Nomad Expansion and Commerce in Central Afghanistan

A Sketch of Some Modern Trends

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INTRODUCTION

The material for this paper was acquired during my participation in the Danish Scientific Mission to Afghanistan 1953–55 and from renewed investigations from April to October, 1960 (The D.S.M.A. 1960); in both cases at the expense of the Danish State Research Foundation to which my great thanks are due. In 1960 my purpose was to extend my studies of the culture of the Pashûn, and Afghan nomadism, and in this connexion I met, as before, extraordinary kindness and helpfulness from the Royal Afghan authorities and institutions, for which I am deeply grateful. My thanks must particularly be directed to the Royal Afghan Ministry of Education and its Minister, His Excellency Dr. A. A. Popal and Vice-Minister, His Excellency Dr. Moh. Anas. In addition I must express hearty thanks for much help and support from the Rector of Kabul University, Professor Dr. Moh. Aqchar, the Dean of the Faculty of Letters, Mr. Saiyed Bahauddin Majru, and the Director of the Pashû Academy, Mr. Saiyed Ullat Pacha. Furthermore, I must thank the Director of Afghanistan's National Museum, Dr. A. R. Ziai, and the President of the Afghan Historical Society, Mr. A. A. Kohzad. Last but not least, my hearty thanks to my two colleagues, Mr. Moh. Aziz Kakar, now graduate of the Faculty of Letters, and Mr. Abdul Razif Palwal, student of the Faculty of Letters, for their valuable help and good companionship. Finally it is a pleasant duty to express my obligation to Professor Daniel Schlumberger and all his staff in the Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan in respect of much help during the years and for putting me up during my stay in Kabul in 1960.

It is officially estimated that about one sixth, that is to say some 2 million of Afghanistan's population have a more or less nomadic mode of life (Afghanistan 1958, p. 115). It is the geographical and climatic conditions that cause this form of occupation to be so widespread and so rational, for immense tracts of the country could be utilised by none but the pastoral nomads with their seasonally-conditioned migrations.
Most of the nomads are to be found among the true Afghán, the Pashítuns, who speak the East Iranian tongue, Pashtó, and inhabit particularly the eastern, the southern and south-western part of the country. Thence they have lately, mainly in this century, but as early as from 1885 upwards, spread to the northern and north-western area of Afghánistán. Originally as a link in the wishes of the Afghán Government to secure the north-western frontier, but afterwards on their own initiative and as a secondary result of the government’s settlement programme for the Afghán nomads. In consequence the position today is that the nomads have, so to say, formed a ring around the central and east Afghán highlands. In the winter their camps are found in the steppes and in low-lying mountain valleys, or furthest east on the far side of the Durand Line towards the valley of the Indus. In the summer they are in the highlands.

Broadly speaking, the Pashítun nomads fall into two large ethnographical groups: the East Afghán, which mainly consists of Ghilzai tribes, and the South and West Afghán group, composed of Durráni tribes and “Durrániised” Ghilzai. These last-mentioned are found particularly in the north-west, in Báláh, Bálá-Murgháb and Maimana areas. So far as I can see, it is these and the pure Durráni who dominate among the nomadic Pashítun in the rest of North Afghanistán (Mábor-i-Sherif, Qátaghan and up to Babakhshán, where there is now an important summer area around the so-called Lake Shívá (see fig. 1, cf. Lindberg 1961)).

On a large number of points the Ghilzai and Durráni (here meant as covering the ethnographic main groups mentioned) differ from each other, culturally, socially and lingually. But especially important in this connexion are the occupational and economic differences. The Durráni have generally a far purer pastoral economy than have the Ghilzai; they are usually big flock owners, are rather more self-sufficient in regard to artisan products, and, finally, they have not developed the same trading activities as have the Ghilzai. Many circumstances play their part, but it is very significant that their traditional areas in the steppes to the south and west, and their migrations in towards the mountains have not called for trading beyond the extent necessary.

As can be understood, the Ghilzai are in general far more specialised. This must be very largely due to the fact that these nomads have always wandered through areas with quite developed resident communities, with a definite distribution of labour with specialised craftsmen as a characteristic feature (weavers, carpenters, smiths, barbers, “bricklayers”, potters, reapers, threshers etc.). Into this network of relationships which comprise the economic system the nomads are also adjusted. From the peasants they obtain a number of essential food products, from the artisans and traders of the villages and towns they acquire artisans’ goods, wooden kitchen utensils, earthenware and iron ware; they are also served by itinerant craftsmen, for example, curriers and weavers, who produce their tent cloth and so forth. In return the nomads can supply raw materials in the form of milk products, wool, animals for slaughter etc. The culture of these nomads
is so formed that it is necessary for them to trade. Their migrations have in many
cases taken place from time immemorial between the Indus country and the
East Afghan highlands, where there always has been a considerable trade. This
in particular has strengthened their commercial tendencies.

Nomadism among the Ghilzai in East Afghanistán falls into a number of
occupationally-different types. The more locally-stamped of these (Ferdinand
1959a, pp. 279-82) need not here be considered. It is the more extensively-
migrating nomads, especially those who cross the Durand Line into Tribal Ter-
ritory and what is now Pakistan, who will receive further consideration. In
Latimer's excellent review of the nomads who visit the North-West Frontier
Province, he draws up the following four "classes of periodic immigrants" (Census
of the N.W. F. P. 1911, p. 45 et seq):

1. Carriers between Peshawar and Kabul, who twice weekly pass through the
Khaibar Pass with caravans.

2. Labourers for the winter, who come singly by all the ordinary caravan
routes: Khaibar, Kurram (Kotal Pejwar) and Gomal.

3. Powindah (i.e., nomad) traders who come particularly by the southern
route, the Gomal road to Dera Ismail Khan. Of these he writes: "It is to be
noticed that the Powindahs are partly merchants and partly graziers, and in so
far,... in the latter capacity, are hardly to be distinguished from the fourth group."".

4. Graziers, exclusively, who come to all "trans-Indus" areas, but especially
to Peshawar and Kohat.

It is with these last two categories, that normally migrate in larger, collected
groups, taking with them their families, that the following will particularly be
concerned.

If we consider the conditions in previous centuries, it will be found that the
most prominent trading nomads, the so-called Lohâni (which include the Mián
Khel, who are now predominantly quite settled), the Naser, Kharoti, Nâzâl,
Dauâni, who all followed the southern, Gomal, route (see for example, MacGregor
1873, p. 625 et seq). These tribes were organised in military fashion when passing
through the Sulaiman Mountains, to protect themselves from attacks, especially
by the Wazir. But when they reached the East Afghan table-land they spread
out in small camps over the countryside, usually on the stretch south of Ghazni
to Moqur and Kâfût. Here they left their families in summer camps whilst some
of the men continued on their trading trips to Kandahâr, Herât, Bokhârâ, Kâbul
etc., though, mainly avoiding the Central Afghan mountain country.

The position is very greatly altered today; no large commercial caravans are
met on the routes between the large towns of Afghanistán, obviously owing to
all the modern development in that country. On account of the continual
development of the road net and thus of lorry traffic, caravan transport has become
confined to local traffic (such as in East Afghanistan the transport of wood and
charcoal), or else confined to areas where the road net is thin owing to difficult
natural conditions. This applies, for example, to most of Central Afghanistan, the area of the Hazâra and Ghilzâi Aimâq. Here are still to be found some of the trading nomads of former centuries engaged in their old occupation, but also many other tribes, notably the Ahmadzai people, living more to the north, who have become trading nomads relatively late. This happened as a direct result of their arrival in Central Afghanistan after this large area had finally been conquered.

The whole of the eastern section of the central Afghân mountain area is inhabited by the agricultural, village-dwelling Hazâra, who possess small herds of cattle and are in general impoverished. They are mongoloid in type, speaking a Persian dialect with a considerable sprinkling of Turkish and purely Mongolian words. They are of Mongolian, or rather Turko-Mongolian, origin, possibly deriving from various invasions in the course of the Middle Ages (Bacon 1951, p. 24), but it was not until about the year 1500 that they definitely appeared in their present area under the name of Hazâra (see Bâburnâma). Up to the end of the previous century they have succeeded to a surprising extent in remaining independent. This has been due to difficulties of access to their country, their strength and warlike qualities. However, they were not merely quiescent; trade caravans and travellers were molested, and, as Amir Abdur Rahman Khan writes (Vol. 1, p. 275): “The Hazaras had raided and plundered the neighbouring subjects for about 300 years past, and none of the Kings had had the power to make them absolutely peaceful.”

The Hazâra are Shi’i, and all the surrounding peoples are Sunnis, which has always helped to embitter relations between them, and later developments exacerbated this.

In 1892 the independent status of the Hazâra was finally ended, for, after various revolts, they were crushed by the forces of Amir Abdur Rahman Khan which advanced on Hazârajât from all sides. All the Hazâra leaders were captured.
and taken to Kābul, and "all anxiety and fear of rebellion is at an end, and the man is not to be found who could incite the people to rebellion, for he does not exist." (Abdur Rahman Khan 1966, Vol. I, p. 283).

Abdur Rahman Khan devotes a whole chapter in his memoirs to this war, writing that: "... Afghan chiefs had applied several times to raise a force of country people at their own expense to fight against the Hazaras, whom they looked upon as enemies to their country and religion. I had not given them permission to do this heretofore, but now [spring 1892] I gave a general order that everybody would be allowed to go and help in the punishment of the rebels." He continues: "Before the arrival of these volunteers the Hazaras were defeated from three directions ..., near Urughan," (l. c., p. 283).

