

Representation of Kalash in Historiographic Narrative: Interpretation and Orientation of Different Versions of Presentism

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Abstract

This article follows the representation of Kalash in historiographic narratives, which deals with the orientation of its origin, race, mythology, and cultural practices in the presence of presentism. Multifaceted perspectives have tried to explore the dynamics of Kalash's ancient connection, isolation, and its possible interpretation to mirror its historic image, which projected different versions of presentism. Despite the limitations in historical sources, Kalash's intangible system of rituals and norms offers an unprecedented reflection on its culture and its manifestation in the contemporary period. Researchers experienced multiple forms of reconstruction in the history of Kalash. Theological, mythological, and nomadic cultural practices amongst Kalash open us to a completely different worldview of tribal civility. The interaction with ancient Vedic, Gandhara, Greco-Bactrian, medieval Afghan, Turks, Persian, and modern British trends has left profound impacts on the presentist perspective of Kalash's origins, beliefs, and rituals. This article tried to explore the story of civilizations in the mountain of Hindukush. Indigenous Khovar historiography, British Chitral documentations, and Hindukush Cultural expeditions played a significant role in the reconstruction of Kalash's pasts. This article tried to analysis Kalash in multidisciplinary approaches. This study helps the socio-political transformation in the Dardic region and the reconstruction of memory studies and the cultural heritage of Kalash. Anthropological, ethnohistoric, archeological, and historian's views help to communicate patterns and perceptions of presentism for historical understanding of Kalash.

Keywords: Historiography, Ancient History, Presentism, Kalash, Cultural History.

Introduction

Chitral is derived from the Koh language 'Chitrar.' According to Wazir Ali Shah, a native Koh historian, Chitrar means 'field.' During the rule of Muslim Turk-o-Persian kingship, a Mehtar gifted a field to one of his service members, which later became the present-day Chitral town. This town later functioned as a capital for the affairs of the princely state of Chitral. In the mid-nineteenth century, foreigners were pronounced incorrect as Chitral due to dialectic differences and thus became a part of official records. Archeological excavations in upper Chitral explored the arrival of the first phase of Aryan immigration across Hindukush, which happened between 2000 BCE and 1500 BCE. This was the early settlement of the second urbanization of Vedic civilization in the North of India. It became 'Dardic' tribes of Hindukush. Some of its tribes remained in Hindukush up to this date. Historical interpretations project Chitral in the context of greater

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Kafiristan, which was once part of the Achaemenian Empire of Persia and the Macedonian Empire of Greece. The rule of the Kanishka dynasty extended up to the Pamir Valley, during which Buddhism spread across the Hindukush ranges. The remains of Buddhism were found during an excavation in the upper Chitral during an assignment and fieldwork conducted by the Department of Archeology, University of Peshawar, Khaybar Pakhtunkhwa (Zahir, 2016).

Later on, Hindukush came under the influence of Chinese Turkistan political intervention in the medieval period. Kalash customs and traditions are the time immemorial sources which are still in practice in the Hindukush. A few examples of these customs are Jestaak Dekeek (devil driving) and Dahta Banu (a joyful festival). This historical geography emulates the European approaches towards Chitral and the rest of Hindukush. John Biddulph made the first attempt to do research in the north of British India. John Biddulph was the first Political Agent of the Gilgit Agency. Biddulph divided the Dardistan region into four stages based on social evolution. First, they were fire-worshippers, then these tribes became Buddhist, which later converted to Hinduism and finally became Muslim (Biddulph, 1977). This division later fell victim to many technical errors regarding the sources of evolutionary stages. Chitral is divided into different ethnic groups: Koh, Kalash, Palola, Damrri/Mameli, Gurbati/Arundia war, Kati/Bashgali/Shaikhan, Wakhi, Yadgha, Pashtuns and Gujar, etc. Historically, Chitral was a geostrategic center due to its situation on the boundaries of three global political powers: Russia, China, and British India. British always perceived Chitral as a defense center of political gravity. Asrar U Din a native Chitrali Koh historian articulated the historiography of Chitral into three phases.² He agreed with German Scholar Wolf King Hols Warit's narration, who stated that Mirza Sair is the founder of Chitral Histories. He wrote the history of Chitral and its political systems from 1812 to 1830 CE. However, Mirza Muhammad Sair was not a trained professional historian. Instead, he narrated historical accounts in his poetic expressions about his contemporary Muhtaram Shah, ruler of the second Katoor House 1788–1838 CE. The second generation of historians led by Mirza Muhammad Ghufuran recorded histories from 1892 to 1919 C.E. Mirza Ghufuran, for the first time, professionally investigated the Chitral political history of Katoor, a sixteenth-century ruling dynasty. The third generation of historians started with Muhammad Nasir Ul Mulk from 1940 to 1943 and employed inclusive historical techniques like Mirza Ghulam Murtaza, Wazir Ali Shah, and Professor Asrar U Din. The third generation of historians used sophisticated methodological tools and tried to reenact the truth with reality. The post-colonial historiography under the concentration of different cultural expeditions gives a new insight into the history of Kalash and Dardic Kafiristan in Hindukush.

Post-colonial research tried to explore the origin and function of concepts amongst Kalash. Karl Jettmar stated that "in the north of Pakistan and Afghanistan, "philosophy turned into religion" (Jettmar, 1993). The earth is depicted as a giant lying under the bottom of the valley. The political Dardic region is a sacred kingship through which a ruler is seen as an incarnation, manifestation, or transcended supernatural realm. The concept of shaman-king is a form of sacred kingship. The shamanistic worldview attracts the audience by chanting spells with the smoke of juniper leaves with the sounds of drums and holy dance. The most fascinating discovery of ethnographers is the animistic rituals and the existence of sisterhood in Beshaleni in Kalash valley. The goat is considered as ritually the purest animal in theology and the economic system of Kalash. Some of the environmentalists are of the opinion that Goats are suitable animals for such mountainous regions.

²See for details, Arar U Din *History of Chitral*.

