

Nomad Expansion and Commerce in Central Afghânistân

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 Afghânistân 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 Pashtûn, and Afghân nomadism, and in this connexion I met, as before, extraordinary kindness and helpfulness from the Royal Afghân authorities and institutions, for which I am deeply grateful. My thanks must particularly be directed to the Royal Afghân 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 Kâbul University, Professor Dr. Moh. Asghar, the Dean of the Faculty of Letters, Mr. Saiyed Bahauddin Majru, and the Director of the Pashtô Academy, Mr. Saiyed Ulfat Pacha. Furthermore, I must thank the Director of Afghânistân's National Museum, Dr. A. R. Ziai, and the President of the Afghân 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 Raziq 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 Kâbul in 1960.

It is officially estimated that about one sixth, that is to say some 2 million of Afghânistân'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 Afghāns, the Pashtūns, who speak the East Iranian tongue, Pashtō, 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 onwards, spread to the northern and north-western area of Afghānistān. Originally as a link in the wishes of the Afghān 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 Afghān nomads. In consequence the position today is that the nomads have, so to say, formed a ring around the central and east Afghān 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 Pashtūn nomads fall into two large ethnographical groups: the East Afghān, which mainly consists of Ghilzai tribes, and the South and West Afghān group, composed of Durrānī tribes and "Durrānī-ised" Ghilzai. These last-mentioned are found particularly in the north-west, in Bādghīs, Bālā-Murghāb and Maimana areas. So far as I can see, it is these and the pure Durrānī who dominate among the nomadic Pashtūn in the rest of North Afghānistān (Mazār-i-Sherif, Qataghan and up to Badakhshān, where there is now an important summer area around the so-called Lake Shīwā (see fig. 1, cf. Lindberg 1961)).

On a large number of points the Ghilzai and Durrānī (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 Durrānī 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 that 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, carders 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 Afghân highlands, where there always has been a considerable trade. This in particular has strengthened their commercial tendencies.

Nomadism among the Ghilzai in East Afghânistân 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 Territory and what is now Pâkistân, 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 Peshâwar and Kâbul, 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 (Kôtal Peiwâr) and Gômal.
3. Powindah¹ (i.e. nomad) traders who come particularly by the southern route, the Gômal road to Dêra Ism'ail Khân. 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 Peshâwar and Kôhât.

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 Lôhânî (which include the Miân Khêl, who are now predominantly quite settled), the Nâser, Kharôfi, Niâzi, Dauḡânî, who all followed the southern, Gômal, route (see for example, MacGregor 1873, p. 624 et seq). These tribes were organised in military fashion when passing through the Sulaimân Mountains, to protect themselves from attacks, especially by the Wazîrî. But when they reached the East Afghân table-land they spread out in small camps over the countryside, usually on the stretch south of Ghaznî to Muqur and Kalât. 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 Afghân mountain country.

The position is very greatly altered today; no large commercial caravans are met on the routes between the large towns of Afghânistân, 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 Afghânistan 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 Afghānistān, the area of the Hazāra and Chahār Aimāq. 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 Afghānistān after this large area had finally been conquered.

The whole of the eastern section of the central Afghān mountain area is inhabited by the agricultural, village-dwelling Hazāra, 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 Hazāra (see Bāburnāma). 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. 279): "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 Hazāra are Shī'ahs, and all the surrounding peoples are Sunnīs, which has always helped to embitter relations between them, and later developments exacerbated this.

