THE PEOPLE OF CHITRAL: A SURVEY OF THEIR ETHNIC DIVERSITY* ISRAR-UD-DIN

ONE of the interesting features of Chitral State is its ethnic variety. There are a number of ethnic groups, varying in their population size. Each of the ethnic groups has its own specific culture and way of life. They possess different history, speak different languages and practise different customs. It is, therefore, useful to attempt to describe the behavioural pattern of the various people living in Chitral State. Thus the purpose of this paper is to present a coherent description of the main cultural aspects of the people of Chitral.

KHOW: THE PREDOMINANT GROUP

The majority of the people of Chitral are called the Khow, who make a population of 96.118, including 48,641 Males and 47,477 Females. In their customs, culture, language and other ways of life, the Khow are different from their Pathan neighbours on the south. They are, however, more related to the people inhabiting the valleys of Gilgit Agency, Azad Kashmir, because of their long historical contacts with them.

The Khow, to-day, extend as far as Gupis in Gilgit Agency. According to Biddulph, they used to spread over much larger areas than they occupy now. This he has presumed from the appearance of their name in the ancient 'Kophen' (Kabul River), the Choaspes (Kunar River), the Choas (the combined Swat and Panjkora River) etc.²

The language of the Khow is called 'Khowar' which is spoken nowhere else except in Chitral and by the Khow settlers in Gilgit Agency and certain parts of Pakistan. According to Professor Morgenstierne, "Khowar is an Indo-Aryan language of archaic type..... But it contains, apart from more recent borrowings from Persian, Aryan and Hindi, also loan words from the Pamir dialects, as well as a number of words of Middle Iranian origin. Some words are borrowed from, or shared with Burushaski and Shina, and several of the common words are of unknown origin."

As far as the origin of the Khow is concerned, they can be divided into two groups;

1) The Original Khow, and

2) The Later Immigrants who mixed with the Original Khow.

Census of Pakistan, 1961, Census Report of Tribal Areas, Part II, pp.

2John Biddulph; Tribes of the Hindu Kush; Calcutta 1880, pp. 160-161.

3G. Morgenstierne; Nam:s, Languages and Tribes of Chitral, The Encyclopaedia of Islam

(New Edition); Vol. 2, Fasciculus 23 (London: 1963), p. 31.

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^{*}The paper is a chapter from my M. Sc. Thesis: A Social Geography of Chitral State (London University of London, 1965). I am thankful to Professor Emrys Jones, who supervised my thesis.

The Original Khow

The Original Khow are of Aryan stock. In the ancient times the region cen the Hindu Kush and the Himalayas, was inhabited by a people called tha'4. They were later exterminated or driven out or absorbed by the invading ms who came about three thousand years ago from the northern passes of the Kush and occupied most of their territory between Nuristan (Former stan) in Afghanistan and Gilgit and Astor in Azad Kashmir. This area was occupied by a homogeneous race. But subsequently, as Biddulph suggests, the was split into two parts "by a wedge of Khow invasion, representing members different, but related tribes coming from the north." Grierson agrees to the suggestion and further adds that Khowar represents "the language of a later of Dardic7 invaders, akin to the earlier ones". We are thus led to the usion that the Khow though came and settled in these valleys later than the wave of Aryans, belonged to the same race. Whatever differences had occurred m and in their language were because of their long contacts with the Ghalchaing people of the north, before crossing over into Chitral.

These people to-day, form the Original Khow of Chitral and consist of small es scattered in various parts of the state. The interesting thing about them their population, instead of increasing, is, to a certain extent, static. In none e villages can more than four houses of the same family be found. The reason is would be the circumstances in which they were put. They were subdued abjugated by the different waves of immigrants and invaders, who not only them as their slaves but also seized their belongings, leaving them the bare um for sustenance. In such a condition, when a family grew in size, other ters had to leave in search of a more reasonable livelihood in some other abandoning their properties to the ones remaining behind.

The Immigrants

These include those who came to Chitral in different decades as from the surrounding countries of Badakhshan, Wakhan, Russian and Turkistan, Gilgit Agency, Dir and Swat states of Pakistan and parts of Afg Many also came as invaders or as followers or scions of the ruling class, at first "..... adventitious and sporadic squatters but they made themselves subduing, dispossessing and oppressing the existing primitive stock".

