

# SETTLEMENT PATTERN AND HOUSE-TYPES IN CHITRAL STATE

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"HUMAN establishments add colour to the land-scape," says la Balache<sup>1</sup>. A settlement or 'abadi' in Chitral often surrounded by luxuriant fruit and shade trees, presents a startling contrast to the barren and dry rock of the country. Water is a primary need of man kind. In a region of low rainfall, therefore, water availability must be of primary importance in the establishment of settlements. Most settlements are found on the alluvial fans, or on certain elevated river-terraces, where soil fertility coincides with easily available water. Villages are also located in the beds of abandoned river courses where similar conditions obtain, as, for example, in Sargooz, Jinal Koch, Rooji and Scen. But vast tracts of land are uninhabited. This is due in part to social and economic, but more especially to adverse physical factors. The country is extremely rugged and mountainous and many valleys, which are occupied by huge glaciers, are uninhabitable. Certain glaciated valleys such as Ziwar gol, Uzhnu gol, Shah Jinali, and Lonkuh gol (Fig. 1), although potentially habitable in the lower parts, remain devoid of population. Apart from a distaste for the cold climate, there is a marked cultural resistance expressed in current superstitions about the glaciers being the abode of demons and fairies. The once settled and prosperous valley of Ziwar, abandoned in the latter half of the eighteenth century because of glacial advance, is once again inhabitable. However, because of the tradition that 'an area once abandoned is not to be resettled', people hesitate to return. In contrast with the majority of the uninhabitable areas mentioned above, there are those which have fertile soil, but are at present unsettled because of precarious conditions of water supply.

"Settlement distribution reminds one of a wave washing the mountain side, sometimes high, sometimes low..... There is a reflection of society's needs at any one point of time"<sup>2</sup>. In Chitral 'the wave' has reached 12,000 feet contour line at Baroghil, during the last thirty years or so. Before that, the Baroghil area was

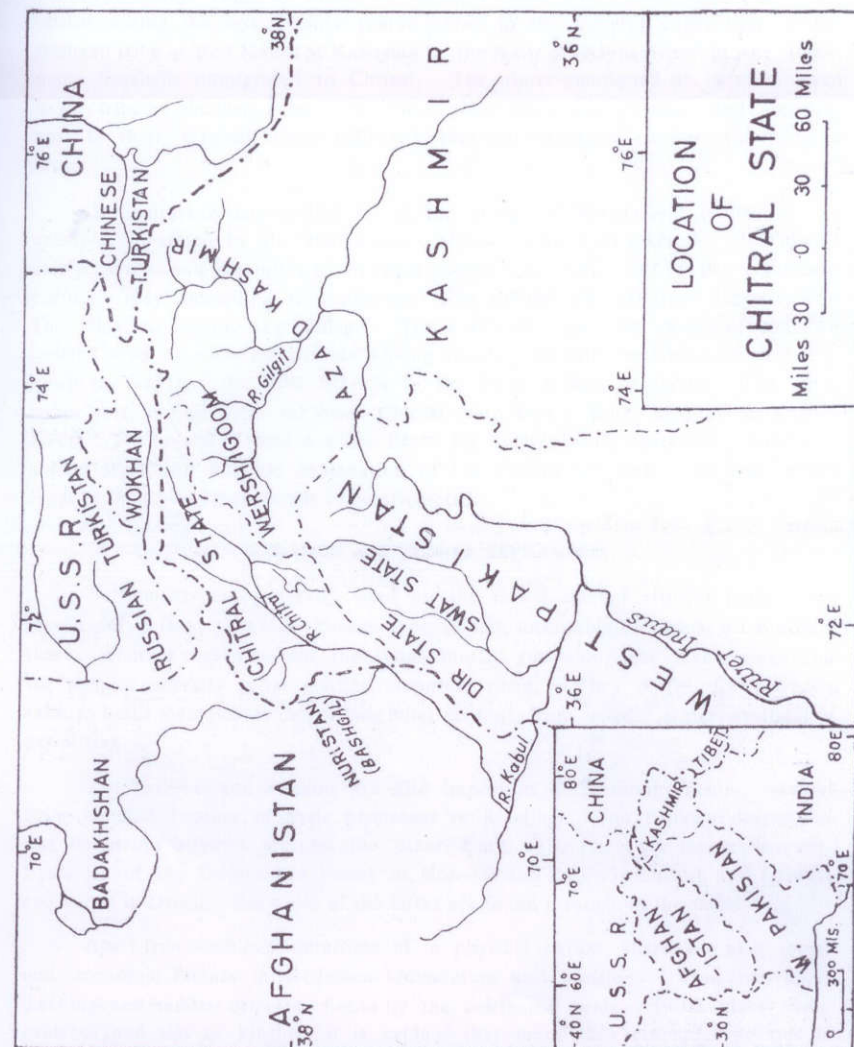
<sup>1</sup>V. de la Balache, *Principles of Human Geography* (London : 1926), p.271.

<sup>2</sup>For details see Israr ud-Din, *A Social Geography of Chitral State* (London : unpublished M.A. Thesis, London School of Economics), pp. 13-16 and 189-191.

<sup>3</sup>E. Jones. *Human Geography* (London : Chatto and Windues, 1965), p. 116.

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used only as a summer pasture by the Wokhis who later started settling there permanently. Similarly, Gobor, Shiekhan Deh in Bumborat, and Shiekhan Deh in



Rumboor valleys (Fig. 2) which lie between 9,000 and 11,500 feet, have been settled during the last seventy years. Due to the forceful conversion of the Bashgali tribe or Red Kafirs of Kafirstan by the Amir of Afghanistan in the 1890s, many Bagshalis immigrated to Chitral. The above-mentioned areas were given to this tribe by the then ruler. As these areas have rich pastures and are very near to their original home valleys, so they made a natural choice for the tribe to settle.