Kalash are the indigenous people of Chitral, Pakistan, residing in the southern valleys of Bamburate, Rambore, and Birir of Chitral. They speak the Kalasha language, which is considered the Dardic Language of the Indo-Aryan branch, in a larger sense Indo-European group. Kalash mythology and folklore are much closer to Indo-Iranian pre-Zoroastrian Vedic traditions. According to Michael Witzel "many of the traits of myths, rituals, society and echoes many aspects of Rigvedic" (Witzel, 2002). Western scholars divided the kafir of Hindukush into Red Kafir and Black Kafirs. Red Kafir were the Kafirs of Greater Kafiristan, historically now called Nuristan, while Black are the Kafirs of Chitral, known to us as Kalash. The division is due to the usage of Red and Black robes in the embroidery of these communities. This historic division happened due to cultural differences between the Kalash and the Kati (Bashghali) tribes. Kalasha, Kati (Bashghali), Prasun, Waigal, Kamviri, Ashkun, Dameli, Pashai, Tregami, and Mumviri are the Dardic Languages of the Kafirs of Hindukush. Amongst the Dardic-speaking Kalasha of the Hindukush, the world is divided between the sacred and pure realm versus the profane and impure. The high altitude of the world close to the pure supernatural beings, animals, and plants, especially the wild mountain goats, are considered the male realm, while the impure low zones of the valleys and streams are considered the female spheres.³ The women staying near the village while the men practice two seasonal alterations in their social setup. The social setup is dichotomous are divided into summer and winter solstice. Theologically, Goat stables are the purest places in the Lower Valley. The concept of Kalash cosmology as Onjesta and Pragata, has been translated mostly with English terms pure and impure. Still, anthropological explorations of Wynne Magi in *Our Women are Free: Gender and Ethnicity in Hindukush* disagree with this translation. She narrated that.

Everyone is interested in one pair of cosmological concepts, the Onjesta and Pragata, which is usually glossed in English as the pure and the impure. They could recount you go here and do not go there; you do this, you do not do this" (Magi, 2001, pp. 44-45).

Researchers of Hindukush understand the problem of translation even when Kalash translates the Wayne Magi book *Our Women Are Free* into the Kalasha language as "home Istria azat asan," which means that the life of our women is easy by specific Kalash socio-cosmological standards, not in the sense of the Western feminist perspective. The placement of women into the Pragata world view needs to understand the division of duties and rights among Kalash.

Historiographic Presence of Past in Hindukush, Kalash, Kafiristan, Chitral

To understand the continuity of the historical process, one must understand the complex nature and structure of Kalasha's past. Historiographic presentism is a cultural practice that helps to understand better the past of those communities and groups that are impossible to explore through the traditional objectivist methodology of historical studies. Historiographic presentism has a unique feature of cultural penetration into the untold and unheard voices of the past, which are trapped somewhere in the grand amnesia of the historical process. The historical amnesia in Dardic groups generally and in Kalash mainly happened due to socio-political downfall after the arrival of Turk-Persian Muslims into Chitral in late 1320 C.E. (Baig, 2004). This event completely restructured and reshaped the values and traditions of Kafiristan, Hindukush. These invasions dismantled the ancient pre-Vedic pagan tradition in the valleys of Hindukush. Kalash lost its historical prestige in the presence of the new Muslim Ashrafia as an emerging Chitral ruling elite. This Khovar Muslim elite in Chitral compelled Kalash to be displaced into the southern valleys,

³A religious and social symbol of the Dardic speaking people of the Hindukush.

which are nowadays called Kafiristan.⁴ All means of material memories destroyed about how Kalash lived before the Turk-Persian expedition. This led them to unending suppressed narratives from 1320 up to 1885 C.E. Despite this historical amnesia; archeological surveys explored the other side of silence while digging in different sites in Chitral to discover the forgotten ages of the pagans of Hindukush (Din, 2018).

They initially investigated Kati or Bashgali pagan tribes in Nuristan, then Kafiristan. Most of the travelogue and Gazetteer represented the Kati or Bashgali tribe. Multiple researchers from ethnography, anthropology, cultural studies, gender studies, and history conducted research into the thousand-year-old traditions in modern times, which indirectly proved the Darwinian use of social evolution of intellectual culture in the West. It intellectually supported the social argument of human progress from the Stone to the agricultural age.

Kalash spoke loudly for themselves in the politics of the epistemic world through traditions, festivals, and songs of ancestors. However, Kalash's history is under the pressure of both exclusion and inclusion phases. On one hand, they are supposed to be an indigenous group, while on the other hand, they are considered outsiders who came some time into Chitral. The proposed theories about the history of Kalash can be divided into two basic foundations: vernacular theory and immigrant theory. Tsiam is a mythological place according to the Kalash Dehar⁵ tradition, from where they came into Chitral. Tsiam is just assumed as a place from where Kalash came due to natural catastrophes, which is somewhere located in the south of Chitral and east of Afghanistan. Orientalists fabricated and manipulated this theory to justify the origin and relationship of Alexander with Kalash. Eurocentric research tried to link Kalash with the ancient Aryan migration hypothesis. The second theory developed due to the excavation of the Department of Archeology of Peshawar University, in which they discovered many sources that later interpreted that they were the indigenous people of Chitral. Kalash histories were analyzed according to the political and cultural needs that possessed epistemic violence. Epistemic displacement and violence in the textual demands can be seen in the Kalash representation. Even the linguistic approaches, which are more scientific discourse in social science and humanities, however, were unsuccessful in placing the Dardic languages in any of the Indo-European categories, so they reproduced an isolated group in the existing groups of languages (Jettmar, 1959).

After the arrival of the British in South Asia, the socio-political patterns changed. For the first time in South Asia's history, the British took severe action to preserve and define the ancient artifacts. The British reached the North of South Asia into Chitral in 1885 A.D. With time, the British Empire slowly encircled Kashmir, Gilgit, and Chitral and merged into British India.

According to known records, Kalash's history is divided into different phases. William Green detailed, "The organizing principles upon which we write history, the priorities we assign to various aspects of human endeavor and the theories of change we adopt to explain the historical process all are represented in periodization" (Green, 1995). Kalash periodization is fundamentally based on presentist approaches to make the moving images into a frame. Historians tried to draw the political history of Kalash because of oral sources. However, these interpretations could be more robust with fundamental inclusive Kalash sources. The modern archeological interpretation gives an inner image of the story; however, historians have a difference of opinion that the story told by archeologists is crafted and fabricated. Traditionally, in Khowar and Kalash, oral traditions

⁴"Kafiristan" is the designation historically applied to the Kati Kafir tribes residing in the Basghal Valley, which is currently known as Nuristan Province in Afghanistan.

⁵Religious representator.

in the form of songs, idioms, and popular stories are depicted following periods of the socio-political history of Kalash's rule and settlement. These are as under.

