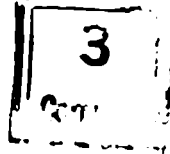


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NOTES ON CHITRAL

by

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CHITRAL.

Geography.—Chitral is the north-western corner of the Indian Empire, and is the only part of it of which the waters flow into a foreign country. It is enclosed by the vast mountain systems of the Hindu Raj on the south, the Hindu Kush on the west and north, the Moshambar on the east, and the western extremity of the Karakoram on the north-east. In Tirich Mir 25,000 feet, it possesses the highest mountain of the Hindu Kush, and one of the Highest in the world. In the rest of Chitral there are forty peaks of over 20,000 feet. The area of the country is about 4,000 square miles, which consist of the valley of the Kunar river and its tributaries during the first two hundred miles of its course. The Kunar rises in springs on the Karumbar Pass at a height of 14,000 feet, and during its journey through Chitral receives the waters of three principal tributaries as well as a countless number of smaller streams. It leaves Chitral at Arandu at a height of about 3,500 feet above sea level and, flowing mainly south past Bajaur and Mohmand country joins the Kabul River near Jalalabad; the Kabul River then flows through Peshawar district and joins the Indus at Attock.

Chitral is essentially a country of high mountains, deep valleys, and swift rivers. The climate varies from Arandu in the south which is as hot as any part of the Punjab in July or August to the Boroghil which has the same climate as the Pamirs of Central Asia. By far the greater part of the country is high barren mountain land.

The valley from Arandu to Mirkhanni for about 20 miles is narrow, steep, and fairly well wooded. At Mirkhanni it broadens out considerably for another 40 miles past Drosh, Ayun, the biggest village in Chitral, and Chitral, to the point where it is joined by the Lutkoh, one of the three main tributaries. During the whole of this 60 miles, the only village which uses the river for irrigation or drinking water is Khairabad, 4 miles above Drosh, so plentiful are the side streams which join it. The Lutkoh flows from the Durah Pass, and is joined in its course by two considerable streams, the Agram and the Ojhor, as well as by a number of smaller ones. Continuing from Singur up the main river, now known popularly as the Mastuj; for another 40 miles Bumbagh is reached, where the Mulikho, the second large tributary, joins, again on the right bank. This is a large river, draining the Mulikho and Turikho valleys for 70 miles, and receiving as its chief affluent the river which runs through Tirich Gol for a distance of 60 miles and receives the melting snows from the north-east side of the Tirich massif. In the Mulikho valley is the village of Warjun stretches for 5,000 feet up the hill-side.

From the junction at Bumbagh the Mulikho and Mastuj rivers run approximately parallel for about 70 miles, being connected at the head of the Turikho valley by the Shah Janali Pass. Meanwhile, 30 miles above Bumbagh on the Kunar river is Mastuj itself. Here the third large tributary, the Lasput, joins on the left bank, flowing from the Bashkar Lake and draining the vast area of high mountains and glaciers on that border of Chitral. At Mastuj also the telegraph line leaves the main river to cross the Shandur Pass on its way to Gilgit; and there is a post office

which is the terminus of the mail route from India to Chitral. North of Mastuj the hills become higher and completely bare of vegetation, while the river bed gradually rises from 7,500 feet at Mastuj to 11,000 feet at Ishkerwaz, at the foot of the Boroghil Pass. Half way to Ishkerwaz from Mastuj is Darband, the scene of many battles, where the river runs through a gorge and has sheer cliffs on either side. From these cliffs the Chitralis used to roll down rocks and shale on an advancing enemy, and have several times saved themselves in this way.

At Ishkerwaz the valley again opens out, and takes on a quite different appearance. It is covered everywhere with grass and bushes, though few trees, and in summer is carpeted with wild varieties of what one is accustomed to think of as English flowers. This area is used extensively for summer grazing by Afghan shepherds who come up from the neighbouring tract of Wakhan and pay a small tribute to the Mehtar of Chitral. Beyond Ishkerwaz are two enormous glaciers running back to the Gilgit boundary, and eventually, 25 miles on, the Karumbar Lake at 14,000 feet, on the summit of the Pass of that name. This Pass leads out of Chitral to Gilgit on the south-east, and Chinese Turkistan on the north-east.

The north of Chitral is bounded by a strip of Afghanistan called Wakhan, between Chitral and the Oxus. This strip of Afghanistan was purposely interposed at the end of last century to prevent the British Empire from ever having a boundary co-terminous with the Russian Empire. By crossing the Karumbar Pass and doing two days' journey in Gilgit Agency limit one could avoid this strip of Afghanistan and travel direct over the Chillinji Pass to Chinese Turkistan, the Yarkand valley, and Kashgar. The more usual route, however, is over the Boroghil Pass, across Wakhan, and so to the Yarkand valley. Until recently these routes, especially the Boroghil, were extensively used by caravans of Turkistan traders on their way to India. For various reasons this trade has at present practically ceased. These have been trade routes from time immemorial and were much used by Chinese pilgrims in the early centuries A. D. on their way to the Buddhist shrines of India.

Coming round west from the Boroghil, we reach some high and little used passes, the Kankhun, the Ochili, the Kach, the Sad Istragh, the Agram, the Uni, and the Mach, all from 16,000 to 19,000 feet. They lead to the north-east of Afghanistan, the provinces of Wakhan, and Badakshan, and beyond them to the Russian provinces of Shighnan and Ishkashim. The most important Pass leading out of Chitral on the north-west is the Durah, an easy pass of 14,000 feet, leading to Mazar-i-sharif, the capital of the Afghan province of Badakshan, to Khanabad, and on to Balkh and Afghan Turkistan. There used to be a very considerable trade over the Durah Pass, chiefly in salt, tea, sugar, and wool, from which Chitral extracted profit from tolls; at present, however, an average of only about 40 traders cross every week during the summer months.

South of the Durah are three or four more passes, each over 14,000 feet of which the Shawal, the Gangalwat, and the Brombalu, are the most important; over this last a number of Kalashes from Bashgal valley in Afghanistan come every week to sell ghee in Drosh bazaar. Further south is the only really practicable route out of Chitral, down the river past Arandu, but this is closed completely by the Afghan Government. Continuing round, the Lowari is reached, the main route to India over a

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pass of 12,300 feet ; and further round still are some high and difficult passes leading to Dir Kohistan. Above Laspur on the East is the Shandur Pass, an easy pass of 12,000 feet, the road to Gilgit and Kashmir. Above the Shandur, the only two passes of any importance are the Thui and the Darkot, both about 15,000 feet but quite practicable, both leading to the highlands of Yasin. Finally, we return to the Karumbar in the north-east corner of Chitral.