In contrast to these settled areas, the village of Madaklasht (9,000 ft.) for example, inhabited by the Badakhshi, is about two hundred years old. Introduced as blacksmiths and gunsmiths to the royal house in the second half of the eighteenth century, they, according to traditions, were offered any territory they wished. They chose to occupy this village. The explanation for the choice of such an isolated area at such an altitude among hundreds of other better places, probably lies in the fact that the tribe belongs to the Ismailia Sect of Islam. The other tribes surrounding them in lower Chitral were either *Sunni* Muslims or Kalash Kafirs. The appeal of such a place hence lay solely in its isolation. Naturally, a description and possible explanation of the pattern of settlements and house types in the Chitral State needs to be attempted.

#### LOCATION AND SITE OF SETTLEMENTS

Settlements are generally sited on the raised side of alluvial fans. One reason for this is that the *Kareez* type of soil, unsuitable for crops, often occurs there. Another reason is that the roads mostly run along the river banks and the people generally avoid settling alongside them. They prefer, for privacy's sake, to build their houses one or two miles distant from roads, water availability permitting.

Hill torrents and streams are also important determining factors, several being avoided because of their proneness to flooding. The banks of deeper and less dangerous streams are, on the other hand, favoured sites for settlements. Examples of the former are found in Hon-deh and Denin in Chitral, and Gromal and Langa in Drosh. Examples of the latter are found throughout the state.

Apart from such considerations of a physical nature, there are also social and economic factors in settlement foundation and location. Thus individual dwellings and hamlets are often found by the cultivated fields. From place name evidence and ties of kinship, it is evident that many such settlements are due to the increase in population on older raised sites. Another reason lies in the land tenure system which prevailed in Chitral before the reforms in 1953. Before this date most village lands were regarded as the state property. The *Mehṭar* (ruler

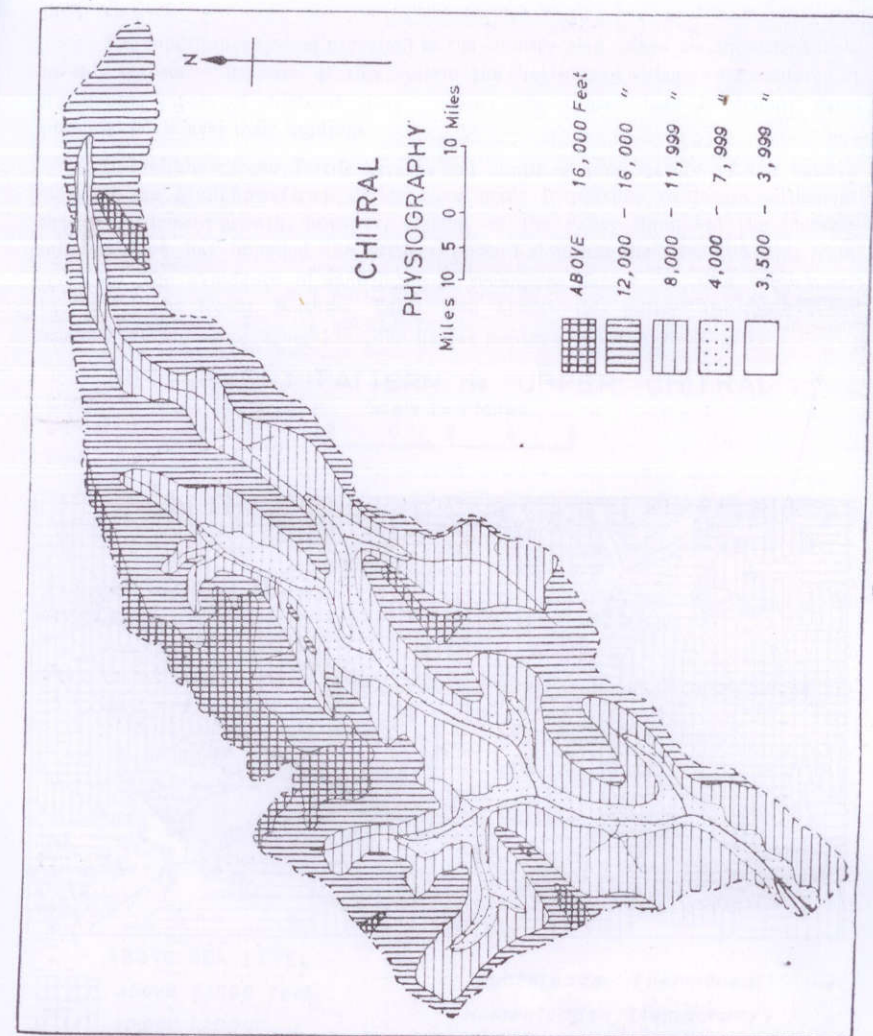


FIGURE 2

of the State), having supreme power, had the authority to seize and grant at will. In this way, his favourites were given tracts of village land, where they settled and



surrounded themselves with a number of agricultural labourers or tenants and their relatives.