1. Prehistory of Tsiam: the romantic era in Kalash time immemorial to 1300 CE
2. Kalash Resistance and Reconciliation with Turk and Persian arrival in 13th C.E.
3. Dhimmi age up to 1969 C.E
4. Post-colonial Contemporary Kalash

The arrival of the British into South Asia is marked by the beginning of modern historiography. However, British historical discourse further divided the communities. British expanded its boundaries to the northwest front, where she encountered the wealthy, cultured mountains of Hindukush. In 1885 C.E., British revolutionaries explored by conducting an expedition into Northern India, due to which the world came to know about the thousands of years old ancient traditions still in practice in Chitral, Kohistan, and Gilgit Baltistan. Modern historiography of Hindukush, Kalash can be divided into the following phases.

1. Kalash in the Court of Chitral State 1320-1969
2. British-Historiography of Kalash 1889-1947
3. Historiography of Kafiristan; Political Letters and Gazetteers after 1947

'Historiographic Metafiction' of Kalash: Prehistory and Protohistory

The early phase of Kalash's historiography cannot be found in the written sources. However, rock carving and linguistic approaches explore that Kalash are the ancient people of Hindukush. Historical research encounters sources based on values, customs, rock carving or Inscription, and religious laws. The oral tradition of Kalash represents their analogical data, political victories, rise and fall of Kalash in Hindukush, Chitral, in the early medieval period. Petroglyphs, as a pre-historical pictographic source are based upon rock carving and Inscription in the Hindukush regions.

Briefing

While doing fieldwork for this study in Bamburate Valley, Kalasha Qazi identified the initial sources carved in Hindukush, Chitral from prehistorical Tsiam. These sites are primarily in Barir and at the high-altitude pasture. However, these rock inscriptions are in danger due to the local timber mafia. Karl Jettmar found a similar inscription and rock carving near Gilgit at Danyor. Jettmar studied these pre-historical petroglyphs for many years and used them as historical sources. Interpretations of these remains are conflicting among Ahmad Hassan Dani and Jettmar. Both have tried different presentist perspectives. The ancient and medieval history of the northern area has the most complicated and complex narrative. The rock art founded by Jettmar in 1979 was a great effort to the accessibility of the past. The long chain of discoveries began, and more than 2000 Brahmi and Kharosthi inscriptions have been discovered so far. The rock art depicts palms, footprints, wild and domestic animals, human hunting and dancing, axes, masks, altars, etc. All these rocks and inscriptions need an expert in both archeology and art history to resolve the histories and mysteries regarding these sites.

The graveyard at Krakal village in Bamburate Valley has a lot of inscriptions and designs on the coffin. There are severe environmental challenges to this cultural heritage. The wheel at different locations in Kalash valleys is the representation of the Sun as a center of Kalash cosmology. This research came across the cosmology of Kalash, which has a circular phase for the historical process of life and death, like the wheel found in graveyards. History in Kalash must complete this cycle and then transfer into the next sacred stage, which is the highly Onjesta represented by a central

dot. The axes in the graveyard coffin are mostly used in the death and marriage ceremonies in Kalash culture. Karl Jettmar discovers such use of axes in the Indus and Hunza valleys. Archeologists have found the remains of Buddhism in upper Chitral. The wheels and the use of Axes, according to Ahmad Hassan Dani, depict the "battle Axe People."

Historiographic Modernism in Chitral: Patterns and Perceptions about Kalash

In 1885, Lord Dufferin, viceroy of India, was interested and determined to investigate the population and resources in the north of India, especially the Hindukush. Thus, the British records about The Kafir of Hindukush came into being with the publication of G. Robertson's work on the Bashgali/Kati tribe on the other side of Kalash in Kafiristan before Islamization by the Amir of Afghanistan. G. Robertson did not include the Kalash tribe in his account. C.G. Bruce traveled to the Western Himalayas in the last decade of the nineteenth century. His observation was published in 1910 as *Twenty Years in Himalaya*. He described Kalash as the savage man of the Himalayas, which belonged to the lost period of history.

Nevertheless, the most exciting thing in C.G. Bruce's narration is the socio-cultural division of Chitral into different evolutionary stages. He placed Muslim Khowar Chitrali in the semi-civilized line while the Kalash into savage, enslaved person beasts of Hindukush. Dames, M. Longworth published *Chitral in 1913 C.E.*, an *Encyclopedia of Islam*, a dictionary to the geography and ethnography of Muhammadan peoples in which he incorrectly recorded that the entire Kalash have been converted to Islam and the whole population of Chitral is now Muslims. Professor George Morgenstern, a linguist, came to Hindukush in 1932 and conducted a survey report on a linguistic mission to northwestern India. He studied Iranian influence on the Dardic language. Professor Graziosi, an Italian ethnographer, came to Chitral with an Italian expedition in 1960. She explored for the first time the wooden statue of Dezalik Goddesses of divinity and fertility (Graziosi, 1961). Graziosi explored the physical and cultural heritage of Kalash. She stated that this would help in the reconstruction of Kalash's past with its present history. Gordan came into Chitral and later published an edited work titled *The Cambridge Chitrali Expedition (1960) Report* (Gordon et al., 1960). They recorded the hitherto little-known music of Chitral. A section of Kalash music is also recorded and later sent to the Indian Office Library London and the British Library of Sound Archive for oral history. All these sources are inaccessible in Chitral.

These imperial sources are essential for constructing a narrative of Kalash identity and its arrangements and possible interpretations, which allows historians to deal with it with maximum accuracy and reconstruct an authentic and reliable historical world.

Post-Colonial Cultural Expeditions into Kalash: Historiographic Virtue

Historians of Chitral produced a political history of Turk and Persian Muslim dynasties. According to historical sources the first court historian was Mirza Muhammad Siar conducted his work from 1812 to 1830. The second generation of historians, which was led by Nasir ul Mulk from 1892 to 1919, have founded modern concepts of historiography. The third generation of historians, Naser ul Mulk, Mirza Ghulam Murtaza, and Wazir Ali Shah, have developed systematic and analytical representations of Chitral's past (Ibid). However, these historians lack inclusive fieldwork about the historical representation of Kalash. Kalash has a distant past that needs to be studied in a historical context. Wazir Ali Shah and his colleagues, for the first time, started Hindukush International Cultural Conferences in late 1970 in Denmark, which developed a tradition to explore the rich ethnic Hindukush ranges through multidisciplinary approaches. The traditions of Turk-o-Persian royal dynasties of Raees and Katoor of Chitral only

deal with Kalash on an administrative and political basis. This marginalization brings the historiography of Kalash into more darkness.

