the Kalasha winter solstice festival.
čičílak	Fresh corn. Roasted in coals, it is a fall treat.
čiš	An ornament traditionally made of pheasant feathers (now usually peacock) and woven wheat and beads. Traditionally, only women whose fathers are "big men" wore them on their <i>kupás</i> . Now they are common as mere decoration.
čit	Choice, will, intention, thought. Used often in the phrase, <i>may cit</i> , "it's up to me, it's my choice, my decision."
čot	Decoration.

čet krom	Fieldwork, agricultural work.
čhir āya	Milk mother. A name for a woman (not your own mother) who nursed you one or more times when you were a baby.
dáda	Father, father's brother.
dádas dur aļašīŋ	To elope from one's father's house (a girl who has not been married and elopes without her parents' permission).
dašmán	Muslim priest.
dastúr	Tradition, custom.
dastúr hístik	To "throw away" a tradition, to give up a custom.
dáim hútaļa	High pomegranate tree. The sun travels down the valley and rests there for the shortest seven days (<i>dīč</i>) of the year before making its way up the valley again.
déwa dur	House of the spirit/god Sajigor, the ritual altar at Sajigor Torn.
dīč	The purest part of the Chaumos festival, a time when many ritual prohibitions, including sexual abstinence, are carefully observed.
dubáč	The government check post at which all visitors stop on their way into the Rumbur and Bumboret valleys. (<i>dubajá</i> means "the confluence of two streams," and this check post is located at the point where the rivers from Rumbur and Bumboret join.)
dupáta	Many Muslim women in the North West Frontier Province wear this large, usually white shawl to cover their heads, faces, and shoulders when they are in public places.
dur	House, household.
dúray krom	Housework or work around the house.
dúray moč	People of a household, people who share their economy.
dušmán	Enemies.
đak bónyak	The (back-swaddling) ceremony for a newborn at one month. The midwife who delivered the baby is called to swaddle him or

	her. Babies have their first tiny taste of solid food at this ritual.
gáḍa āya	“Great (or big) mother,” the name children call the midwife who delivered them.
gaḍérak	A respected male elder.
gadoḷái	A special necklace made of four to six strands of beads held together with pieces of carved bone.
ga ačók	Bare necked, an insult thrown at a woman who doesn’t have many beads.
ghóna saḷigór	Great Sagigor, a spirit being honored in Rumbur.
gonḷ	A storeroom located (usually beneath) the family house where grain and other shared resources are stored.
goḷṅník	A ceremony that takes place during the winter solstice festival in which two- to three-year-old boys and girls are dressed for the first time in traditional Kalasha clothing by their mothers’ brothers. Boys celebrate a similar rite of passage again when they are five, called <i>bhut sambiéek</i> , “putting on the pants.” Before this time, little boys traditionally didn’t wear pants, only a long shirt. During <i>bhut sambiéek</i> , boys are dressed in traditional men’s clothing and pose as stiff, fierce warriors at Sajigor, the most sacred altar in the valley.
goḷṅník-ani māīk	Beads girls receive during their <i>goḷṅník</i> ceremony.
goḷ	Crazy, insane.
gul parík	“Going with/to the flowers,” a blessing ceremony for an infant at three or more months that releases women entirely from their association with the intense <i>pragata</i> of childbirth.
hányak	A short, four-legged stool with a seat of woven leather.
hawyaši	A spontaneous spring ritual enacted when winter has become unbearably long.

hóma istriža azát ásan	“Our women are free.”
hóma pi tára	“On top of us,” “better than we are.”
ístam sáras	A ceremony celebrating the first blossoms of spring and marking the beginning of farming.
istĕink kárik	To divine using a bracelet dangled from a thread.
istóngas	To ritually purify by sprinkling goat’s blood (always performed by men).
istrižan čit	Women’s choice, a decision left to women.
išpónyak	A thick porridge made from wheat flour and topped with walnut oil.
ĵa	Wife.
ĵa hik	To marry (of a woman).
ĵa nik	To marry (of a man).
ĵamĭli	Female patrilineage members; clan sisters.
ĵamilishír	Community of women (lit. community of <i>jamili</i> but used to refer to all women in the Kalasha community).
ĵangalí	From the jungle, wild.
ĵarĕa	Bastard; a child whose mother has no husband or a child thought to have a biological father not married to his or her mother.
ĵhes	Dowry given to one’s married daughter or married sisters.
kaĵašadéš	Kalashadesh, the “place of the Kalasha.” Currently only the three valleys of Birir, Rumbur, and Bumburet.
káĵun	Traditional soft-soled shoes once commonly worn and still important for burial dress.
kam	A group of Kalasha people related through their common patriline.
kapabán	A choker made of multiple strands of colorful beads and dividers carved from cow bones.
kásik	To walk, move.
kawaĵiak istriža	A single woman (meaning the only woman in her household).
kazí	A ritual expert (always a man) with special

	knowledge of Kalasha history and religious traditions; also a judge.
khaltabár	Relationship between a bride and bridegroom's parents.
khaltabarí	A marriage alliance; a ceremony/party celebrating and arranging a marriage.
khawá	A conical basket woven of wool on a wooden frame. These baskets are made by Nuristani women.
khě kárik, ása čit	"What can we do? It's her or his choice."
khójik	To search; also "to look for a wife."
krom	Work or, more specifically, necessary activity.
kupás	The elaborate cowrie shell and bead-laden headdress used by Kalasha women on special occasions.
kušún	A household; also people with a shared economy, who usually, but not always, share the same house or cluster of houses.
kušuší	A "try-er"—someone who tries hard at what he or she does and is earnest, especially in observing Kalasha traditions.
máka	Ritually impure; said of people who marry forbidden partners.
maksát zindagí	A purposeful, fulfilling life.
marát	A sacrifice of an animal and subsequent feast.
may de, may de	"Give it to me," what little children say when they want something.
may khalí del	"I feel lazy"; "I don't feel like doing it."
méher	Kindness, love.
mezbút	Sturdy, strong, solid.
mišári	Mixed.
mišári moč	A person who is half-human, half-fairy.
móa	Maternal uncle.
moráy	Nubile young woman; woman of marriageable age.
nazúk	Precious, sweet, cute (like a baby).
onjáaw	Things of this time, modern; lit. "It came now."