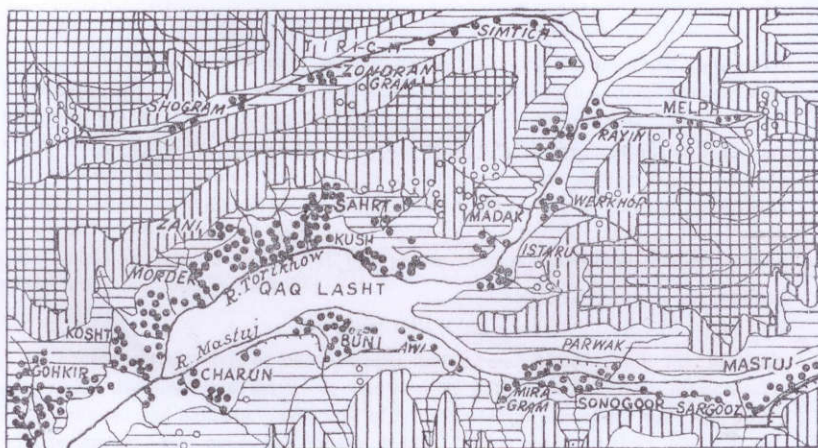
The inheritance system prevalent in the country also plays an important role in this respect. Because of this system the holdings of villagers are scattered in fragmented pieces of different sizes. Many who inherit land in distant parts prefer to settle near their holdings.

In Mulikhow *teshil*, fertile terraces and gentle sloping nature of the eastern side of the Mulikhow-Tirich divide have made it possible to locate settlement there. Settlement growth, however, started on the valley floor but the increase in population has impelled the settlers upward alongside the streams arising from springs. The avoidance of landslide is a secondary factor in this movement. In the villages Kosht, Kusham, Sahrt, and Madak this pattern also results from seasonal transhumance, several families having houses at both levels (Fig. 3).

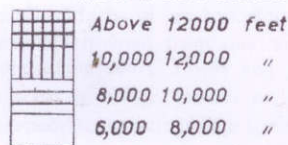
### SETTLEMENT PATTERN IN UPPER CHITRAL

Scale 1=4 Miles.

2 0 2 4 6



#### ABOVE SEA LEVEL



- Homesteads (permanent) •
- Homesteads (temporary) ○
- Water Channels .....
- 'oolat' .....
- 'Deh' .....

FIGURE 3

The Kalash tribesmen build their houses on hill-sides to gain space for cultivable areas. Defence was probably as important a factor in the past because, until about a hundred years ago, there was a constant threat of attacks on the Kalash valleys from the valleys of Kafirstan (now Nuristan in Afghanistan) by the Red Kafirs (Fig. 4).

The Wokhi of the Baroghil area live in scattered dwellings and site their houses with a view to shelter from the cold northern winds of winter.

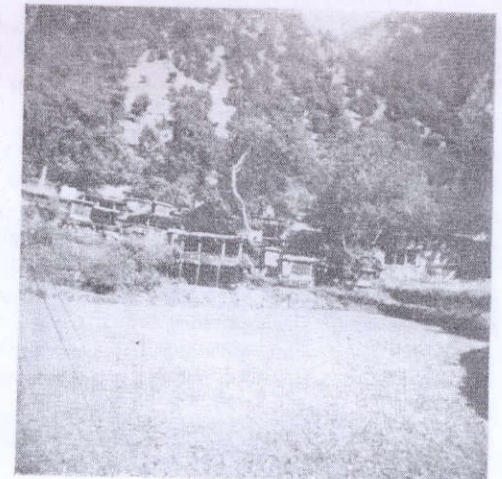


FIGURE 4 : Kalash Houses in Bumborat

In Hairan Kot, the only wholly Pathan area in Chitral town, houses are built along the slope in such a way that every one has his door almost on his neighbour's roof. One reason for this may be the prevailing traditions in the States of Dir and Swat, from which the tribe originates, where most of the houses are built in the same fashion for defence purposes. Inter-village feuds between different tribes, in tribal line, is quite frequent and lead to producing the compact settlement which are special features of most of the Pathan lands. The Pathan tribe which has settled in Chitral has preserved this traditional idea of building houses along the slope in nucleated form.

#### SETTLEMENT PATTERN

Except in the valleys of Damil, Upper Ashrat, and Melph, and the Baroghil area where dwellings are scattered, the general pattern of settlement in the whole state is of dispersed hamlets. This type of settlement consists of a main site with hamlets spread all over the village lands. Thus three distinct patterns are created. The main settlement unit is the *oolat* or village. *Oolats* are situated on alluvial fans or on hill slopes as in Mulikhow *teshil* (see Fig. 3). They are generally isolated from one another by such physical boundaries as water-sheds, interlocking spurs, ridges and rivers. An *oolat* possesses a common pasture and has a village *Kamati* or committee to regulate affairs. This unit is also often assessed for collecting *ushar* (taxes).



The *oolat* is divided into *deh* or *gram* and *tseq deh* (subdeh) or *dur*. *Dur*, which means homestead, is the primary unit of a settlement. It is inhabited, with a few exceptions, by the families of the same descent. In certain cases, various *durs*, are named after the families who live in them. For instance, Salan-*dur* and in Rach, Kuloom-*dur* and Batulan-*dur* in Kushum, Sharan-*dur* in Shirt, Kotalan-*dur* and Shikaran-*dur* in Zani.

A number of *tseq deh* or *dur* which form one part of the *oolat* make a *gram* or *deh*. The communal or social and economic interdependence of the people *grambeshi* or neighbourliness, as it is locally termed, is limited to this unit of the *oolat*. A mosque, in the case of *Sunni* Muslims, or a *Jamat Khana* in the case of *Ismailia* Muslims, is also associated with the *deh*. It is built in a central position for all the *tseq deh* and is used both for offering prayers and as a meeting place. This unit has played a remarkable role in forming the *khov* tribe which is an assimilation of families and clans numbering more than a hundred, and who came from "ethnologically and historically different background"<sup>5</sup>.



FIGURE 5: A 'deh' in Tirich Valley

<sup>5</sup>These exceptions are created by the land tenure system in the past and the inheritance system prevalent in the country. It has already been mentioned that the favourites of the rulers were granted lands in a village "where they settled and surrounded themselves with a number of agricultural labourers." But there were also many of them who preferred to settle in one of the *tseq-dehs*. Thus many *tseq-dehs* contain families more than one.