Briefing

European expeditions to explore Hindukush started with the Publication of *The Kafirs of Hindukush* by Robertson in 1889 to 1892 A.D. British attracted politically toward the north of South Asia while Scandinavians came into Chitral due to their cultural enthusiasm about the pagans of Hindukush. These researchers were motivated mainly by the rituals, freedom of women, and cosmological and mythological values of Kalash. Their first worldview developed through the fiction of Rudyard Kipling's *A Man Who Would Be the King* and the autobiographic report of Roberston, *The Kafir of Hindukush*, published in 1892. Muhamad Parvesh Shahan Projected these efforts because of British forward policy into Central Asia to block Russia Tzarism (Shahan, 2001). In the late nineteenth century, Kabul invaded greater Kafiristan (The Land of Darkness), now called Nuristan (The Land of Enlighten) in 1895 to confirm the modern territorial boundaries of Afghanistan after the Duran Line Treaty 1893 (Shah, 1970).

Most of the research work done by Western scholars about Kalash is anthropological and ethnographic in nature, which tried to see contemporary Kalash tribes from the presentist perspective. They tried to connect the present cultural values with the old traditions of the region. Historically Kalash has practiced sisterhood in which the institutions of Beshaleni in the lower valleys have projected and protected Kalasha women's freedom. Dezalik Goddesses accompany Beshaleni. It is the Goddesses of fertility and the depiction of women's sisterhood. Solstice festivals of Kalash, due to the availability and visibility of ancient remains in these festivals, the researchers undertook many experiments to define Kalasha through oral sources. The winter solstice and Chumas festival are much richer for explorers. The old institution of Gudalak and the arrival of God Balumian practices annually.

The hard and rough Hindukush Mountains and valleys are geographically suitable for preserving identity. The cold climatic nature of Hindukush is the ground for the proposition of cultural stagnation in these valleys. However, with time, the socio-political situation changes in the Hindukush ranges. Cultural transformation in Hindukush happened historically. Natural paths connected every valley to another became a medium for cultural transformation in Hindukush (Ibid).

An Inquiry into Historical Narratives: Doing History about Kalash

The production of historical theories and narratives about Kalash embodied ideologies, which domesticated and constructed rhetoric about Kalasha past which strengthen the suppressed narrative around historical events in Kafiristan, led to fixation and determinations of facts produces representational crisis. The first half of the twentieth century produces modernist debates about the structural understanding of narrative. A narrative has multiple layers of cultural and political events, orientations, interpretations and fabrication of fractured stories. Chitral was geostrategic locality in the age of empire for British, Russia and Chinna in the late 18th century world politics. British tried to popularize them as the descendants of Greek while Russian tried to present them as the descendants of Slavic origin. how to deconstruct the making sense of past which exists in such political polarized world. How historians can manage the actuality of truth with real in reconstructing the past of Kalash.

The archeological excavations in Chitral for the first time dig out the historical presence of kalash past which confirmed its historic presence in the Hindukush region. Foucault believes that “All

knowledge is rooted in a life, a society, and a language that have a history (Foucault, 1969, p. 372).” These explorations generate and translate the untranslated historical knowledge to understand the past of Kalash.

History works and functions among Kalash in a live presentist patterns and perception like fisherman at Gwadar, Balochistan using the old ancient memories for location of stars while fishing (Baloch, 2018). Arab Ayam are full of socio-political memories. Kalash historical calendar is also full of socio-political festivals and activities at the cost of past glories and remarkable movements in the hands of Shaman/Qazi and dreamer women of Kalash.

Presentism; Continuity and Discontinuity of Kalash Traditions: Perspectives of Narratives

Postmodern historical culture proposes presentist history reexamine the political and fabricated burden upon the consciousness of contemporary humans. They articulated that a nation/community without the continuity of past can traveled more easily into future with new experiences than a nation with pastness is more care full and hesitate taking steps into new experiences (White, 1985). There are series of discontinuities in the historical presence of Kalash. Exploring Kalasha past in historical inquiry is technically challenging due to the absence of linear progress in the history of Kalash. Hindukush have its own patterns of historical imagination Hindukush is historically and culturally rich with dozens of ethnic groups living in different valleys. The ethnic diversity in Chitral always existed throughout known history. The historiographic representation of Kalash has categories narratives to better understand the orientation and the mediums of interpretation of Hindukush which can helps historical inquiry in more accurate calculation about prehistoric practices and its presence in modern global world.

Geography and Structure of Presentism: Kalash in Civilization Studies

Kalash as a historical entity has multiple layers of interpretations. These interpretations present different forms with diverse content of presentism. The past in the case of Kalash is mostly a toss of dice (Marlowe, 1992, p. 1). Presentism as a perspective in historical writings first introduced in the early phase of twentieth century in which the English historian Herbert Butterfield tried to understand the past of England after the great depression. “This is presentism as teleology, the belief that history only matters for those elements that were the seeds of progress in the present” (Armitage, 2023, p. 123-145). This research tried not to glorify, magnify and politicize the historical presence of Kalash, Kafiristan but rather to see things in perspectival anthropocentrism, which is more empirical, narrative, descriptive, accommodative and ethnocentric in nature and functions. Karl Becker says

It must then be obvious that living history, the ideal series of events that we affirm and hold in memory, since it is so intimately associated with what we are doing and with what we hope to do, cannot be precisely the same for us at any given time, or the same from one generation to another (Becker, 1935, p. 243).

Hindukush has been full of cultural and civilizational variation isolated from the rest of world by its high mountains and pastures. A dozen of ethnic group were living under the long lasting ancient pagan civilization having heritage of dozen cultures and languages. Researchers of social sciences and humanities experts agree that they are pre-Vedic era culture. The expansion of Europe during the age of empire has long voyages across the Atlantic and Pacific Ocean to produce and organize new disciplinary knowledge. With Scientific inventions there was a need to understand other culture. The conquest of pre-Colombian civilization in South America gave a new strength to Anthropological methods. They empirically observed for the first time the existence of ancient

culture of polytheism. This was the beginning of the anthropological world which greatly expanded social methodologies in modern discourse.

Social theories tried to explore the unexplored historical consciousness in Kafiristan, Hindukush. European expeditions into Hindukush expand social perspectives through presentation of Kalash. Anthropologists, travelers, or historians have come to reconnect this part of world with the rest (Hale & Hale, 1995).