These clans and families who came later in spite of their different or backgrounds, absorbed themselves into the Original Khow by living in a villages, intermarriages, adapting Khowar language, Khow customs and ot of life. The hostile surrounding conditions helped towards this development deal by creating a common purpose of defence for these different elements. years Islam, which they all had embraced, played an important role as a factor. Thus these people, having ethnologically and historically different bac and consisting of about two hundred different clans and families are one today and all called the Khow.

Characteristics

The Khow are described as dolicho-cephalic to meso-cephalic, of midd fair complexion and well builty. The family organization is based on a pand patrilineal basis. An average family is made up of seven members which father, mother, sons, their wives and children. In the case of upper class the household members reach thirty or more which include father, mo mothers) sons, their wives and children and servants and their families.

The father is the head of the family and the mother plays a role minister' and is in charge of all the domestic affairs. The division of labour a to sex and age is as follows.

Men are responsible for all agricultural work (except weeding, which is women), storing fuel wood, fodder, looking after goats and sheep, marketing, and weaving and other manual work. The women do domestic work such as after children, preparing meals, cleaning the house, etc. They also look after and prepare dairy products and help their men in certain agricultural work eing, weeding, harvesting and threshing. They sew and embroider, which important qualifications for a woman. They also help in weeding.

ohn Biddulph: Dialects of the Hindu Kush, Journal of R.A.S., London, Vol. XVII, p. 133-1334.

bid, Tribes of the Hindu Kush, pp. 157-61; and G.A. Grierson; op. cit, pp. 7-11.

n ancient Sanskrit, Greek and Roman literatures the word 'Dard' has been used for the habiting the whole mountain tract between the Hindu Kush and the frontiers of Indiangly, the tract is called 'Dardistan' and the languages spoken in the area are generally under 'Dard Group' of Indo-Aryan languages. The present people are also, sometimes, to as 'Dard'. (J. Biddulph; Tribes of the Hindu Kush, p. 155; and G.A. Grierson; pp. 1-2).

⁸R. C. F. Schomberg: Kafirs Glaciers or Travels in Chitral (London; Martin, I 1938), pp. 209-2 Nat

⁹G. Morgenstierne: Op cit., footnote, p. 31.

The children in this and all other small tribes, to be mentioned later, work the age of seven by helping their parents in the fields by taking meals to them or ag kids or cattle, scaring away birds, and watering the fields.

There are other tribes, though small in number as well.

Considering the population, the number of small tribes in Chitral is very high, are ten in number and make a population of 16,726, including 8,840 Males and Females. These tribes have immigrated from different surrounding countries of 1 and have settled in various parts of the country. They speak their own ages and, to a certain extent, observe their own customs. Though all of them, the Kalash, are Muslims and there is a great deal of mixing and intercourse on them and the Khow, still they have preserved their identity. These are:

1. The Kalash, 2. The Bashgali, 3. The Gowari, 4. The Damali, 5. The rike, 6. The Pathans, 7. The Gojar, 8. The Wokhi, 9. The Badakhshi or clashti, and 10. The Mundiji.

THE KALASH

This tribe which comprises of about 2,500 souls, inhabits the three side sof south western Chitral, which are called Rumboor, Bumburat and Birir. The nare pagans (in their beliefs), primitive in their ways of life and unique in their as and traditions. They have, strangely enough, succeeded in maintaining their itefs and culture in the face of increasing influence of Islam and centuries of ation by alien races. Not only that, they have also been successful in ring "... the original characteristics of their race" in pure form.

Origin

It has now been confirmed through traditions that the Kalash are immediate the actual place of their emigration is in obscurity. They themselves class have come from a place called Tsjyam, but it is not certain whether by the mean the country of Thailand which used to be called by that name, or Syria is also named Sham. However, in the light of certain Kalash festival songs, describe places of battles between them and the then inhabitants of Chitral, has been able to trace their route along the River Chitral down to a place Waigal which is situated in Afghanistan. But in Prof. Morgenstierne's op. Tsiyam is situated still further south, but, he also points out that "..... Kalas stayed for a few generations in Waigal....." Beyond this no information be obtained. Thus so far we are only able to conclude that the habitation Kalash was round about the area between the Lower Bashgal valley and Chagan (in Afghanistan) before their arrival in Chitral.