History.—As may be imagined, records of the history of Chitral are scanty in the extreme. From oral tradition, however, and such records as remain, it would appear that the ancient name of the country was Khoistan, the country of the Khows speaking the Khowar language, as they still do. This name was mentioned in the time of Alexander, who it is said came up to Chitral pursuing an enemy column from Asmar, which he crossed into Bajaur. The inhabitants of the country were then, as they continued to be for about another thousand years, Buddhists, and under the rule of the King of Kabul. On an inscription on a rock near Barenis, 40 miles from Chitral, records this fact. In Turikho there are some indecipherable rock inscriptions in Chinese. Nothing of this period, however, is known with certainty. Marco Polo who visited Wakham called the country Bolor ; and Alberuni refers to the inhabitants as Turkomans. The successive waves of invasion into India from Central Asia had their counterpart in Chitral : it was conquered by a Chinese army in the reign of one Khush Ahmad, and in the seventh century an Arab army invaded Chitral over the Boroghil Pass, and converted the Mastuj, Turikho, Mulikho, and Qwir districts to Islam. The southern districts of Lutkoh, Chitral, and Drosh remained non-Muslim until very late, Drosh area only becoming Muslim about two centuries ago. The conversion of these southern areas was finally brought about by the rulers of the northern districts who eventually occupied the whole country. An invasion by a Mongol tribe called Yarkhons who devastated Chitral, again *via* the Boroghil Pass, is still remembered, as is the leader of the Khows, Somalek, who repelled them and gave a great feast to commemorate his victory. It is also reported that Chingiz and his Tartars invaded Chitral.

In the sixteenth century the Shah Rais dynasty flourished in Chitral and claimed their descent from Alexander the Great. This century was a period of insurrections and invasions, from which one Sangin Ali, a relation by marriage of the last of the Shah Rais dynasty, emerged as the virtual ruler of the country. From the second son of Sangin Ali the Kator dynasty, the present ruling family, are descended. They gradually consolidated their position and have maintained themselves on the throne for more than three hundred years. During the greater part of this period, they have been constantly at war with their neighbours, Gilgit, Yasin, Chilas, Kashmir, and the Pathan tribes of the south. According to the fortunes of war the limits of their power sometimes extended from the Kashmir border nearly to Jalalabad, and at others were confined to the immediate neighbourhood of Chitral. In 1854 the Maharajah of Kashmir made an alliance with Shah Afzal, the then Mehtar of Chitral, and together they fought against Yasin and Mastuj, at that time a separate state. A confused period of war and intrigue followed, out of which Aman-ul-mulk the youngest son of Shah Afzal, finally emerged as ruler of Chitral, Mastuj, Yasin, and Ghizar, in the year 1880. The Maharajah of Kashmir, who with the approval of the Government of India had been in formal

alliance with Aman-ul-mulk since 1878 now recognised him as Mehtar and doubled the subsidy granted to him. In return the Mehtar recognised the suzerainty of Kashmir over Chitral.

It was in 1878 therefore that the British Government first became interested in Chitral, owing to the recognition by Chitral of Kashmir's suzerainty, and to the fact that as a result of the annexation of the Punjab thirty years earlier the British Government was itself the suzerain of Kashmir. This connection with Kashmir influenced the manner of our dealings with Chitral for the next twenty years, the Political Agent, Gilgit, himself under the Resident in Kashmir, being in charge of our relations with Chitral. In 1885 an expedition was despatched by the Government of India, *via* Kashmir, with general instructions to investigate conditions in the north-west and in particular, so far as Chitral was concerned, "to enter into friendly relations with Aman-ul-mulk, and to gain full information regarding Chitral and the other provinces subject to the Mehtar's control, with a view to making the Government of India thoroughly acquainted with the material resources of the country, the number and condition of the inhabitants, the routes and passes leading through it, and with all other matters of interest". This task was performed so well by the Lockhart Mission that its report is still the authority in Chitral for the boundaries of the various provinces of the country, and the description of the country and people. In 1889 Aman-ul-mulk received a present of some rifles and an annual subsidy of Rs. 6,000 from the British Government. In 1891 this subsidy was increased to Rs. 12,000, on condition that he accepted the advice of Government in all matters connected with foreign policy and the defence of the frontier.

In 1892 Aman-ul-mulk, known as the Great Mehtar, died suddenly, leaving a huge dominion which extended from Hunza in the north-east to Chighan Serai in the south-west, an area several times larger than the present State of Chitral. His death was followed by civil war among his sons. The second son, Afzal-ul-mulk, happened to be on the spot and seized the throne. The eldest son was at the time in Yasin and fled to Gilgit. Before Afzal-ul-mulk could establish himself, however, an exiled uncle appeared on the scene from Afghanistan, and a band of tribesmen from Jandol came to see what pickings there were for them. In the resulting confusion Afzal-ul-mulk was killed and the uncle, Sher Afzal, proclaimed himself Mehtar. The eldest son, Nizam-ul-mulk, now plucked up courage and returned from Gilgit; he succeeded in ousting Sher Afzal, and in turn ascended the throne. He was recognised by the British Government, and an Assistant Political Agent was established in Chitral. His reign was short, and in 1892 he was murdered by his half-brother Amir-ul-mulk who seized Chitral. Amir-ul-mulk had no time to consolidate his position since Sher Afzal, in alliance with the tribesmen of Jandol, again arrived on the scene. Meantime, the Political Agent at Gilgit had been sent to Chitral to report on the situation. He reached the Chitral fort and was received by Amir-ul-mulk, but immediately besieged, along with his escort and Amir-ul-mulk, by Sher Afzal and the tribesmen. The besiegers were soon joined by the bulk of the ruling classes of Chitral, the Adaw-zadas, and their followers. Amir-ul-mulk began to correspond from the fort with the besiegers outside, and was consequently placed under arrest; and his brother Shuja-ul-mulk, a boy of fourteen, provisionally recognised as Mehtar. The siege went on from March 3rd, 1895 to April

19th, during which time many gallant deeds were performed, some, by those Chitralis who sided with us and were besieged inside the fort. Two separate forces were sent for the relief of Chitral, one from Gilgit over the Shandur Pass, and the other over the Lowarai Pass from India. Both were successful in crossing the snow-bound passes, and the force from Gilgit was the first to reach Chitral and raise the siege on the 19th April. A week later the relief force *via* the Lowarai arrived. The wicked uncle, Sher Afzal, was taken prisoner and deported to India; the tribesmen and their leader Umra Khan fled to Afghan Territory; and the selection of Shuja-ul-mulk as Mehtar was confirmed.