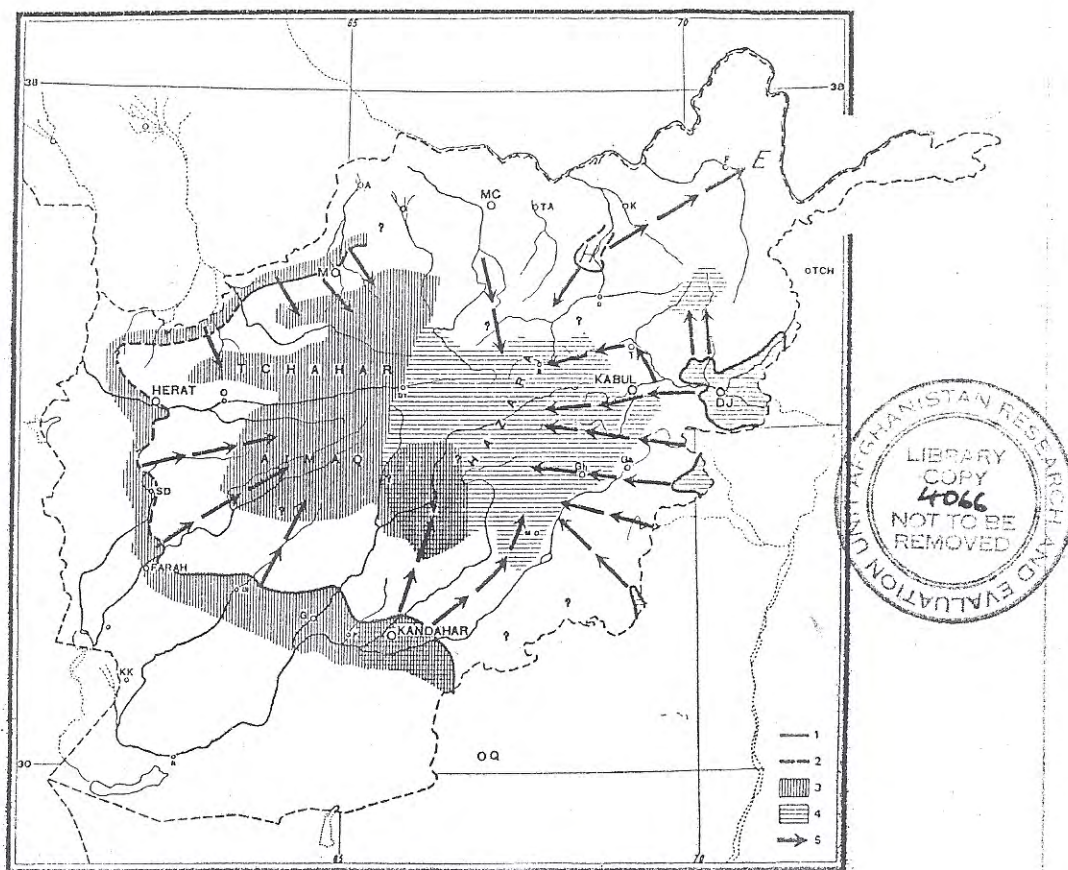
In 1892 the independent status of the Hazāra was finally ended, for, after various revolts, they were crushed by the forces of Amir Abdur Rahman Khan which advanced on Hazārajāt from all sides. All the Hazāra leaders were captured

Fig. 1.—Approximate extent of the Pashtūn nomads' summer and winter areas. 1. and 2. Approximate upper limit of the nomads' winter areas. 3. Grazing areas of the Durrānī and "Durrānī-ised" Ghilzai. 4. Grazing areas of the Ghilzai and other East Afghān tribes. 5. Direction of spring migrations. Information concerning North Afghānistān is largely omitted owing to its inadequacy. H = (hiver) = winter area; E = (été) = summer area. N.B. The summer area in East Afghānistān comprises more than that shown on the map, for it includes, for example, Kābul and Gardēz areas etc. Abbreviations: B = Bāmīān; DJ = Jalālābād; DY = Daulatyār; G = Gīrīshk; Ga = Gardēz; Gh = Ghaznī; M (in north-west) = Maimāna; M (in east) = Muqur; MC = Mazār-i-Sherīf; O = Ōbeh; P = Peshāwar; Q = Quetta; Sd = Shīndand; T = Chārīkār. (The map derives from Ferdinand 1959a).