In regard to the further consequences of this conquest, Amir Abdur Rahman Khan unfortunately writes nothing, but it is interesting to stress that he says that the volunteers played practically no role during the Hazara War, for if we
examine the information I have collected by conversations with Afghan nomads, particularly of the Ahmadzai, a quite different impression is formed of the part played by "the volunteers" in the suppression of the Hazara. One rather forms the impression that they regarded themselves as being a kind of "storm troops" in this campaign, and a statement by an old Ahmadzai nomad is typical: "We did not get to Hazara until we got good, modern rifles." A description by an Ahmadzai khan (about 70 years old) is very informative, and is here given somewhat abridged:

"In the time of Sher 'Ali Khan (1869-80) these Hazara people were controlled by their own mirs, and they taxed the people, and took also some salaries from the government. When Abdur Rahman Khan came from Bokhara (1880) and beat Sher 'Ali Khan and took the Kabul Kingdom, the Hazara mirs were for Sher 'Ali, and they therefore made a big rebellion against Abdur Rahman Khan [there were continuously more or less serious rebellions from 1888-92]. At that time Abdur Rahman Khan spoke with the Mohmand and the Ahmadzai tribes and asked them to fight the Hazaras: "Heads will be mine, and all property will be yours!" Then big fights started between the Hazaras and the Pashinans, and at last the Pashins were victorious and captured Behshid, Day Zangi, Day Kundil and Shahristan etc., and all the Hazaras from these areas were either killed, or forced to leave.—They (Hazaras) made up bands and concentrated in some places like Chahlar Sad Khana (in the farthest Day Kundil), in Urugan, Jaghori, Malistan, and some went to Bamian, and to Turkistan and settled there."

The Ahmadzai khan went on: "In the time of Abdur Rahman Khan, Qazi Usqu 'Ali was responsible for the division of the grazing lands between the kahds (i.e., the nomads), and he called on all the mulsks (i.e., the men in charge on the different levels in the tribal system) of all the kahds, and most important among these were the Mohmand and the Ahmadzai, and they got as much land as they wanted, grazing lands as well as farmlands, ....

Let us break the narrative here. What actually happened was, that the country of the Hazaras was divided up among different Afghan, Pathun tribes, as a reward for their help, and to secure the final appeasement of these regions. In the southern, warmer and more habitable districts Afghans were settled (Dahlia, Tirin), Urugan, Daya wa Fohid and Gzah), whereas the more central parts, the most elevated, were divided among the Pashin nomads.

From the khan's account it appears that all the Hazara left the area and that the nomads were given the whole territory. However, they were unable to cultivate it, for they possessed no knowledge of this, and they could not imagine spending the winter in the villages there, which lay at altitudes of 2800-3200 metres. The result was as the chief says: "In the time of Amir Habibullah Khan (1901-1919) the Ahmadzai made a big mistake, telling the government, that they were not able to cultivate the land, and therefore the government brought back the Hazara to their previous land. As time went by the Hazara became somewhat stronger,
and clashes occurred between the Hazāra and the Pashīdān. "... The case was that, apart from the general animosity which governed the feelings of the two populations, there was now in fact competition in the exploitation of certain areas: the Hazāra could operate dry-farming (tāla) on the not too-sloping mountain sides, and the nomads were able to utilize the same tracts as pasturage. Under King Ammanullah Khan (1919–1929), a new distribution, undertaken, according to the Ahmadzai khān, on conditions unfavourable to the nomads (the Ahmadzai had just revolted against the government) was made of the nomads' and the Hazāras' respective areas. The old ferman (i.e. royal order or decree, actually legal
confirmation) were withdrawn from the Ahmadi and the Mohmands, and new ones were issued far more vaguely formulated, as the nomads were merely allotted the high-lying stretches above the valleys where there were permanent watercourses that could be used for agriculture. According to the nomads it was these fermâns that, generally speaking, were still in force. However, quite vague in formulation they could not have been, as each single sub-tribe, section or group possess papers, fermân, for its respective areas. Within these, on a more traditional basis, a further division into family territories has been undertaken, so that each year the nomads return to quite definite camping grounds in Hazârajât.

The result, as we have already seen, is that a vast new area has been opened to the nomads, an adjustment and formative process having thus been set in action. The pastoral pursuits of the nomads have been better assured by new, good pastures, but at the same time the new surroundings have greatly stimulated their trading tendencies. We have already noticed that the Pashtûn nomads possess a long tradition of trading, and they were not slow to realize and exploit the great possibilities inherent in their new areas, practically unexploited from the point of view of trade. This commerce will be dealt with below in three categories:

1) Local trade (and other economic relations) between nomads and Hazârâs within a narrower geographical area as a result of their more or less “permanent” proximity during the summer time.

2) Long-distance trade based on caravans that to some extent start from the nomads’ summer camps and which practically all are connected with

3) the temporary nomad bazaars that are now all to be found in the area of the Aimâq.

1. Local or neighbourhood trade in Hazârajât

Despite the differences existing between the nomads and the settled population in Hazârajât, economic relations and, on some points, cooperation, of benefit to both parties came into being at an early stage. It is thus common for the Hazâra to take part in sheep shearing, for which they are paid on a share basis a twentieth of the wool shorn, and it is also quite the normal thing for them to purchase the wool, or to receive it in return for weaving transport sacks, kelims, shawls etc. according to a fixed system of division. If the nomads own cows, they are often left to the care of the Hazâra for the winter, the milk being used as payment, only if the cows give no milk do the Hazâra obtain a cash sum, for example 10 Afghâni per cow per winter. Finally, it happens that during the winter the Hazâra store the nomads’ special summer tent which is somewhat larger than the one they use during their migrations. However, relations between the two ethnic groups are mainly of an economic, commercial nature. In the main the Hazâra supply wheat, clarified butter and the woven articles mentioned, and receive from the nomads bazar goods, primarily cheap Indian (or Pakistânî) clothes, unrefined sugar (Persian ghar), tea, innumerable other things and—very important—credit
Instalment payment systems—or rather respite in regard to payment—is a very normal thing in Afghanistan—as are also advance payments for later delivery. These are merely two aspects of the same thing: Those with liquid means have, without employing any great skill, a change of multiplying them, usually at the cost of those who have not.

The Hazara are more or less constantly short of cash, and consequently often sell in one of the ways outlined. The nomads purchase goods both for their own consumption, and to an even greater extent to take with them eastwards for re-sale. The nomads thus pay about 120 Afgh. (≈20–22 sh.), for 1 žer (≈ 16 pounds Kābuli = approx. 7 kg) clarified butter for delivery in the following year; in due course they re-sell this butter, for example in the Lōgar valley in East Afghanistan for about 500 Afgh. (≈ about 100 sh.) for payment the year after. In other words they obtain about 100% gross profit in a twelve-month, as a purchase for 120 Afgh. becomes in two years about 500 Afgh.

Wheat is normally bought for delivery in the year following, but in general
for the nomads' private consumption, as nearly all wheat transport now takes place by lorry. For wheat they pay 10–11 Afg. per šō. It is not seldom happens that when the nomad comes to fetch his wheat the peasant cannot supply it, and then must buy it back, for it actually belongs to the nomad. Now, however, the peasant must pay between 25 and 30 Afg. per šō in order to retain the wheat he owes. If the peasant is unable to pay this sum in cash, it is converted to wheat purchased on an advance payment basis, at 10–11 Afg. per šō for delivery the next year. In other words, if the peasant must postpone his delivery of wheat to the following year, he must pay for each šō he should have delivered this year between 2.5 and 3.5 šō in the next. If unable to pay in due course the calculation continues as described with the result that the peasant sinks deeper and deeper into debt.

The articles the Hazārā purchase from the nomads, whether clothes, tea, sugar or other bazar goods are seldom, if ever, paid for in cash. The debt is written down and falls due for payment in the following year. It can be a matter of money, clarified butter, or wheat. Very often the debt incurred for these products is calculated on the basis outlined—a most profitable system for the nomads.—The story I heard with amusement many years ago about a pair of shoes, which in the course of the years became over half a ton (1 ḫānāf) of wheat, can thus very well be bitter reality. The backbone of this nomad trade, especially in earlier days, was cheap cotton clothing. The nomads preferred to give this as payment for all provisions, for it was the most remunerative. Indian, and now, particularly Pakistānī, cotton clothing was purchased by the nomads, on their own admission (1960), in Peshāwar for about 8 annas a yard or metre (= about 3–3.5 Afg. = 7–8 d.) and re-sold in Hazārajāt for between 15–25 Afg. (= about 9–5 sh.) per metre to be paid the next year. For obvious reasons the nomads are generous with credit. “If a man wants to borrow 100 Afg. we always give him 200”, they said.

The result of this trade is clear; the Hazāras are sinking deeper and deeper into debt, and even if they wish to try to get straight economically they are seldom able to do so, being as it were compelled by their earlier financial engagements to continue trading with the nomads, a vicious circle. As settlement of an unredeemed debt the nomads take over sheep, cows and, in the last resort, land. The sheep and cows they may take with them eastwards for sale there, or alternatively the cows may be left in the Hazāra's care until the next year (see above). The land they also leave to the Hazāra (perhaps even the previous owner) for him to look after as a share-paid tenant. Payment for this lies between 1/2 or 1/4 (1/8?) o the yield, according to whether the tenant has supplied ploughing oxen, seed etc.