The scattered holdings are a common feature in the whole country, which is the result of the inheritance system. Many who inherit land in distant parts prefer to settle near their holdings. Then others who have holdings in the same area begin to settle and thus a considerable size of *tseq deh* grows up, inhabited by different families.

<sup>6</sup>G. Morgensterns "Names, Languages and Tribes of Chitral", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 2 (London: New ed. 1963), p. 31.

Certain *tseq dehs* have grown into *deh* due to the increase of population in the family itself and through immigration. Many such *dehs* are named after the families who were the original inhabitants. For example Mustajapan-*deh*, and Qazian-*deh* in Chitral, Darkhanan-*deh* and Torian-*deh* in Ayun, Amirbegan-*deh* in Buni, Beganan-*deh* in Baranis, Bahrian-*deh* in Sahrt. The tribe Kalash used the word *dam* for a *deh*. Hence the *deh* of Azur-*dam*, Kal-*dam*, and Chik-*dam* in Drosh are of Kalash origin.

The villages in tributary valleys and on small alluvial fans differ in respect of their social and territorial organization. The whole valley is considered as a single *oolat*. Pastures are common to the whole valley and the *Kamati* is also appointed for the whole valley. Each alluvial fan or group of settlements on one piece of land is treated as *deh* and these form together a unit of *grambeshi*. *Tseq dehs* are constituted in the same way as on the larger fans, for examples Bumborat, Birir, Rumbor and Shishi Kuh valleys.

In the settlements on the smaller alluvial fans in the main valley, every fan is taken as a *gram* or *deh*. A few *gram* lying near each other on various fans are taken as an *oolat*.

The dispersed settlements briefly mentioned at the beginning of this discussion, occur in the Baroghil area and on the Damil, Upper Melph, and Upper Ashrat valleys. Here the houses stand separate from each other in the midst of their respective fields. The distance between the dwellings is most significant in this type. Factors controlling this are:

- 1) In the Domil, Upper Melph and Upper Ashrat valleys the marked slopes of spurs and ridges restrict the spread of settlement. Forests found in abundance in the Domil and Ashrat valleys, also hinder the grouping of settlements.
- 2) The scanty areas available for cultivation, in the Damil, Upper Ashrat and Upper Melph valleys, are so far apart and inaccessible that each cultivator lives on his own land, remote from his nearest neighbour.
- 3) Dispersed settlement in the Baroghil area, a region of recent immigration as mentioned earlier, results from the pastoral nature of the economy (Fig. 6).

#### HOUSE-TYPES AND PLANS

In an area where human needs are so limited that one cannot conceive of any other considerations except a shelter to house oneself and one's animal and to treasure whatever odd belongings one has, one can hardly expect great

## SETTLEMENTS IN BAROGHIL

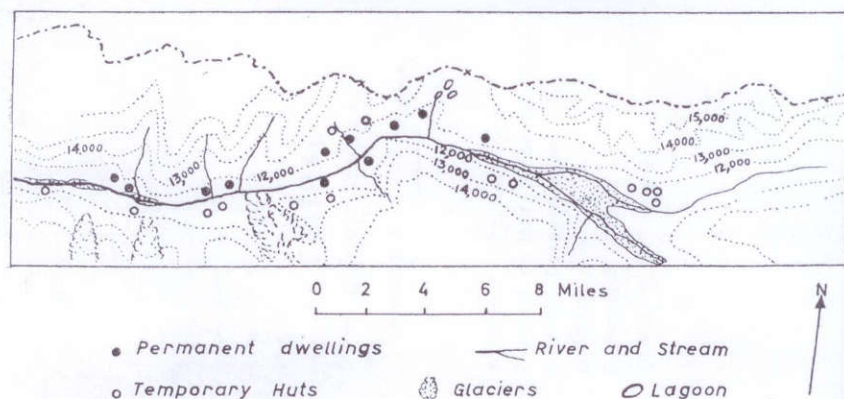


FIGURE 6

architectural style. So instead of looking for sophisticated features, one must see such houses in their natural context. These houses, which are in the real sense of the word the product of their surroundings, are moulded according to the local needs and requirements. It is this "representative type of a region" which interests a geographer most of all.<sup>6</sup>

In Chitral all houses are built on the same principle. They are square, with flat and overhanging roofs which have smoke-holes called *Koomal*. However, because of local needs for social and traditional reasons and because of economic and physical conditions, more than one type of house is to be found in Chitral. The main types are: 1) The 'Khowar Khattan' type, 2) The Kalash or Half-timbered type, 3) The Bashgali type (Fig. 7), and 4) The 'Doogoor or bothic' type.

*Khowar Khattan or 'Baipash'*

This type has its origin among the Khow tribe which forms the majority of the population throughout the country. At present it is not only common among the Khow but also in various other tribes. The special characteristics of this house is that a low bulge is created in the roof by building up beams of the roof crosswise to form an octagon shape. An orifice or *Koomal*, about two feet in diameter, is left open in the type of this bulge as a sky-light which serves the

<sup>6</sup>J. Brumhes, *Human Geography*, trans. E.F. Row (London: George G. Harrap, 1952), p. 48.

