

The Changing Recipes of the Gawri Kitchen:

Culture change in Kalam Kohistan

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1- Introduction to the Gawri people and their language

Note: This introduction is adopted from the following work; Baart, Joan L.G. and Muhammad Zaman Sagar 2004. Kalam Kohistani Texts. Islamabad: National Institute of Pakistan Studies and Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Linguistic environment

Gawri (Also called *Kalam/ Dir Kohistani*) is one of about thirty languages that are spoken in the mountain areas of northern Pakistan. The name *Kohistan* in Urdu and Persian means 'land of mountains', and *Kohistani*, when used as the name of a language, can be translated as 'mountain language'.

The Gawri language is spoken in the Kalam *tehsil* in district Swat, and also in the Kohistan *tehsil* in district Dir, in the North-West Frontier Province.

As one leaves *Pashto*-speaking Mingora, the major market town in district Swat, and travels up the Swat valley, *Pashto* remains the predominant language up to and including the village of Madyan. After Madyan one enters another language area, namely that of *Torwali*. Bahrain village is the centre of the *Torwali*-speaking area. Travelling further up one eventually leaves the *Torwali* area, and passes a number of settlements (Asret, Laikot, Peshmal), where *Gujari* is the predominant language. Finally, one reaches the point where the Karan Duki /*qa2ran duki*/, a small tributary of the Swat river, comes gushing down the mountain, driving the turbines of the Kalam power house. Here, one passes from Bahrain *tehsil* into Kalam *tehsil*, and at the same time into the Gawri language area.

Even before this point, across the river from Peshmal in the village of Ariani, one can find homes where a form of Gawri called *Dachwa* is spoken.

Traditionally, the Gawri-speaking area in Swat is divided into three major clusters of villages and hamlets, each named after its principal village: the lower cluster is *Kalam* /*ka2la2m/ proper*; up from Kalam there is the *Utrot* cluster in the West, and the *Ushu* cluster in the North-East. The three communities have different traditions regarding their historical descent, and each has its own political organization.

Geographical area

Kalam Kohistan is the name popularly given to the northern-most parts of the Swat district in the North-West Frontier Province, including Kalam proper and the areas beyond Kalam. To the North it is bordered by the mountains of Chitral and the former Gilgit Agency. To the East, several high mountain passes lead into the Kandia valley of Indus Kohistan. Frequently-travelled mountain passes also connect to the West, to the villages of Thal and Kinolam/Lamutai in Dir Kohistan. *Kalam* is the name of a village located at the confluence of the Ushu and Utrot rivers, which form the river Swat. The Kalam Kohistani people occupy most of the upper-most parts of the Swat valley. However, some of the highest permanent settlements are not inhabited by Kalam Kohistanis but by Gujars, who speak their own language, *Gujari*.

Kalam village is located at an altitude of approximately 7,000 feet above sea level. The scenery in Kalam is dominated by the glaciers of the nearby Mankial range, east of Kalam, and by the more distant peak of the Falakser. The peaks of Mankial and Falakser reach an altitude of just under 20,000 feet.

Like Swat, district Dir, of which Dir Kohistan forms a part, is located in Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province. Chitral borders it in the North, Swat in the East, Bajaur in the West, and Malakand in the South. The Kohistani people of Dir live in the northern part of the district, in the upper reaches of the Panjkora valley.

Population

Stahl (1988:40) and Rensch (1992:33) estimated the number of Gawri speakers in Swat to be 40,000. A regional development project that worked in the area in the 1980s and 1990s (Kalam Integrated Development Project) gave an estimated total population of Kalam *tehsil* in 1982 of around 40,000. This figure included Gawri speakers, but also Pashto, Gujari and Khowar speakers. The 1998 Census of Pakistan greatly underestimated the population of Kalam *tehsil* due to the fact that the census was taken in the winter season, when many Kalami families were staying in the down-country areas.

Mr. Muhammad Zaman Sagar, together with our co-worker Mr. Shamshi Khan Kalami, carried out a rough population survey of the Gawri-speaking areas in October 2002. On the basis of their findings, we currently estimate the number of mother-tongue Gawri speakers in each village or village cluster to be as shown in table 1, suggesting a total number of approximately 100,000.

Table 1: Estimated number of Gawri speakers per village

Kalam (Swat)	22,000
Ushu (Swat)	10,000
Utrot (Swat)	22,000
Ariani (Swat)	500
Rajkot (Dir)	1,500
Jiar (Dir)	8,000
Piod (Dir)	1,000
Khalkot (Dir)	5,000
Kinolam (Dir)	8,000
Thal (Dir)	22,000
<i>Total:</i>	<i>100,000</i>

History

The predecessors of the Gawri-speaking people are perhaps the same as the *Gauraioi*, who inhabited the lower, more fertile parts of Dir from as early as the days of Alexander the Great, as mentioned above. In the 11th century AD, the area was conquered by Afghan troops under Mahmood of Ghazni and the original population was forced to flee to the remote, mountainous parts of the Panjkora valley. Local traditions confirm (see, for instance, the migration story in chapter 4) that from there groups of Gawri settlers crossed over the mountain passes into the Utrot, Kalam, and Ushu valleys in what is now district Swat, while others stayed in the upper Panjkora valley.