The amount of land acquired in this manner (and in other ways, for example purchase) by the Pashūn nomads is extremely difficult to ascertain without copious statistical material. I was told in 1934 by government officials in the Panjāb (the seat of government, ḫokāmat of Dāy Zang), that they estimated that 5% of the land in Dāy Zangl was in nomad hands—but that the area was increasing
In 1950 their share of the land was clearly greater, and, moreover some wealthy nomad khâns added to this existing process by purchasing large areas. The Hazâra told me that the nomads were now like kings in Dây Zangî, and to some extent in Dây Kundi also, whereas nomads' ownership of land in Behsût, the easternmost and highest part of Hazârjât, was less extensive. It is apparent that it is the wealthy nomads, particularly the maliks and khâns, who are the biggest landowners. In most cases the ordinary nomad today owns no land, but on the other hand often takes it on the so-called gerâwî terms. This means that, against a once-for-all payment in the shape of a loan, the nomad takes a definite area of land as security. All rights to the land belong to the lender, and as he neither can nor will cultivate it, this is left to an Hazâra on ordinary tenant conditions. If Islamic law is followed, the borrower (former owner of the ground) must not be employed as tenant.

By giving his ground, or a part of it, in gerâwî, which is very widespread in Afghanistan, the Hazâra gets through his immediate liquidity crisis, whilst the nomad cheaply acquires land and the advantages consequent upon so doing, for the gerâwî price lies far below the normal selling price; in certain other parts of
the country (Laodimáa) for example, it is a fifth of the ordinary sale price. A
contract thus established runs for an indefinite period and cannot be termi-
nated until the loan is repaid, or, according to information from the Aínáq's area, the
lender (nomad) has gained prescriptive rights to the land after some 20–25 year.
Repayment of loans of this kind is not infrequent in Hazaráját, primarily why
the Hazárâ is able to give the land in gerânâ to another at a higher price than i
the original contract.

By the gerânâ system and by the taking over of land the nomads achieve some-
thing very important, indeed almost ideal, for their one-sided occupation: a fair
constant (and cheap) yield of vital agricultural produce within their summer
grazing areas. On their side the Hazárâ obtain in the one case badly-needed cash
which, however, is perhaps merely a step on the road to the other, where it
reaches the somewhat more sheltered existence of the subordinate.

Only one aspect of the relations between the nomads and the settled agricul-
turists has here been pointed out: trade where neither party wants cash settlement
owing to lack of money and regard for profit, respectively, and where the de-
ter is one of the driving forces in establishing the nomads as a land-owning upper echelon
that each year returns to fetch its yield.

So far these acquisitions of land have not decisively altered the nomads' mode
of life; they are still tent-dwelling migrants. In the areas north of the Panjáb
few rich nomad khânâs now possess qal'as (i.e. village or farm surrounded by
high wall) of the usual East Afghán type. Those they only partially inhabit, an
other to the west, in Khážâ, a wealthy nomad khânâ was, in 1960, in process
of building himself a qal'a, the local Hazárâ being summoned to build it. However
it should not be assumed that the nomads will settle in Hazaráját, at all even
for many years, for the 5–7 months long winter of Central Hazaráját is far too
severe. It is also symptomatic that the nomad khânâs who now own qal'as all posse
land at other points on their migration route, primarily in the Lúgar valley;
south of Khábul. The acquisition of land is a natural way of ensuring one's existence
as a nomad, whose occupation is in many respects uncertain and, particularly
vulnerable in respect of catastrophies (cattle disease, natural conditions, war
south forth). The khânâ who was building a qal'a also told me that in the course
some years it was his idea to push stock-breeding (sheep and camels) into the
background, and then solely to move with his family by lorry between his land
possessions in Khášt, near the frontier (The Durand Line), in Lúgar and i
 Khážâ. He had realised that this was in accord with the spirit of the time

The development tendencies here described cover the nomad tribes which
are predominantly pure-pastoral, though possessing a tradition for some transpor
t work (which all have more or less), but on the other hand the typical tradin
nomads of former centuries are but little involved in this process.

After their arrival in Hazaráját, the true pastoralists have obtained the
original, their so to say vital, trade accelerated and accentuated by the new su
roundings. For many, especially the wealthier, it is thus understandable that their original pastoral mode of life has receded more and more into the background, becoming a more traditionally-stamped secondary occupation. The actual reason why they now come to Hazārajāt was trade, they told me, “For there is still much to gain”, and they added: “There is no better business in the world than ours”. If development continues as it has begun I must agree with the words of the old nomad chief: “The Hazāra have had their day.” (“Sen-i-Hazāra pur ast”).

2. The caravan trade of the nomads

From the summer camps of the nomads in Hazārajāt, or in the case of some tribes from camps within the Pashṭūn area (for example, around Gardēz and Muqr) larger or smaller caravans start every year; these consist solely of heavily-laden dromedaries accompanied by well-armed men, some of whom are mounted. These caravans make westwards—as do many on foot or, nowadays, by lorry! They all make for the three big nomad bazars at Ābul, Gomāb and Charā, all within the Aimaq area.

These trade caravans are a direct continuation of the tradition of earlier centuries, where similar caravans (also then purely merchant caravans) went to Kandahār, Herāt, Kābul, Turkestan and Bokhārā, and either completed the whole journey with their goods or sold them on the way, whichever was their custom. In the area around Muqr, south of Ghazni, the summer camps of these trading nomads are still to be found, well-established with mud walls up to two metres high in the tents, essentially as Vigne has described them from around 1840 (See Fig. 3; Vigne 1840, p. 114). But the migration route from that time has been changed, and now runs from the Muqr district through Jāghūrī, Mālestān, Dāy Kundlī, on to the Aimaq area (this applies to some Sulmānkhā and Ahmadzai groups and others). However, the largest groups of these eastern-dwelling trading nomads now take the more northerly route, leaving Gardēz, south around Lāgar to Wardak, or come from still further south and also pass up through Wardak to Hazārajāt. This applies to the Nāzā, Khwāzak and Mārakhā, the two last being Sulmānkhā tribes. These three differ from the others by holding small bazars during their journey through Hazārajāt, but must pass straight through and only begin their trading when they have reached one of the nomad bazars.

Altogether, the Nāzā people are one of the larger groups of trading nomads, and, at the same time, one of the tribes that has an unbroken tradition for this since the days prior to the conquest of Hazārajāt. Originally the Nāzā were actually flock-keepers (Persian and Pashṭō mawād = property-owner, but always in the sense flock-owners), as so many of the later trading nomads. Now, however, they are predominantly settled in Khūst, but still have their summer camps in the Gardēz area. From here they set out in very large numbers on their caravan travels. According to some, probably exaggerated, information up to 500–700 tents are
involved. These Nižži hold their first bazar among the Wardak Pashčûns in Qalah-i-Aulî, and then continue into Hazārajāt, where they hold bazaars at the following places: Derāzqūl, Kattalāhāk (near Kūnl-i-Mullā Yaqūb), Markhāna, Dahān-i-Rishqā, Siāh Darra, Panjāb, Dahān-i-Gōdār, Aqārat (Azghārat), Khashān, Asp Maidān, Kermān, L'āl, whence they either go towards Charâis or Gomāb in 5-6 days.

On several occasions I have met caravans of Nižži (Fig. 5), and as an example of their trading cycle I can recount my observations on 4-5 July, 1953, when a group of some 60 tents came to Panjāb, the seat of government for Dāy Zangi.

From about 4 a.m. the caravan began to pass by below the hukum. The last had not passed until 7.30. In front were heavily laden camels in small groups with their "guards", and finally the horsemen, the wealthiest and the oldest.

They camped, as was their custom, on the flat plain west of the government centre. Whilst the tents were being pitched the camels were turned to the mountains to grass; some of them, however, were sent out with men with corn sickles to fetch "concentrates": lucerne, purchased for cash from the Hazāras around. Later in the day there was life in the tent encampment. Each tent was converted into a little booth where all kinds of things could be bought. In the first place there were cheap Indian clothes (purchased in Kābul), but also turban cloth from Peshāwār (Pakistān), finely-embroidered women's shoes, ordinary peaked shoes, Pathân sandals (Persian chopāl), particularly, a very cheap and poor edition, made from old motor tyres, tea and dark brown clumps of village-made cane sugar from Pakistān or Jalālābād (Persian gōr). There was a big sale of second-hand American clothing, primarily waistcoats, but jackets and overcoats were also on offer, but no trousers! Tall galvanized iron drinking-cups and pocket mirrors sold well. In fact there was almost everything one could wish for, including showy embroidered Afghān waistcoats (from Deñā Ismā'īl Khān), ammunition belts, ammunition, sewing needles and thread, and even spinning tops.

There was a crowd of purchasing Hazāras, but everything passed off very quietly. Hazāra-Persian (hazâraš) blended with the Pashčûn's characteristic version of the same tongue. Those who could not pay cash were written down to pay next year, but then the price was considerably higher, nearly double. We saw nothing of money-lending.

Most of the goods had been bought in Kābul, for the range of goods in Pakistān after Partition in 1947 had become small and poor—altogether one went less to Pakistān than before.

Late in the afternoon the camels were back in camp again and were fed with lucerne. The tents were taken down and packed up, everything being arranged in camel loads, whilst the nomads began to bake bread and prepare the evening meal. They sat shivering around the flickering camp fire under the cool evening sky (2050 m) until a little past midnight, when the first began to break camp. The nomads divided into smaller groups taking different roads; some going more
or less direct to the Mazâr-i-Sherif district, whilst the majority took the road westwards towards the bazars. By the morning only a few stragglers remained, mostly mounted people. The last left about 9 o'clock. On our way westwards that day we saw some of these stragglers, pedestrians and, chiefly, horsemen. Their actual job as rearguard was to visit villages on the route to collect debts from the previous year or to arrange for settlement at a later date. These traders generally preferred immediate or deferred payment in cash, or the supply of provisions on their return journey eastwards in the autumn.