Emigration

During the eleventh century of the present era, Sabugtagin and his son Ma of Gazni, the Kings of Kabul, were waging wars against the infidel tribes in the of Jalalabad and Lughman¹⁴. Those tribes who are now inhab tants of Nu (which was formerly called Kafirstan and the people Red Kafirs) in Afghar could not stand these attacks and so had to retreat, pushing back the tribes inhat the upper valleys between Lughman and Lower Bashgal. The Kalash who in this area could not face the invading tribes and so in their turn invaded the parts of Chitral which they occupied as far as the villages of Baranis or R (about thirty miles above Chitral Town). They remained rulers of this part of C for about three hundred years, when in 1320 A.D. they were defeated and subjut by the Khow who had by then accepted Islam¹⁵.

With the passage of time, the Kalash who remained in the main valley wi Muslim Khow, were greatly influenced by them and so accepted their religion adopted their customs and language. On the other hand, the Kalash who lit these valleys and those who later retreated to these areas, were, to a certain due to their seclusion and mainly because of the tolerant character of neighbours, able to continue their old practices. They enjoyed every freedom the Muslim rulers and remained totally unmolested in their corners. In their they only paid certain special taxes or performed corree as those in the other who belonged to the lower classes, till the reforms in 1953.

Sir G. Robertson: Story of a Minor Siege (London: 1896), pp. 9-10. Schomberg: Op. cit, p. 220.

B. S. Guha: "Racial Affinities of the people of India", Census of India, 1931, Vol. 1, part 3, p. xxi.

¹³Siiger, H: Ethnological Research in Chitral, Sikkim and Assam: 1956, p. 34.

¹⁴Downes, E: Kufirstan, Lahore, 1873, p. 6.
15Murtaza, Mirza Ghulam: Op. cit, p. 29.

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Characteristics

The Kalash are described as Proto Nordic type16: "The inter-relationship tween the Khow and Kalash race is", according to Guha, "very remote". In implexion they are fair but generally darker than the Khow and the Bashgali tribes 17.

The religion of the Kalash is a mixture of idolatory and ancestor worship. ney have numerous gods and goddesses who are worshipped by singing hymns, crificing goats according to fixed rituals and by spectacular dances in which both en and women take part. Fairies, demons and ghosts of ancestors are also nciliated in similar manner. They also believe in paradise and hell, and consider. arity the best way to happiness.

An average Kalash family is the same as in the case of the Khow. Division of our according to sex is, however, different from the other tribes. In this case men responsible for looking after animals, preparing dairy products, farming and er outdoor work such as marketing or manual work. Women's duties are bringing fire-wood, grinding grain, weaving woollen cloth, certain agricultural work, , weeding and watering, looking after children and other domestic work done by ow women.

The position of women is definitely low as is obvious in many ways. They are allowed to visit most of the shrines and sanctuaries. They are also forbidden to to the goat-houses and cannot milk goats and sheep. Women are not even wed to put their feet between the hearth and the back wall where domestic utensils kept. They must wash their hands in running water and then stretch to get what need. If ever by mistake a woman puts her foot in the enclosure then all the cles must be destroyed. Pure and sacred quality is, according to them, ascribed hese places and to guard them from pollution such precautions are taken.

Moreover, women are segregated during their monthly periods and during d-birth. They retire to a house called 'Bashalani' or women's house during these s and confine themselves for seven days in the first case and for forty days in the r. They are strictly forbidden to do any work during these days or to come out nese houses. No man can pass by these houses which with their surroundings are ght to be impure, and if someone by mistake passes by, he has to offer a sacrifice ake himself pure.

These women are very industrious. They always seem to be doing some job ther. The Kalash men are thought to be good masons, though unfortunately do not take much advantage of this, and skilful channel builders. They are also,

though uneducated and totally illiterate, a very intelligent folk. They are also known for their cheerfulness, wit and generosity. They are found of dancing merry making and love their old religion and customs very much. As a suppr people they are humble in their demeanour, but also friendly.