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 1900, 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 Uruzghan." (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 rôle during the Hazāra War, for if we



examine the information I have collected by conversations with Afghân nomads, particularly of the Ahmadzai, a quite different impression is formed of the part played by "the volunteers" in the suppression of the Hazâra. 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 Hazârajât until we got good, modern rifles." A description by an Ahmadzai *khân* (about 70 years old) is very informative, and is here given somewhat abridged:

"In the time of Sher 'Ali Khan (1863-80) these Hazâra people were controlled by their own *mîrs*, and they taxed the people, and took also some salaries from the government. When Abdur Rahman Khan came from Bohkârâ (1880) and beat Sher 'Ali Khan and took the Kâbul Kingdom, the Hazâra *mîrs* 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 Hazâras: "Heads will be mine, and all property will be yours"! Then big fights started between the Hazâras and the Pashtûns, and at last the Pashtûns were victorious and captured Behsûd, Dâi Zangî, Dâi Kundî and Shahristân etc., and all the Hazâras from these areas were either killed, or forced to leave.—They (Hazâras) made up bands and concentrated in some places like Chahâr Sad Khâna (in the farthestmost Dâi Kundî), in Urûzgân, Jâghôrî, Mâlestân, and some went to Bâmiân, and to Turkistân and settled there". The Ahmadzai *khân* went on: "In the time of Abdur Rahman Khan, Qazi Yaqub 'Ali was responsible for the division of the grazing lands between the *kûchîs* (i.e. the nomads), and he called on all the *malîks* (i.e. the men in charge on the different levels in the tribal system) of all the *kûchîs*, 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 Hazâras was divided up among different Afghân, Pashtûn tribes, as a reward for their help, and to secure the final appeasement of these regions. In the southern, warmer and more habitable districts Afghâns were settled (Dahla, Tîrî(n), Urûzgân, Dâya wa Fôlâd and Gezâb), whereas the more central parts, the most elevated, were divided among the Pashtûn nomads.

From the *khân's* account it appears that all the Hazâra 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 Amîr 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 Hazâra to their previous land. As time went by the Hazâra became somewhat stronger,

confirmation) were withdrawn from the Almadzai 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 *fermāns* 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, *fermān*, 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 Hazārajāt.

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 Pashtūn 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 Hazāras 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 bazars that are now all to be found in the area of the Aimāq.

1. Local or neighbourhood trade in Hazārajāt

Despite the differences existing between the nomads and the settled population in Hazārajāt, 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 Hazāra to take part in sheep shearing, for which they are paid on a share basis a twentieth of the wool sheared, 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 Hazāra for the winter, the milk being used as payment, only if the cows give no milk do the Hazāra obtain a cash sum, for example 100 Afghānī per cow per winter. Finally, it happens that during the winter the Hazāra 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 Hazāra supply wheat, clarified butter and the woven articles mentioned, and receive from the nomads bazar goods, primarily cheap Indian (or Pākistānī) clothes, unrefined sugar (Persian *gôr*), tea, innumerable other things and—very important—credit



Fig. 3.—Ahmadzai trading nomads in south-eastern Hazârajât. Their sheep flocks are small, and consequently they can live in compact and relatively large summer camps (about 25 tents). With their high mud walls etc. the tents are peculiar, and an example of traditions of the trading nomads' camps of the previous century, which Vigne 1840, p. 114, describes: "We now arrived at what Ameer Khan called his *killah*, or castle: it was merely a collection of low mud walls without a single roof; and along and against these they pitched their tents."—In the background the mosque. From eastern Jâghôri, 10 km east of Naudeh (Lômân).
End of September 1954.