The next day we came across the main camp, that had been pitched at Dâhâni-Golak, about 25 kms from Panjâb, and here again a small bazar was being held.

The group we met had a leader—who however did not attract much attention. Years of experience made this daily move and bazar life quite a simple matter; they were used to it and needed no orders—and anyway had no obligation to obey them. However, there was as a matter of course a man who was called a leader, perhaps a sulâk of one of the tribes' sub-groups, or merely a respected person who, when necessary, could act for the group, for example in dealings with the government etc.

These Niâzî are the last of the trading nomads who pass through Hazârajât to the big bazars, where they arrive a good fortnight after they have opened uying
to the smaller ones they have held en route. In 1954, the Nūzās were the only people who had not passed through Panjāb on 8th July, whereas the following already had: Sādīzai, Ahmadzai, Šaghar, Stanīzai, Lañjāzai, and Daulatzaizai. On 5th July, 1960 I came across a group of about 80 Nūzā tents with about 1000 camels west of Panjāb. These Nūzās had with them three soldiers from the batānat in Panjāb, whom they had asked to help them in purchasing lucerne from the Hazāras and to ensure that they would not later be accused of having destroyed the Hazārā fields during their passage. After their visit to the big bazaars the Nūzā proceeded, like the Khwāzak, Mīrākhāl, and many others, on into the Aimāq area, holding small bazaars there, finally ending up in North Afghanistan, whence some returned home by lorry, whilst the transport animals took the route via Hazārajāt.

It applies to the trading nomads who start from their summer camps in Hazārajāt (notably the Ahmadzai, particularly Ṭaghar (camp north of Panjāb), 'Allā(ud)dīnkhel, and a great number of minor groups) and to the Nūzā, Khwāzak etc. coming from the east that, during their caravan trading trips, they use the white canvas tent of an European-Indian type, made in Pakistan. However, it is typical of these trading nomads—though there are exceptions—that in the course of the year they alternate between the traditional nomad dwelling, the black goat’s-hair tent, and the more modern white canvas tent. In the winter area, on the spring migration and on the summer sites, in fact in all cases where the whole family is together the black tent is in use, whereas, when the men alone set out on trade expeditions, in the winter to Pakistan and in the summer to Central Afghanistan, the white tent comes into its own.

3. The nomad bazaars
In June 1960 Moh. Aziz Kakar and I were among Ahmadzai nomads in Belsād, Hazārajāt. The time was approaching for the big bazaars in the Chahār Aimāq area. The caravans moved westwards, some to the summer grazing districts, some for trading. However, others, individuals and small groups from the summer camps stood, as we did ourselves, waiting for a west-bound lorry. These were people who formerly would have had to walk this long distance, or else some who wished to travel comfortably. A lorry contained a motley party of up to 50–60 men in several layers. There were Hazāras who had just performed their military service or had had some errand in the capital; there were wealthy traders and elderly, dignified hajjas returning from their pilgrimage; there were people who had lagged behind their caravans, and, finally, people from Lōgar and other eastern areas, or summer camps, who just happened to have their pockets full of money and wanted to visit the bazaars to buy sheep.

There is regular lorry traffic all through the summer and part of the autumn on the Central Afghanistan, highway from Kābul via Diwāl Qōl (seat of govern-
ment for Behsud), Panjáb (Darya Zangi) and westwards to Asturli (seat of government for Darya Kundu) and to L'āl (seat of government for L'āl o Sarjangal), the old Qal'as-i-Sagáwa. Around these government centres there are now small bazaars, the largest of which is at Panjáb. Lorries transport supplies and people to these places, and bring back some clarified butter and, particularly, wheat from L'āl to the capital. Solely on account of the bazaars a few lorries run from L'āl onwards to Daulatyar and even to Kassí (seat of government for Chaqcharán), whence a long day's march brings one either to Gomáb to the north-west or the Abul bazaar south of Kassí. However, on this last stretch lorry traffic is not frequent; hardly more than a score get to Daulatyar and Kasí in the course of the summer, and from the Herat side in the west come none at all. As a rule there is regular lorry traffic from Herat to Obég, and very rarely, perhaps once a year, a privately-hired lorry drives through to Shaharak and on to Taiwára in Ghór. In 1960 this latter place became the seat of government of the newly-established minor province, Ghór. There is only one other road leading to the heart of the Aimaq country. This runs from the road between Adraskan and Shindand to Farsi and thence onwards to Tūlak and Shaharak. There is no regular traffic on it, despite its excellent condition.

All in all one realises that the Aimaq area is still more cut off from the surrounding world than is Hazarája‘t when it comes to modern traffic, and the bazaars around the seats of government are likewise less developed than those in the Hazará area. In Kassí and Shaharak there are 3-4 small booths at each place. In Tūlak I saw no shops in 1960, but a small bazaar street was being made, whereas in Farsi there were merely two village booths. Taiwára is said to have a somewhat bigger, but not large, bazaar.—It should, however, be added that this area is not nearly so densely populated as Hazarája‘t. On account of the lesser elevation of the mountains the country is more affected by droughts and consequently yields are not so great. Dry-farming, which is widespread, is poorer than in Central Hazarája‘t, and the area artificially watered is undoubtedly less. The economy of the Aimaq is based on agriculture and cattle-breeding, and they are more or less semi-nomadic. During the summer time they dwell in sildap (summer camps) in tents. The two tribes of Aimaq here concerned are the Firuzekhi and Taimani, who live broadly speaking north and south of Hari Rūd from Daulatyar in the east and nearly to Chish-i-Sherif in the west. These tribes, which speak slightly different Persian dialects, are otherwise quite close to each other in cultural respects. There is nevertheless one marked difference in that the Firuzekhi use the central Asiatic felt-tent (the yurt) of a local type and the so-called chahar, whilst the Taimani have their own type of black tent (Ferdinand 1959, p. 8 et seq. and figs. 6-7).

The Aimaq area (Chaqcharán, Pasband, Shaharak, Ghór etc.) was first brought under the direct rule of the government by Amir Abdur Rahman Khan, and it is from that time that the central areas at least have become grazing land for the western nomads, the Durrānī. The opening of these vast new areas to the
nomads and the further development between the Aimaq and the Pashtün has taken place more peacefully and with less friction than in Hazarájat. It has been an important circumstance that there have been no religious differences as both groups of the population are Sunnis, but conflicting interests are present when two different groups wish to exploit the same land. In the beginning there was apparently room enough for both, and so there is, on the whole, today, even though the Taimání assert that they have had to reduce their herds of sheep and goats as a result of the Pashtún's arrival.

Peculiar to this area is the fact that the nomads possess no legal confirmation (ferma) for their grazing grounds. This has caused the nomads to wish to acquire farming land in order, among other things, to assure their grazing rights. In Pasaband and Shahmuk this has taken place particularly from the Saqão period (1929) onwards; the land is either bought or acquired by the geavai system, where the ground becomes nomad property after 20–25 years. As a result of the Aimaq's apparently constant lack of money, the nomads often take the land in geavai, but the taking over of the ground never happens on account of trade connections, as the Durrání nomads do not engage in actual trading. When asked why this was, they excused themselves by saying that trading here did not pay, as so many small traders came from Herat and Óbeh. Their activities, however, have not prevented the East Afghán trading nomads from finding an excellent market in this area. According to my information, the trading nomads primarily came to the Aimaq area after the Bacha-i-Saqão period (1929), and this is connected with the moving of the nomad bazars.

Originally there was only one bazar, Kermán, which goes back to the beginning of this century. It lay on the lengthy Kermán plain, two days' journey (serîf's) east of Lâl, near Qal'a Khânaghâi in Hazarájat. According to an old Ahmadzâni châla, the Durrání grazing grounds went right to Kermán, "but slowly we pushed them back towards the west, not by direct war, but by camping near them and starting small quarrels by stealing their sheep, camels and horses. In that way we, the Ahmadzâni, have pressed them as far west as Kassî" or, to be more correct, only to Daštâyâr. Other informants say that it was during Bâchâ-i-Saqão, or just after, that the Kermán bazar was dissolved and moved to the west into actual Durrání territory, where no less than three bazars were "founded": Óbel, Gomâb and Chârâ. The position was that during the belligerent Saqão period the Durrání dare no longer come to Kermán.—(It is apparent that there is a clear westward drive in commercial expansion, and, as the old Ahmadzâni said: "Were it not for the government, we would end up with the bazar in Herât").

With this as background, I will turn to the bazars themselves.