onjeṣ marát	A pure sacrifice.
onjesta (ónjeṣta)	Ritually pure, holy, sacred, taboo.
ónjeṣta wão	The <i>onjesta</i> space in every house that runs from the back of the stove to the far wall. Women don't step over this space.
páček	An embroidered white cotton head covering worn under their beaded headdress by women from the Urtsun Valley before they converted to Islam.
pastí	Wooden shed for storing food. These are tiny buildings separate from the family house and belonging to one woman.
pátua	Kalasha term for Chitrali Muslims.
páwa	Kalasha use this English word, <i>power</i> .
paysadár	A wealthy person, someone with lots of money.
pragata (prágata)	Ritually impure.
pruṣṭ	Good, better; okay.
rumiš	If a married man or woman finds his or her spouse has a lover, these gifts of compensation can be demanded and are offered to assuage anger.
sadá	Simple, straightforward, honest.
sahí istríža	A "real" woman.
sariék	A merit feast (<i>namús</i>) given to one's married daughter or sister. Young goats are given to the woman as well as a chest filled with clothes, jewelry, cups, plates, and so on. Guests (from the whole valley, and sometimes all three valleys) are invited for one to three days of feasting and dancing.
saw kałáṣa	Completely Kalasha.
son	The high pasture where goats are taken in the summer.
súda uṣṭawáu	A midwife; lit. a person who "lifts" children.
ṣiṣ áu sučék	A purification ceremony for women using specially baked bread and juniper smoke.
ṣiṣ istónḡas	A sacrifice that solemnifies the bonds between husband and wife. This ritual often takes place years after the couple has

	married. If this ceremony is not performed, children of the couple are considered illegitimate.
ṣumbér-áu	From past times, old-fashioned (adj.).
ṣuṣútr	A small headdress covered with beads and cowrie shells. Kalasha women wear their <i>susútr</i> whenever they are awake, except in the menstrual house, where it is optional.
šalwár kamíz	The long shirt and loose trousers that are the national dress of Pakistan.
šaydár bo	"Congratulations on the birth of your daughter." <i>šay</i> means "a valuable person"; <i>dar</i> is a suffix meaning "you own something." I think the phrase means "you have someone very valuable."
šek	Kalasha who have converted to Islam.
šok	Mourning period when a relative has died.
tasíli	The staple pancakelike bread of wheat or corn flour made by spreading batter on a convex griddle.
tiriwéri	A horrible snakelike dragon.
trómiš	Evening.
wā	Space; place.
wal moč	Shepherds, men whose main occupation is herding goats.
wasiát	A testimonial, usually in the form of an elaborate stylized praise song, that traces the heroic deeds of ancestors, generation by generation, to the living elders.
wěi	The pouch of fabric above the tightly belted waist of Kalasha women's dresses. All sorts of small things are carried there.
zánti	A woman who is ready to give birth or has just given birth.
zarúri	Necessary.
zit	A dispute or a small act of stubbornness to show how angry you are.

Notes

Introduction

1. *Aya* (*áya*) means “mother.” Wasiar’s mother is called Wasiara Aya. His father is called Wasiara Dada (*dáda*), “Wasiar’s father.” Throughout this book, I have used pseudonyms, although it is a decision that has caused me agony. Remembering people’s names is important to Kalasha people, a sign of respect. I hope that my friends will understand that I have changed their names only to protect their privacy. They know how important they are to me. I have reserved quotation marks for speech that was recorded with a tape recorder or (more frequently) reconstructed in field notes immediately. More loosely paraphrased dialogue is not in quotes. All quotations longer than a couple of sentences are transcribed from tape-recorded interviews.

2. In March 1997, the residents of Rumbur Valley won the court case for timber rights (and the right not to have their forests logged by outside parties) and were also awarded royalties for all timber cut in the past fourteen years. The money was distributed equally to all the male members of the valley (Birgitte Sperber, personal communication).

Chapter 1

1. The kingdom of Chitral, ruled for three hundred years by the Katur dynasty, was incorporated as district of Pakistan in 1969. The last *Mehtar* now lives comfortably in Peshawar, and his family members continue to have considerable influence in the area as contractors for development projects, owners of hotels and travel agencies, heads of aid programs, and excellent polo players.

2. Steve and I were fortunate to be befriended by a wonderful Chitrali man who welcomed us into his family, and so we were able to experience the warmth of Chitrali family life. His household became a haven for us whenever we passed through Chitral. Without this glimpse behind the walls of Chitral, it would have been much more difficult to dispel Western stereotypes of women in purdah as passive or oppressed.

3. Henrietta Moore (1985:21–24) succinctly reviews debates about the analytical appropriateness of dividing the social world into a public realm where men operate and a private realm for women. See also Rapp 1979; Rogers 1978; Rosaldo 1980; Strathern 1984a; and Yanagisako 1979.

4. *Kalash* is the Khowar term for *Kalasha*, but it has come to have very offensive connotations. It is used in southern Chitral as some people in the United States use ethnic slurs such as *nigger* or *Polack* (Alb. Cacopardo 1991:279).

5. Michael Hutt writes about local reactions to the Western perception of Himalayan countries as magical realms (1996).

6. In fact, Peter Parkes's Ph.D. dissertation places "sexual antagonism" on center stage, arguing that it is interrelated with the economy and social order and forms a "tensile structure of solidarity and controlled conflict in reaction to a hostile environment" (1983:ii).

7. For a review of *Kalasha* literature, see Maggi 1998:55–57.

8. These are to be found now mostly in homes of fashionable European collectors. The beautiful carvings having been chopped unceremoniously out of doorways or off of the walls of Nuristani houses and smuggled out of the country.

9. The Durand Line defined the limit for Afghans, although under the terms of the treaty the British could still go forward into Afghanistan (Nigel Allan, personal communication).