Their dress is also different from the other tribes. Men wear grey wo trousers and a black-brown poncho called 'bore' with a small woollen cap. The we wear black gowns called 'sangach', with a belt at the waist. The most interest part of the dress is the head-gear, hanging down the back to the waist, decorated hundreds of shells and petty trinklets and is called 'kopes'. The language spoke the Kalash is called 'Kalasha' or Kalashwar.

THE BASHGALI

The Bashgalis or Shiekhan as they are called by the other Chitrali, li different parts of Chitral such as: Gobor in the Northern part, Rumboor Bumborate in North-Western, and Langur-bat in Southern Chitral. Their number is approximately 2,000.

The Bashgalis are the descendants of those immigrants who were form pagans in their beliefs and lived in the Nuristan valleys of Afghanistan. They been called Red Kafirs by the foreign writers to distinguish them from the Ka who are also termed Black Kafirs, and the area was named Kafiristan. immigration took place in the last decade of the nineteenth century when the for conversion of this community was going on under the Amir of Afghanistan. consequence most of them were converted to Islam but these people took refug Chitral and settled in the areas mentioned. They had been practising their religion until the 1926s after that all of them voluntarily embraced Islam.

The Bashgalis are different from other Chitralis not only in their langu which is called Bashgaliwar, but also in many other respects. An average famil made up of fifteen members which includes father, mother (usually more than o sons, their wives, children and grand-children. The different generations continulive together, whereas, in the other tribes the families split up after the death of father or after the third generation.

Division of labour is quite unique. For example, the duties of women inc not only the domestic work but also all the agricultural work. They are practic household slaves and their life is one of incessant labour and trouble. They also de carrying except such very heaviest which are left for men. Men only plough, in w also a woman's help is needed to steer the ox in ploughing. Men's job is thres corn, looking after livestock and preparing dairy products.

¹⁶B. S. Guha: Races of Northern India.

17Guha: Racial affinities of the people of India, Census of India, 1031 part III, p. xxi.

As is obvious from the above, the women are industrious and work incessantly. JANUARY at is why the whole economy of the Bashgalis depends on them and those who we much land marry more than one wife. Every wife's share of work and house is parate and the husband stays with them in turn and enjoys their 'hospitality'. The men are wonderfully helpful and kind among themselves and love their husbands otedly. The men are lazy parasites and pass most of the time chatting. Once they e thought to be the best bowmen in these regions and now that is no more. Their purite pastime in winter is snow hockey which they play with great zeal and

THE GOWARI OR ARANDUI

These people, who make a population of about 800, inhabit the southernvilage of Chitral called Arandu which is situated, on the border of Afghanis-They are further divided into three groups according to their place of origin:

- 1) The Suniardari,
- 2) The Sultana, and
- 3) The Afghani or Swati.

The first group, Suniardari, immigrated from the Asmar area of Afghanistan aims to have settled here more than five hundred years ago. The second group ame to settle here from Jalal Abad in Afghanistan about seven generations The third one, according to tradition, emigrated from Dir-Swat area in Pakisventy generations ago. Later they split into two branches and one of them urther north to settle in the Damil valley.

According to Prof. Morgenstierne's informant, the third group had "....... ated from Gabar in Bajaur (Dir) in the time of Sultan Azdar Ali, sixteen ions ago. His four sons were expelled by the Pathans, and one of them con-Arandu from the Cafirs and settled there Further, Prof. Morgenssuggests that.... a Sultan Haider Ali is mentioned by Babur and if we allow ears for each generation sixteen generations would carry us back to A.C.1450, ne time of this prince and of the Pathan conquest of Swat and Bajaur (Dir). The does, therefore, contain a nucleous of truth, and it is quite possible that brother went further north to Damil 18

ll these three groups are now intermingled and speak the same language owar-bati' or 'Arandui-war'.

THE PEOPLE OF CHITRAL

The ways of living of the Gowari are very backward compared with the Kh Human beings and cattle live under the same roof. They are also unfriendly to e other and the most troublesome people in the whole state. Killing each other and st ing each other's property is their day to day practice, so every one lives in insecur That is why every precaution is made to safeguard the houses by building high box dary walls around. The houses also have no windows or ventilators except of small hole of six inches diameter in the roof which serves the purpose of letting light and letting out smoke.