Shuja-ul-mulk did not, however, immediately become ruler of the whole of Chitral. The Mastuj district was separated, and only restored to the direct administration of the Mehtar in 1914. Even one part of Mastuj, the Laspur valley leading to the Shandur Pass and consisting of six villages, remained exempt from the payment of any tribute to the Mehtar and almost entirely free from his control. The reason for this was that when the relief force from Gilgit was on its way to Chitral in 1895 the people of Laspur valley, through which it passed, were promised freedom from taxation and virtual independence for fifty years in return for their help to the force in supplying provisions, etc. This fifty years does not expire until 1945, so that the Laspricks, as the inhabitants of Laspur valley are called, are still reaping the benefits of their grandfathers' wisdom and the British Government's gratitude.

During the Afghan war of 1919 the Chitral Scouts and the Mehtar's bodyguard co-operated with the mobile column from Drosh in an attack on a body of Afghan regulars and tribesmen who had occupied Arandu in Chitral limits. The attack was most successful the invaders were dispersed and the Afghan fort of Birkot captured. For his services in this connection the Mehtar received a grant of one lakh of rupees as a contribution towards the expenses incurred by the State. In the same year he was granted the title of His Highness and a salute of eleven guns, as personal distinctions. In 1928 his annual subsidy was increased to Rs. 65,000, in return for which increase he undertook to supply local produce to the Indian Army troops stationed in Chitral. In 1931 the title of His Highness and the gun salute were made hereditary.

After a reign of 41½ years, H. H. Sir Shuja-ul-mulk died in October 1936 at the age of fifty-seven. He had shown himself a strong ruler and a firm friend of the British Government. The only serious internal trouble which took place during this long period was caused by his attempts to convert the Shiah Muslims of the state to Sunni-ism. In the last years of his life, however, he gave full toleration to everyone. He was interested in modern improvements and introduced electric lights, telephones, wireless, and motor cars into the State. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Nasir-ul-mulk, who is a graduate of the Punjab University and a man of wide interests.

People.—To describe the people of Chitral, it may be permitted to quote from the report of the Lockhart Mission which visited Chitral fifty years ago. Their report stated that "the people of Chitral are a short-sized well-built race of Aryan type. Generally fair-complexioned they

are as a rule slight, but wiry and muscular and superb mountaineers : in disposition they are gay and careless, independent, fond of hunting, hawking, and music, their songs often possessing true melody. They are generally well fed and warmly clad in woollen clothes, cotton underwear, very loose high stockings, and soft leather boots coming up to the calf. Over all they wear a woollen chogha or on great occasions a silken gown. They are devoted servants but, as said before, very independent. They are good-natured and kindly among themselves, and as honest as their neighbours. No soldier can wish for better partisans in hill warfare. As every man rides or plays polo when he has the chance of a mount, they would make excellent light cavalry or mounted infantry. They seem to be impervious to cold or fatigue, and after going 40 miles at high speed over the mountains, a man will be ready to dance or to sit down and sing by the fireside throughout the night. It is difficult to guess at the number of the population : they could always turn out ten thousand excellent soldiers, which is probably all that one wants to know". Such was the opinion of General Lockhart and in the main it is as true today as it was then. The people still weave their woollen cloth and wear the choga. Their fighting qualities were tested in the Third Afghan War of 1919, in which they gave an excellent account of themselves. They keep their houses scrupulously clean and keep their cattle in a separate shed. Every family has a small garden with fruit trees, attached to its house, and generally with a water channel running through. The scarcity of cultivable land, an acute problem in Chitral, is counter-balanced by the plentitude of water.

The present population is probably the result of a great deal of racial intermixing, for Chitral is surrounded on all sides by ethnologically differing people : to the north are the Kirghiz of the Pamirs, the Ghalaches of Wakhan and Shighan, and the Tajiks of Zebak. To the west are the tribes of Nuristan, who were called Kafirs in the old days when they had not been converted to Islam. To the east are the Burish speaking people of Yasin, the Garvi speaking tribes of Bashqar, or Dir and Swat Kohistan. On the south are the Yusufzai Pathans. The people of Chitral are therefore not racially homogeneous, and it is probable that the original inhabitants were the backwash of successive waves of immigration which crossed into India over the north-west frontier. They are, however, now a united people, all speaking the same language except in the extreme south where Pushtu and other unrelated dialects are spoken in the side valleys.

The people are divided into three main castes : the Adamzadas, the ruling class of which the Mehtar's family is the head. They are descended from the younger sons of Sangin Ali, from whose eldest son the family of the Mehtar descends. The second, or middle class are called the Arbabzadas or Yuft, and the third are the Buldayas or fakir miskin. All classes pay to the State one-tenth of their crops as annual revenue ; in certain cases, as for example shepherds, this tithe is commuted into the payment of a certain number of sheep or cattle, with the addition in some cases of seers of ghee ; or the payment in certain cases is altogether abolished and in return services are rendered, such as the carrying of a fixed number of maunds of goods for the State, or the performance of a fixed number of days' work on State land. These last obligations are confined to members of the third or Buldaya class.

With the exception of the inhabitants of some of the side valleys near Drosh, such as Bimburet, Urtsun, and Madaghasht, all the people speak

Khovar. Philological experts say that Khovar makes an island between the Avestic and the Sanskrit group of Aryan languages, the Kafir dialects to the west of Chitral belonging to the former, while Shina and other Gilgit dialects to the east belong to the latter.

Of the minority tribes of Chitral the most interesting are the Bashgali and Kalash Kafirs who live in the side valleys near Drosh. The Kalashes were the original inhabitants of the Bashgal valley, to the west of Chitral, but were driven out by the present occupants some centuries ago, when the latter were pushed up from Jalalabad valley by the Muslim invaders. The Kalashes then came and occupied the main Kunar valley above and below Drosh, whence they were in turn expelled by pressure from the north. They retired into the side valleys where their descendants still remain. Hence the only territory to which the ancient name of Kafiristan can now be correctly applied is to a few remote valleys of Chitral, where the Kafirs linger on. Elsewhere they have all been converted to Islam, while religious toleration in Chitral has allowed them to retain their animistic beliefs. There are few of them now left, and in most cases the younger members of the family are voluntarily becoming Muslims. Most of the population of Chitral are Sunni Muslims, but in the Lutkoh and Mastuj areas the majority are Ismailis, or Shiah followers of the Agha Khan, to whom they regularly send contributions.

Organisation and Administration.—The system of land tenure in the State has many variations, of which only four are of practical importance. There are State lands which are the private property of the Mehtar; there are jagirs which are held for life and may be re-granted to another family by the Mehtar on the death of a jagirdar; there are what are called mehrbani lands which are granted from among the State lands and can be taken away at any time by the Mehtar; and finally there are the private lands which are the absolute property of the owner and descend to his sons.