10. Because Kafiristan was converted so quickly and so utterly, Robertson's work remains the "Bible" for scholars interested in pre-Islamic Nuristan. Also useful is appendix C of Elphinstone's *An Account of the Kingdom of Cabul* (1819), which is based on a report by "Moolah Nujeeb," whom Elphinstone sent to Kafiristan with "a long list of queries" in 1809. As Jones (1966) notes, until Robertson's account this appendix constituted virtually everything known about Kafiristan. Readers interested in Nuristan should consult the work of LaRiche (1981), whose master's thesis masterfully condenses most of the available literature that deals with Nuristan both before and after its conversion to Islam. Schuyler Jones, perhaps the best-known scholar of Nuristan, has compiled two painstakingly annotated bibliographies (1966, 1969). A condensed review of the literature on Nuristan can be found in Maggi 1998:58.

Only a handful of scholars have conducted research on post-Islamic Nuristan. Those who have written extensively include Schuyler Jones (1963, 1966, 1967, 1969, 1970, 1974), Louis Dupree (1971, 1973), Max Klimburg (1999), and Richard Strand (1974a, 1974b). Strand currently maintains an informative web site, "Richard Strand's Nuristan Site," at <<http://users.sedona.net/~strand/Nuristani/nuristanis.html>>. Fredrik Barth and Lincoln Keiser have written studies on the Kho, a people who live in northwestern Pakistan bordering the Swat River and the upper regions of the Indus River (Barth 1956; Keiser 1986). Since these people converted to Islam only 200 to 250 years ago, they are interesting to compare to the more recently converted Nuristanis.

The war, and now the civil war, in Afghanistan have made it impossible for anthropologists to conduct extensive field research since the mid-1970s.

11. Augusto and Alberto Cacopardo, Italian anthropologists who wrote dissertations about the Kalasha of Rumbur, recently conducted a survey of the converted Kalasha throughout the Chitral region. Their survey confirms a widespread Eastern variety of Kalasha culture, possibly closer in form to that of Birir (and certainly more similar in dialect) than to that of Rumbur and Bumboret (Alb. Cacopardo 1991; Aug. Cacopardo 1991).

At the time of Morgenstierne's visit to the Chitral area in 1929, there were five Kalasha valleys, all located to the west of the main Kunar Valley. From north to south, they were Rumbur, Bumboret, Birir, Jinjeret Kuh, and Urtsun. The valleys of Jinjeret Kuh and Urtsun were progressively converted between 1910 and 1920 and in 1940. Before this time, these two valleys were involved in the Kalasha intervalley community. People from these communities attended one another's festivals, invited one another to feasts of merit and important funerals, and married their children to one another as the peoples of the three remaining Kalasha valleys do today (Alb. Cacopardo 1991). An old woman, Mranzi, who was born in Urtsun and married in Birir, died during my fieldwork during the summer of 1995. Although she told me that she had never gone back after her natal family converted, she continued to wear the distinctive Urtsuni *páček*, an embroidered white cotton head covering, under her Kalasha headdress (*šusútr*) (Aug. Cacopardo 1991:332). Kalasha continues to be spoken in these valleys, as well as in a number of other previously Kalasha communities, by the older generation (though most do not admit to speaking it because of its associations with "paganism").

12. Tak and Shamlar's answers about their own religious beliefs demonstrate that even in 1835 the Kati were clearly aware of the Muslim world around them. They framed their answers in such a way as to make them more acceptable to Islam (Holzwarth 1993).

13. Kalasha have a rich oral tradition concerning the history of the various lineages, and these are given in testimonials (*wasiát*), usually in the form of elaborate stylized praise songs that trace the heroic deeds of ancestors, generation by generation, to the living elders (Parkes 1991:77; Parkes 1994:172–74; Cacopardo 1992). They also have a fairly rich corpus of myths surrounding the origin of most ritual practices. This is in contrast to a rather vague cosmology (Jettmar 1975:338; Cacopardo 1992:1). Kalasha deities, while certainly important, are quite underdetermined figures. As Parkes has noted, the various gods and goddesses in the Kalasha pantheon seem barely differentiated beyond the epithets directed in their prayers to, for example, the "great" Sajigor (*ghóna saǰígór*) or the "powerful" goddess Jach (*balíma jač*) (1991:76).

14. Linguistic data also point to separate origins of the peoples of Nuristan and the Kalasha. Early linguists classed them together, but Morgenstierne argued that they should be classed separately, since almost all aspects of Kalashamun (and Khowar, the language of Chitral to which Kalasha is quite similar both in structure and in much common vocabulary) can be derived

from early Sanskrit (Indo-Aryan), while many features of the Nuristani languages are “decidedly un-Indian” (Parkes 1983:7–10). See also Bashir 1988 and LaRiche 1981:21–28. Karl Jettmar (1975) has hypothesized that the “original” religion of the Kalasha was probably much closer to other Dardic-speaking peoples in pre-Islamic times and has now been “overlaid” by borrowings from Kafiristani religion (cited in Parkes 1983:9).

15. Kalasha women do not envy the Nuristani sexual division of labor (in which, it seemed to them, women do everything, men next to nothing). And both men and women seemed to consider the ethos of Nuristani life to be rather too violent.

16. Little is known about these first Muslim kings, known as the Rais (Biddulph 1986:150; Alberto Cacopardo 1991:273; Parkes 1983:21; Schomberg 1938:262; Siiger 1956:33).

17. They appear to have retained some political influence during this time—Kalasha were believed to have great skill at divining the future (Parkes 1995) and played pivotal roles in political intrigue. In the mid-eighteenth century, Kalasha spies helped Mehtar Mohtaram Shah Katur regain Chitral after it had been overtaken by a rival branch of the royal family. Kalasha spies arranged for the ambush of the rival Mehtar Khairullah as he returned from a campaign in Bashgal. For this, the Kalasha were awarded control of the neighboring Bashgal Valley, then part of Chitral (Parkes 1983:22; 1995). Many Kalasha ancestors are remembered as having held prominent positions in the court of the Mehtars in Chitral (Parkes 1995).

18. I didn’t conduct a demographic survey of Birir or Bumboret, but there are clearly more Chitrali Muslims and more Kalasha *šek* in these valleys than in Rumbur.