From the 14th century onward, a new wave of Afghan invaders (the Yusufzai Pathans) gradually took over the lower parts of Dir and Swat. Under pressure from the Yusufzais, the Pathans that had settled there before fled the area, and some of them arrived in the upper reaches of the Swat and Panjkora valleys. Due to the influence of these and later Muslim immigrants, the Kalam and Dir Kohistanis eventually converted to Islam. Genealogies that we have collected for different

tribes and subtribes of Kalam indicate that the people have been Muslims for the last seven or eight generations.

The Kalam Kohistanis have been able to maintain a large degree of political independence during many centuries. Finally, in 1947, when the British left India, the Wali of Swat was able to establish his rule over Kalam Kohistan. At that time, Swat was an autonomous state. The Wali built roads, schools, and hospitals in the area. Subsequently, Swat was incorporated as a part of Pakistan in 1969.

Socio-economic settings

Traditionally the Kalam Kohistanis were subsistence farmers. Some forty years ago, the potato was introduced as a cash crop and adopted by almost all farmers. Nowadays, one can see a few other cash crops as well, such as turnip and cabbage. Many people also grow maize for their own consumption.

Due to increasing population pressure, the Kalam people are forced to look for other sources of income besides agriculture. In the winter season, many Kalamis travel to Mingora, Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Lahore, and other cities of Pakistan, to look for jobs.

In the 1980s and 1990s, there has been an explosive growth of tourism in Kalam. There are presently more than 200 hotels and restaurants in the Kalam area. Tourism does create income for the Kalamis: some find jobs in hotels and restaurants, some earn an income as guides and jeep drivers, or as shopkeepers catering to the tourists. Unfortunately, only a few hotels are owned by Kalamis; most are owned by outsiders, and most of the income from tourism leaves the area.

Probably less than ten percent of the Kalam men and very few women have received education. Government schools are operating in the larger villages of the area, but due to a lack of teachers and lack of facilities, the quality of education is poor. In 1996, a private school was opened in the Kalam area that is run on a commercial basis; two other such schools were established in 1997 but had to close a couple of years later.

There are only two functioning primary schools for girls in the entire area. A programme of home tuition centres for girls was started by the Kalam Integrated Development Project (KIDP) around 1990. This programme gained some popularity with the local people. However, after the closure of the KIDP in 1998, the fate of these centres is uncertain. Some of them have already closed down. In the schools, as well as in the home tuition centres, the medium of education is Pashto. To the younger children, teachers often provide verbal explanation in the Gawri language as well. The higher grades in school are taught in Urdu.

Religious and political settings

There are no sectarian divisions in the Kalam area. All Kalam Kohistanis are Sunni Muslims belonging to the Hanifi School of Islamic law.

People participate actively in provincial and national politics. Major political parties which are represented in Kalam are: Pakistan Muslim League, Awami National Party, Pakistan People's Party, Jamaat-i-Islami, and Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam.

A familiar sight in Kalam is a man going on the road with a Kalashnikov slung over his shoulder. Men carry these weapons so as to protect themselves against their enemies. These enemies are usually the members of some other Kalam Kohistani family with whom they have a feud. Most of these feuds develop from a dispute over land, or from a perceived violation of the modesty of a man's wife, sister, or daughter. An in-depth study of death enmity within a Kohistani society can be found in Keiser (1986 and 1991). In recent years, the Kalam Kohistanis have been taking measures against the carrying of weapons in the bazaars of the main villages, as it was felt that the carrying of weapons might offend the tourists that visit these bazaars.

2- Goal and methodology of the current research

In Discovery program of Frontier Language Institute it was the fourth and final course. I and my mentor Dr. Joan Baart decided that I should take the food related survey in my area. I went to Kalam on January 12-17, 2005. I interviewed five people there. This time was difficult, since because of the snowfall the weather became very cold and the roads were blocked.

My main goal was to interview some people for the fieldwork of cultural course. I wanted also to have some reliable data that could help me in future with my work with cultural outline. After gathering this data I am happy to say that I and my mentor both are satisfied with this material.

For the interviews I went to each person's house and interviewed them there. I used the questionnaire from "An outline for cultural research" as a help. It was a great help for me at my task. I used a tape recorder to record all these interviews.

In this fieldwork my friend Mr. Shamshi Khan helped me a lot. He came with me to each and every place where I went. I am thankful to him and Mr. Shamsur Rehman as well. I am thankful to my mentor and teacher Dr. Joan Baart that he has given me this opportunity to work for my language and my culture. I am also thankful to the friends and informants like Abdul Manan, Pir Khushab, Haji Abdul Qayum, Abdul Mateen and Muhammad Rasool respectively.

The English translations for these interviews can be found in appendix of this write up.

3- Discussion

Our culture changed a lot in the past 20-25 years. In the past the people were using food items they were growing themselves. Like the buckwheat, maize, vegetables and milk products. Many food items like tea and oil have occurred quite recent years to the markets.

Nowadays people buy almost all the food items from the market. They are even buying flour and vegetables since they are no more growing these items for their own use. People have chosen to start cultivating cash giving crops instead of being self sustained. Instead of grain and vegetables they grow potatoes, turnips, cabbage, cauliflower, peas, carrot, radish, cucumber and beans that were introduced in the area by KIDP (Kalam Integrated Development Project). In the past people were keeping animals like goats, sheep, cows, and buffalos. But now these are getting rare in the area. People are not able to feed the animals anymore. In the places where there use to be grazing land people are now making fields for growing the cash crop some places in Kalam people make fields even in the summer pastures that are in higher altitudes and traditionally have always been grazing lands for animals.