Gomâb

Gomâb bazar lies 25–35 kms NW of Kassî in Chaqcharân at an altitude of about 2800 metres, near the watershed between the tributary of the Murgháb river and
far Rūd, in undulating country where individual “horst”-like rock sections remain. The bazar itself lies in the very flattened upper end of a valley formed round a small, snow-fed stream that vanishes towards the NW into a deeper oriented V-shaped valley. The sides of the valley slope gently and are of no great height except towards the WNW, where a rounded rocky massif rises up. The place is quite desolate, and the mountains afford no protection from the powerful winds that frequently blow. As a bazar site it has undoubtedly been chosen because of its “spaciousness” and the good grazing that surrounds it. In addition it possesses easy access from all quarters, perhaps with the exception of the SW, and, of decisive importance, there is a never-failing supply of the finest spring water. The name of the bazar is connected with the spring, Gomāb (popularly known as Gomao), which means “the disappearing water” and refers to the fact that the water of the spring disappears into a swampy grass-covered tract a few metres from its source. This ever-running spring is regarded as a singular thing, and is deemed to be under the protection of a wali (a holy man, who by prayer and an ascetic mode of life has come near to God; in Afghanistan men of this sort are thought to possess supernatural abilities). This wali had prayed that the spring should never dry up, and that there should always be enough water for men and beasts.
On June 22nd and from the 26th to the 29th we were in Gomâb bazaar. On the first day the bazaar had scarcely begun: there were only six white trading tents where Pakîstânî and Japanese clothes, velvets, and the gay waistcoats from Dêrâ Ismâ'il Khân were on sale, and then, closer to the spring, small groups of East Afghân buyers who had encamped under the open sky sheltered by low stone walls or piles of fuel plants (kâta). Both the dealers (settled Taghar of the Ahmadzâis) and the buyers (including now settled 'Isâkhâl, Ahmadzâi and others) had come by lorry to Dâulatâyrân, and thence had walked to the bazaar site in three days. Taghar people bringing with them their goods on hired camels. In addition the first salesman had arrived. They were western mîdâhs, true pastoralists, who had encamped with their flocks of high-rumped târî sheep on the slopes by the bazaar—a couple of thousand, probably. On the 26th there were 35 white tents, and fresh caravans arrived each morning. When we left on the 29th there were some 150 tents and small booths, plus 20–25 small groups of buyers under the open sky, but the bazaar had only then “come to the boil”, as one termed it. I should judge that the bazaar reaches at most 300–350 tents and groups of open-air campers. If we allot on average six men to a tent this gives us about 2000 eastern traders.

How many western nomads and Firôzkôhi (Aimâq) visit the bazaar is more difficult to assess, but it would not be reasonable to put the figure lower than 2000, and 4000 is probably nearer the mark. The bazaar preserved the character it had from the first day. Furthest to the WSW it consisted of the closely-packed bazaar town with tent-booths side by side in long rows, with enough room between them to allow for the tethering of horses and for a fire-place with a supply of fuel; they constituted the streets of the bazaar. North of all this lay an open-air mosque, surrounded by a low stone wall. A little further to east lay the tents, somewhat more scattered, beyond which, on the far side of a low rise there were a few scattered tents and shelters for the flock buyers. This part of the bazaar also possessed its mosque. Around it were encamped bands of vendors with their flocks of sheep; these were Durrânî mîdâhs with flocks of up to a couple of hundred sheep or more. There were also Firôzkôhi with small flocks of sheep or goats, which were largely sold for consumption in the bazaar itself. Now and again one also encountered well-to-do Firôzkôhi and other Aimâq (and Uzbek) from areas up towards Maimanâ, Bâbâ Murgâb etc., who were selling wholesale, like a few wealthy Chaqcharân Firôzkôhi, who send their animals for winter grazing to the lowlands to the NW. (In Chaqcharân sheep are kept in stalls during the winter, which considerably limits the size of the flocks.) Although there were, perhaps, a couple of thousand sheep constantly to be seen around the market, it was difficult to form an impression of the actual extent of trading, for as soon as flocks were sold they were withdrawn from the bazaar area to more distant grazing areas. However, 60–100,000 sheep pretty certainly changed hands.

Trade in the tent town took place in the same manner as we had witnessed at Panjâb, and it must be admitted that the nomads knew how to sell: sweet,
friendly words were used to tempt the "simple" mountain folk—and the many gaudy goods were tempting—besides payment could wait until the following year. The trading pattern was the well-known one, but the profits here in the Aimaq area were not quite so high as in Hazārajāt. The traders from the booths also purchased sheep and anything else they thought was advantageous—saddle-bags, kelims, carpets, donkeys, camels, and horses, but for themselves only provisions (clarified butter and flour). Within the different tents-booths there might be up to 7–10 men, some of whom left and started homewards with the flocks of sheep that had been bought.

The goods offered for sale were comprehensive; there was hardly anything obtainable in the town bazars that was unobtainable at Gomāb. It was all like the bazar in Panjāb, but magnified several times. There were whole booths with iron goods: pots, pans, tethers, sheep bells and so forth; others were devoted to riding equipment, primarily English military saddles with all accessories. There were a couple of armorer's booths, where rifles and revolvers could be repaired and cartridges bought; old cartridge cases could be re-filled with British army powder. In addition there were one or two tailor's workshops with sewing machines. But first and foremost there were clothes, the traditional medium of exchange, the trading nomads' "weapon" par excellence.—It was customary in the bazar
for all purchases of sheep to be made half in clothes and half in cash, and this still the case in most deals, though the vendors more and more try to avoid. However, the nomads will slowly have to give way. The monopoly that they formerly possessed in virtue of their strength and their control of the migration route to the east is in reality broken. The Durrāni nomads today themselves drive the flocks to the market at Kābul, and not a few eastern people (including the Mānīs) go by lorry to North-west Afghanistan and there buy up flocks outside of the markets and drive them eastwards. A monetary economy in the case both purchase and sale is becoming more and more general—to the great regret of the trading nomads. Formerly it was forbidden not to bring clothes to the bazaars, and offenders against the "law", who only had money with them, were subjected to corporal punishment. "But that was when the government was weak, it was said.

The trading nomads or gulātā in Gomāb comprise people of the following tribes: Taghar (Ahmadzai), Spānsarā (Sulimānkhāl), Shinwāri, Sulimānkhāl Khwāzak (Sulimānkhāl), Allahud(dinkhāl (Ahmadzai), Zindākhāl (Ahmadzai Alizā, Mangal, Zādrān, Andar, Dāmarā, Daurān, Nāzā, Kharōtī, Mīrkhāl (Sulimānkhāl), Mohmand?), to which come the Khiderkhāl, Moākhīl and Isākhāl, all Ahmadzai, who primarily came as clothes buyers and seldom as tenters with them. This information I was given in Gomāb. From other quarters I have learned that the following tribes are also represented: Alizā, Bāhrāmīl (Ahmadzai), Maṭānī, Mullah- or Mallākhāl, Utnāzai (Mohmand), Daulatīz, Akākhāl, Ibrāhīmkhāl (Ahmadzai), and Zarangkhāl (Ahmadzai).

As space forbids a more thorough review of these tribes, I will confine myself to saying that it is the Ahmadzai tribes that dominate the bazar, together with other tribes from the northern part of the Pakhtā province, that is to say, from the Gardēz-Khost area. Somewhat less prominent are the tribes from the southern part of Pakhtā province, Zurnat and Kattwāz etc., the various Sulimānkhāl tribes, Mullākhāl, Kharōtī, Daurānī etc. As a whole the Taghar people are the most important among the tent traders, and the Isākhūl undoubtedly head the flock buyers. For that matter, as stated, it is difficult to draw a line between the settled people and the nomads in the bazar's two categories of trading nomads, owing to the fact that a number of the richer trading nomads have become more and more settled, but nevertheless, true to tradition, still take part in bazar trade and in sheep purchasing. This means that in nearly all the tribes mentioned the will be settled people and pure nomads. Only the Zādrān, Mangal and Dāmarā (and certain Sulimānkhāl sections) pass a purely settled background (or a decided local nomadism).

Gomāb bazar serves the local population in Chaqcharān, that is to say the Fūrzākhāl and Tājīk (the latter living particularly in the Murghāb valley towards the north, and in some tributary valleys to the Murghāb towards the north-west, but first of all the bazar serves the western nomads, the Durrāni wūlābār, who n
Chaçcharán as their summer grazing land and winter in Bâdghišât and Maimana areas. They comprise the under-mentioned tribes and sub-tribes: Ahmadzâi, Mohammadzâi, Zamândân, Ishâqzâi, Shamâlzâi, Hotak, Nurzâi, Bâbur, Mirâzizî, Târî, Dîsh Mohammadîzân, Yâsulzâi, Remûzâi, Achîkzâi, Omarzâi, Musâzâi, Jalâlzâi, Charmî, Bârakzâi, Perûzâi, Bâyânzâi, Sinân, Bâbî, Timûrî, Bakhîterî, Zûrî, and Tûnzâi, according to information obtained in the bazar. Of these the Mohammadzâi, Ishâqzâi, Nurzâi, Achîkzâi and Bârakzâi are well-known Durrânî tribes, whilst many others are the so-called “Durrânî-ized” Ghîkâi tribes: Hotak, Ahmadzâi, Bâbî and others. Finally, there are two Aimâq tribes, Timûrî and Zûrî, who belong to the “Durrânî-ized” Aimâq (cf. Ferdînând 1959b, p. 9). Characteristic for all the named tribes is their very uniform pastoral way of life, and culture, plus the fact that Persian has gradually become just as prominent as Pashtô.

Among other visitors to the bazar were three mulâsts who all originated from East Afgânistân and had come by lorry without having any special connexion with the participating tribes. They had come to fill a need and to earn a living by so doing. The different tents took turns, without any system, in feeding the mulâsts, and when the bazar ended all gave them money. These mulâsts possessed no fixed position in the life of the camp. It is possible that they might be of im-
portance if a conflict broke out, but that would depend solely on the person of the individual mullah. After the bazar ended these mullahs went to Abul.

In the camp there was also a Kandahari, melang (i.e. a kind of dervish) had come to make some money. He was well received in all his wretchedness the clown he was. In addition, there were two Firuzkohlí beggars. Finally, I was Moh. Aziz Kákar and I, plus our soldier, to constitute a foreign element. That this was so we felt more and more as the bazar became populated. Actually they were frightened of us. What were we there for? All kinds of rumors rife about our presence. We were to build a town on the site of the bazar! We were going to move the bazar etc. etc. Naturally this restricted our system investigation very greatly.