The country is divided into five provinces, Mastuj, Turiko, Mulikho, Khuzrah (or the Lutkoh valley), and Drosh. Each of these provinces is under a governor who receives certain payment from the Mehtar, chiefly in kind, and who is responsible for the maintenance of order in his ilaca. The governor can settle petty cases locally, but must refer all important civil or criminal cases to His Highness's Council. This Council is composed of the chief elders of the whole country, who are called up to Chitral about ten at a time and stay there four or five months. They make a report to the Mehtar on each case referred to them, and His Highness passes the final order. The custom of the country is followed in deciding these cases, and sometimes, as in inheritance cases, the Shariat as interpreted by the mullahs.

Below the governors are the hakims, generally one for each valley, who are responsible for keeping the governor informed of what is happening and who investigate cases locally and make reports to the governor. Then in each village or group of villages is the charvelu, and in every village one or more charbus. They are immediately responsible for their particular villages. All these receive payment in kind from the State, either in grain, sheep, or ghee. The revenue of the State from which these as well as all other payments in kind are made is the tithe of

their produce payable by all cultivators, and collected and stored through specially appointed agents. A subsidy of Rs. 65,000 is paid to the Mehtar by the Government of India, and he also makes a considerable profit out of the contracts for military supplies in Chitral.

The State forces consist of a Bodyguard of 4,000 men, who are normally only called up for one month's service in two and a half years. This Bodyguard includes some companies of Sappers and Miners who build and repair roads bridges, and forts. Besides these State forces there are nearly 1,000 Chitral Scouts under two British officers; the Scouts are similarly not permanently embodied, but come up for one month's training each year.

The governors of the five provinces are at present all younger brothers of His Highness. The eldest brother, Muzaffar-ul-mulk, is governor of Turikho; the second brother, Hissam-ul-mulk, of Drosh, and the third, Khadev-ul-mulk, of Mulikho. Mastuj and Khuzarah are both in charge of absentee governors—Khushwaqt-ul-mulk, a commissioned officer in the Indian Army, in the former, and Mata-ul-mulk, a cadet at the I. M. A., in the latter. Apart from these brothers of the Mehtar the most important persons in the State are K. S. Dilaram Khan, a half brother of the late Mehtar, who is in charge of all the revenue administration, and the Ataliq Sarfaraz Shah, M.B.E., who is the Mehtar's chief man of business and in charge of all the Drosh contracts.

Agriculture is the only source of wealth in the State, and on the whole the Chitrali makes a good cultivator. Wheat and barley are the chief winter crops, and maize and rice (in the southern parts) the chief summer crops. Above 8,000 feet, that is to say in the greater part of Chitral, only one crop can be grown in the year. Experiments have been made with barley and wheat seed imported from Tibet, and it seems probable that large areas on the Boroghil and Shandur Passes between 10,000 and 13,000 feet can be cultivated with early ripening varieties of these crops.

Exports from Chitral are few; heavy transport charges rule out everything which has not got a high value in proportion to its weight. There used to be a very large through trade between India and Chinese Turkistan and Badakshan, but in recent years this has almost completely ceased. The Badakshan trade is slowly picking up again, but there seems no likelihood at present of the Turkestan trade recovering. Experiments are also being made at present to make gold-washing in the Kunar river an economic proposition. The country as a whole, however, remains self-contained in its economic life, and in the long period of peace which it has now enjoyed has achieved probably as prosperous a state as its natural conditions permit.

THE CLASSES AND TRIBES OF CHITRAL.

1. **Adamzadas of the first class.**—These are the descendants of Sangin Ali I.

The following are the sub-sections :—

(a) *The Riza Khel.*—They are descended from the second son of Sangin Ali I, who was called Riza. They consist of about

150 families, and are distant relations of the Mehtar. They are scattered throughout Chitral. All the land which was given to Riza and his son Qizil Beg is ancestral land of this sub-section. Lands subsequently granted are mehrbani lands.

- (b) *The Mohammad Dustas*.—They are the descendants of the third son of Sangin Ali I. Only a few families are left, who live in Marol and Gohkir.
- (c) *The Mohammad Begas*.—These are the descendants of the eldest son of Sangin Ali I, called Mohammad Beg. All live in Khost and are descended from Taricula, Nahimatullah, and Badullah, sons of Mohammad Beg. They own both ancestral and mehrbani land.
- (d) *The Khushwaqtas*.—They are the descendants of the second son of Mohammad Beg, Khushwaqt. They live in Mastuj and Turikho. Their land is both ancestral and mehrbani.
- (e) *The Barushas*.—They are a sub-division of the Khushwaqtas. Only a very few families, who live in Reshun, are left in Chitral ; but they form the ruling family of Punial, in Gilgit Agency.
- (f) *The Khushamadas*.—They are the descendants of Khushamad, the second (twin) son of Mohammad Beg. They live in Reshun and Charan, and own both ancestral and mehrbani land.
- (g) *The Katuras*.—They are the descendants of Shah Mukhtaram Shah I, the eldest son of Mohammad Beg. They are the present ruling family of Chitral, and are divided into three main sections :—
- (1) The Sangale, who are descended from Sangin Ali II, the eldest son of Shah Mukhtaram I.
 - (2) The Katuras proper, who are the descendants of Shah Afzal I, the second son of Shah Mukhtaram I.
 - (3) The Khanyas, who are the descendants of Khani, the third son of Shah Afzal I.

All the Katuras of all three sections have both ancestral and mehrbani lands, and in some cases also jagirs.

The precedence of the foregoing first class Adamzadas is as follows :—

KATURAS, in the following order :—

- (1) Sons of His Highness.
- (2) The five governors of ilacas.
- (3) Other legitimate brothers of His Highness.
- (4) Illegitimate brothers of His Highness.
- (5) Other descendants of Aman-ul-mulk from his fourth legitimate son (from whom Nos. 1 to 4 inclusive are descended).
- (6) Descendants of Shah Afzal II.

(7) Descendants of Shah Mukhtaram Shah I's other sons.

KHANYAS.

SANGALES.

KHUSHWAQTAS (they are low in the scale because they are nearly all descended from illegitimate unions : the legitimate Khushwaqtas, all of whom except 2 families live in Gilgit, rank with the Katuras.

BARUSHAS.

KHUSHAMADAS.

MOHAMMAD BEGAS.

RIZA KHEL.

MOHAMMAD DUSTAS.

2. **Adamzadas of the second class.**—They have no tribal order of precedence, but a family order. They rank after the first class Adamzadas as a whole although certain families rank with first class Adamzadas. They are people who do not belong to the ruling family or any of its branches, but who have acquired some rights above the ordinary middle class people or Yuft.