The causes of all this could be traced as follows:

First of all, the settlements of other tribes such as the Gujars and the Patha who are recent settlers in this area cannot get along with each other. Also new fu tives from Afghanistan who come frequently, make the situation worse as they have depend mainly on stealing. Old feuds and enmities continue for the generations ar the methods of vengeance used are killing or stealing.

The international border line which separates not only the same village, be also the same families and old enemies, plays an important role in this regard. For example, nothing is easier than to kill one's enemy and slip across the border where h would have no fear of law to condemn him.

An average family includes five members, which is composed of father, mo ther and children. In division of labour they do the same as the Khow, but th only difference is that they have 'gobana' system to look after the stock. For exam ple, a man is employed by the whole village for this purpose for only two months in a year when other villagers are busy with other agricultural work. In the case o the Khow one member of the family is assigned the duty of looking after the stock.

THE DAMALI

These people make a population of approximately 1,500 and inhabit the valley called Damal which is situated about twenty miles north of Arandu on the left bank of the Chitral river. According to their origin, these people are grouped

a) The Shintari, and b) Swatis or Afghanis.

The two groups have by adopting the same language and customs and by intermarriages, become mixed and call themselves Damalis after the valley in which

The Shintari claim to be the original or rather the earlier inhabitants of this area. Though not much anthropological research has so far been done on these people, the linguistic investigations by Prof. Morgenstierne give much food for thought. This hows that "the lexological accordances of Damia (language of the

rgenstierne, G.: Gowaribati Oslo 1950, pp.5-6.

THE PEOPLE OF CHITRAL

THE PATHAN

The Pathans have immigrated from Dir, Swat (in Pakistan) and oth of Afghanistan during the last hundred years. They came here as fugitives family troubles, or as traders or as state servants, and then settled. Now they different parts of the country but their main concentration is in Drosh, and Mustuj. Besides, they are found in Rashun, Petch Ute (Lut Kuh), Arang

They make population of about 3,000 and all speak Pashtu. More 85 per cent of them are engaged in trade and control eighty per cent of the

They are very co-operative and helpful towards each other and try b dominate the rest of the population commercially. Though they live in the village as the Khow they mainly keep to themselves. They also practise mar among themselves and mainly avoid having close relations especially with common Khow.

Their family structure is based on conjugal bases, except those mainstay is agriculture and who are consanguine, patrilocal type as other K Thus their family includes four members on average, which consists of father, m

THE GOJAR

The Gojar are originally from Dir, Swat and Hazara Kohistan in Pakistan have spread in the different parts of Southern Chitral during the last fifty ye Their main concentration is in the Shishi Kuh valley and they are also found Damal and Arandu valleys. Main occupation of the Gojar is stock raising. As do not have their own lands and pastures, so they have to take lands and past belonging to others, on lease. Except those who are settled in this way, the rest m with animals in search of pastures from place to place according to the sear of the year. Due to this nomadic and scattered way of life they have no so organization. Their total population, according to the 1961 census report, is 2,91

THE WOKHI

These people live in the neighbourhood of glaciers on the north-eastern m part of Chitral, called Baroghil. They make a population of about 450.

The Wokhi are immigrants from Wokhan in Afghanistan but there are also families who have immigrated from Russian and Chinese Turkistan and called Kin and Sirquli, respectively. These two, though, have their own languages, which Turkish and Tajik but the common language of all is Wokhi (language of Wokhis).

JANUARY amalis) with Khowar (language of the Khow) and Gowar-bati (language of Gows) are relatively few, while these connecting it with Kalasha, and other Kafir guages are more numerous. "He further points out the importances of Kafir guages sub-, super-, and adstratum in this language and suggests that "... at least some extent it (Damia) seems to belong to a form of Kafir" language different m those which exist now. He also puts forward the hypothesis that "this unknown guage is the one once spoken by Jashis. At any rate, the morphological icture of Damia shows that it must have existed as a separate language for a siderable period."19

The Jashis lived in the upper reaches of the Bashgal and in other valleys bethe arrival of the present inhabitants of those areas. After the present inhabis invaded those valleys, as mentioned earlier, in the 11th century A.D., they dued and enslaved the Jashis. It is tempting to suggest that this group could be tives from those people and retired to this secluded valley. The fact that adly relations between this group and the Kalash, who were also fugitives and pied most of the part in Southern Chitral, gives support to this idea.