The natural forest is now reducing day by day. People sell the timber in black market and use a lot as for their fuel. Lot of the natural habitat like the mushrooms and other forest vegetable are becoming rare because of this deforestation.

In my study I asked some people what they thoughts were about the old times. They all said it was better in the past. They said that in the past people were unaware of all these became hygienically bad foods. But now they are compel to buy them. Otherwise they will not survive. In the past there were no diseases. Because they were using the clean food. But now everybody has some health problem, like, stomach problem, diabetics, heart diseases, blood pressure, gastro, acidity and hepatitis etc. The food and water is polluted due to the flock of tourism and hotel industry.

The traditional foods are no more use by the people. Only in some rare occasions the people can get those traditional foods. The butter oil is replaced with Banaspati Ghee. The buckwheat and maize is replaced with the wheat. The milk products like cheese, cottage cheese and yoghurt are replaced with the tea and those rotten vegetables which we buy from shop.

The other main issue of the area is lack of facilities and also is the growth of population. The population is growing day by day. The land became very less for the people. They are forced to migrate to the other areas such as the cities. Where they can find some jobs and livelihood for their family and themselves.

Some general recipes

For cooking the green leaf vegetables first we put them in a pot. Put water in a pot and keep it on the fire. After cleaning the vegetable it put on in this hot water and then cooked until it tenders. Used some spices and then bake bread on another baking plate. In alms the flour is distributed among the neighbors. They bake the bread and then bring it to that house.

For making cheese first boil the milk then put yogurt milk in it and then it become like curd. Then put it in a cloth and keep it in a basket. After it dry, it put on a board. It becomes hard from wind and starts shining. Then it is used for eating.

In the past people were storing the dry apricots, and were using it in summer. Then another thing called *dhumAkAr*. It is called to a process when the people were slaughtering an animal and drying the meat to use in winter. First when it slaughters the *luR ma2s* (the meat like, kidney, liver and guts etc.) were given to the friends and relatives and rest of the meat put on rope and hang on roof where it become dry. This place was kept away from smoke and heat. Milk products like cheese, cottage cheese and butter oil were keeping for winter. But nowadays the people used to sow the cash crop and finished their animals. That is why milk product is becoming rare. One thing is called (*heniga2r*) which people were making from apricots kernel.

To make the cheese people gather a lot of milk and put it in a big pot. Then it is put on fire and when it boils the people put some curd milk in it and it cuts. Then when it become separated from each other it put on a clean and thin cloth where all the raw water comes out and the cheese left there. Then it is squeezed and makes a cake of it. The cake is put in a place where it becomes dry. When it dries it can be eaten if not dry it is become rotten and some insects maybe born in it.

In the past we were slaughtering an animal like cow, oxen or some goats and sheep. The *la2b Cha2b* (the meat like liver, kidney, guts etc.) of this animal was eaten by the friends and relatives. Then the other meat people hanged on a pole in a room. The pole hanged from one side to the other on the beam on roof. First it is kept in sun and then bring it to the *gud* (store). The meat was becoming very hard. Then it is used in winter. Still in my house that pole and that stored place available.

In alms we first bring the animal. First it is slaughtered. All the friends and relatives and neighbors come on this occasion. The people come from different places because they are invited by the family of this alms giving. In the near neighborhood they give maize flour that the ladies should cook the bread for the evening. Then the *lo2n ma2s* is cooked. The guest who come from the faraway and the neighbors come to eat. One man is standing in with the flour. When a neighbor go he give him one *a2r* (one pot almost 5 KG) each household. In the morning the people come with bread. Then after that evening meal some close relative prepare this meat and cook it in the big pots. Then they sit there for whole night. In the morning the guest are serving with tea and *paratha2* for breakfast.

When the sun become hot the people start eating the food. One man bring a big basket called *chader*. They give one handful to a person each. One comes with an earthen jug and pour the butter oil in the *sudar*. The maize bread and soup in already mashed in it. This is the same for the weddings too. When the ladies leave the house. They get *bhaanl2k* (It is the gift as a food what left like soup and the meat). They bring it home. In the past people were giving two *chAkAn* to one man. But now people think that it is unfair. Because in the past they were giving it to the *phAtije2r*. Because they bring some *phAtij}*. Then also the faraway guests or the older people were getting double *chAkAn*. For the meal people prepare *pe2N* in the field. Put wooden pole on both sides where people can sit on it and face each other.

In they wedding *mA@mA@l* (the people of bride's side) they get the special food. They are sitting in a special place. Where they are served with the special food. This same food but they get more meat and more butter oil. They also get the special tea too.

Conclusion

After this study I came to this conclusion that everything in our culture and language is changing rapidly. Like our food recipes, our vocabulary, our customs, different best things in our culture. Now it is the need to preserve and document our culture and language. That is why we need in depth study and research into our culture and language.