The Bashgal valley was the only part of Kafiristan that was at all known to the British in that period. Furthermore, the Bashgal Valley borders Chitral which was then under British control. Refugees and others crossing the border into Chitral brought information regarding events in the Bashgal, the Kunar, and the Pech valleys during the siege of Kafiristan by Amir of Kabul Abdur Rehman in 1895, and thus little is known of what took place in the more distant Waigel, Ashkun, Prasun, and West Kati language areas (Ibid). The Amir of Kabul Abdu Rehman conquered Kafiristan due the British claims about pagans groups in Bashgal valley of Kafiristan after Durand line treaty of 1893. The agreement of 12th November 1893 CE stated that, "The British Government thus agrees to His Highness the Amir retaining Asmar and the valley above it as far as Chanak. His Highness agrees on the other hand, that he had no time to exercise interference in Swat, Bajaur, or Chitral, including the Arnawai or Bashgal valley (Kafiristan) (W. L.-W., 1896). Most of travelogue and Gazetteer represented Kati or Bashgali tribe in initial period of British Chitral. Western ethnographer mostly explored Kalash's Kafiristan after post-colonial 1947. The historical formation of Kalash has never been explored chronologically. If one carefully reconsiders the western anthropologist work, one will find how they developed the epistemic nature of anthropology as subject by conducting practical fieldwork research into the thousand-year-old traditions in the modern time Hindukush.

Cultural Presentism: Nature of Records amongst Kalash

Historical memories in Kalash peoples depicting in the rituals and values projects in annual calendar which proposed all events of the year for each month in its relationship with past glories of rise and fall, prayers for the arrival of Gods and Goddesses.

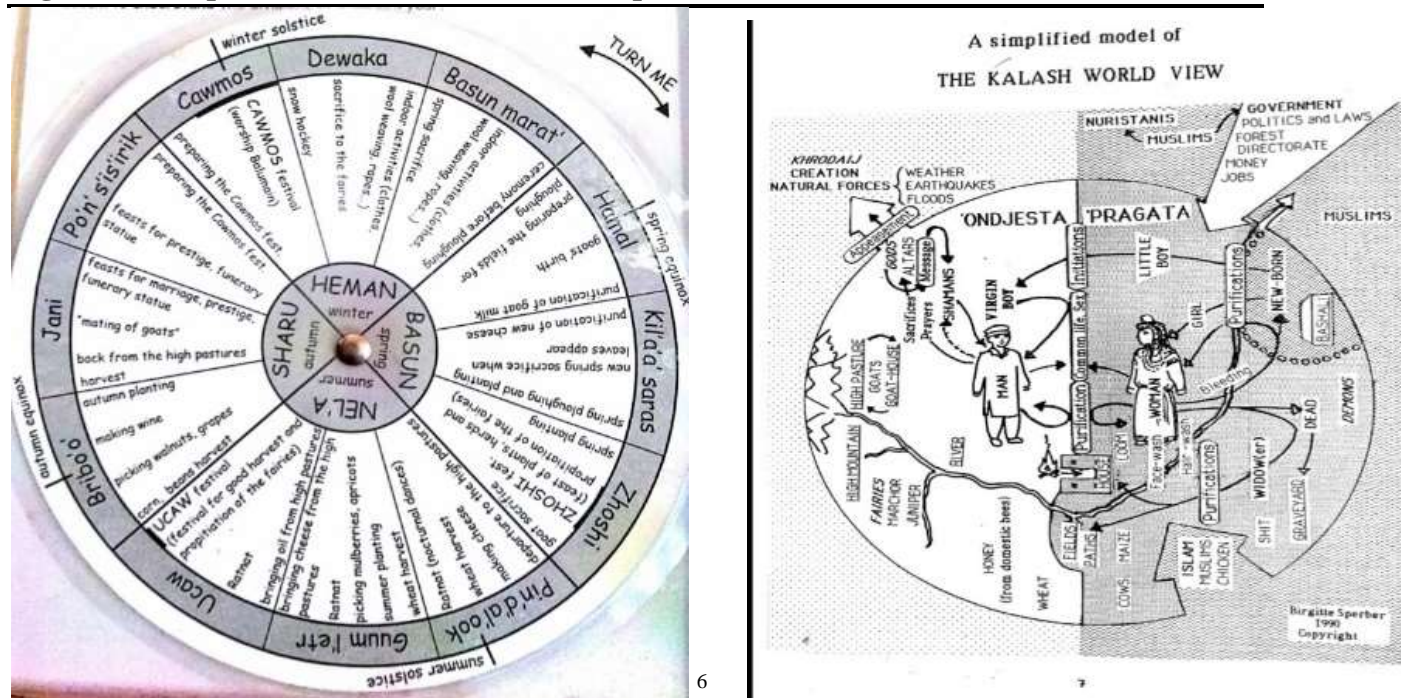
Herodotus father of history introduced his work, "in order that the actions of men may not be effaced by time, nor the great and wondrous deeds displayed both by Greeks and barbarians deprived of renown, and why the Greeks and barbarians waged war on one another" (Cheyney, 1907). Kalash cultural narratives presents the struggles Hindukush pagans to connects and to trace the philosophy of historical process its causes of the great events in history of Hindukush. These cultural presentisms have recounted the origin of the mighty contest between pagans' liberty and Turk oriental despotism which marked the history of this whole period in Hindukush ranges.

Postmodern history and social theory are about to prove the existence of things through stories of different narratives, like the tragic conditions associated with the autumn and sun set while the comic conditions connected with the evolutionary and revolutionary changes in history (Frye, 1957, pp. 3-70). The modern historical writings are mostly based on speculative, deterministic, objective, and authentic oriented narratives. Modernist objective perspective in history of Chitral constructed history and tried to project past in material sense. The modernist struggle is to dictate the Kalasha past and get desired epistemic results. European speculation and determinism under the scholarship of Ranke constructed history as discipline in 1870 which supported nationalism, freedom, justice, and liberty which inspired objectivist modernism in large discourse. Man became the center of all epistemic measurement. Historical postmodernity criticized the objective and scientific claims of modernism (Bhatti, 2016, pp. 1-16). Hyden White narrated,

Theorists of historiography generally agree that all historical narratives contain irreducible and inexpungible elements of interpretation. The historian has to interpret his materials in order to construct the moving pattern of images in which the form of the historical process is to be mirrored” (White, 1978, pp. 1-292).