Instalment payment systems—or rather respite in regard to payment—is a very normal thing in Afghânistân—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 Hazâra 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 *sêr* (= 16 pounds Kâbulî = approx. 7 kg) clarified butter for delivery in the following year; in due course they re-sell this butter, for example in the Lôgar valley in East Afghânistân 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 Afgh. per *sêr*. It 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 Afgh. per *sêr* 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 Afgh. per *sêr* 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 *sêr* he should have delivered this year between 2.5 and 3.5 *sêr* 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 Hazâra 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 amazement many years ago about a pair of shoes, which in the course of the years became over half a ton (1 *kharwâr*) 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 Pākistānī, cotton clothing was purchased by the nomads, on their own admission (1960), in Peshâwar for about 8 annas a yard or metre (= about 3-3.5 Afgh. = 7-8 d.) and re-sold in Hazârajât for between 15-25 Afgh. (= about 3-5 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 Afgh. we always give him 200", they said.

The result of this trade is clear; the Hazâras 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 Hazâra's care until the next year (see above). The land they also leave to the Hazâra (perhaps even the previous owner) for him to look after as a share-paid tenant. Payment for this lies between $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ ($\frac{1}{5}$?) of 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 by purchase) by the Pashtûn nomads is extremely difficult to ascertain without copious statistical material. I was told in 1954 by government officials in the Panjâl (the seat of government, *hokûmat* of Dâi Zangî), that they estimated that 5% of the land in Dâi Zangî was in nomad hands—but that the area was increasing.



Fig. 4.—Hazâra (to the right) helps Alôzi nomads with sheep shearing in summer tent. From Talkhâk, Warâs, southern Dâi Zangî. July 29, 1954.

In 1960 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 Dâi Zangî, and to some extent in Dâi Kundî also, whereas nomads' ownership of land in Behsûd, the easternmost and highest part of Hazârajât, was less extensive. It is apparent that it is the wealthy nomads, particularly the *maliks* and *khâns*, who are the biggest land-owners. In most cases the ordinary nomad today owns no land, but on the other hand often takes it on the so-called *gerawî* 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 *gerawî*, which is very widespread in Afghânistân, the Hazâra gets through his immediate liquidity crisis, whilst the nomad cheaply acquires land and the advantages consequent upon so doing, for the *gerawî* price lies far below the normal selling price; in certain other parts of

the country (Laghmān for example, it is a fifth of the ordinary sale price). The contract thus established runs for an indefinite period and cannot be terminated until the loan is repaid, or, according to information from the Aimāq's area, the lender (nomad) has gained prescriptive rights to the land after some 20-25 years. Repayment of loans of this kind is not infrequent in Hazārajāt, primarily when the Hazāra is able to give the land in *gerawāi* to another at a higher price than in the original contract.

By the *gerawāi* system and by the taking over of land the nomads achieve something very important, indeed almost ideal, for their one-sided occupation: a fairly constant (and cheap) yield of vital agricultural produce within their summer grazing areas. On their side the Hazāra 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 agriculturists 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 desire is one of the driving forces in establishing the nomads as a land-owning upper class 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 Panjāb few rich nomad *khāns* now possess *qal'as* (i.e. village or farm surrounded by high wall) of the usual East Afghān type. These they only partially inhabit, and further to the west, in Dāy Zangī, a wealthy nomad *khān* was, in 1960, in process of building himself a *qal'a*, the local Hazāra being summoned to build it. However it should not be assumed that the nomads will settle in Hazārajāt, at all even for many years, for the 5-7 months long winter of Central Hazārajāt is far too severe. It is also symptomatic that the nomad *khāns* who now own *qal'as* all possess land at other points on their migration route, primarily in the Lōgar valley south of Kābul. 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 catastrophes (cattle disease, natural conditions, war and so forth). The *khān* who was building a *qal'a* also told me that in the course of 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 landed possessions in Khōst, near the frontier (The Durand Line), in Lōgar and in Dāy Zangī. 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 transport work (which all have more or less), but on the other hand the typical trading nomads of former centuries are but little involved in this process.

After their arrival in Hazārajāt, the true pastoralists have obtained the original, their so to say vital, trade accelerated and accentuated by the new situation.