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5- Appendix: English translation of the interviews

Interview: 1

Name of Interviewee: Abdul Manan

Father name: Ziarat Gul

Village: Kas, Kalam, Swat

Age: 29 years

Occupation: Teacher in a primary school

Date: 14-01-2005

We here in this area were sowing maize in the past. Now people mostly sowing potatoes, turnips and cabbage etc. These crops are coming in three months. Then peas, tomatoes, carrot, radish and cucumber introduced in the area too. These are the introduced foods. We love to eat *sAcAl }a* (*Malwa verticillatta*) Chinese mallow. It is the staple food of the entire Kalam Tehsil. We believe that if we eat continuously chicken, meat or anything else, we get bored. But this mallow with maize bread is never making a problem for us. We think that it is making us power full.

In pastures, mountains we bring our cattle there in summer. Their people use milk products like milk, yogurt, curd milk, butter, butter oil, cheese and cottage cheese etc. Apples are very famous in the area. Then cherries and other fruits are available. Trout fish, hunting birds and mushrooms are famous too.

In bazaar we buy meat, vegetables and other food stuff like rice, pulses, sugar, molasses, tea, flour and fruits are bought from market. The people are poor and they cannot afford to buy the packed food. Only the preserve food which they gathered is used.

In summer we get fresh vegetables then meat, turnips and green leaf vegetables. Then these green leaf vegetables we preserve for winter.

In our area nothing is prohibited only the things what religion made prohibited these are not allowed. Those things which are allowed in Islam they are allowed here for us too. But those are not allowed are not used in the area. Also the theft food is not allowed. It is called *hara2m* (illegal).

In the past people were storing the foods but nowadays the people not storing a lot. In the past the people were afraid of long winter but nowadays people got many facilities. We have big boxes here called *ACha2n* (a wooden box). The cottage cheese is put in the tin and buried in soil. We used it like pickle. The sugar, molasses and tea etc. are stored too. If any person has the animals enough they slaughter one of them and used it in winter. The meat is cut into long pieces then it is put on a rope which is on the upper stories of house. Where the heat and smoke should not come. This is hanged there and after it dry it will be used in during the winter.

Interview: 2

Name of Interviewee: Pir Khushab

Father name: Mudasir

Village: Matiltan, Kalam, Swat

Age: 72 years

Occupation: Farmer

Date: 14-01-2005

Maize, mallow, beans, vegetable etc are used here. Then *ta2//2S* (walnut's paste) were used in winter. Cottage cheese, cheese and curd milk were used too. In winter people were killing animal by alone or sharing with other and dry it and were using the meat in winter.

Spinach, vegetables, meat, and potatoes are bought from the shops. Then sugar, molasses, tea are bought. Milk pack bought. Ready food like kebab, biscuits are bought from the shop. The winter food like dried vegetables and in summer you have fresh vegetables. In forest many kind of mushrooms and vegetables are widely like by the people.

There are no prohibitions in the food. We can use all the foods from our land and forest. Green leaf vegetables, vegetables are available in the market. From pasture like cheese, butter and cottage cheese are used and sold. The food like milk, molasses, sugar, tea, butter, oil, cheese, cottage cheese and other things are kept in box. In winter when the cattle are killed, its meat put on a long stick and put in a dry place. In upper storey. The salt is put on it and prevented it from smoke and heat.

We put green leaf vegetable in a pot. Put water in a pot and keep it on the fire. After cleaning the vegetable it put on in this hot water and then cooked until it tenders. Used some spices and then bake bread on another baking plate. In alms the flour is distributed among the neighbors. They bake the bread and then bring it to that house.

For making cheese first boil the milk then put yogurt milk in it and then it become like curd. Then put it in a cloth and keep it in a basket. After it dry, it put on a board. It becomes hard from wind and starts shining. Then it is used for eating.

The food is cooked inside the house where the people are sitting. In summer they cooked it outside. A sauce pan, cooker and fry pan etc. are used for cooking. Big cooking pot, plate, earthen bowl, spoon and dishes are used. Almost one hour is required for the preparation of food. The ladies in house they distribute work among each other. Some cook, some bake, some clean the dishes. Coriander seeds, *zI2r* (*cuminum cyminum*) cumin and turmeric etc. are used as spices in food.

First early in the morning people take tea with bread, the in noon time eat lunch and evening time people eat their dinner. The tea is used three times. Morning, after noon and night. The rich man eats meat, rice and other nice foods. The poor used green leaf vegetable etc. the food timing is same throughout the year. Men, women and children eat separately.

People used same food in summer and then in winter. The meat consider hot and rice consider cold. The milk curd, milk consider cold and it makes your body light. It not gives you burden in your stomach. Curry and bread use together. Egg and green leaf vegetable use together. Eggs and walnut paste used together. Like milk you cannot eat with other foods like curry etc. fruit and dry fruit cannot eat with bread.

First you wash your hands then start eating with *bismillah* (start with the name of God). Eat with small morsels, eat from your side of plate and slowly. The people don't like if a person eat awkwardly. It is not a good habit. Don't eat like dogs or animals, but act like a human.

Leftover food is eaten later or by children and other family members. Some used food put in a pot and used in some other time. In big occasions people used to give rice or meat. Here people like maize bread, meat and sauce with butter oil. In some occasions people prepare rice and sometime biscuits etc. the rich people can cook rice, meat, *hAlwa* (a kind of custard), vermicelli, and butter oil. The poor can give according to his approach.