We left the bazar just as it was coming "to the boil", as Moh. Aziz had returned to Kábul. Gomáb bazar has a short but hectic life. All reports agree that it only for 10-11 days. Just as the place is linked with supernatural ideas about the spiritual bazar ends on account of supernatural motives. It was related that e year on the 9th day between 500 and 1000 pigeons flew in over the bazar. This was a portent, for the pigeons are considered to be fi (Persian peri) and "after that day we cannot sell anything, and on the 11th day the tents will have left Gomáb". The flock buyers leave as quickly as they can, reach Kábul in about a month. For the sake of grazing they do not follow highway all the time. On the other hand, the retailers are not finished with sales in so short a time, even though prices drop a little towards the end of the bazar they spread; some, including the settled Tagháar, go to Abul, others Churás, and others may spread over Cháqcharán in small groups, and walk north-west and north, holding en route small bazars of varying duration. A little tribal group follows in this way a quite definite route each year. It is mentioned, for example, that from the Zindikhél people, who now come frequently settled milieu in Gardéz come some 5-6 tents to Gomáb, each year visit the following places where, with others, they form small bazars: Chishma-i-Sam in Cháqcharán (to which in all about 50-60 guldá tents come), Káralar Bágghát (all in all 80-90 tents), Khairkhána in Bágghát (in all 95-50 tents), Qál‘a-i-Nau (in all 10 tents), Bálá Margháb (in all 12 tents), Ghórámách (15-6 tents) and Chichákhtu (in all 5-6 tents) towards Maināma, and finally, thought, Maināma. These Zindikhél people have taken this route for the 18-19 years, and as late as the month of 'Aqráb (25th October-25th November) they are busy with their trading activities. When all the goods are sold, the are sent eastwards through Central Afghánistán, whilst some of the men go by car via Mazári-Sherif and Kábul. Altogether, these people are absent their home district, Gardéz, for about 5 months on their trading trip.

The mir administration will be referred to later.
Charás bazar

Charás lies on the upper Murgháb river in north-eastern Chaqcharán. To judge by verbal information, the character of the bazar is that of the many minor bazars, and the number of tents hardly exceeds 50, and is more probably around 40. The bazar has no mir administration, but apparently is one of the most long-lived. Mir Ahmad in Abul said it lasted 50 days, whilst others have mentioned 2 and 2½ months. It is particularly visited by the following tribes: Niází, Taghar, Kharófí, Alóáí and Daquáí.

Like the other bazars, Charás is both a sheep market and a retail trade bazar. It primarily serves the upper Murgháb area, which is mainly inhabited by Tajiks, and is likewise visited by Firózkóhí. As an animal market it serves the midáhí from the Sar-i-Pul and Mazár-i-Sherií areas.

Abul bazar

Abul bazar is situated in the hokumat of Pasá bande, about 25-30 kms south of Kasái, on the south side of the mountain chain, Band-i-Bayán, in a broad valley running SE-NW at an altitude of about 25-2600 m. Access to the bazar is not difficult, except from the north, and from the west, from the Kasái-Shaharak high
road, a side road near Pāwāl Safed leads directly east to Ābūl, though it is seldom taken. Grazing is good on the mountains around the bazaar; and, most important of all, the valley tract possesses a small perennial stream.

On 25th July, 1960 we arrived at this bazaar and remained there until the 27th. We came by the same road that we had used on 18th July, 1953, and reached a bazaar that was considerably quieter than it had been seven years before. Ten or twelve days earlier, we were told, the bazaar had “gone off the boil”, and there were now only about 80 tents left. Ābūl bazaar, like Charās, normally starts a few days later than Gomāb, according to Mir Ahmad, between the 5th and 1st Saretan (i.e. 26th June–1st July) and it is then “in good shape for about 10 to 15 days lasting in all about 25 days. It was nearing its end when we visited it. The animal market had long since finished. This is always settled at once, exactly as at Gomāb. Incidentally, trading activities were precisely the same here as at all other bazaars. From what I could judge, the animal market seemed somewhat smaller than Gomāb. The sheep were the so-called kandahār type of fat-tailed sheep. As regards size, I should say that Ābūl was about the same as Gomāb, though I am not sure to state which is the larger, as my information varies greatly.

Ābūl primarily serves the Pasaband district and in a further sense those p. of Ghōrāt lying south of Hari Rūd, that is to say the native population of that region, the Taimāni, who in general have somewhat larger flocks than Ferākshā in Chaqchurān, and the Kandahār nomads there, the mādhī, who are pure Durrāni. In Pasaband itself there are the following tribes: Pāpat Bārakzai, Nūrzi, and ‘Alīzai, most of whom come from the Nauzād-Girishk in South Afghanistan, but the Durrāni mādhī also come to Ābūl from Shahr-e Ghōr and other more distant places with their sheep. This applies to e.g. Achīk Mashingzai etc. of Nūrzi, plus the Ishāqzai, who have their winter areas in and W Afghanistan. In other words, Ābūl is the central sheep market of all Durrāni who have their winter area in the lowland from Girishk-Kandahār the east to Herāt and areas NW of it, e.g. Gurbān, in the west, and in their summer grazing districts in the Taimāni country. In consequence it is the same enormous area that benefits from the goods of the trading nomads.

A very broad section of the East Afghan trading nomads visit Ābūl. Ahmad enumerated the following, who arrived with white tents unless otherwise stated: Taghar (Ahmadzai), Niżārī, Sullimānkhālī, ‘Allā(ud)ikhālī (Ahmad: Khwāzak (Sullimānkhālī), the most important, and next Sarāz (Ahmad: Asmā, Matānī, Mangal (few), Zadrān (2–3 tents), Hussainkhālī, Aḥmad Dāni (no tents), Daulatzai, Makhākhālī, Aḥmad (no tents), Utnānzai (Mohammadian: no tents), Kharājī (no tents), Shimalzai, Tarrakhālī (no tents, mādī), Aḥmad Bahrānkhālī (Ahmadzai, no tents), Māshākhālī (Ahmadzai, few tents). The list should not be regarded as complete however, Ibrāhīmulkhālī and Khiderkhālī (both Ahmadzai), Dūtaṇī and Māndu also come there.
Without going into detail here, it can be said that the Ahmadzai people also dominate in this bazaar, but, as opposed to Gomâb, there is a somewhat larger contingent of people from the southern part of Pakhtâ province (Khwâzak, Salimkhel etc.), the original area of the trading nomads.

A number of the traders and their activities in Abûl (for example, certain settled Taqhar), others continue their caravan wanderings to the rest of the Taimani area, where they hold small bazars in larger or smaller groups. On the road westwards from Abûl we met both small groups of 3-4 tents, which remained close to some Taimani summer camps for several months, and some relatively large bazars, for example, near Shahahal, where the Khwâzaks held a bazar for a week before proceeding onwards. These trading nomads cover the whole Taimani area in this way, including Taïwâra, Tîlak and so on. When trading is finished, sometimes right into October, a number go on to Herât and take a lorry eastwards, whilst the caravans return through Hazârajât.

In the trading of the nomads within the Aimâq area one discovers the germ of the development now in full progress in Hazârajât. In the Taimani area the trading nomads (particularly the Khwâzak) sell their goods for cash or, preferably, against payment in the following year when the price will be doubled, and if sheep are allowed as payment, then only half their price is given—stated Taimans (in the last case it was not quite clear whether it was a matter of sheep for delivery in the following year, or just an ordinary pressure on the price). The tendency is clear enough. The Taimans will become increasingly indebted each year, but the Khwâzak have not yet taken over any land, "but that will simply be the end of all this", as a wise Taiman said. The mere fact that small groups of trading nomads stay for months at the same place is an indication in this direction. In the long-term view the settlement of Pashtuns in parts of the Aimâq area is not as improbable as it is in Central Hazârajât.—A little above Kassî, at Hurî Kûdî, there is a village of Wardak Pashtuns which derives from the fact that a group of Wardaks about 15 years ago went to one of the bazars for sheep; as they got none they used all their money to buy land, and then brought their families and founded a new village.

**Bazar administration in Gomâb and Abûl**

Relations of relative confidence between purchaser and vendor are important for trading, and if many buyers and sellers are brought together in one place, as in towns or at markets, it is also an absolute necessity that peace shall prevail, and that there is an institution with authority and means to re-establish it should it be broken.

Speaking very generally, the Pashtun society can be described as being very given to political strife and permeated by competition concerning prestige and power. This applies not only within the larger family group (lineage segment),...
but in all strata within the patriarchal, segmented tribal system. Into all this comes the Pashtuns' high code of honour, and their strong contempt for the unifying, the shameful. It must therefore be realized that antagonism exists, not only within tribes and sub-tribes, but also within the larger family groups. Some of these differences change frequently, some are more rooted; some even take the form of blood feuds of very varying duration, and these circumstances have caused tribes to group as traditional friends or enemies, a factor particularly important in bygone days.

If one considers how tribally composite are the bazaros of Ābūl and Gomāh, it is not surprising that a tribal administration has been a necessity. At the same time one realizes that in reality the participants must exercise no little self-discipline for the common weal. However, a self-discipline of this nature is also typical of the Pashtuns: conflicts between enemies are shelved so long as one is threatened by a common foe, or if one is the guest of a third party or on special occasion such as weddings, where fellowship demands it; for that matter one can we be accepted as a guest by one's enemy.