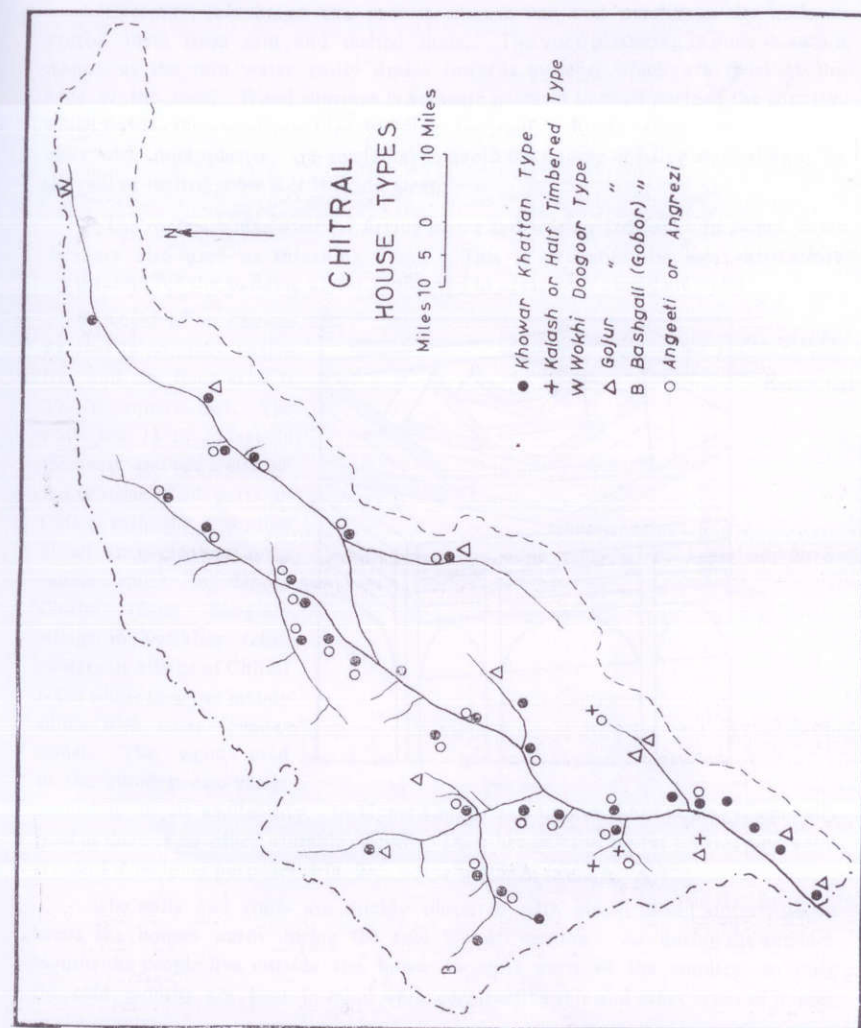


FIGURE 7

purposes of a window, ventilator and also a chimney (Fig. 8). The hearth is made immediately underneath the *Koomal*. The Gowari tribe make the *Koomal* only six or seven inches in diameter for security reasons.



Except for this bulge, the roof is almost flat and overhangs the walls to protect them from rain and melted snow. The roof plastering is done in such a manner as the rain water easily drains towards gutters, which are fixed at the edge of the roof. Wood shortage is an acute problem in most parts of the country, which forbids the use of wood for building the roof. Roofs which are, therefore, built with mud plaster, are made flat to avoid the danger of being washed away by the rain or melted snow if it is made steep.

The roofs are also used for drying maize and storing fodder. In some cases they are also used as threshing floors. This is probably the most satisfactory explanation for the building of flat roofs even in areas with abundant wood.

The height of a *Khovar Khattan* is normally twelve feet and the floor area is 25×20 square feet. The walls are 1½ to 2 feet in thickness and are constructed in stone in all parts of Chitral with the exception of an area of about forty square miles in Upper Chitral (from Shogram village in Torikhow *tehsil* to Baranis village of Chitral *tehsil* where they use mainly adobe with stone foundations). The wood used in the country also varies according to its availability. In Upper Chitral and Lotkuh *tehsil* poplar is generally used as there is no other suitable wood. In other parts of Lower Chitral pine wood is used for building purposes (Fig. 9).

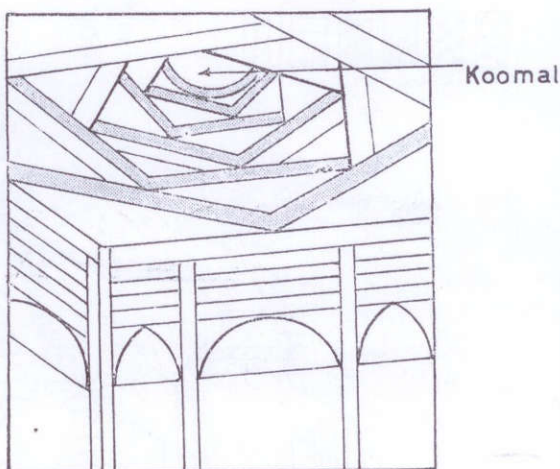


FIGURE 8

The walls and roofs are thickly plastered with straw, mixed mortar, which keeps the houses warm during the cold winter months. As during the summer months the people live outside the house in most parts of the country, so only the cold months are kept in mind while constructing this and other types of houses in the country.

*Khovar Khattan* is said to have originated in Upper Chitral where strong and durable wood is scarce. This problem of unavailability of strong beams has been solved by erecting four pillars in the middle of the house on which an octagon