Identify the theoretical discussion about the nature of history as an objective and artifact this study came into R. G Collingwood idea as once he remarks “You could never explicate a tragedy to anyone who was not already acquainted with the kinds of situations that are regarded as tragic in our culture” (White, 1978, pp. 12-27). At the beginning of the twenty-first century history’ came in association with mind. Despite the last decade of nineteenth century in which history declared as the ‘end of history.’ The notion ‘ends of history’ quickly turned into a historical debate of continuity. Whether it could be associated to political diplomacy of 1989/90 or multiculturalism or the debate of postmodernity, but we have seen a change in the mind of people who are more interested in personal or collective identity, memories through narrative representation. There is a bridge between historical memory and historical theory and that must be the narrative discourse which has all the possibilities to represent the existing crisis of historiographic challenges. The relation between historical memory and historical theory is hidden somewhere in the culture of everyday human life.

Figure 1: Temporal Presentism of Kalash: Experience of Time



The concept of time in ancient tribal structures of Pakistan is a complex and multifaceted topic. Many of the tribal communities in Pakistan have their own unique ways of understanding and

⁶The Kalasha Dur Ethnographic Museum, situated in Bumburet, Kafiristan, Chitral, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan, exhibits artifacts pertinent to the Kalash community. Both calendars displayed in the museum were historically significant across the broader Kafiristan region, comprising parts of both Nuristan Province in Afghanistan and Chitral, Pakistan.

measuring time, which are deeply rooted in their cultural and historical traditions. Hans Gadamer formulated that common language and consciousness not only deals with experience but also preserves strangeness (Larrauri, 2022).

To understand this strangeness one common feature of many ancient tribal structures in Pakistan is the use of lunar calendars. These calendars are based on the cycles of the moon and are often used to determine the dates of religious festivals and other important events. In some cases, lunar calendars are also used to mark the passage of time in everyday life, with specific lunar months or phases used to indicate the planting and harvesting of crops, for example.

Another important aspect of the concept of time in ancient tribal structures in Pakhtunkhwa is the idea of cyclical time. Many of these communities' view time as a repeating cycle of seasons, festivals, and other events, with each cycle providing an opportunity for renewal and regeneration. In some cases, this cyclical view of time is linked to the concept of reincarnation or the cycle of birth, death, and rebirth. Here are some phenomenal terminologies which are fundamental for every explorer to deal the historical consciousness and memories of kalash about the concept of time and place like 'Tsiam' 'Dardic' 'Aryan' 'Dastur' 'kafir' 'Onjesta' 'Pragata' 'Solstice, (Loude & Lievre, 1998, pp. 1-384) threnody and Pastures. Like Tsiam is a place but also represents a utopian concept of the origin of time when they live somewhere in the past. The construction of historical meaning happened with different layers like the concept of Pragata and Onjesta defined it as a place while others defined it as a time of purity and impurity. What form of perception in historical sense informs them to projects these concepts? The temporality of Onjesta reveals that Kalash uses this term for both a specific period and for forbidden place where Pragata are not allowed. The concept of time in the Agro-postural kalash society explores the dealing of how kalash presents time. Time is a matter of experience with the relationship of consciousness and the material world. Husserl explains two intentions of human consciousness retention and pretention (Husserl, 1964).

Human mind functions through experience of change and through the interpretation of existence. All human cultures practices one universal mode and that is narrating the events according to the experience. Through narration, time became humanized to speak for itself through the diachronic medium of yesterday, today and tomorrow. In the past agrarian or Agro-postural societies time perceived anthropocentric and ecclesiastic. Kalasha is deeply rooted in these traditions. Their time started with divinity, this is the most Onjestic phase in the cosmology of kalasha sense of historical development, when there was no human, only deities, spirits, gods and goddesses were in the universe. The emergence of time as a concept transformed human understanding about aesthetics, politics, and technology. Human consciousness developed a new concept to measure and remember the moments into calendar form from the divine concept of time. The idea of God incarnation in Jesus is a prime example in Abrahamic traditions.

Tsiam is a mythological time or place according to the kalash tradition, from where they came into Hindukush ranges. European researcher supposed to include Kalash as the descendants of Hellenistic period. These manipulated oriental narratives engulfed kalash as an Indo-European community (Din ud Zaheer, 2011). According to the concept of 'Tsiam' a utopian place or an era kalash believed to descended to the soldiers of Alexander. Seventy years of linguistic research dispel this myth of Greek origin of Kalash. The Kalasha and Khowar (Chitrali) language are placed into Indo-Aryan and Indo-Iranian group due the remains and connection with both Sanskrit and Iranian. However, a new group named Dardic formed for all the cultural ethnicities in the Hindukush region (Mehmod, n.d.).

The myth of moon and sun liberation from giants is well known among Bashgali and Kalash. According to kalasha sources they mapped down time in a periodic calendar to measure the events and duties (Cacopardo, 2019). It is useful in understanding kalasha and their ancient traditions through temporal presentism. An ordinary kalash does not need to live according to modern tools of time measurement rather they measure it according to harvesting and pastoral seasons. Kalash calendar, divided season for the whole community annually. They probably imagined the time in the state of vegetation and the appearance of sun from dawn to dusk. Pastoral and agriculture activities happened according to a specific determined season. The kalash concept of time has evolved around religious duties and economic responsibilities. The above calendar indicates different event according to which the year is divided into 12 months. While interviewing a member of Kalash community, Imran Kabir⁷ told me during my field work, that they divided year into 12 and half month. The concept of Pragata and Onjesta have divided the acts and duties of both male and female. The male member of kalash prefer on the upper valleys while the female mostly constituted into the lower valleys (Wynne, 2001).

The periodic cycle of moon played an important role in the identity of sisterhood. Beshaleni is a community institution which gave a space to women during menstrual and delivery case under the shadow of Goddesses Dezalik. Researchers have difference of opinion about kalash women freedom, however there is division of mythological deities, and the women have their altar in the lower valleys stationed in Beshaleni.

Winter solstice is associated with the arrival of New Year known as Chawmas. According to mythology God Balumian came into the Kalash Valley Rambur, from Tsiam, a utopian and mythological world to distribute more strength, fertility, and bravery among the community. Cawmas is pure a religious gathering at the early days of December when all member of community from both side of Onjesta and Progata came here and participated in it. The custom is associated with the myth of Balumian and Mahandeo. Both decided to fight a combat in open field and that one who win will live in Kalash lower valley while the other will turn back peacefully to Tsiam. Cawmas the first month of New Year have another importance, the tradition of 'Budalak'. Budalak celebrates in the memories of those days when kalasha valleys became sterile in sense of men sexuality. The shamans in ancient and medieval time have the religious duty to select a healthy young man and send him to the upper valley pasture called 'Ghari' for three months in summer. While on arrival from pasture in winter during Chomas he was allowed to meet with multiple women, but he did not allow to meet with his close relative to bring fertile children for the survival of the community. Incest relationship is forbidden in Kalash culture. During my filed work it is conforms that kalash male and female are not allowed to marry up to seventh generation (Cacopardo, 2017).