The second group, i.e., the Swatis or Afghanis, are a branch of Gowaris, as tioned earlier, and had settled in this valley. They have now mixed with the ious group.

These people live in scattered houses and only in summer which they spend in r pastures with their livestock they live in groups. Thus the opportunities of ng together are very few and only on the occasions such as marriages, births and as, or during religious festivals. But their relations with one another are, comwith the Gowaris, very friendly and co-operative. They are very backward in ation and take no interest in it. Instead of sending their children to the school rather prefer them to look after the animals. A family generally consists of members.

THE DANGARIK

It was about six generations ago that these people came and settled in the t valley. Later they spread to the surrounding valleys of Beori and today they population of about 2,500.

The place from which they emigrated is thought to be Chilas in Azad Kashmir. still speak same old language, Phalura or Dangarik-war, which is the language ilas, though it has now a number of innovations "due to the influence of these inding languages."20

Morgenstierne: Notes on Damali (Oslo 1940), pp.146-8. Morgenstierne: Phalura (Oslo 1941), p.8.

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Baraghil was used as summer pasture before, but during the last fifty years people have been able to bring so many acres of land under the plough with hard work and so have started living permanently. Their main occupation is raising.

They live in scattered houses and only in the four months of summer they get proportionally of getting together in the summer quarters. A family is composed of members in average, which include father, mother, brother, sister-in-law and ren. The elder brother is head of the family. The Wokhis are pleasant and ally folk and fond of dancing and singing. According to Schomberg, "They me speak the truth, because under the conditions of their lives it does not pay to 'Don't quote me' is as much a Wokhi proverb as a Whitehall one. The Wokhi is one country and have relations in others, so they have to be circumspect, and the service of the service of

BADAKHSHIS OR MADAKLASHTI

These people live in Madaklasht village of Shishi Koh valley. Originally they ged to Badakhshan in Afghanistan and came to Chitral about two hundred years. It is said that they were ironmongers and were invited by the then ruler tral to make guns for his army. Their total population is now about 1,400. is not much difference between them and the Khow, but their lanuage, which is resian. Their favourite sport in winter is skiing.

YADGHA

They inhabit the village called Parabeck in the Lot-Kuh Valley. They are rants from Badakhshan in Afghanistan. There is nothing much to say as the a people have adopted all the ways of life of the Khow. The only thing they of far preserved is their language. There are about five hundred of them.

- RELIGIOUS GROUPS

The above tribes form three religious groups: Sunni Muslims, Ismailia is and 'Kafir' or Pagan. The Kalash are as has been mentioned, a Pagan The small tribes, except the Madaklashti or Badakhshi, and more than two if the Khow belong to the Sunni sect of Islam, while the remainder are The Ismaili inhabit mainly the valleys of the north-east and north-west, the Sunni Muslims dominate the north-central valleys and the valleys of the arts of Chitral. The Kalash inhabit some of the western valleys.

chomberg: Op. cit., pp. 257-8.

Islam was first introduced into Chitral through the northern passes of Ba and Dorah, by the invaders and other, immigrants coming from Badakhsha Turkistan and other parts. Most of these areas professed, and still profes Ismailia sect of Islam. Islam did not, however, enter the Kalash occupied of the south until the thirteenth century conquest. Thereafter the southern were not only open to settlers from the north but also to immigrants mainly Muslims, from the south. Later the establishment of the present Sunni family also helped the religion to spread northwards. The Sunni concentrat Mulikhow and Torikhow tehsils is also ascribed to the missionary activities famous Afghan divine, Mulla-i-Room, in the sixteen century.

Those of the Kalash who lived in the main valleys of the south have influenced by their Muslim neighbours and have slowly accepted their resolutions. On the other hand those who lived in the secluded valleys have been to continue their old practices without being molested or influenced by the other than the second of the s

Also read فهرست اقوام بيار

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