People like meat specially mutton. The fish is like widely but it is found very rare. It cannot be used in parties or other occasions. But sometime people catch the fish and eat.

Interview: 3

Name of Interviewee: Haji Abdul Qayum

Father Name: Haji Babu Jan

Village: Chirat, Kalam, Swat

Age: 56 years

Occupation: Teacher in a primary school

Date: 15-01-2005

This is the year 2004 and I am now almost 56 years old. People in the past were using maize, Lo, Bharo and Yo. They were buying it from the shops and were using these. Now people are not eating maize, everybody eats wheat. It is bought from the shops. Children don't like maize now, even I am now not eating maize.

Once I came from school when I was a child. Those times it was hard to even find the maize. When I came from school there was no flour in our house. My father was plowing the field with oxen. Those days' tractors were not introduced here. There was no bread in our house and the plowing time is a very tough time. When you need more hard work to do. My father stopped the oxen and went to bazaar and there he borrowed some 5 or 6 KGs of flour from someone and brought it home.

This kind of hardship we Kalamis faced 40-50 years ago. In present time too much bread is leftover and then it is given to the animals. It is not maize but the wheat. Wheat is not our production. We buy it from outside. Our production is maize. But nowadays it is cultivated less too and more we buy from Swat. The people's cultivatable fields are very less now that is why they cultivate maize on very small scale.

In fruits the most famous one is the apple. In the past a kind of apple was called *gok bobAy* (Chitrali apples) were used by the people. This was an apple which you can only store for a week or so. Not more than this. In present time the new kind of apples came which you can store for long time, even for a year. The other famous fruit of Kalam is the walnut. This is produced a lot here. From the walnut people were making a paste it called *ta2//2S* (walnut paste which is mixed with butter oil), it is very delicious. In the past it was sometime using with the eggs and then it was becoming a very tasty food.

In the past people were grinding the maize in water-mills. Present time there is the hot mills. But in the past they were the cold mills. People were putting the maize in the sun and then it was bringing to the mills to grind. Those cold mills were could not grinding the maize without warming it. That is why they were warming it and grinding. There was a kind of big pots for giving heat to the maize. There were fire under this pot and the pot was putting on the fire. The ladies were giving heat to this maize for several days. Then they were grinding the maize and bringing the flour home. After it they were grinding the cob and that flour they were bringing home too. It was called *Atia2T* (cob flour). If the maize flour cannot enough for the whole season then they were using this cob flour for making breads. If a person's maize is enough for the whole year then this cob flour is used to give to the chickens. I remembered that the human ate this cob flour. This was the time of famine and even the people brought the maize from Dir. They were bringing it by foot from Dir. Some people thinking it is easier to use the cob flour then to bring the maize from Dir.

In present time we buy each and everything from the bazaar. Only the water we get in free here. These days' people use to plow the cash crop like potatoes, turnips, cabbage and peas etc. all the fields are covered by these crops. Then what they use for themselves? That is why each and

everything is bought from the shops. Even potatoes we grow here but we buy for own use from market. Molasses and sugar we buy from market. Tea and other things are bought too. In summer people buy milk too from market. Because we give our cattle to other people they keep them in summer in the high pastures. In summer they use all the milk then when they come in the winter down then only we get the dry cows.

In the past when I was a child except the cloth material nothing else was coming from down. Those days' people were unaware of cooking oil. The cloth material was coming on permit and this was very less for an area. Once my father brought a bag full of molasses and then shared with another person. They both got half bags. When he brought it home my mother got angry and said why you brought this much molasses. This half bag we used for full year. But now one bag is not enough for us even for fifteen days. People were unaware of tea. When a guest was coming they were serving tea otherwise only the maize bread and Chinese mallow was our food.

There were some people who were the traders of salt. They were bringing it from Swat and exchanging it here with butter oil. The same amount of salt was given in exchange with the same amount of butter oil. My grandfather was the trader of salt. The mule owner was bringing salt to him and he was selling it with exchange to butter oil. There was another sweet thing called *na2ba2t* which was used instead of sugar and molasses.

Local people do not use the packed food. Only the tourist in the area when they comes they use packed food.

In summer in the fields the fresh vegetables are coming and people use them. But in winter people use dried vegetables which they dry in summer and keep it for winter. The people keep beans and used it in winter. People stock maize flour and wheat flour as well. Then sugar, molasses and tea etc. are stored for winter.

Islam used to say what things are not legal and what are legal. We use those legal things but those illegal things we never use.

In whole area everybody now says that the children never eat maize. But only very old people use maize bread. Wheat flour and rice are eaten more. Fresh vegetables like spinach, cabbage, cauliflower, and peas etc. are available in the market and we use them.

In summer when the people use any other food or vegetable, when these left over for second day it become rotten. That is why people use to dry vegetables in summer and then it stored and used in winter. Mostly green leaf vegetables like mallow, *khona* (*Chenopodium album*) White goosefoot, and *gha2nAri* (*Amaranthus viridis*) Slendor amaranth, are dried and used in winter.