- (a) Zondras of the Siyawushe tribe, because Siyawush gave help to Shah Mukhtaram Shah I, and to Shah Khushwaqt. They live between Buni and Mastuj, and in Ayun.
- (b) Sayeds, who are all Maulais and followers of the Aga Khan.
- (c) *Atambegas of Mulikho.*—They are the descendants of one Atam Beg, who also helped Shah Mukhtaram Shah I, and Sangin Ali II.
- (d) *The Khoshas of Turikho.*—They are the descendants of Yamini, who came from Kash (Badakshan) and established himself in Turikho in the time of the Rais Dynasty.
- (e) *The Khushalbegas of Owir.*—They are descendants of Khushalbeg, who established themselves in Owir in the time of the Rais dynasty.
- (f) Shighannas of Kuh (*i.e.*, of Koghazi and the surrounding villages).
- (g) *Dushmanas of Mulikho.*—Their ancestors came from Khorasan with Sangin Ali I's grand-father.
- (h) *Baikas of Turikho.*—They have always been a powerful tribe in Turikho.
- (i) *Siranga Zondras.*—They are the descendants of rulers who flourished before the Rais Dynasty, *e.g.*, Somalek. They live between Mastuj and Buni.
- (j) *Khushravas, of Barennis.*—They are an old tribe.
- (k) The Khojas, in Lower Tirich valley.
- (l) The Majes, who live in Upper Tirich valley.

3. **Yuft.**—They are the middle class. They have no tribes, only family groups, who have an order of precedence as such, obtained by services to the State. They are small clans living all over Chitral, and are distinguished from the Adamzadas by the duties which they perform.

4. **Fakir Miskin.**—They are the ordinary peasants. They used to be sold in slavery. Some are descendants of old inhabitants of the country ; some are descended from fugitives from abroad.

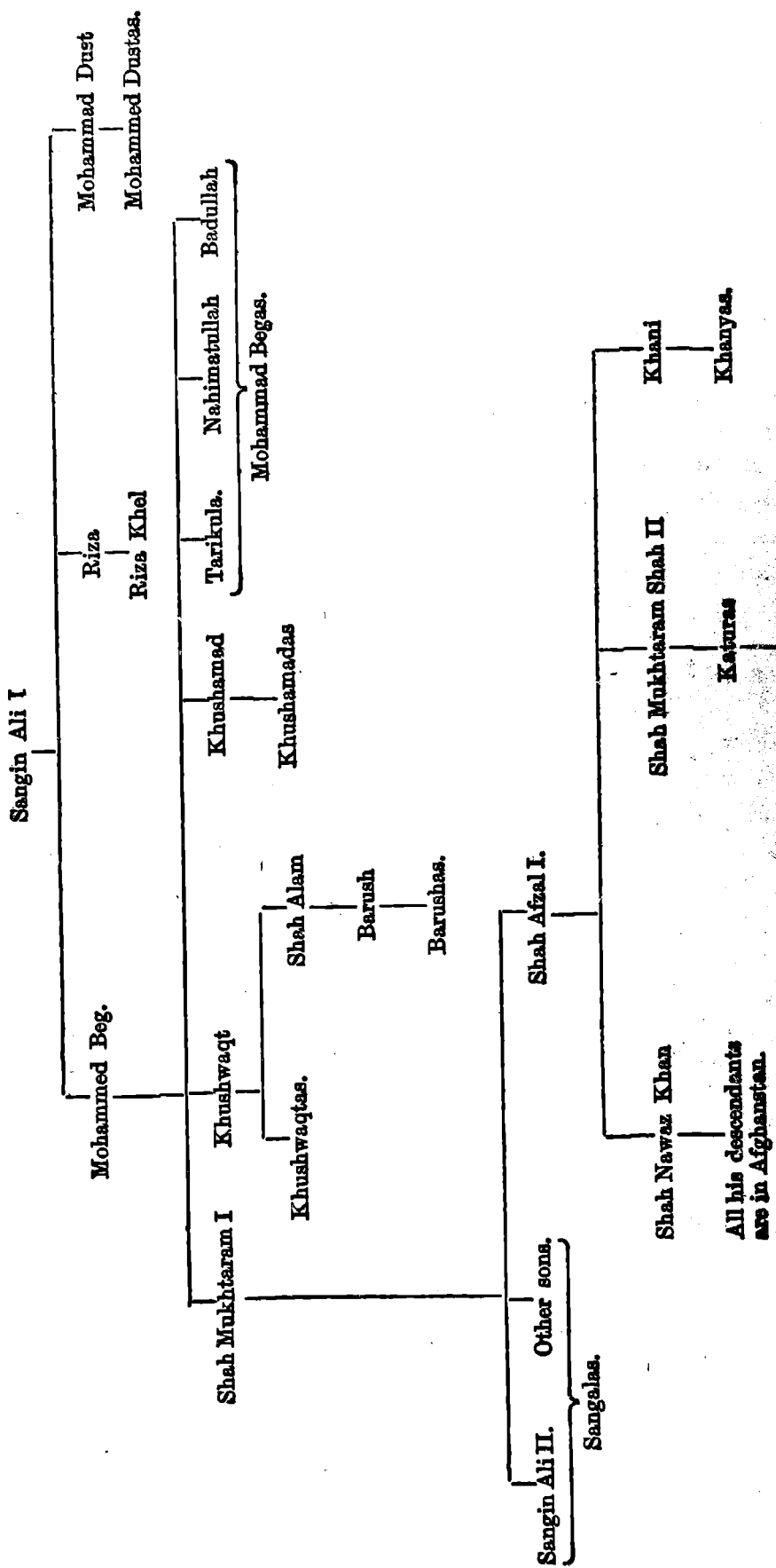
5. **The non-Kho tribes—the Kalashes, the Dome's, and the Ashretis.**—They have always kept rather apart in the life of the country.

6. The Shirmuz, or tenants of Adamzadas.

7. The ryots who carry loads for the State, in return for which they have absolute possession of certain lands in each village.

A genealogical table is attached, showing the derivation of the first class Adamzadas tribes.

There are about 3,000 houses of Adamzadas. 9,000 houses of Yuft, and 3,000 houses of Fakir Miskin in Chitral.



DUTIES OF THE VARIOUS CLASSES.

First class Adamzadas.

They pay ussher and do military service in the bodyguard. They also give chasht, or cooked food to the Mehtar and his family when they are on tour in the village ; this is a voluntary service, but could be made compulsory if it were ever refused.

Second class Adamzadas.

(a) The Siwawushi clan of Zondras and the Atam Begas of Mulikho do as first class Adamzadas.

(b) The remainder pay ussher and do military service ; and the different tribes do different duties as follows :—

- (1) The Khoshas of Turikho pay ashimat, *i.e.*, provide uncooked rations for His Highness and family when on tour in their villages. This service is compulsory.
- (2) *Khushalbegas*.—They pay chasht and not ashimat, but rank after the Khushas.
- (3) *Shighnias*.—They pay ashimat, and chasht also.
- (4) *Dushmanas*.—They pay ashimat, and some do begar work.
- (5) *Baikas*.—They pay ashimat, and chasht also.
- (6) *Siranga Zondras*.—They do as first class Adamzadas, except for one family in Sonoghor which pays ashimat.
- (7) *Khushravas*.—They pay chasht.
- (8) *Khojas*.—They pay ashimat, and do not do begar.
- (9) *Majes*.—They do begar and pay ashimat. They do not really rank as Adamzadas, as their duties approximate to those of the Yuft.