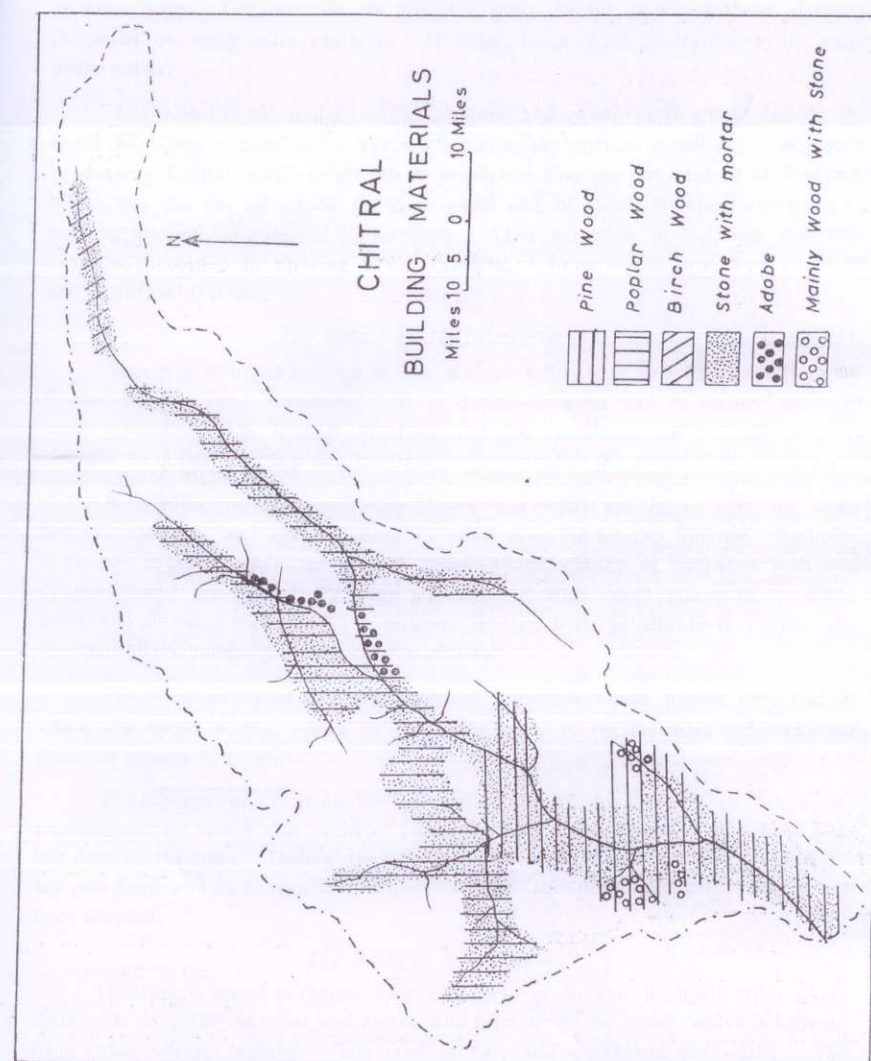


FIGURE 9

is built. This octagon, however, seems to be a later innovation and in its place it appears, from the existing primitive *Doogoor* type of houses, that the roof was built flat by placing the beams straight. This present shape proves successful



in many ways. For instance, it provides space in the house without elevating the walls or using extra material. It helps, most of all, to drain away the water to the gutter.

The spread of this house to the southern and other parts of Chitral is the result of Khow expansion in these areas after the thirteenth century.<sup>7</sup> Although in southern Chitral there is abundant wood, but that has not affected its structure. Moreover, the use of adobe in some parts and of stone in others also plays no part in altering its external appearance. Thus variation in building materials has not succeeded in altering a well-established house type, preserved by social and traditional factors.

#### *The Kalash or Half-timbered type.*

This type of house belongs to the Kalash tribe who live in the valleys of Bumborat, Birir and Rumboor. It is double-storeyed and is mainly made of wood. The foundation is built in stone and the remaining part of the walls is constructed in stone, with a wooden framework jointed at the corners.

Roof adjustment and plastering of roof and walls are made with the same climatic elements and social factors in mind as in the *Khowar Khattan*. No bulge in the roof is created as in the former case. Wood planks or branches with one or two beams are used for roofing and covered with small pieces of wood and grass, and plastered with mud. A balcony is also built at the level of the first storey, which is made by laying wooden planks.

The height of the whole house from the ground is about fifteen feet, out of which the upper storey, which is the living part, is ten feet high and is reached from the ground by a ladder.

The explanation of the double-storeyed nature of this type is an interesting combination of social and climatic factors. The Kalash people do not use beds but sleep on the floor. During the winter, snow and in other rainy seasons the soil gets damp and so to protect themselves from the dampness this method has been adopted.

#### *The Bashgali type (Gobor)*

This type is found in Gobor area and belongs to the Bashgali tribe living there. It is made of stone and mortar and birch or poplar wood, which is brought from other villages nearby. The roof is flat, and overhangs the walls. The distinguishing feature of these houses is that they have square or, less often,

<sup>7</sup>M.G. Martaza, *Nai Tarikh-i-Chitral*, Urdu (Peshawar: 1963), pp. 28-30; G. Morgenstierne, *Report on a Linguistic Mission to North West India* (Oslo: 1932), p. 48.

round wicker receptacles covered with mud, called '*chakki*' or *guzzuli* used to store grain. These strange receptacles look like a jumble of chimney-pots in the top of the houses.

No other reason, except a traditional one, can be put forward as to the origin of these receptacles and their situation on the roof. The people are recent immigrants from Bashgali<sup>8</sup> and still continue this old practice which they followed there.

#### *The 'Doogoor' or Bothie Type*

This type can be further divided into two a) The Wokhi type and b) the Gujri type.

##### *The Wokhi Type*

This type is found in the Baroghil area which is covered with snow for more than seven months of the year. The houses are built about seven or eight feet high. Their roofs are made flat with a *koomal* or chimney-hole of nine inches in diameter. There is no other arrangement for light. The door is built only thirty inches high. The materials used are mainly stone, and birch-wood for roofing. The roof covering is done with stone-slabs and grass and manure-mixed mortar is used for plastering. The walls are also covered with manure-mixed plaster and every precaution is taken to leave no gap anywhere. Thus a Wokhi house, if seen from a distance, looks like a pile of mud.