In the past people were storing the dry apricots, and were using it in summer. Then another thing called *dhumAkAr*. It is called to a process when the people were slaughtering an animal and drying the meat to use in winter. First when it slaughters the *luR ma2s* (the meat like, kidney, liver and guts etc.) were given to the friends and relatives and rest of the meat put on rope and hang on roof where it become dry. This place was kept away from smoke and heat. Milk products like cheese, cottage cheese and butter oil were keeping for winter. But nowadays the people used to sow the cash crop and finished their animals. That is why milk product is becoming rare. One thing is called (*heniga2r*) which people were making from apricots kernel.

To make the cheese people gather a lot of milk and put it in a big pot. Then it is put on fire and when it boils the people put some curd milk in it and it cuts. Then when it become separated from each other it put on a clean and thin cloth where all the raw water comes out and the cheese left there. Then it is squeezed and makes a cake of it. The cake is put in a place where it becomes dry. When it dries it can be eaten if not dry it is become rotten and some insects maybe born in it.

In summer we have kitchens in our houses where people cook their food. In summer because of the heat people use outside kitchen. The winter is very hard here that is why in winter where we

sleep there we also cook. Because this way the room is getting warm. Less use of fuel this way. This is not a kitchen but only a stove which is used for cooking.

In cooking we use fry pan, sauce pan, earthen cooking pot, earthen plate or bowl. Nowadays use steel plates and plastic plates as well. Then for baking bread people use a baking plate called (*te2r*). For big meals like alms and weddings people use (*kAra*) a big pot.

Mostly one hour is spent on the preparation of food. In a house when there are many ladies they divide their work. Some cook food, some bake breads, some clean dishes and other works they divide between themselves.

We buy mostly spices from bazaar like turmeric, mint and many others. The local productions are like cumin and mint grown here.

We eat two times in a day. Like lunch in the noon time after Namaz and dinner after Maghrib Namaz. Some people use bread in the breakfast. We not say it breakfast but tea and bread is eaten with tea.

Old people in the area mostly like to eat the traditional Chinese mallow with the maize bread. But nowadays the younger generation use wheat bread with vegetables.

This timing is related to Namaz timings. Like in the summer when it is Zohar Namaz time it is lunch time too and same in the winter too. The dinner in summer after or before Maghrib prayers and in winter the same. Only the clock timing change.

Mostly ladies eat with ladies and men eat with men. Same the children can eat with both. There is no preference or any other thing. In winter everything is found less and dried. But in summer everything is found fresh and available all the time. Like meat, fish, eggs and beans etc. consider hot because they give heat to your body. They are good to eat in winter. They will give heat to your body. Green leaf, curd milk, milk and yoghurt are considering the cold. Because they not give heat to your body.

In the past people were not using the two foods together. Like yoghurt with meat or milk with curry. Because they were thinking it cause stomach ache. But nowadays they use these together. Those days they were not eating yoghurt and fish. They think they leucoderma disease will attack. These were just the superstitions. Now people use them together and there is no problem at all. Mallow and maize bread are eaten together. Rice and meat eaten together. Then butter oil, curry, and bread are eaten together. Like sweet we eat alone. Fruit like apple, mangoes and other can be eaten alone.

We are Muslims and we have good habits shown by our prophet Muhammad PBUH. You can wash hand before eating. You can eat not standing but sit down and eat. Eat small morsels. You should eat from your side of the plate not from others when you're sharing the plate. Eat slowly and not eat in rush. Eat clean and hygienically the best food not the dirty or burnt food. Our culture and Islam both are agree that when you eat the leftover food of somebody it is not bad for your body but it is good for your health.

In special occasions like *ba2ba* (wedding), *xA@r* (alms), *ma2xa2mAi* (the meal is served from the side of the dead person to the poor), *sunAt* (circumcision), *na2m ge2l* (name giving ceremony feast), and engagement ceremonies people give special foods. In weddings the members of the family they slaughter an ox, cow or buffalo and then its *lo2n ma2s* (the meat like liver, kidney etc.) are given to the neighbors and guest the evening before the wedding. Then the maize flour is given to each of the neighbors they bring it to their houses sand bake it. Then in the morning they bring this bread. The meat is put on big pots and keeps it on fire full whole night. Some guys sit with it and look after to its fire. In the morning this meal is serving to the people. One man holds a basket full of meat and gives a handful from it to everyone. One holds a small earthen jug full of butter oil and put it in that food. The people use to put the sauce in the

earthen pot called (*sidar*). Then the maize bread is put in it. This bread they make very small pieces like mashing it and solve with that sauce. Then butter oil is put on it. After that the people start to eat it.

Interview: 4

Name of Interviewee: Abdul Mateen

Father Name: Fazlur Rehman

Village: Jilded, Kalam, Swat

Age: 95 years

Occupation: Farmer

Date: 15-01-2005

In past beans, mallow, and sometime (*dhumAkAr*) was done by the people. People were using maize bread. Nowadays people use wheat, maize, and rice. In the past *lo2* (green buckwheat), *bhAro* (a variety of buckwheat), maize cob, and beans were grinding.

We buy meat, sugar, molasses, tea and vegetables from the market. We only buy biscuits in packet not other.

Today in this winter they road is closed the vegetable is not available. No body can have Dhumakar nowadays.

There are no restrictions on the food. Nowadays people mostly buy food stuff from market. Here is too much poverty. Even in this winter many of the families migrated to plain areas. P3people have to buy even maize from bazaar.