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 Hazârajât was trade, they told me. "For there is still much to gain", and they added: "There is no better business in the world than our's". If development continues as it has begun I must agree with the words of the old nomad chief: "The Hazâra have had their day." ("Sen-i-Hazâra pur ast").

2. The caravan trade of the nomads

From the summer camps of the nomads in Hazârajât, or in the case of some tribes from camps within the Pashtûn area (for example, around Gardêz and Muqur) 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 Âbûl, Gomâb and Charâs, all within the Aimâq area.

These trade caravans are a direct continuation of the tradition of earlier centuries, where similar caravans (also then purely merchant caravans) went to Kandahâr, Herât, Kâbul, Turkistân and Bokhârâ, and either completed the whole journey with their goods or sold them on the way, whichever was their custom. In the area around Muqur, south of Ghaznî, 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 Muqur district through Jâghôrî, Mâlestân, Dâi Kundî, on to the Aimâq area (this applies to some Sulimânkhêl and Ahmadzai groups and others). However, the largest groups of these eastern-dwelling trading nomads now take the more northerly route, leaving Gardêz, south around Lôgar to Wardak, or come from still further south and also pass up through Wardak to Hazârajât. This applies to the Nîâzî, Khwâzak and Mîrakkhêl, the two last being Sulimânkhêl tribes. These three differ from the others by holding small bazars during their journey through Hazârajât, but most pass straight through and only begin their trading when they have reached one of the nomad bazars.

Altogether, the Nîâzî 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 Hazârajât. Originally the Nîâzî were actually flock-keepers (Persian and Pashtô *mâldâr* = property-owner, but always in the sense flock-owners), as so many of the later trading nomads. Now, however, they are predominantly settled in Khôst, but still have their summer camps in the Gardêz 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 Nîâzi hold their first bazar among the Wardaki Pashtûns in Qal'a-i-Aulâ, and then continue into Hazârajât, where they hold bazars at the following places: Derâzqôl, Kattakhâk (near Kôtal-i-Mullâ Y'âqûb), Markhâna, Dahân-i-Rishqa, Siâh Darra, Panjâb, Dahân-i-Gôdar, Aqzârat (Azghârat), Kashân, Asp Maidân, Kermân, L'al, whence they either go towards Charâs or Gomâb in 3-4 days.

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

From about 4 a.m. the caravan began to pass by below the *hokûmat*. 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 on 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 Hazâras 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 Kâbul), but also turban cloth from Peshâwar (Pâkistân), finely-embroidered women's shoes, ordinary peaked-shoes, Pathân sandals (Persian *chaplî*), particularly, a very cheap and poor edition, made from old motor tyres, plus tea and dark brown clumps of village-made cane sugar from Pâkistân or Jalâlâbâd (Persian *gôr*). 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 Afghân waistcoats (from Dêra Ism'âil Khân), ammunition belts, ammunition, sewing needles and thread, and even spinning tops.

There was a crowd of purchasing Hazâras, but everything passed off very quietly. Hazâra-Persian (*hazâragî*) blended with the Pashtûns' 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 Kâbul, for the range of goods in Pâkistân after Partition in 1947 had become small and poor—altogether one went less to Pâkistân 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 (2650 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