19. Pakistani tourists, mostly groups of young male college students from the Punjab, also vacation in the valleys. Many (though not all, of course) are disrespectful of the valleys and the Kalasha people. Some are looking for sex with Kalasha girls, whom they have heard (falsely) are available. They make vulgar comments and gestures, and a few follow about or otherwise harrass Kalasha women (and foreign female tourists and anthropologists). Others seem to be on a quest for wine, which most Kalasha refuse to sell them. I have seen some young men posing for photographs with skulls they have removed from coffins in the graveyard in Bumboret.

20. Rumbur has two quite uncomfortable hotels. The largest, the Exlant Hotel, was leased to and managed by a Pukhtun entrepreneur. The other, even less successful, is owned by a Kalasha family, though mainly used as a place where local Kalasha and Muslim men play cards. There is one private guesthouse where anthropologists and extra-savvy foreign tourists stay. The larger valley of Bumboret had thirteen small hotels in 1995, the two most successful of which were owned and managed by “down-valley” (one Punjabi and one Pukhtun) businessmen. In 1999, the Pakistan Tourism Development Corporation (PTDC) opened a hotel in Bumboret. The new hotel, which features bathrooms and beds with sheets, caters to tourists looking for a less rustic travel experience.

21. For example, tourists can't possibly navigate the complex and unmarked geography of pure and impure spaces, and so sacred places are often defiled as tourists trek about the valleys. Kalasha leaders also worry that their community is becoming dependent on foreign aid to rebuild altars, irrigation canals, and menstrual houses, all processes that built solidarity within the community when local people organized the effort and everyone participated. While only a handful of Kalasha men have been even marginally successful in cashing in on tourism and development money, these few have begun accumulating markers of wealth and privilege like cement floors and glass windows in their houses. Two men have jeeps, and some have traveled outside of the Chitral region. These amenities are nearly unthinkable for those who have no access to foreigners and their money.

There is a new collection of stories that most Kalasha know, and love to retell, about silly things foreigners do. For example, one English woman is said to have named her dog Pooch, which, in Kalashamon is a slang word for penis. She went all about the valley calling, "Pooch! Pooch! Has anyone seen my Pooch?"

22. To be fair, some Kalasha do find small ways to sell their culture to tourists. Occasionally, some unscrupulous elder convinces women to dance for the pleasure of some visitor or another (and usually he pockets most of the money himself rather than dividing it among the dancers). And some women are beginning to find ways to sell Kalasha handicrafts to tourists. But, at least so far, such transactions are infrequent and not very lucrative.

23. Most anthropologists now accept the idea that contemporary tourism is largely a "quest for the Other," as van den Berge (1994) has called it. See Selwyn 1996 and Adams 1996 for excellent reviews and refinements of the literature on tourism.

24. LaRiche writes that the former non-Muslim inhabitants of Nuristan also apparently felt a curious link with Europeans (1981:41–43). In the winter of 1839, the Kafirs sent a deputation to see Sir William McNaughten, secretary to the government of India. McNaughten was in winter quarters in Jalalabad with Shah Shuja, whom the British had recently installed as ruler of Afghanistan. Maj. H. C. Ravery was told the following anecdote by an old member of his corps:

In the end of 1839, in December, I think it was, when the Shah and Sir W. McNaughten had gone down to Jalalabad for winter quarters, a deputation of the Si-ah-Posh Kafirs came down from Murgal to pay their respects, and, as it appears, to welcome us as relatives. If I recollect right, there were some thirty or forty of them, and they made their entry into our lines with bagpipes playing. An Afghan peon [orderly] sitting outside Edward Connolly's tent, on seeing these savages, rushed into his master's presence, exclaiming, "Here they are, Sir! They are all come! Here are all your relations." Connolly, amazed, looked up from his writing, and asked what on earth he meant, when the peon, with a very innocent face, pointed out the skin-clad men of the mountains, saying "There! Don't you see them? Your relatives, the

Kafirs?" I heard Connolly tell this as a good joke, he believing at the same time that his Afghan attendant was not actuated by impudence in attributing the blood connection between his master and the Kafirs. The Kafirs themselves certainly claimed relationship, but I fear their reception by poor Sir William was not such as pleased them, and they returned to their hills regarding us as a purse-proud people, ashamed to own our country cousins.

Raverty claims that the Afghan attendant was only acting on the commonly held fact that the Kafirs claimed European descent (cited in LaRiche 1981:42).

25. Parkes notes that this description resonates with Kalasha conceptions of their own communal identity, in that Kalasha repeatedly emphasize that "all Kalasha are poor, all are equal," in contrast to the finely graded status hierarchies of surrounding Chitral (1994:160). During the "women's march," the women were offered a jeep ride, but they refused it, saying that they were "poor Kalasha" and they would walk.

26. There are interesting parallels between Kalasha and the Maya of Guatemala. Maya culture, of course, is surrounded by the politically and numerically dominant Ladino culture. Like Kalasha women, Maya women wear distinctive, elaborate clothing, while Maya men are difficult to distinguish from Ladino men. Carol Smith argues that Maya women also have greater latitude to make decisions about their sexual and marital lives than do Ladino women—as long as they remain within the Maya community (1995).

27. For a review of recent ethnographies that deal with the ways in which gendered disempowerment provides a connection point to other inequalities, see Knauff 1996.

28. For example, Judith Butler writes, "If one 'is' a woman, that is surely not all one is; the term fails to be exhaustive, not because a pre-gendered person transcends the specific paraphernalia of its gender, but because gender is not always constituted coherently or consistently in different historical context, and because gender intersects with racial, class, ethnic, sexual, and regional modalities of discursively constituted identities. As a result, it becomes impossible to separate out 'gender' from the political and cultural intersections in which it is invariably produced and maintained" (1990:3). And Bourdieu writes: "Sexual properties are as inseparable from class properties as the yellow of a lemon is from its acidity" (1984:107).