In Susoom village of lower Chitral houses are also made in the same way because the climatic conditions are the same. Plastering, however, is done with straw-mixed mortar only. It is also used in other parts for plastering the '*Khowar Khattan*'.

##### *Gujri type*

The Gojurs are a seminomadic tribe and so in spite of inhabiting some of the well wooded valleys they live in wretched huts no better than those of their animals. The *doogoors* or *bothies* are built by piling up flat stones to make the walls, which are without any regular height or breadth. The roof, which is flat, is built by piling dried grass and pieces of wood on one or two beams and a few branches and then covered with mud. The chimney-hole in the roof is also left open. This type is found mainly in the areas where Gojur tribe lives, but occasionally seen among the Khow as well.

<sup>8</sup>Israrud Din; *op. cit.*, footnote 2, pp. 90-92.

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Besides the types discussed above, there is the *Angeeti* type. It is also called *Angrazi* or English type of house because it was introduced in the country after the coming of the British. In this type the fireplace is placed in the wall. The roof is made flat without any *Koomal* in it and instead ventilators and windows are adjusted.

The adoption of this type is the result of the people's greater contact with the Indian sub-continent, which has increased during the last fifty years. It is now often combined with the *khovar khattan* type and is frequently selected as a guest room.

#### HOUSE-PLAN

As may be seen from the above discussion, the problem of providing shelter has produced a varying pattern resulting from the social, ethnic and economic factors as well as from the physical and climatic conditions. But a Chitrali house is not only a shelter. It is also a workshop wherein are planned and produced several tools connected with the owner's various agricultural activities. Simultaneously, it serves as a storage-place for grains and houses both the implements and stock. A house is, says La Balache, "a pretty fair index of the mentality of its occupant."<sup>9</sup> Similarly, the plan and lay-out of a house is, hence, often an indication of the economic status of the occupant and of the nature of his society.

Houses are generally divided into two parts, 1) *Dur* or human section, and 2) *Shal Mudi* or animal section. These two sections are often attached to each other, though, in some cases because of certain local factors, to be described, the *Shal* or goat-houses are built separately.

The *Dur* or dwelling section in well-to-do families is divided into two parts called *andran* or interior and *beri* or exterior. The former is used by the family and the latter by guests. The two parts are enclosed by high walls which provide separate courtyards or *havails* for each. By this not only is privacy preserved, but security from theft is also assured. These *havails* are also made into small gardens.

The number of rooms depends on the social status and total number of the family members. On the average there are six rooms for family use, two guest rooms and four rooms for servants.

An ordinary *dur* consists of two rooms, except for the Gojur, Wokhi and Kalash tribes who have only one room and a store. The Khovar are generally

<sup>9</sup>La Balache, *op. cit.*, footnote I, p. 270.



fond of attaching a small garden to their houses, so even with the ordinary *dur* one often finds small garden attached.

The house is entered through a verandah, but in the colder areas a *dahlenz* or closed corridor is built instead. The *Wokhi* type of houses mentioned earlier are always attached to a *dahlenz* because of the high altitude at which they are situated. The Kalash use only a verandah or a balcony. The Gojur who live mainly in the warmer southern parts of the country, use neither a verandah nor a *dahlenz*.

The *mudis* or *byres* are, except in the Kalash valleys where the whole animal section is separated, always attached to the human section of the dwelling. But the '*shal*' or goat-house in most parts of lower Chitral are built separately. A *shal* or goat-house normally includes a shed, two rooms for goats, one barn and a hut for the shepherd. A *byre* has one shed, three rooms (separately for oxen, cows and calves), and a barn. The number of rooms increases according to climate, and the economic conditions of the people. For instance, in the colder area where a long spell of cold weather and snow necessitates much storage accommodation, we find more than one barn. Those who possess large flocks have to provide more rooms.

In view of what is said above, we can distinguish two principal types of house-plans in the state. These are single houses and multiple dwellings. The former have human and animal accommodation on the same site attached to one another and the latter have either the '*Shal*' or the whole animal section on separate site.

#### *Distribution of Single House-type.*

This type of house is found in Upper Chitral. But the villages of Goboor, Siah Arkari in Lotkuh *tehsil* (Fig. 10) and Arandu villages in Drosh *tehsil*, have also the same type of houses. In Upper Chitral mainly sheep are reared and stock are accommodated in an attached animal section. Because of the long severe winters animals are fed indoors and it becomes necessary to keep them as near the house as possible so that they can be looked after properly.

The houses of Gobor and Siah Arkari villages are without separate accommodation for stock because of the long winters and for security reasons, particularly as they lie close to the border.

In Shishi Kuh the pastoralist belongs mainly to the Gojur tribe. In most cases, they live with the animals under the same roof.