Yuft, or middle class.

These form the majority of the population. There are many small clans among them, but the status of all is the same. There is no order of precedence, though some of the families may rise to the standing of an Adamzada. All of them pay ussher and do military service. They pay ashimat in turn, *e.g.*, in 1932 a man paid ashimat for the first time in 35 years. They do begar, or compulsory manual work for two months in the year ; in return for this, they receive food for the period of their work, and in Chitral proper Rs. 2 per month. The labour required of them is on roads, bridges, canals, forts, preparing lime for white-washing, etc. They also pay phangi in addition to ussher. This consist of goats and sheep, and is paid by tribes, not by individuals. In Yarkhun, they also pay ghee.

Fakir Miskin.

These are the lowest stratum of the people. In the old days they were reserved for being sold as slaves. All pay ussher, some do begar, but none pay ashimat. If they are raised to the status of Yuft, they must start

paying ashimat. At present in their freedom from these entertainment charges, therefore, they are now-a-days better off than first class Adamzadas. All ryots, the Shirmuzi, Khanzads, and Kalashes (except those of Urtsun), belong to this class. The Kalashes of Urtsun rank as fakir miskin, but their duties are to pay ussher and do military service. Other Kalashes bring wood for the Mehtar in winter ; about 30 to 50 men are on duty doing this work all winter. All Kalashes except those of Urtsun (who were exempted by Shah Mukhtaram Shah II because they gave him help in one of his wars) cut the Mehtar's crops in summer, *i.e.*, those crops grown on the Mehtar's own land. Fakir miskin are scattered throughout the country ; all trades except that of keepers of hawks are in their hands—*e.g.*, syees, blacksmiths, carpenters, etc. The question of the imposition of some extra duties on the Fakir Miskin will be for consideration in the future, since they are now free from the liability to be sold as slaves.

NOTE ON LAND TENURES IN CHITRAL.

All non-cultivable land in Chitral belongs to the Mehtar. Cultivable land is divided into various classes :—

(1) Land belonging to His Highness personally. This amounts to about 1,000 chakorams scattered throughout Chitral, *e.g.*, at Shadok, Balach, Birmoghlasht, Merim, etc.

(2) Land belonging to the Governors of the five ilacas as such.

(a) *Governor of Mustuj.*—40 chakorams of land to the east of the fort at Mastuj, excluding the zenana garden, and north of a line drawn from the south-east tower to the hills ; also lands below the old polo ground behind the fort. Other income of the governor consists of the fort itself, ussher from Niscar to Chuinj (about 600 maunds), the sheep received from the Mastuj ilaca, except the Boroghil area, about 120 ; all the labour due from the Mastuj province, none of which goes to Chitral ; nine houses of ryots for working his land, from Laspur ; 60 battis of ghee from Yarkhun ; Rs. 120 for ghee from the Mehtar per year ; and Rs. 100 per month from His Highness.

(b) *Governor of Turikho.*—40 chakorams of land at the Yurdiz fort at Shagram ; other income is the fort itself ; ussher of Mhelp valley, about 350 walus ; 140 sheep and goats, 32 labourers to do begar for two months in the year ; 6 houses of ryots to cultivate the 40 chakorams ; 140 battis of ghee per year and Rs. 100 per month from His Highness ; also the ussher from Zanglasht and the surrounding hamlets, about 80 walus.

(c) *Governor of Mulikho.*—60 chakorams of land round the fort at Drasan and the fort itself. Other income is the whole revenue from Sart, *i.e.*, 286 walus of grain, 113 sheep, 45 men to do begar for two months, 5 houses of ryots to cultivate his land, and two houses of syees ; also the ussher of Shinjuran, about 20 walus ; and 120 battis of ghee per year and Rs. 100 per month from His Highness.

- (d) *Governor of Khuzarah*.—Awi fort (at Shoghor) and 16 chakorams of land round it ; other income is 350 walus of ussher from Shoghor and Ojhor, and 120 sheep from the same area ; 45 houses of labourers and five houses of ryots ; 120 battis of ghee per annum and Rs. 100 per month from His Highness.
- (e) *Governor of Drosh*.—There is no fort or land at present attached to the governor of Drosh. His income consists of ussher from Drosh proper, about 450 walus, of which 75 are required for the maintenance of mullahs and body-guard ; 91 battis of ghee from Balpanj (the right to receive which is a governor's jagir) ; 34 battis of ghee from Shishikuh and Drosh area ; Rs. 260 per year from Drosh bazaar, and Rs. 200 per year from the mandi and dulwai ; Rs. 125 per year from fines imposed in Drosh proper and kept by the governor ; 12 sheep from Drosh and 25 houses of labourers for begar for two months in the year ; Gromel and Kalashandan villagers as ryots. Also from His Highness Rs. 100 per month. He keeps four of the body-guard on duty whom he feeds.

(3) Land belonging to the brothers of His Highness.

- (a) *To Muzaffar-ul-Mulk*.—Lhalbumi, 40 chakorams ; Zanglasht, 30 chakorams ; Langr (Khot area) 20 chakorams ; Niyuk, above Warkup, 40 chakorams ; Shotkhar, 100 chakorams ; Macherragh, 80 chakorams ; Shol, 40 chakorams ; Kushun, 20 chakorams ; Rubat, 15 chakorams ; the new area between Mhelp and Khot, now being brought under cultivation ; and 200 chakorams at Zanglasht, at present uncultivated but capable of cultivation.
- (b) *To Hissam-ul-Mulk*.—Noghordur land, 20 chakorams ; Shainigar, 60 chakorams ; Shagolasht, 100 chakorams ; Mahmurduri, 15 chakorams ; Lower Shainigar, 15 chakorams.
- (c) *To Khadev-ul-Mulk*.—Druolasht, 200 chakorams ; Bumbagh, 200 chakorams—this land may be resumed by His Highness if necessary for a younger brother. It is in Khosht area, in Chitral ilaca. Also, Shinjuran, 1,000 chakorams ; Lowchat, 30 chakorams ; Sart, 20 chakorams ; and Drasan, 200 chakorams.
- (d) *To Ghazi-ud-din*.—Patai, 400 chakorams ; Naghar, 400 chakorams ; Urtsun, 20 chakorams ; and above Naghar, 30 chakorams. (All these are confiscated lands, which may be returned at His Highness's pleasure, to the original owners.)
- (e) *To Amir-ud-din*.—Sirdur, 12 chakorams ; Lower Calcuttak, 16 chakorams ; Upper Calcuttak, 300 chakorams (of which 200 are barani) ; and the services of 15 ryots from Calcuttak for cultivating his land.
- (f) *To Shahab-ud-din*.—Broz, 700 chakorams.