People for winter store their flour, sugar, molasses, tea and dry vegetable stored in boxes and use in long winter months. Milk products like cheese, cottage cheese and butter oil stored too.

The *dhumAkAr* meat was using to eat in winter. Some pieces were cooking and eating with maize flour. This meat was keeping in *gud* (store-room) or *rAya2l* (upper storey). Where it is kept away from smoke and heat. It is hang on a pole which is put on beam of the roof. Then the meat is used in the winter.

The people cook their food in their houses inside in the fireplace. For cooking they use cooker, sauce pan, and plates etc. almost two to three hours required for cooking. In weddings and alms it takes whole night to cook.

In the house the ladies divide their work some cook, some wash the utensils and other bake the bread. Many of the people are not using the spices nowadays.

The meal time start from 11 AM to afternoon. Then in evening. People use to eat in the morning too. Some people eat bread with tea in the morning. Then at 10 AM bread with tea. In lunch some mallow, vegetables and bread etc. in evening the same too. Beans and meat are considering the hot food. When you eat it, it gives some heat to your body. Curd milk, yoghurt, vegetables are considered cold, because they not put pressure on your stomach..

If the family members have unity they eat together otherwise they eat separately. In the change of seasons the people change their foods too. In winter we have fresh vegetables and meat etc. available all the time. But in winter we do not have these things.

Our people do not eat curd milk and milk together. Beans and mallow not use together. People think the beans can make you thirsty.

People first wash their hands. Then start eating. Eat small morsel. On chair they do not want to eat. The people do not want to eat the food standing. They do not want big morsel.

The leftover food is put to animals. If the food left in sauce pan it is kept in some place to use other time. In big parties etc. people use to cook meat and rice. In the past meat and maize bread with butter oil.

Interview: 5

Name of Interviewee: Muhammad Rasool

Father Name: Malik Adam Khan

Village: Kas, Kalam, Swat

Age: 45 years

Occupation: Farmer

Date: 16-01-2005

In our area the crops like maize is available. In the past people were growing *lo2* and *bhAro*. Then people used cottage cheese, cheese and *kila2r* (a kind of cheese) etc. were used. Then mallow is the most eaten food of the area. Nowadays people use a lot of wheat flour. In the past they were only using the wheat for some cure.

People use here a kind of earthen bowl called *sudar* in local language. It is made by earth. The ladies they make mud from it. Then it is made on a wooden board. Then after it dry they were bringing the bark of pine tree and were making a fire. In this fire they were putting this bowl for some time. When it is become red it is taken out from the fire. After it they were polishing it with butter oil. The same thing is done for the other earthen pots too.

The mallow was cooked in an earthen pan. It is used in some houses now too. This kind of food were good for the health. The people were not getting sick. Only when gets sick they use to have the traditional herbal medicines.

From milk we make yoghurt, curd milk, and then from curd milk people boil it and make cottage cheese. Cheese and Kilaar are used too. This cottage cheese people are using it in the winter. This is mostly used in winter. It is given to the friends, guests and relatives.

The green leaf vegetables like *ki~jl2* (*dryopteru sjuxtaposita*), *}ill2* (*Iris sp.*), mallow, *luthur* (a kind of plant), pumpkin leaf and Buyu~ leaves are used widely here as a vegetable. Then here people use the meat of hunting. Some deer, *}Ara* (ibex), *khil* (Markhor) and birds are widely used.

We buy meat, vegetables and pulses. Then rice, spices, sugar, molasses and tea are bought too. People mostly not use the packed food. People cannot buy these kind of foods. Only the fresh made foods they use.

In winter people use bean a lot. Because it is very hot. Then meat and dried vegetables are used. In summer fresh vegetables like mallow, cabbage, turnip, peas and potatoes used.

In our religion people think that it is not good to use cottage cheese and yoghurt. Because it change its taste. But the people use them widely.

Nowadays people use the dry vegetables like mallow, cabbage, turnip and meat. Which they stored and use in winter. For flour we used a box called *Acha2n*. There we put maize flour. The amount of flour we put there are 14 *tsAT*. It become 28 *duen*. I put the flour there. Then I put a plastic bag around my feet and press it. The ladies put a coin in the hole (*mhe2r*). In my house still this box available. Then on top of it I put a birch paper. It is enough for whole winter. We are 12 members in my family and then the guests are coming too. Then I store wheat in an *Achane2l*. Where I put three bags of wheat flour. It is become 6 *duin*.

In the past we were slaughtering an animal like cow, oxen or some goats and sheep. The *la2b Cha2b* (the meat like liver, kidney, guts etc.) of this animal was eaten by the friends and relatives. Then the other meat people hanged on a pole in a room. The pole hanged from one side to the other on the beam on roof. First it is kept in sun and then bring it to the *gud* (store). The

meat was becoming very hard. Then it is used in winter. Still in my house that pole and that stored place available.

In alms we first bring the animal. First it is slaughtered. All the friends and relatives and neighbors come on this occasion. The people come from different places because they are invited by the family of this alms giving. In the near neighborhood they give maize flour that the ladies should cook the bread for the evening. Then the *lo2n ma2s* is cooked. The guest who come from the faraway and the neighbors come to eat. One man is standing in with the flour. When a neighbor go he give him one *a2r* (one pot almost 5 KG) each household. In the morning the people come with bread. Then after that evening meal some close relative prepare this meat and cook it in the big pots. Then they sit there for whole night. In the morning the guest are serving with tea and *paratha2* for breakfast.