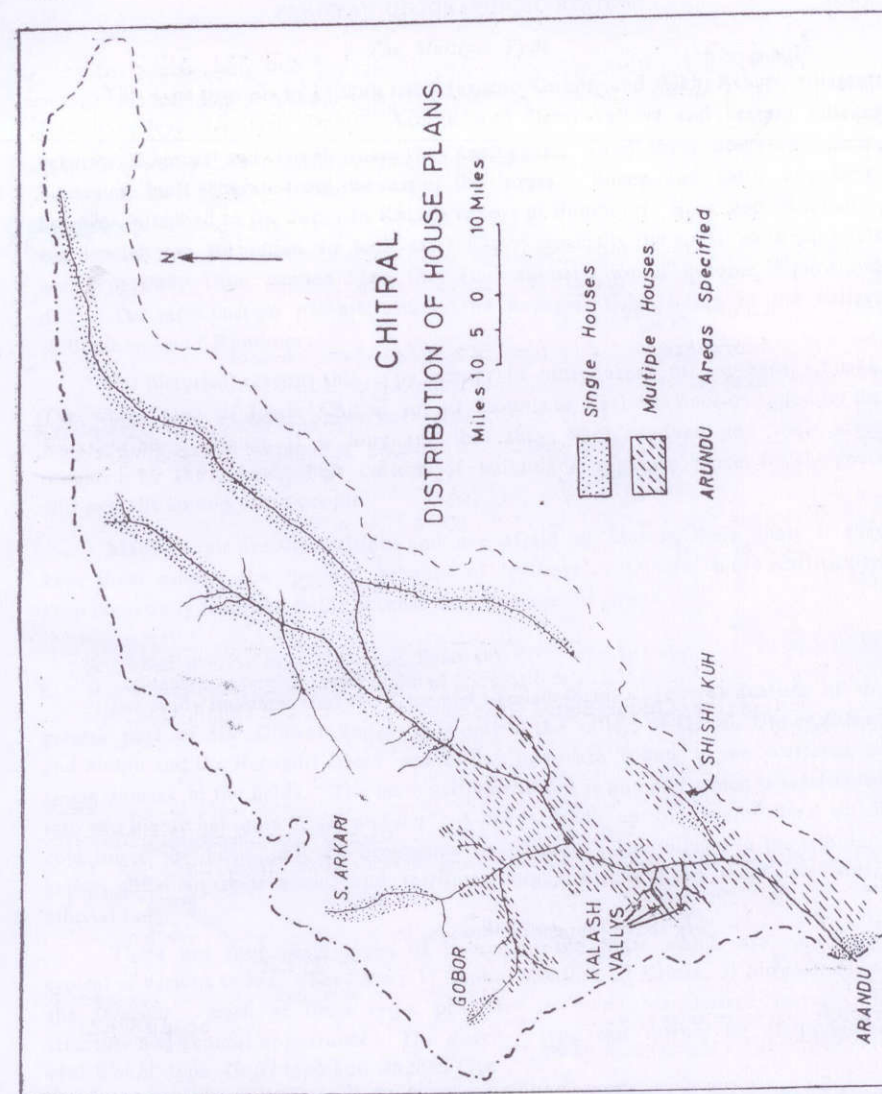


FIGURE 10

In Arandu village on the border of Afghanistan there arises the problem of theft, both from inside the village and from across the border. A number of Gojur, also live there possessing most of the livestock. Thus the social and security factors coincide here.



### The Multiple Type

This type prevails in Lotkuh *tehsil* (except Gabor and Siah Arkari villages), Kalash valleys, Urtsoon, Damil, Ashrat, and Beori valleys and certain villages between Kogoozi and Drosh where they keep goats. In all these areas only goat-houses are built separate from the rest of the house. Sheep and cattle are kept, however, attached to the *dur*. In Kalash valleys of Bumborat, Birir and Rumboor, the women are forbidden to look after flocks, especially the goats, so the animals are kept away from women "lest they (the animals) would become impure and die". The same custom prevails among the Bashgali tribe living in the valleys of Bumborat and Rumboor.

For historical reasons this type occurs in other areas of southern Chitral. The whole area of lower Chitral up to Baranis or Kari was once occupied by the Kalash tribe. Though it is long ago that they were subdued and their areas occupied by the Khaw, their custom of building a separate place for the goats still prevails among many people.

Many people are superstitious and are afraid of loosing their goats if they kept them among the 'people' because of 'evil-eye'. Others, more realistically, keep them away from the fields because they damage the crops.

### SUMMARY

The study indicates that the dispersed hamlets form a general feature of the greater part of the Chitral State. It is only in the valleys of Damil, Upper Ashrat and Melph and the Baroghi areas where dwellings are found to be scattered as single houses in the fields. The main settlement unit is an *oolat* which is subdivided into two hierarchal units of *deh* and *dur*. A *deh* is made up of several *durs* which constitutes the basic unit of occupance in the state. The villages in the tributary valleys differ in their social and territorial organizations from those on small alluvial fans.

There are four basic types of houses in the State which are, normally, typical of various tribes. They are: 1) *Khowar Khattan*, 2) *Kalash*, 3) *Bashgali* and 4) the *Doogoor*. Each of these types possesses its own characteristic features in structure and general appearance. The *doogoor* type can further be distinguished into *Wokhi* type, *Gujri* type and *Angeeti* type.

The patterns of settlement and house types as described in this paper result from man's interaction with nature as reflected by the differences in relief, altitude, slopes scantiness of cultivable areas, inaccessibility and the pastoral nature of the economy.

Photo 1: Depletion of Oak Forest in Southern Chitral



Photo 2: Half Timbered Double Storied Houses in Kalasha





Photo 3: Half Timbered Double Storied Houses in Kalasha



Photo 5: A View of Pillars and Reflecting Ceiling Plan of Khowar Khatan

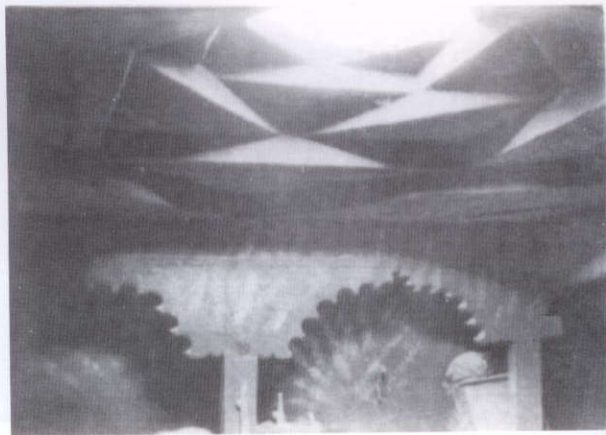


Photo 4: A Mosque with Wooden Tower in Sheikhan Deh Bomborate