The summer solstice started with the arrival of spring in the month of May. The Zhoshi festival depict the socio-political past of kalash. Zhoshi celebrates in the memories of kalash political rise when kalasha retreat and defeated the Turks Khovar in Chitral after settlement in 1320 CE. Zhoshi also have religious traits to pray to the warrior God Sajjigor who ensured the victory of kalash against Turk invaders. Israr u Din, a Chitrali historian narrated the epic songs of kalash called 'Looli' (Din, 2016). In this epic poem the kalasha warrior Shah Lak shah invaded the land of Chitral from south to north up to Badakhshan area. This is how kalash remembers the memories and temporal time of past through presentist rituals.

⁷Imran Kabir Kalash, Principal of Kalasha Dur Public School Bumburet interviewed by Danyal Masood. Summer, 2018.

Cultural poems and hymn related with the death memorials like threnodies are composed of cultural, religious, and political contributions of dead to Kalasha society. The deceased are placed for some time in the community temple Jestak for community participation. Death celebrated amongst Kalash not as an event of sorrow and sadness but consider a peaceful transformation of soul into another stage of life which is more sacred than this one. The life after death perceived to be travel to highest of Hindukush peak. They believe that Trich Mir the highest pick of Hindukush is the place where souls travel to meet with other divine forces. In cosmological representation high mountains are the most sacred places in the mythology of kalash and other kafir Dardic tribes of Hindukush. The rituals of death are managed by communal performance about which there is famous proverb explains the expenditure of rituals “the wealth of a kalasha is buried when he is alive and is dug out when his body is a about to buried.” They placed the deceased in a wooden box and put them in an open-air burial in an isolated palace called Mahandanzaw.

Nomadism as an Expression of Presentism: Kalash as an Agro-Pastoral Society

Kalash is an Agro-Pastoral society economically. According to traditions pastoralism is consider an Onjesta activity which performed only by the male member of kalash. Goat herds transmitted from the divinity of kalash cosmos to the early ancestor of kalash. There for pasture and goat’s herds are remaining a hidden divine power among human and deities.

Emotions, memory, and consciousness are important factors while understanding the past which enacts with present. Oral traditions have layers of memories amongst Kalash. Peter Parks conducted research which clearly represents the Kalash perspectives about Katoor rule in Chitral. These oral accounts correctly identified socially transmitted memory concerning the successive dynasty of katoor Mehtar spread over last two to three centuries. Historical knowledge here is embodied in praises, songs, and oratory rather than in a formal modernist narrative (Parkes, 1987). With the help of local expert on ancestral oratory Peter reformulates the fragments of oral sources into order to established ‘kalasha History’ (Park, 1995). Kalash Shaman or Dehar were employed at Katoor imperial court with other Islamic Ullama. These are the existing primary sources which transcended the oral stories.

The local deputies of foreign lords of Kalash appointed to handle the administrative setup of valley. The story of ‘Lutarak’ ‘Baratik’ ‘Dreme’ and ‘Begal’ are all local deputies of kalash valleys which are the sole depiction and collection of many memories of Kalash relationship with the ruling Katoor Mehtars.

A special text known as ‘Thangi’ and ‘Brishtoa’ a special type of labor was imposed on Kalash after the fall of Kalasha Rajawaie and Bulasing rule in Chitral. When Mehtar Shuja-ul-Mulk (1895-1936 CE) came to throne in 1995 he was a young man who ruled under the political authority of British. When Mehtar Shuja doubled the labor of ‘Brishtoa’ the Kalasha elder made a petition in front of Mehtar to remember our grandfathers’ assistance and services to your grandfather in the replacement of throne from House of Rais to the House of Katoor. These oral sources also depicted the political participation of Kalash in the court affairs in state of Chitral (Zahir et al., 2021).

Constructivist Presentism: Topography of Historical Past of Kalash

The genesis history of Kalash ethnic identity has greater challenges in construction from historical past as it is. Chitral is a district located in the northernmost region of Pakistan, sharing borders with Afghanistan and China. It is known for its breathtaking natural beauty, including high mountains, lush valleys, and pristine rivers. However, what makes Chitral truly unique is its diverse ethnographic structure, which is a fascinating blend of different ethnic groups and cultures.

The major ethnic groups that inhabit Chitral are the Kalasha and Kho. Each of these groups has its distinct culture, language, and traditions, making Chitral a melting pot of different cultures and traditions. The Kalasha is a pagan tribe that practices a religion that is a blend of animism and ancient pre-Vedic naturalism. They are known for their colorful traditional attire, which includes elaborate headgear and vibrant dresses.

The Kho people are another ethnic group that resides in Chitral. They are mainly concentrated in the Golen Valley and have their own distinct language and culture. The Kho people are predominantly Sunni Muslims and have their unique traditional attire, which includes a distinctive embroidered cap called a pakol (Baig, 2018).

Constructivist presentism projected Muslim-Turk and Persian Kingdom in Chitral around 1320 C.E. This perspective interpreted that the arrival of Raees in thirteenth century introduced the concept of single unified Mehtarship (Kingship) with administrative setup. "Once the Raees⁸ came to power, a unified system of administration was developed. Taxation and land assessment began to be formalized for various classes and tribes. It was also under the Raees Mehtars that a multi-tiered judicial system was introduced (Baig, 2004, pp. 1-127)." Under Shah Nadir, "the first Raees Mehtar, the defeated Kalash tribes were restricted politically. The remaining Kalash in the political regime of Shah Nadir have converted to Islam. In the beginning new political establishment in Chitral was violent to word other ethnic especially the Kalasha and Ismaili Persian origin. Later Ismaili Koh dominated the upper valleys of Chitral by preaching a specific Ismaili doctrine to expend throughout Chitral. In the early phase of Raees Rule, Kalash was subjected to religious restrictions.