When the sun become hot the people start eating the food. One man bring a big basket called *chader*. They give one handful to a person each. One comes with an earthen jug and pour the butter oil in the *sudar*. The maize bread and soup in already mashed in it. This is the same for the weddings too. When the ladies leave the house. They get *bhaanl2k* (It is the gift as a food what left like soup and the meat). They bring it home. In the past people were giving two *chAkAn* to one man. But now people think that it is unfair. Because in the past they were giving it to the *phAtij}e2r*. Because they bring some *phAtij}*. Then also the faraway guests or the older people were getting double *chAkAn*. For the meal people prepare *pe2N* in the field. Put wooden pole on both sides where people can sit on it and face each other.

In they wedding *mA@mA@l* (the people of bride's side) they get the special food. They are sitting in a special place. Where they are served with the special food. This same food but they get more meat and more butter oil. They also get the special tea too.

Nowadays in the houses people made kitchen. But the winter food is only made in a *dAtAr* (fireplace) which is situated in this grand hall. All the people sit around it. The people sleep round it too. My house is very old one. It is like a museum. Maybe it is 120 years old. I am still living in it. In my house there is a place where we keep almost 40 cattle. There is a place for their kids too. Then we have three living rooms on one side and three on other side. Then we have upper storey *rAya2l*. Which we use in summer.

For cooking we use *sudAr* (earthen bowl), *sidir* (small earthen bowl), *Su~jur* (an earthen jug), *patila* (a sauce pan) and *kAro2T* (a big cooking pot). Then cooker, plates, *koraT* (a big open bowl), *ll2}* (a spoon or fork). *Do2r* (ladle), and *de2r* (small ladle) used too. People are preparing bread called Phineer which is made by wheat flour and it is easy to prepare.

Maybe one hour is needed for a normal food. If the people are more it takes much more time. In each household the ladies population is more. They are helping and cooperating with each other in the house hold work. Some cook their food, some bake bread and some look after the children. Some ladies wash the utensils and cloths etc.

We use to buy the spices from the market. Then cumin, *oda2rim* (a kind of herb) and *je2}* (*Cirsium sp.*) we used as spices in our foods. It is making the foods nice. Then turmeric, coriander and other spices buy from shops. *du2p* (*Mentha longifolia*) Horse mint is dried and used as herbal medicine and as a spice.

We eat early in the morning. We eat bread with tea in breakfast. Then in the noon time when the sun comes to the middle of sky. It is the lunch time. Then in the evening when the dark reach. It is depend on each family. The break fast is lighter then the lunch and dinner. Because in the breakfast people only eat bread with the tea. But in the lunch and dinner people use to eat curry and bread and much more things. In the morning *pArA@tha2* are used. These are made from

wheat or maize. Then in other meals we mostly use mallow. Then vegetables and meat are use too.

In winter people use dry and heavy food. In summer everything we get fresh. All the vegetables are available in the summer. Then meat, pulses and rice etc. are available easily in the market. We get mallow fresh from or fields.

In the house ladies and girls eat together and the boys and men eat together. In winter we use to eat other kinds of food. Like we change rice. The rice which takes lot oil it is not used in winter. But it is ok in summer. The beans consider hot. It is powerful and it gives heat to your body. When you eat it and then you eat a lot of water.

One food is called *su2* which is considering very hot. It is made by the beans. First the beans are cooked or boiled. Then it is grinded and put some butter oil in it. Some people use the walnut paste in it too. In become very heavy and powerful meal. When you eat it you get sleep.

Vegetables are considered cold. It is used by the people in the summer. Mallow and maize bread are use together. Then milk and maize bread are used together. Then mallow and beans eat together with the maize and wheat bread.

People do not use to eat milk and meat together. People think it will bring worms in your stomach. With the fish people not use yoghurt, curd milk are not used. Because this meat is consisting gastro. It is very strong foods.

People in the past were sitting on *hAyl2n* (small sitting chair) and *kARkAi* (small sitting board) and eat. But nowadays they use (*dArAstAxa2n*) big cloth put on the floor and eat on it. People like to give best food to the children. Like meat, cheese and other foods etc. people want to sit down on the floor and eat on it. They do not want to eat on standing. Wash their hands before and after the meal.

If a person eat standing, not washing their hands, eating with big morsels and eating from the side of other people it is not liked by the people at all. People do not like to eat from left hand. They do not like the people who eat very fast or eat from other people's side.

The leftover food like *cAmAkI2I* (the bread and curry mixed and pressed) is given to dogs and chickens. Sometime the left over in plates is eat by the other people. If some food left in cooker on pan it is eaten later.

In special occasions people use to eat meat, butter oil, maize bread. In the wedding nowadays people use to cook the rice. In alms it is bad to cook rice. People will laugh that he used rice in his relative's alms. This mean he cannot afford the butter oil and more meat. Then in circumcisions, *ma2xa2mAi* and other occasion's people used bread, butter oil and meat. Then some people use rice too.