29. *ásan* is the "proper" third-person-plural conjugation. In the Rukmuli dialect (spoken by those from Rumbur Valley), everyday speech contracts *ásan* to *an*. Morgenstierne noted that the change was beginning to take place when he studied the language in 1929 (1973). *ásan* is still used in more formal contexts, such as speeches or in formulaic pronouncements. Using *ásan* in this context marks this phrase as special and proper, a well-known expression rather than the casual speech of one person.

30. I'm not saying that there are no differences between the behavior of Kalasha women and the various communities of Muslim women who are their neighbors—all this talk is about practices that *are* real and that *do* have consequences for the way lives are lived. But the differences are relative ones

that are not nearly so disparate as the stereotyping discourse (on both sides) would lead us to believe.

31. See, for example, Bohannan 1954; Mead 1928; Faithhorn 1976; Fernea 1969; Hurston 1990; Underhill 1934; Weiner 1976; Wolf 1968; and Shostak 1983, among many others. In a special issue of *Critique of Anthropology* (1993, vol. 13, no. 4), which focuses on “women writing culture,” the significance of some of these works are discussed. See also Behar and Gordon 1995.

32. Ethnographies that deal with women’s “agency as resistance” include Comaroff 1985 and Raheja and Gold 1994. See Abu-Lughod 1990 for an important critique.

33. Certainly the association between agency and community identity is not unique to Kalasha. Many Indian feminists focus on the “question of ‘Woman’s’ and ‘women’s’ discursive and strategic location in the emergence of national, racial, religious and other community identities” (Gedalof 1999:29). Zoya Hasan (1994:32) argues that in contemporary India, even in times of conflict, when religious identity is heightened and gender identity seems muted, there is still much concern about what women do because “community identities are often defined through the conduct of women.” See also Chhachhi 1994, Mann 1994, Chakravarti 1990, Mani 1990, and Sangari and Vaid 1990 for historical and ethnographic accounts of the ways in which gendered agencies are enmeshed in other identities in India. Carol Smith (1995) makes a similar argument for Mayan communities in Guatemala.

34. See, for example, Kratz 2000, Ahearn 1994, Finn 1995, Hobart 1990, Tsing 1993, Ortner 1996, and Wardlow 2000.

Chapter 2

1. The complicated relationship between space and identity has long been an important topic for many social theorists. Early social-theoretical works that addressed relationships between space and identity include Durkheim 1915; Goffman 1959; Barth 1966; Douglas 1966; Bourdieu 1971, 1977; and Foucault 1979, 1980, 1986, among many others. In recent years, cultural geographers have taken this compelling discussion to new levels of complexity. Soja, for example, has demonstrated the ways in which “human geographies become filled with politics and ideologies” (1989:6), and Massey reads the spatial as “an ever-shifting social geometry of power and signification” (1994:3). Perhaps because we all share fundamental embodied understandings of life in a three-dimensional universe “space” captures our imagination: it’s good to think with. Many recent studies of space have taken wing, soaring above the intricacies of life on the ground to new conceptual heights, pulling us along so that we, too, can glimpse Pratt’s “contact zones” (1992), Jameson’s “world space of multinational capital” (1991), and hooks’s, “space of radical openness” (1991:149, quoted in Keith and Pile 1993:5), among many others. Ethnographers have this to offer to discussions about “space”: by slowing down and attending to the details of how people move in and understand the

landscapes they live in, attending to spaces with a small *s* rather than Space with a big *S* (Knauff 1996:135), we can trace not only what spaces do or mean but how they change in particular cultural contexts, and why—what Foucault has called “the little tactics of the habitat” (1980).

2. *azát* is an adjective. It is also possible to use it as a noun, *azatí*, but this form seems to be less common.

3. According to A. Raziq Palwal, another different version of this myth was recorded by Peter Snoy in 1970 (1972:34).

4. The *onjesta* status of a woman who has given birth to twins means that she is especially vulnerable. Baraman’s wife, for example, is thought to have lost her voice after giving birth to twin sons. A woman who has borne twins will not drink from a cup that has first touched the lips of another woman. She also doesn’t take food from Muslim neighbors (this is interesting because men, who are also said to be *onjesta*, often eat with Muslim friends). While she is said to be *onjesta*, such a woman does not reap male privileges. As Pirdaus’ Aya put it, “No matter how pure we become, they will never let us eat the meat of male goats (*bíra mos*).”

5. As Margaret Mills commented (personal communication), perhaps the Kalasha example can serve as a starting place for a general critique of purity theory that dislodges (or at least nudges) hierarchy as a logical implication of dichotomy.

6. For a structuralist interpretation of *onjesta-pragata* dualism, see Caco-pardo and Cacopardo 1989.

7. Spatial segregation and gender have been considered with increasing nuance by feminist anthropologists and geographers (cf. Rosaldo 1974; Ardener 1981; McDowell 1983; Moore 1986; Rose 1993; Spain 1992; Massey 1994). The best of these interpretations look beyond the social outcomes of an already existing spatial order, recognize space as both the “product and producer” of existing social and economic relations (Moore 1986:89), and ask how women themselves participate in the creation of the spatial worlds in which they live (cf. Abu-Lughod 1995; Wikan 1982).

8. The man transgressing the *bashali* boundary would have to wash thoroughly on the spot and later provide a goat to be sacrificed at a Sajigor altar for an *onjés marát*, a “pure sacrifice.”

9. Kalasha talk about modernity with the same nuance they give to other complicated topics. Things and ideas that are *onjáaw* (from right now) are not necessarily better than things that are *šumberáw* (from before). Things that are *šumberáw* are not unquestionably right because they are traditional. Sometimes when Kalasha discuss development in the valleys they use the words *tarákí*, “upwardness.” But a person can also improve his or her status, *tarákí káru*, through traditional means like giving feasts of merit.

10. Margaret Mills tells me that *wāo* means “old woman” or “grandmother” in Khowar.

11. For women who are menstruating or have recently given birth, this *onjesta* part of the house expands still further, and they avoid touching or even reaching into the entire rear section of the house.

12. I have, however, had cocky younger men like my friend Nisarge respond to my questions about why women don't go to ritual altars by saying, "We don't let them." So perhaps this is a more contentious point than either women or ritual elders led me to believe.