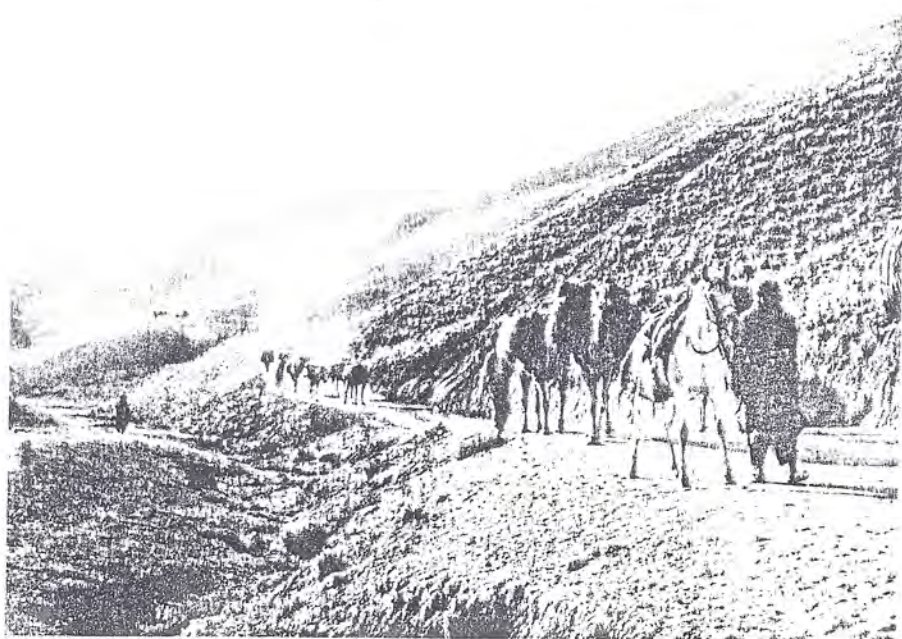


Fig. 5.—Niâzi trade caravan, the camels proceeding individually, on the road westwards from Panjâb. West of the Nalgiz Pass. July 3, 1960.

or less direct to the Mazâr-i-Sherîf 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 Dahân-i-Gôlak, 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 *malik* 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 Niâzi are the last of the trading nomads who pass through Hazârâjât to the big bazars, where they arrive a good fortnight after they have opened owing

to the smaller ones they have held en route. In 1954, the Nîâzîs were the only people who had not passed through Panjâb on 8th July, whereas the following already had: Sadôzai, Ahmadzai, Taghar, Stanîzî, Landîzî, and Daulatzai. On 5th July, 1960 I came across a group of about 80 Nîâzî tents with about 1000 camels west of Panjâb. These Nîâzî had with them three soldiers from the *hokûmat* in Panjâb, whom they had asked to help them in purchasing lucerne from the Hazâras and to ensure that they would not later be accused of having destroyed the Hazâra fields during their passage. After their visit to the big bazars the Nîâzî proceeded, like the Khwâzak, Mîrakkhel, and many others, on into the Aimâq area, holding small bazars there, finally ending up in North Afghânistân, whence some returned home by lorry, whilst the transport animals took the route via Hazârajât.

It applies to the trading nomads who start from their summer camps in Hazârajât (notably the Ahmadzai, particularly Taghar (camp north of Panjâb), 'Allâ(ud)dînkhel, and a great number of minor groups) and to the Nîâzî, Khwâzak etc. coming from the east that, during their caravan trading trips, they use the white canvas tent of an European-Indian type, made in Pâkistân. 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 Pâkistân and in the summer to Central Afghânistân, the white tent comes into its own.

3. The nomad bazars

In June 1960 Moh. Aziz Kakar and I were among Ahmadzai nomads in Behsûd, Hazârajât. The time was approaching for the big bazars in the Chahâr Aimâq 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 Hazâras who had just performed their military service or had had some errand in the capital; there were wealthy traders and elderly, dignified *hâjjîs* returning from their pilgrimage; there were people who had lagged behind their caravans, and, finally, people from Lôgar and other eastern areas, or summer camps, who just happened to have their pockets full of money and wanted to visit the bazars to buy sheep.