- (g) *To Khushwaqt-ul-mulk.*—Chuinj, 100 chakorams ; Ishkunlasht, 15 chakorams ; Dusishai, 100 chakorams, at present with the Charvelu of Mastuj and a Barusha family ; Parwak, 50 chakorams ; Pawur in Yarkhun, 30 chakorams ; and the land near the fort in Mastuj, less 40 chakorams which are reserved for the Governor of Mastuj.
- (h) *To Burhan-ud-din.*—Dolomutz, 200 chakorams ; Shotkhar, 60 chakorams ; Lasht, 20 chakorams ; and Sin, 20 chakorams.
- (i) *To Mata-ul-mulk.*—Shoghor, 40 chakorams ; Clinj, 16 chakorams ; Sivart, 20 chakorams ; Droneli, 100 chakorams ; Breshgam, 25 chakorams ; Mashat, 15 chakorams.
- (j) *To Khushrao-i-mulk.*—Droshp, 200 chakorams ; Hashkalam, 200 chakorams.
- (k) *To Khushamadi-mulk.*—Balawushti in Ayun, 200 chakorams.
- (l) *To Khalili-mulk.*—Land in Swir, 100 chakorams ; at present in the possession of the sons of Syed Abdul Razak of Dir and of Fateh Khan of Mulikho.
- (m) *To Mubaraki-mulk.*—Mujigram, 120 chakorams ; Lasht Owir, 15 chakorams ; Ishpatak, 60 chakorams ; Drokhal in Owir, 10 chakorams ; Mujigram Gol, 20 chakorams ; Besti, 10 chakorams.

(4) *Land of jagirdars.*—(The custom of granting jagirs was started by Sir Shuja-ul-Mulk). The following are the jagirdars of Chitral and their possessions :—

- (a) *Ghazi-ud-din.*—Fort of Naghar, and 52 walus of ussher from Naghar ; 72 walus from Urtsun ; 32 walus from Badugal ; 10 walus from Ziarat ; 33 battis of ghee from Urtsun and Ziarat ; Rs. 480 per year from Gujars round Naghar ; 9 sheep from the Gujars ; and Rs. 60 per month from His Highness.
- (b) *Shahab-ud-din.*—200 walus of grain in Broz ; and Rs. 50 per month from His Highness.
- (c) *Amir-ud-din.*—The income of Beoli valley—*i.e.*, 280 walus of grain, 131 battis of ghee, 28 sheep, and 48 chickens ; and the services of 40 labourers from Beoli. Also, Rs. 50 per month from His Highness.
- (d) *Burhan-ud-din.*—200 walus of grain from Sin and Lasht, Shali, and Bilphok. 100 battis of ghee ; 50 sheep ; and Rs. 50 per month from His Highness.
- (e) *Abi Hayat Khan.*—260 walus of ussher from Domel.
- (f) *Mehtarjao Amini-mulk.*—100 battis of ghee, and 7 goats ; Rs. 80 per year from His Highness. All the land in Drosh from his house at Osiak up to the military range, north-west of the aerodrome.
- (g) *Ataliq Sarfaraz Shah, M.B.E.*—42 sheep from Shogrom ; 68 battis of ghee from Imirdin (Lutkoh).

- (h) *Sons of Abdul Razak*.—100 chakorams of land and 90 walus of grain from Swir ; Rs. 360 per year from shops in Chitral bazaar ; 60 chakorams of land in Spalasht (Ayun) ; 20 chakorams in Chitral ; Rs. 100 per year income from the Mehtari mandi in Chitral.
- (i) *K. S. Nur Ahmad Khan*.—114 walus of grain, 148 sheep, and 31 battis of ghee ; 20 labourers from Pasti ; and 2 ryots from Brir. All the foregoing produce comes from Brir and Pasti valleys. Also, 400 chakorams of land in Maskor (near Gahairet).
- (j) *Mehtarjao Lal Zaman Khan, of Ayun*.—156 walus of grain and 20 battis of honey from Bimboret ; 121 sheep, 2 bullocks, and 2 ryots. Also, land at Khushwaqtandur in Ayun, 60 chakorams.
- (k) *Mehtarjao K. S. Dilaram Khan*.—160 walus of grain from Jinjretkuh and Madaghalasht ; 120 battis of ghee from the same places ; 10 labourers and 3 ryots (Kalashes from Jinjretkuh) ; and 100 chakorams of land in Oghuti (in Lutkoh).
- (l) *Mehtarjao Asfandiar Khan*.—112 walus of grain from Rumbur and Denin ; 50 sheep from Rumbur ; 51 battis of ghee from Joghgor Gol ; Rs. 660 per year from his share of the rent of shops in Chitral bazaar. All the Kalashes of Rumbur work as ryots for him.
- (m) *Mehtarjao Asfrasiab of Kokhazi*.—45 sheep, and 30 battis of ghee.
- (n) *Faridun Lal*.—200 chakorams of land, and 100 walus of grain from Rieh (Mulikho).

(5) *Mehrbani lands*.—These are lands granted by His Highness to different families, normally for life but they may be resumed by His Highness at any time. They are lands of which the previous holder is normally of a different family from the present owner. On the death of a holder of mehrbani land, the land lapses to the State. A list of holders of mehrbani lands is being made out by His Highness, and a copy will be given to the A. P. A. when it is complete.

(6) Lands pertaining to certain administrative offices, in Chitral proper—*e.g.*, the Asakal of Chitral, who has 35 chakorams ; the Ataliq of Mulikho, who has 50 chakorams.

(7) *Ancestral land*.—This land is generally inherited by the sons of the owner, and, (*e.g.* in cases where the owner has no sons or they are idiots, etc.) it is the absolute property of the Sub-section of the tribe to which he belongs. It cannot be given to people outside the sub-section, and cannot be confiscated unless the owner proves a traitor to the State.

(8) *Ashimat and begar land*.—This is private property and though it may be redistributed within the tribe if great disproportion arises, it cannot be sold outside the tribe. It is held subject to the performance of certain services—providing uncooked food for the Mehtar or his family as long as they are on tour in the village (*ashimat*) ; or doing certain manual labour (*begar*).

(9) *Ryoti land*.—This is considered as State property, *i.e.* it does not belong to an individual or tribe. Anyone who takes it voluntarily has to carry loads for the State from one village to another. The people holding ryoti land themselves divide the loads in proportion to the extent of land which they hold. The lands are hereditary so long as the service is performed.

(10) *Shirmuzi land*.—This is land which an Adamzada gives to a Yuft or Fakir Miskin for doing his service. This land can be resumed by the Adamzada on permission being given by His Highness, *e.g.* if the man refuses to do the service.