13. Several women claim to have been the first to "stay the night" (*bas hik*) at home instead of going to the menstrual house. There is a certain valued boldness in being on the leading edge of cultural changes.

14. Although men can "pass" since they dress like other men in the North West Frontier Province, Kalasha dancing, wine making, religion, and especially women's distinctive, colorful clothing and beads, lack of a veil, and assertion of freedom of movement mark them as different in almost every context.

15. When I admitted to Saras Gula Aya that Westerners are more like Muslims than Kalasha in that way—that we cook for our families when we are menstruating and have our babies in the presence of husbands and male doctors, she said, "What can I tell you, Wynne? *anglís* are like us, something like us. Muslims are *bo warék*, very different."

16. For excellent descriptions of Chaumos, see Cacopardo and Cacopardo 1989; and Loude and Lievre 1984, 1988.

Chapter 3

1. Of the 114 Kalasha or Kalasha *šek* (converted Kalasha) households in Rumbur in 1995, 30 owned no goats. Among those households that did own goats, average herd size was 55. Fourteen households owned more than 100 goats, 2 owned 200, and one owned 250. Of 104 Kalasha families, 17 owned no livestock (cattle, sheep, or goats) whatsoever. Of 10 families of converted Kalasha, 4 families owned no livestock, 6 owned no goats, one family owned 5, one 10, one 20, and one 50. While the great differences between average goat ownership of *šek* and Kalasha households could be due to the small number of *šek* households, it could also be a reflection of the different sexual division of labor among converted Kalasha: women do less agricultural work, so men are less able to pursue pastoral work that takes them away from family crops during the growing season.

2. Families with no girls old enough to watch the sheep may take in a neighbor girl to do this work.

3. Margaret Mills, who did fieldwork in Ishkoman, told me that this description is only partially true for Kho women in that community. They do travel back to natal homes in adjacent villages to help with births. While they don't necessarily need a male escort, they always travel with children or other women, never alone.

4. For example, one middle-aged man lives alone. One household consists of a single middle-aged woman, said to be "crazy," whose brother has moved to Peshawar. In one household, an elderly brother and sister, both widowed and childless, live together and care for their dead brother's children.

5. I am unable to figure out why there are so many fewer women than men in Rumbur, and don't know if this is true in the other two Kalasha valleys of Birir and Bumboret. Conversion rates appear similar, and I did not notice signs of neglect of female children. Clearly, this would be an important issue for further research.

6. I conducted this economic survey of Rumbur Valley by means of a method known as rural participatory appraisal. I surveyed each village with the help of a Kalasha friend who knew each family in the village well. We spent two to three days working in each village, asking interested residents to provide economic data on their own and their neighbors' households. I cross-checked this information by interviewing individuals about their personal livestock, grain harvests, and other assets and found that assessments provided by the group of friends and neighbors corresponded well. Nevertheless, all numbers provided are estimates of average years.

Chapter 4

1. In particular, there have been rich debates about the multiple meanings of the veil (Jacobson 1970; Sharma 1978; Nanda 1976; Thompson 1981; Mills 1985; Tapper 1990; Grima 1992; Raheja and Gold 1994) and the role of clothing in women's rituals (Fruzzetti 1982).

2. Boys celebrate a similar rite of passage again when they are five, called *bhut sambiek*, "putting on the pants." Before this time, little boys traditionally didn't wear pants, only the long *kamiz*. During *bhut sambiek*, boys are dressed in traditional men's clothing and pose as stiff, fierce warriors at Sagigor, the most sacred altar in the valley.

3. This is also true of women in many other communities in Pakistan and indeed all over South Asia. Gandhi hoped that Indian women would put aside their beloved bright colors and adopt plain, white, Indian cotton (*khadi*). Such unmarked dress, he thought, would erase divisions and enable women to enter the public, political sphere without appearing immodest. Most Indian women objected that *khadi* (besides being heavy) threatened their aesthetic sense and their very identity as women (Tarlo 1996:110).

4. Interesting parallels can be found in Alfred Gell's account of how the Muria Gonds of Madhya Pradesh invent their own uniforms for public occasions, revealing the dynamism of what he calls "collective styles" (1986:120; discussed in Tarlo 1996:7).

5. Jackson and Karp comment "No one makes the world from nothing or escapes the contingencies of his or her birth, upbringing and culture. But each person strikes to live the 'found' world as though it were of his or her own making. . . . [T]he integrity and perpetuation of every collective order depends in the last analysis on the initiatives and actions of individual persons" (Karp and Jackson 1990:29). Kalasha fashion is exciting and compelling because each woman is actively engaged in personalizing the "found" world, in making it their own, and in so doing in changing it for others.

6. As Berlo suggests for Latin American women, “One of women’s fundamental roles is to creatively transform alien objects, influences, materials and ideas in order to appropriate them into indigenous culture” (1991:462).

7. James Clifford reminds us that “art collecting and culture collecting now take place within a changing field of counterdiscourses, syncretisms, and reappropriations, originating both outside and inside ‘the West’” (1988:236).

8. The material to make a new dress costs about Rs 600, or U.S.\$20, and each woman and girl needs at least one, ideally two, every year. Yarn for a new belt costs about \$20. Until about fifteen years ago, women spun the wool for their own dresses and belts, but now only very old women (and one middle-aged woman who proclaims that she is “dedicated” to Kalasha tradition) wear woolen dresses, and woolen belts are also becoming less common, replaced by synthetic yarn. My own beads, less than a third of what most women wear, cost well over \$100. A laborer in the valleys can expect to earn Rs 50 (\$1.70) per day.

9. A woman’s dress used to represent the prestige of her father (though not her husband). If he were a “big man,” having held feasts of merit, she would wear a special configuration of cowrie shells on her *šušútr* and was entitled to wear a *čiš*, a feathered ornament, on ceremonial occasions. Now such ornaments can be worn by anyone, regardless of the status of her father.

Chapter 5

1. Had Graziosi realized that it is Kalasha women themselves who are responsible for the creation and maintenance of their menstrual house culture, he could have made a valuable contribution, as *bashali* customs have changed greatly in the forty years since his “expedition” and many Kalasha people (as well as scholars) are interested in their history.