Moreover, constructivist perspective reflected that due to this neutrality Kalash religion about preaching the Turk-o-Persian rulers of Chitral realized that Kalash is not threat or resistance to Islam. The Mehtar had held the ultimate authority on every administrative decision. Later the state policy of Chitral towards religious minorities changed into tolerance and the Kalash were considered as a Ghimis subject to fulfill state revenue accumulated by Kalash. The year 1885 CE in the history of Chitral rise of new era. Constructivist presentism believes that the British invasion of Chitral unite Chitral ethnically. With the passage of time the presence of constructivist presentist perspective transformed the entire mythological world of kalash predominantly polytheist nature converted into a monotheist culture in which 'Dezau' become the central single God in the presence of polytheists structure of Kalash mythology (Ali & Rehman, 2016).

Reconstructivist Presentism: Trajectory of Social Methodological Shifts about Kalash

These are some dichotomies which placed as basis mode for interpretations to explore the reconstruction of identity of kalash like 'Siam' 'Dardic' 'Aryan' and 'kafir' (Jettmar, 1986). To investigate it there are the interdisciplinary trajectory of anthropological, ethnographical, gender, philological and archeological perspectives which tried to reconstruct the identity of Kalash in contemporary historical discourse.

The First confrontation among the Kafirs and the outside world came in the form of Political Anthropology which started with the publication of 'the kafir of Hindukush' by Roberston in 1889-1892. However, with the publication of the mentioned document a series of ethnographic expedition have taken into Kafiristan. Reconstruction presentism started in Hindu Kush cultural conferences from 1970 to the present 2022. They tried to reconstruct the ancient ethnicity of Kafiristan in presence of contemporary multidisciplinary practices. The International Hindukush

⁸Raees was the ruling dynasty of the first Turk arrival into Chitral in 1320 CE which later replaced by Muhtaram Shah, Katoor I (1590-1630) as Katoor dynasty.

Cultural conference developed multiple presentist perspectives (Jettmar, 1974). First, they tried to understand the nature of expeditions into Kalash and the remaining Kafirs of Kafiristan (Now Nuristan) Morgenmienm, Karal Jettmar and Sigger explore the 'last Kafir' conducting interviews. Sheikh Abdullah Azar reconstructed his story which published as a last Kafir of Kafiristan (Nuristan). Reconstruct perspective in ethnographic model developed narrative from present to past through living among by the community to understand the language, customs, rituals and cosmology of Kalash.

Presentist perspective fundamentally explores linguistic patterns in the Kalash language. Linguistic anthropologists seek to document and describe the Kalasha language, including its historical presence in Dardic group. They examined Kalash language in its social and cultural context, looking at how it is used in everyday communication and how it is taught and learned within the community.

Another important area of study is the Kalash religion. The Kalash follows a polytheistic religion that involves the worship of numerous deities and spirits. Anthropologists seek to document and analyze the various rituals, practices, and beliefs associated with this religion. They tried to explore the ways in which religion shapes the social and cultural life of the Kalash community, including its impact on family and gender relations, economic practices, and political organization. This reconstruction highlights the traditional economic practices of the Kalash, including agriculture, pastoralism, and handicrafts. Anthropological exploration is more inclusive due to the scientific and field work participations which documented social organization and kinship systems of the Kalash community including the role of marriage, descent, and inheritance (Saeed Book Bank, n.d; Ushba Publishing International, 2005).

The next methodological trajectory in research based on Linguistic approaches with the rise post structuralism western applied scientific tools to discover the relationship of Kafirs past. They are successful in dispelling the myth of Alexander relation with the proto Kafirs of Hindu Kush (Ibid). Linguistic confirm the existence of linguistic fossils of Sanskrit archaisms in the modern languages of Hindukush. Theorist suggested that Kalash must be the first wave of Aryan coming toward India in some where 2000 BC. Upon the arrival to India its id supposed that may be some tribe may leave into India while the rest were settled in the mountains of Hindu Kush. The First wave of Aryan penetrated Hindukush ranges. The linguistic approaches which are taken more scientific but failed where to place the Dardic language. They produced a isolate group in the existing grouping of languages. Jettmar an expert of Hindukush cultural heritage proposed that the best approach to these indigenous group is to arrange the material according to linguistic categories. Then we will be clearer about the present and past of Hindu Kush ethnicity.

Other methodological shift in reconstructivist presentism is to understand the accumulation of memories in oral sources. Oral history conducted in Kafiristan dissected major myths about Kalash past and identity. The last attempt in reconstruction happened due to archeological excavation which discovered many ancient sites and sources latter helps in reconnection and re-enacted of Kalash as indigenous people of Chitral with the rest of Hindukush community.

Conclusion

This research study tried to understand the representational crisis and problem in multiple historiographic narratives. This study tried to understand the contextual background of presentism which opens mediums for interpretations. This study inquired the efficiency of social trajectory in presentism as representation which learned new paradigm shifts in multidisciplinary approaches. This study brought how the key concepts and techniques of history can better to apply in the

reconstruction of Kalash community as an event and as an identity of ancient period in contemporary time.

I rearranged the available sources in a brief chronological way to look that is it possible to intervene into distant Kalash past through a presentist perspective in understanding historiographic narratives. Through textual criticism, critical examination, and classification of sources tried to explain the epistemic errors in representation of Kalash. Through external criticism I have evaluated the nature and sources of text which represents. Through comparative analysis of different sources give me an insight view to differentiate between factual and fictional representation of Kalash social and mythical realities.

This approach tried to explore the notion that cultural practices are not just arbitrary or purely symbolic. I analyzed the Kalash taboo on the sanctity of goat and its scarification despite its religious importance have its ecological and economic conditions of ancient Kafiristan which favored its sacrifice. It is crucial for pastoral agricultural labor which provided valuable resources like milk and meat. Therefore, the cultural practice of sacrifices of goat emerged as an adaptive response to these material conditions. Presentist perspectives proposed that the communal living arrangements and cooperative labor practices amongst Kalasha were shaped by the need to survive in a harsh environment with limited resources. The tribal system, in this case, played a role in organizing labor and resource distribution within the community.

This study explored that symbols in present use are the building blocks of Kalasha culture which need to be interpreted within their specific cultural context of Hindukush, Kafiristan. I examined through historiographic presentism the symbolic significance of traditional burial rituals of death celebration. I tried to analyze the elaborate costumes, gestures, and narratives of these performances to understand the cultural symbols and meanings embedded within joy and sorrow. This reflection of contemporary celebrations reflected and reinforced Kalsah values, norms, and social hierarchies in background of historical knowledge.

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