The bazar administration, or mīr administration as it is called, we heard not about before we reached the bazaros than when we were there. Both in Ābūl and Gomāh they are practically in a state of dissolution. In Gomāh the mīrs had not been elected for the last eight years. We were told that they were no longer necessary, conditions had become so peaceful. The situations and petty disputes that arose, the elder and respected people now managed to settle. When asking for the bazar's mīr, a single man, 'ulāik Girdai of the 'Akhkhā, was referred to by fellow tribesmen as mīr, though he himself denied it. Other tribal people reject the idea quite scornfully, for there was really no need for a mīr to keep order they could do that themselves. However, 'ulāik Girdai had formerly been a mīr and was an important man in the bazar, but whether there were others equal important I cannot say for certain, though I think there were. With the western, māsdar, on the other hand, we neither saw a mīr, nor even heard of one.

Everyone agreed that Gomāh bazar was very peaceable, far more so than Ābūl. There had been no disturbances for a long time, and none could remember when there had been anything so violent as a murder. The more peaceful atmosphere of recent years was due, everyone agreed, to the ever-increasing author of the Afgān government.

During our visit to Ābūl in 1953, we met two mīrs exactly as we had been told beforehand, but the curious thing was that both of them represented eastern trading nomads. They were Mir Ahmad Khan of Gardēkhāl, Tagh Ahmadzai and Shah Gul Khan, 'Allā(ud)in khāl, Ahmadzai; they had, we were told, occupied their "posts" for 25 and 16-17 years, respectively. In 1960 met only one mīr, the above-mentioned Ahmad Khan, and he himself denied that he was a mīr, as the mīr administration had been abolished. He did a lit from force of habit, was given to understand by him. But in the eyes of the trad
nomads he was still nīr, and on one occasion he clearly acted as such. This was when a soldier not in uniform had mixed himself up in a dispute between two traders. On this occasion Mir Ahmad asked in very definite terms that he might not see soldiers in the bazaar without uniform. For a new feature has made its appearance in the bazaar: the Afghān authorities are represented by an officer and 8-10 soldiers. They lived in tents some little distance from the bazaar. It was the trading nomads themselves who asked for this small police force to guarantee peaceful conditions. This had happened several years earlier.

The officer himself, a Pashtūn from Kattawāz, behaved with great tact—for much depended upon the respect he was able to create for his person. When showing us the bazaar with Mir Ahmad, he told us that this was the very first time he had been in it. His part was not to alarm the traders, but merely to guarantee law and order. In this way Mir Ahmad had obtained another rôle: liaison with the authorities.

That the government had been applied to for assistance was due to the somewhat harsh (Persianдобавить) atmosphere prevailing at Ābūl owing to a relatively big group of people from the southern part of Paktiā province, and the fact that the mālichkeit tribes in that area were a little more militant than was the case elsewhere. There were rumours of trading nomads being held up, though it was not possible to confirm this.
However, the general impression of the bazaars was that everything tended to quiet and well-organised. Everyone was conversant with bazaar earlier years, and law and order prevailed primarily because of the self-enforced by the trading nomads.

The unwritten law for bazar life was simply that all conflict was to be settled as quickly as possible. For this reason, the mir institution. Homicide was naturally the way and must be avenged within the area of the bazaar, whereas breach of order could only be resolved by the decision of the jirga (a form of a compromise in accordance with the normal Pashtun law). Peaceful settlement was not desired, revenge must be postponed and outside bazar limits. In 1930 or 1939, a Durrani mirs killed a trading Ahul, but nothing was done about this until the next year when the question was shot outside the bazar area. Other offences, for example, harm, are adjusted in accordance with the rather detailed Pashtun rules (of this can be seen in Rai 1922, p. 49).—Theft was punished very severely: caught the thief must pay 9 times the value of that stolen, again an Pashtun regulation. In Gomar it was also said that in which goods had been hidden was burned down, but Mir Ahmad denied the of this punishment.

It is not easy to obtain a clear picture of the original bazar admiral as it is now in only fragmentary use and the information supplied about One thing, however, is certain: the mir institution has been more or less e to suit prevalent requirements.

When the sole bazaar lay in Kermán, there was, to all appearances, mirs, who was taken from the ranks of the eastern trading nomads, more pa from the Ahmadzai. It was not until the Kermán bazar was dissolved big bazaars were started further to the west (about 1929-30), that or also having mis from the western, Durrani, pastoralists. The move v occurred, as mentioned, after the Ghilzai nomads had pressed the Durr of Hazarajat, and the latter dared no longer come to the bazar at K must have been to re-establish confidence between the two groups, and that the new bazaars were held in a peaceful atmosphere that the Durr obtained their miṣs, there then being one eastern and one western mi association attended to order and justice in the bazaars. Another men smoothed the way was that the two miṣs for a number of years under Ki Shah together fixed the bazaar prices. Before that there had been free pri tion, and later this was re-introduced.

The miṣs were elected by the participants each year at the beginni bazaar. In the case of Ahul the miṣ's authority was well established at trading nomads—re-election of the miṣ being the rule. Mir Ahmad wa
a great many years (though hardly 25), and before him was his paternal uncle, Hazrat Moh. Khan. Every year, in addition to the mir, wazirs were elected, one for each of the most important tribal groups taking part in the bazar, or, according to other information, only two wazirs in all. Shah Gul Khan, who in 1953 was called a mir was really a wazir, being merely the only one (?) who was re-elected each year. These wazirs (literally: ministers, assistants etc.), were the mir's executive officers in the bazar, and at the same time the representative of their own tribal people in the bazar administration. It was the wazirs who summoned the people together for consultation and other matters of common concern. The wazirs probably had at their side a number of men to assist them and to stress their authority; I was told on several occasions that the bazar possessed its own "police". However this has scarcely been a very well-defined body, for all bazar participants were called "soldiers" and under the authority of the mir and the wazirs.

The Durrani had their own mir institution in exactly the same way as above described, but it has certainly never been in such a rigid frame as among the trading nomads. Each year a new mir was elected both at Abul and Gomab, but apparently no-one was continuously re-elected each year, as in the case of Abul's eastern mir. I am a little doubtful as to whether the Durrani have possessed such a well-organised system with wazirs and so forth. The western pastoralists have hardly had any need for it, for they did not actually live in the bazar area. The individual persons were at most a day or so in the neighbourhood before they had sold their animals and bought what they needed. Whereas the main function of the trading nomads' mir institution was to assure law and order and settle conflicts of all kinds, the mir institution of the Durranis has particularly been a negotiating apparatus in relation to the trading nomads that came into action when circumstances demanded it.

With the assistance of the wazirs the mirs had unrestricted authority within bazar limits, and everyone had to obey them. It was they who implemented the current legal regulations, mediated, fixed compensation, and imposed fines when required. The money accruing from fines (possibly also from theft sentences) was distributed among the tribes participating in the bazar, or just among the mir's own tribe. It is not clear how large a share the mir (and the wazir) received of this, but it is highly likely that these offices have been remunerative. The traditions of this institution suggest that this was the case (see below).

In step with the general increasing pacification in Afganistan, the mir institution has become more and more lenient until at last it has practically disappeared. This is due to the fact that the government now maintains law and order in even the most remote districts Afganistan. In addition we must also consider that, generally speaking, the same people return year after year to Abul and Gomab. They know each other and this makes relations easier. In Gomab the mir institution has virtually come to an end, and the people present in the bazar manage matters with influence or authority should any problem arise. In
Abul the mir previously-elected by the trading nomads has been retained de facto, but in addition the normal authorities guarantee law and order.

The mir institution came latest to the Daurámán and, apparently, first lapse among them. It came into being when a real need arose to restore confidence between the two main groups of the bazar, and was retained for a number of years until it was no longer required.

The mir system has never existed in any bazars other than the three mentioned: Kermán, Abul and Gomád. All the others are small and, tribally, not particularly complex. Crises and conflicts have therefore been easier to deal with within the narrower tribal set-up.

The mir institution in the bazars is not an isolated phenomenon, but is based on the fact that the Pashtún society in older times had temporarily-elected leaders, who were furnished with dictatorial powers for the settlement of definite tribal or joint tribal questions, such as the establishment of peace and order, the waged of war etc. (cf. Elphinstone 1842, Vol. I, p. 216 and Vol. II, p. 60). This system, where the leader among a number of elected representatives, “Chelwaste” from each group (“Khail”) was called “Meer”, was customary among the southeastern Pashtún in “Damaun” (the present Dera Isma’il Khán District), Kattawáz and so on (Elphinstone 1842, Vol. II, p. 60 et seq), where the trading nomads in the previous century were the most prominent. The “Chelwastees”, according to Elphinstone (l.c.) are “... chosen for their personal qualities, the number of their relations, their general weight in the tribe, and are armed with power to maintain order, and to punish the breach of it by fines, and in some tribes, even by corporal punishment.” Furthermore, Elphinstone states (l.c.): “... they are under the authority of one chief, called the Meer of the Chelwastees, who is elected in the same manner as the rest.” Concerning the “Meer”, he writes (l.c.): “It is an office of much power and considerable profit, as all the fines levied by the Chelwastees are divided among themselves.” “His office is generally annual, but sometimes he is only elected to preside over a march, or to command in a war, and his power ends with the occasion, which gave rise to it. It is sometimes allowed to expire, particularly in times of great tranquillity; but the disorders, which immediately commence again, soon make the tribe regret it, and determine them to restore it.”