2. In the introduction to their edited volume, *Blood Magic*, Thomas Buckley and Alma Gottlieb write:

To our knowledge there have been no detailed studies of women secluded in menstrual huts, and a great many questions go largely unexamined in received ethnographies and cross-cultural studies. Are most secluded women in “solitary confinement,” or is seclusion more often communal . . . ? Do women usually “resent” their seclusion . . . ? Or do they . . . usually “enjoy this break from their normal labors”? Do they widely perceive it as a “break” from men as well? What do women do during this time? Some, at least talk and weave, meditate, cook—do others just mope? (1988:2)

I looked for answers to questions such as these by comparing existing ethnographic information about menstrual houses drawn primarily from the Human Relations Area Files.

Although the descriptive data available are not at all satisfactory, menstrual

houses can be divided into two ideal types. In the first type, which I have termed “closed,” menstruating women are isolated from one another and are not allowed to receive visits from anyone but a designated person or group of persons who bring food to her. Menstrual huts in which women are relatively more free to receive other women as visitors and situations in which all women from a community share one menstrual house are categorized as “open.” It appears that the way menstrual huts are organized, whether they are open or closed, has a great deal to do with whether women look forward to menstrual seclusion with joy or simply resignation.

Closed menstrual houses isolate women from the social life of the village. A young Gond woman exclaims, for example, “You feel as if you were in jail; why has God sentenced us girls to such a punishment as this?” (Elwin 1947:81). Khanty women report finding menstrual seclusion unpleasant (Balzer 1981), and Maroon women dislike being isolated from (and therefore out of control of) village happenings (Price 1984). There are no subjective data available on the other three societies (Nahane, Micmac, and Creek), which I coded as having relatively more “closed” menstrual house practices. But it seems true that in Gond, Khanty, and Maroon society menstrual seclusion is just that, seclusion.

In contrast there are societies such as the Yurok, Papago, Yap, and Kalasha in which the menstrual house can hardly be thought of as a way of isolating menstruating women from the group, as in these four societies the menstrual house itself is a focus of women’s community. Buckley suggests that Yurok women could even synchronize their periods so that they could share an important ritual life with one another (1988:190–91). The Papago menstrual hut was a place where women gathered to gamble, sing and tell stories and where no man dared go (Underhill 1936). In these cases, women are not really “secluded”; they just move to a different and special realm. In fact, it might be more correct to say that the world of men is secluded from them.

The menstrual houses in these communities all have an open structure, and they therefore come closer to realizing Michelle Rosaldo’s dream that “Pollution beliefs can provide grounds for solidarity among women. Women may, for example, gather in menstrual huts, to relax or gossip, creating a world free from control by men” (1974:38). Because open menstrual houses afford women the opportunity to be together in an extended and intimate way, and because this space is free of overt male influence, it can become a center for female culture and community.

3. My thanks go to my colleague Birgitte Sperber, who brought this myth to my attention and conducted the joint interview in which this story was told. See Fentz 1994:74 for an alternative version told by Kasi Khosh Nawaz.

4. Graziosi reports that when he was attempting to elicit census data and asked men “Where were you born?” (meaning “What is your natal village?”) they would often reply “In the bashali!” (1961).

5. The Rumbur bashali construction saga continues. Birgitte Sperber informed me that Maureen Lines, a British woman who has also set up her own

NGO, has constructed a second *bashali* building right next to the one Renata Hansmeyer had built.

6. Although I asked many times what could be revealed and what was secret, I received almost no guidance. Women don't talk to men about what goes in the *bashali*, and men don't ask. Women don't seem interested in what goes on at men's ritual altars, but I know that some women have seen films made by foreigners of men's rituals. I think that it is the separation of ritual spaces by gender, rather than ritual *knowledge*, that is most important in Kalasha cosmology.

7. The few fields that fall inside the *pragata* areas of the valley (see chapter 2) are areas in which *bashali* women can work. Often, owners of these fields will invite *bashali* women to come and help with the fieldwork, and the work party of women will be provided with tea and good food. It becomes a social time when people who live nearby come to visit with the *bashali* women. Women whose families own such fields often *do* go there to help out, but they are not required to do so.

8. Adam Nayar told me that the menstrual house was also previously an important institution in the mountain community of Astor, as it was throughout much of northern Pakistan and across the Hindukush into Afghanistan. When Nayar did his fieldwork in Astor in the 1970s, old people remembered the menstrual house, the remains of which were then still standing in the village. Although the custom hasn't been practiced for many decades, their word for "menstrual house" had become a synonym for "lazy," so that men whose buttons weren't sewn on, and so on, would tease one another, saying, "What? Is your wife in the menstrual house?"

9. Every Kalasha person I talked with believed that there is only one God, one *khodai* (the Chitrali word for God), and that traditional Kalasha gods and goddesses are manifestations of God.

10. Dezalik figurines also stand watch over the menstrual houses in Rumbur. In Birir, the goddess is worshiped, but there is no physical representation of her.

11. I had intended to tape-record conversations in various social arenas to use for comparative discourse analysis. The fact that everything that goes into the *bashali* must be thoroughly washed made bringing recording equipment with me impossible. I also found that I felt uncomfortable taping women's private conversations. It felt like spying, and the presence of my machines seemed to make my friends self-conscious.

12. Relationships between close female friends are similar in many ways to relationships between young heterosexual lovers. They exchange small gifts, look forward to seeing one another, and feel a "lack" when they have been apart for a long time. They like to sit close together and hold hands and engage in intimate conversation. "But I don't think women ever think of sleeping together like husband and wife," Wasiara Aya told me. "Of course, we haven't seen much of the world like you have, so who knows?" Other women echoed her sentiments, saying that female friendships were charged

with warmth and emotion but were never explicitly sexual in nature. Male homosexuality was not unfamiliar, but the Kalasha word for it is a terrible insult and it is claimed no Kalasha men (in contrast to men from surrounding communities) engage in homosexual behavior.