(11) *Khanzad and Khanzaduri land*.—These are lands belonging to an Adamzada who gives them for a year to any of his domestic staff, and who can change the ownership himself at any time he likes.

(12) *Khudai land*.—This is land which has been given as charity to syeds and mullahs. This land passes in possession according to the will of the donor at the time of gifting it—*i.e.* it may be hereditary or it may revert to the donor's family.

(13) *Daralli land*.—If anyone fosters the child of another (a common Chitrali custom), and is rewarded by the gift of some land, this land is called Daralli land.

NOTES TO THE ABOVE.

1. A chakoram is approximately one-fifth of an acre.

2. On the average, a chakoram produces 5 maunds of grain per year in Mastuj, Turikho, Mulikho, and Khuzarah, except in Shoghor and Sivart where it produces 20 maunds. It also produces 20 maunds in Drosh and Chitral.

3. A walu is two maunds.

4. A batti is $2\frac{1}{2}$ seers.

5. Ussher is the tithe of their annual produce which is paid by everyone in Chitral to the Mehtar.

6. A land jagir is land granted for life or according to the Mehtar's pleasure. It is never hereditary. A jagirdar has no powers at all over the people living in his jagir. A jagir lapses to the State on the death of a jagirdar.

7. Roughly speaking, lands north of Shoghor and Reshun produce one crop per year, while lands south of them produce two crops.

8. The land shown as belonging to the brothers of His Highness are as given in return sent in by them to the late Mehtar in 1936, which I have seen.

9. The land, fort and houses which have been set aside by His Highness as the seats of governors can never be alienated by His Highness or given as private property to anyone; nor do they become the private property of the governors. They remain State property, of which the governors enjoy the usufruct.

10. The powers of a Governor are generally to preserve law and order in his ilaca, and to settle all personal quarrels ; he can try petty cases and impose fines up to Rs. 30, the money from which is State property, with the exception of such portion as may be set aside by His Highness to be remuneration for the Governor, *e.g.* the fines from the Mhelp area are kept by the Governor of Turikho. The Governor can inflict imprisonment for periods up to one month. He cannot, however, confiscate any land, and must not protect wives fleeing from their husbands. All cases of dispute concerning land are to be referred to the Council. He enquires into all cases referred to him by His Highness or the Council.

OFFICIALS IN CHITRAL—their duties and pay.

1. **Governors.**—These have been already dealt with.

2. **Minister.**—He is in charge of all the revenue administration, and gets Rs. 90 per month ; he also has a jagir, and receives certain payment in grain.

3. **The Council.**—They try civil and criminal cases, and put them up to the Mehtar for his final order. There are about 10 members always in residence, of whom one at least must be a mullah. They sit for about 4 hours a day, and stay as guests of His Highness for four or five months. There are about 30 members all over the country ; they are mostly headmen of the Adamzada class. They receive Rs. 10 per month while they are in Chitral, paid when they leave.

4. **Kazis.**—There is one Kazi for each area of the country, the areas varying in size. They are mullahs, and decide cases which are sent to them by His Highness or the Governors. Their decision is subject to His Highness's approval, which is based on the advice of the Chief Kazi (permanently resident in Chitral) and his five or six assessors (also mullahs, who are called up *ad hoc*. The Chief Kazi gets board and lodging, and grain and goats. District Kazis get only grain as payment. These Kazis function chiefly in cases of dispute about division of private property, marriage and divorce, etc.

5. **Hakims.**—They are assistants to the governors, under each of whom there are two or three. They receive 50 maunds of grain per year from His Highness, but no cash payment. They come up to Chitral once a year and get khilats from His Highness. Hakim is also given as an honorary title, for which the holder receives 50 maunds of grain per year.

6. **Asakals.**—"A". Those persons who look after and administer the State lands ; "B". The headmen of the Yuft clans (who are merely given this title but do no duty). The latter receive no regular payment.

7. **Charvelu.**—He does the same work as a Hakim, but in a similar area, *i.e.* helps in cases, keeps the governor informed, and is the local authority in the villages. His payment is according to his status, and varies from 12 to 50 maunds of grain per year. He gets no cash payment.

8. **Basameoh.**—This is an honorary title with no duties attached. The holder gets from 6 to 24 maunds of grain per year.

9. **Ataliq.**—This is the name given, instead of hakim, to the chief official in Mulikho under the Governor. He does the duties of a Hakim, but is above the Hakims and is responsible for the labour of the whole area. He gets 100 maunds of grain per year. There is also an Ataliq of Mastuj, a similar official, who receives 50 maunds of grain per year.

10. **Charbus.**—These are appointed by the Charvelu as his assistants, and get 2 maunds of grain each per year from the State. They have the duty of bringing the ashimat and sauringi (or provisions which a British officer requires on tour).

11. **Police.**—A village chowkidar is appointed for each village by the headquarters superintendent in Chitral. He gets 2 maunds of grain per year, and is responsible for bringing up offenders. A moharrir of police is in charge of several villages, and gets 12 maunds of grain per year from the State.

12. **Moharrirs.**—These are clerks who exist in every village and keep the records of ussher. They receive about 24 maunds of grain per year, and no cash.

13. **Mullahs.**—Although not State servants, all mullahs in charge of mosques throughout Chitral receive two or three maunds of grain per year from the State.

NOTE.—Headmen among first class Adamzadas are called Lais, as are certain selected headmen from among second class Adamzadas.

SOME POWERS OF THE MEHTAR.

His Highness can confiscate any land for treason, but cannot confiscate private property for any other reason. Land can be compulsorily acquired by the State for public purposes, when a fair price must be paid to the owner in compensation. His Highness can dispose of mehrbani lands as he likes; and can redistribute private land within the family circle only—to redress inequality, or to ensure that no one is left homeless. He acquires by lapse all lands of a man who dies without a son or brother. He can redistribute ashimat and begar land, but only to people who do ashimati and begar services in return. He can give permission to an Adamzada to resume his Shirmuzi land, if the services are not performed by virtue of which it is held.

All trees outside cultivated land belong to the State. The local villagers, however, have free permission to cut as much firewood as they need for their own consumption without charge. If wood is cut for selling in the bazaar, a tax must be paid on it to the State.

Similarly, uncultivated land belongs to His Highness, and the local villagers are allowed to graze their flocks on it free of charge. But if they maintain flocks of other people, a tax must be paid to the State for the grazing of these. This is now of a prohibitive nature, in view of the shortage of grazing land.

Minerals found anywhere in the State are the property of the State.

If a landowner dies leaving only illegitimate sons, His Highness has the power of deciding what proportion of the property shall be inherited by them, and of setting the rest on legitimate kinsmen of the deceased.

All persons shall be treated equally in awarding punishments.