Much of the information here applies very well to the bazar’s mirs and wazírs, and there can be no doubt that the bazar institution is based on these traditional offices in the Pashtún society, that also played a prominent rôle among the trading nomads, not least during their defensive march through the Sulaimán mountains the previous century (cf. Elphinstone, 1842, Vol. I, p. 329 et seq).

When I suggested above that the offices of mir and wazír must be remunerative, I was thinking of the information here given.
Concluding remarks

The old trading tendencies of the East Afghan nomads and the conquest of Hazarajat constitute the starting point of the development in Central Afghanistan here outlined; whereas occupation is otherwise rapidly declining in the more accessible parts of Afghanistan.

We have seen how the newly-acquired summer areas have promoted an otherwise typical East Afghan development: the commercialization of former pure pastoralists. For many nomads, especially the wealthier, trade has gradually become their main source of income, whilst their traditional sheep flocks have become more and more a sideline. By trade and increased wealth generally these people acquire land, which however does not entail settlement within the Hazara's area, but has already been conducive to settlement in eastern areas, for example in the Légar valley, south of Kâbul. The inner dynamics of nomad trading here thus promoted settlement, be it noted as a result of greater riches and a part of the efforts further to secure themselves economically, for land ownership is a more certain asset than the vulnerable stock-breeding, exposed as it is to catastrophe in one form or another. (Incidentally, in this part of Afghanistan there is a natural limit to the size of flocks). However, the former nomads do not become good farmers. They first become landlords, and then, after a couple of generations' division of land, their descendants may become actual and competent agriculturists. — The same course of development also took place in earlier times, as can be seen in the Dera Ismâ'il Khân District, where a large section of the trading nomads of previous centuries (Lohâni etc.) are now village-dwelling cultivators.

Today, though, there are further reasons and incentives to break away from a pastoral nomad existence. There is the increasing realization of the uncertainty and difficulty of this occupation, and the possibility, or rather the idea, of earning money more easily in some other trade. For these reasons many nomads have applied for land in South and North Afghanistan, where the government sells land to nomads on favourable terms.

The grounds just mentioned for leaving a nomadic existence also affect the caravan trade and bazar activities of the nomads. The climax of this occupation has been passed. For a long time the trade of nomads in Afghanistan has been based on purchases in British India, and it has thus been exposed to a good deal of oscillation. However, the worst blow was the establishment of Pakistan in 1947 with the ensuing import restrictions, which resulted in the range of goods becoming poorer and more one-sided. More and more bazar goods had therefore to be bought in Kâbul bazar. But other factors have also contributed to reduce possibilities for the trading nomads. The increasing control of the government over the whole country has helped to break the trading nomads' monopoly in the sheep trade, and has promoted the status of money as currency instead of clothing,
thus reducing profits. In addition, the trading nomads more and more realize that their caravan trading, where they are up to five months on the go in the summer, plus another 2–3 months down in Pakistan during the winter, is too laborious in proportion to the profits.

An ever-increasing number therefore go over to a more modern form of trade, wholesale and retail trading from the urban business sədən, and lorry transport, the latter being considered one of the most profitable occupations in Afghânistân today. Several big transport firms are thus owned by ordinary nomads who have Hazārjât as their summer area ('Iskhēl, Bahramkhel etc. of Ahmādizai). A typical example of the modernization of trading and of the nomad existence is given by the Mohmand tribe, Hazārboz, which owns summer grazing land in eastern Behsūd (Ramtalā valley). From olden times these Hazārboz have been transport folk, and early specialized in the tea trade, but recently they have completely given up sheep-breeding. Out of 500–700 families only 30 now have sheep, whilst the greater part of the tribe continues to move in the spring from the Jalālābād area to Kābul and Behsūd, where they dwell in tents, but they now move their families and goods by lorry!

However, even though the caravan and bazar trade has passed its peak, this trade is still very much alive and will be able to continue for many years to come, as will also be the case with the local trade in Hazārjât. The reasons for this are various—an established market like that described does not just melt away, alone the granting of credit prevents this, and that, coupled with the nomads' special range of goods, will make them competitive for a long time ahead—even if one takes into consideration the increased lorry traffic and the extension of the permanent small bazaars around the government centres. Conditions in North-west Afghânistân seem to show this. The activities of the trading nomads comprise, as we have seen, an extraordinarily large area and help to knit the several parts of the country economically closer to each other. Besides bringing masses of commodities with them on their journey towards the west, they bring many products back with them. In fact the nomads are to a large extent responsible for supplying the most populated areas of East Afghânistân with sheep for slaughter and, to some extent, with clarified butter, but their transport of wheat is becoming less and less. In addition they bring with them eastwards a number of Afghânistân's traditional export goods. This is one of the reasons why they visit north and North-west Afghânistân. It is astonishing that they are able 'to cope' competitively in Bāghīs and Bāla Murgháb, where there is not only highroad traffic, but also many urban bazaars (see above p. 140).

This transport eastwards, primarily down to Pakistan, is an important aspect of the trading nomads' activities, but space forbids any detailed reference to this. Of the traditional products the trading nomads bring raisins, pistachio nuts, almonds, Jalghāza (fruit of the Pinus gerardiana), carpets, woollen Herāt clothes, sheep, horses and donkeys, and, in addition, have kept up with the times, and
bring with them anything they can obtain that is in short supply in Pákistán. These commodities are normally paid for in cash when disposed of to a middleman, and it is with the cash so obtained that the nomads finance their stay in Pákistán and purchase bazar goods (now, however, mainly cotton clothing) for their trading in Afgánistán.

In this description of nomadic expansion and trading activities the Ahmadzai tribes play an important part. In former days they wandered particularly between Khóst and highlands between Gardéz and Lógar and a little north of there, now they move between (Pákistán)-Khóst and Hazáráját, and to a lesser extent between (Pákistán)-Jalálábád and Hazáráját. In the course of time these tribes have obtained an everstronger position among the Afgán nomad tribes. We have seen that they played a leading rôle in the conquest of Hazáráját (according to their own statements), and that it is primarily these “northern” people who have passed through the commercialization here described, as, before they came to Hazáráját, they only engaged in trade to a limited extent. Taking all things into account it was those who dominated the bazar at Kermán who now dominate Aból and Gomáb, and I am inclined to think that it was they who started the bazars. Originally these bazars have probably been more strictly animal markets (in accordance with the pastoral background of the Ahmadzai), and only by degrees have they obtained a more and more retail character after the increasing arrival of the old trading nomads from the “southern” areas (Kattawáz—Gomáb—Déra Ismá’íl Kháń), who became “unemployed” in other trading areas. It is the trading methods of these southern folk that the Ahmadzai have early assimilated.

The development in progress within nomadism in East Afgánistán tells us something typical of nomadism itself. It is a form of occupation that cannot stand alone. It is adjusted to a quite special geographical environment, and, by a network of communications, is at the same time adjusted to the cultural and social milieu of the surrounding peoples. These environments limit nomadism, for they provide in themselves no possibility of development. The most enterprises break away in time and become, by their own free will, settled as land owners and/or traders. Factors that greatly promote this step are the stable political conditions that have now prevailed in Afghanistan for a considerable time.

NOTES

1. Povindah or povandah is a term often used in British Indian literature for a “trading nomad”. This erroneous usage goes back to the very speculative Dr. Belléw, who connected the same with the Persian poverndah, púrandah (pwarnd) = “a hole of merchandise” (Bel- lèw 1880, p. 103; cf. Steingass 1947, p. 246). Wilber 1926, p. 43 writes: “Among some tribesmen, called pównidah, stockbreeding is secondary to merchandising”. On p. 276 Wilber (I.e.) gives Belléw’s old explanation. Hamlaín 1938, p. 544 attempts to make it logical and writes: “Ce commerce des nomades est appelé ‘povindah’ (du persé
able to explain either the meaning or origin of 'gulati', which otherwise in Afghanistan means "coloured or pink, colour of a red rose." (Nasr, 1953, p. 193). Perhaps therefore, it was originally a nickname for the trading nomads, who always bring with them Pashō āmō (Afghan Persian āmō), an unrefined darkish sugar, both as an article of trade and for their own consumption. For reasons of economy they formerly often drank sugar water instead of tea—hence the name?

2. "Gulati" is the name normally used by the Amuks, and to some extent by the Hazara, for the trading nomads. People are unable to explain either the meaning or origin of "gulati", which otherwise in Afghanistan means "coloured or pink, colour of a red rose." (Nasr, 1953, p. 193). Perhaps therefore, it was originally a nickname for the trading nomads, who always bring with them Pashō āmō (Afghan Persian āmō), an unrefined darkish sugar, both as an article of trade and for their own consumption. For reasons of economy they formerly often drank sugar water instead of tea—hence the name?

3. In 1956, I visited Abul with my collaborator, Abdul Razac Palvade, and a photographer, Miss Josephine Powell, whereas A. R. B. and I continued westwards on horseback to Otob via Shahrak, Tilak and Faris. In 1953 the whole of the Danish Scientific Mission to Afghanistan, headed by H.R.H. Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark, visited Abul on 8th-10th July. Our reception was festive and well-arranged, with Pashū dances, equestrian displays and a shooting competition in our honour. In consequence the daily life of the bazar revealed somewhat into the background. In earlier days, apparently, there were dances (Pashō āmō) more often at Abul when drummers came from Kābul, but in 1956 there were neither dancers nor drummers at Abul or Gomāb. Prince Peter has given an account of our visit (Prince Peter 1954, p. 44 et seq.), his estimate of the number of bazar participants and visitors is, I think, too high. During our visit to the bazar in 1953 there were about 150-140 tents at Abul.

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Aarhus University, Aarhus, Dec. 1951.