13. I'm reluctant to argue that the basis for women's community in the menstrual house is rooted in the body, especially the reproductive body. Feminists have rightly deconstructed long-standing Western associations between women and body, men and mind/idea/spirit. Western women, as Simone de Beauvoir has said, have been "weighed down" by being cast in the role of body, "by everything peculiar to it" (see Bordo 1993). Teasing apart the conflation of biology and gender, then, has been politically important as well as theoretically liberating.

14. I'm not sure that men *really* don't know these words. It would have been embarrassing and inappropriate to ask. Certainly, as skilled herdsman, they understand the details of reproduction and birth.

15. Paternity appears to be far less important to Kalasha men than it is to Dogon men, as Strassmann describes. While Kalasha men certainly do talk about it, there are a number of children in the village who are known "bastards" (*jaró'a*), conceived and born while their fathers were away from the valleys. These children are still considered the children of their mother's husband, with an equal right to inherit property.

Chapter 6

1. The stories relayed in this chapter were recorded on a number of occasions over the course of my stay in the Kalasha valleys. Those words and sentences that are direct translations from tape are italicized. The rest is paraphrased from the tapes or my field notes.

2. This story is a compilation of the "life history" Saras Gula Aya gave for my tape recorder, as well as conversations we had across the span of my fieldwork. As in other parts of this book, I have used pseudonyms and attempted to change details that would make the identities of the people in the story more obscure. I worry that for Saras Gula Aya these changes would constitute "lying" since so much of what is meaningful hangs on the connections between real people and their locatedness in specific places.

3. Women commonly said that while they recognized that it was possible for them to choose their own son-in-law it was not desirable because if something went wrong with the match (if, for example, he beat his wife) the girl's father would say, "He's your son-in-law. You chose him. You deal with him."

4. I have seen Kalasha people trying to extend their *khaltabár* relationship beyond the marriage of their children. Mir Beck's son had once been married to Mir Beck's good friend from Bumboret. After a feast, the two men spent a long, wine-warmed evening toasting to still being *khaltabár*.

5. While I often heard Kalasha threaten their children with physical violence, I very rarely saw or had direct evidence that these threats were acted

upon. One time I did see a woman—frustrated and insecure—slap her one-year-old child. Everyone present roundly chastised the young mother. I have no way of knowing whether Pilin Gul’s mother really beat her, but I believe she is telling the story this way to emphasize her mother’s intense anger.

6. On the other hand, as Laura Ahearn pointed out to me, girls do have agency in the sense of others acting through them.

7. As you can imagine, the process of enumerating bridewealth items in the case of an elopement is extremely contentious, as the new husband’s lineage tries to minimize the amount while the ex-husband’s lineage attempts to maximize it (in order to exact the highest possible payment from their “enemies” [*dušmán*]). As Parkes, who has an extraordinarily informative and well-documented chapter on bridewealth in his 1983 doctoral thesis, explains, “‘Bridewealth’ is therefore partly a question of classification: the verbal ascription of any gift between non-agnatic households as partial ‘payment’ for a bride transferred between their respective lineages. Such problems of classification only arise in the event of subsequent elopements, but these are sufficiently common to underwrite effectively all assistance outside one’s lineage as a well-placed ‘bet’ that will return with double increment in the future (i.e. from the lineage of an eloping husband). It is the duty of the bride’s father, assisted by mediating elders, to ensure that bridewealth enumerated in cases of elopement is restricted to genuine objects that were overtly transferred to his lineage on behalf of his daughter’s marriage—most parents being anxious to relieve the load of double bridewealth that will be demanded of their future affines (to whom their daughter has eloped)” (539–40).

8. These husbands (and their families) would have forfeited the bride-wealth paid for the young wives they threw away or freed.

9. Robertson claims that among other “Kafir” groups (before Kafiristan was converted to Islam) divorce was easy, and men could sell their wives or send them away. Women, he wrote, had no right to leave if a man took a second wife or a fourth or fifth (1896:536). If this is true, one wonders whether Kalasha marriage rules have changed over the last century or if they were always so different from those of neighboring Kafir communities.

10. Indeed, all children whose parents have not performed the *ṣiṣ istóngas* ceremony, which consecrates the marriage, are jokingly referred to as bastards. Yet many people never bother to perform this ceremony at all (often it is only performed when, after an illness or some other misfortune, it is divined that this ceremony is needed).

11. Both men and women are liable to pay compensation (*rumíš*) to the offended spouse if caught *in flagrante delicto* in an affair. Women give jewelry—beads or expensive metal bracelets—to their lover’s wife, while men are required to pay bridewealth items or livestock to their lover’s husband.

12. I think (but I am not sure) that after this ceremony the parents of the couple call one another *biłahí* instead of *khaltabár*.

13. *ogoék páši ašék háwimi*, “We saw one another and were *ašék*” (in romantic love). The Kalasha language distinguishes between many types of love that English lumps together. *ašék* (romantic love) derives from the Persian *ashiq*.

Also commonly used is the phrase *hárdi šáti šíaw*, which translates as “to be heart stuck,” from the verb *šatĕk*, which is used in cases of active joining together.

14. Patrilineages can be divided after seven generations, after which time children of the two new lineages are allowed to marry. Also, as with most “rules,” Kalasha have a way of softening the boundaries between maternal relatives. If a woman marries a man who is uncomfortably close in relation to her mother, she can perform a ceremony called *pos tára bíórten*, in which she jumps over a cowhide three times. The rules about whom you can marry on your mother’s side seem to be relaxing. Sarawat’s mother said of her new daughter-in-law, who is also a distant relative of hers, that far from feeling like the marriage was improper she and Sarawat’s wife felt *tíčak ásta rákum* (even more familial love).

15. In her life narrative, she demonstrates that she clearly understands that, as John Hoffman puts it:

[C]onsent, although the relatively passive moment of a relationship with another, is never simply a fatalistic acceptance of what ‘is.’ To consent is also to transform, for in ‘consenting,’ the individual enters into a relationship and by participating in such a relationship, social reality becomes something other than what it would have been, had the act of consent not occurred. (Hoffman 1984:124–25, quoted in Ahearn 1994:229)

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