There is regular lorry traffic all through the summer and part of the autumn on the Central Afghânistân, highway from Kâbul via Diwâl Qôl (seat of govern-

ment for Behsūd), Panjāb (Dāy Zangī) and westwards to Asterlai (seat of government for Dāy Kundī) and to L'al (seat of government for L'al ō Sarjangal), the old Qal'a-i-Saqāwa. Around these government centres there are now small bazars, the largest of which is at Panjāb. Lorries transport supplies and people to these places, and bring back some clarified butter and, particularly, wheat from L'al to the capital. Solely on account of the bazars a few lorries run from L'al onwards to Daulatyār and even to Kassī (seat of government for Chaqcharān), whence a long day's march brings one either to Gomāb to the north-west or the Ābūl bazar south of Kassī. However, on this last stretch lorry traffic is not frequent; hardly more than a score get to Daulatyār and Kassī in the course of the summer, and from the Herāt side in the west come none at all. As a rule there is regular lorry traffic from Herāt to Ōbeh, and very rarely, perhaps once a year, a privately-hired lorry drives through to Shaharak and on to Taiwāra in Ghôr. In 1960 this last place became the seat of government of the newly-established minor province, Ghôrāt. There is only one other road leading to the heart of the Aimāq country. This runs from the road between Adraskan and Shindand to Farsī 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 Aimāq area is still more cut off from the surrounding world than is Hazārajāt when it comes to modern traffic, and the bazars around the seats of government are likewise less developed than those in the Hazāra area. In Kassī and Shaharak there are 3-4 small booths at each place. In Tūlak I saw no shops in 1960, but a small bazar street was being made, whereas in Farsī there were merely two village booths. Taiwāra is said to have a somewhat bigger, but not large, bazar.—It should, however, be added that this area is not nearly so densely populated as Hazārajāt. 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 Hazārajāt, and the area artificially watered is undoubtedly less. The economy of the Aimāqs is based on agriculture and cattle-breeding, and they are more or less semi-nomadic. During the summer time they dwell in *ailāqs* (summer camps) in tents. The two tribes of Aimāq here concerned are the Fīrōzkōhī and Taimanī, who live broadly speaking north and south of Harī Rūd from Daulatyār in the east and nearly to Chisht-i-Sherīf 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 Fīrōzkōhī use the central Asiatic felt-tent (the yurt) of a local type and the so-called *chapar*, whilst the Taimanī have their own type of black tent (Ferdinand 1959, p. 8 et seq. and figs. 6-7).

The Aimāq area (Chaqcharān, Pasāband, Shaharak, Ghôr 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 Aimâq and the Pashtûn has taken place more peacefully and with less friction than in Hazârajât. 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 Taimanî assert that they have had to reduce their herds of sheep and goats as a result of the Pashtûns' arrival.

Peculiar to this area is the fact that the nomads possess no legal confirmation (*fermân*) 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 Pasâband and Shaharak this has taken place particularly from the Saqao period (1929) onwards; the land is either bought or acquired by the *gerawî* system, where the ground becomes nomad property after 20-25 years. As a result of the Aimâq's apparently constant lack of money, the nomads often take the land in *gerawî*, but the taking over of the ground never happens on account of trade connexions, as the Durrânî 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 Herât and Ôbeh. Their activities, however, have not prevented the East Afghân trading nomads from finding an excellent market in this area. According to my information, the trading nomads primarily came to the Aimâq area after the Bacha-i-Saqao period (1929), and this is connected with the moving of the nomad bazars.

Originally there was only one bazar, Kermân, which goes back to the beginning of this century. It lay on the lengthy Kermân plain, two days' journey (*serâi's*) east of L'al, near Qal'a Kômaghâi in Hazârajât. According to an old Ahmadzai *khân*, the Durrânî grazing grounds went right to Kermân, "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 Ahmadzai, have pressed them as far west as Kassî" or, to be more correct, only to Daulatyâr. Other informants say that it was during Bacha-i-Saqao, or just after, that the Kermân bazar was dissolved and moved to the west into actual Durrânî territory, where no less than three bazars were "founded": Âbûl, Gomâb and Charâs. The position was that during the belligerent Saqao period the Durrânî dare no longer come to Kermân.—(It is apparent that there is a clear westward drive in commercial expansion, and, as the old Ahmadzai 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 Murghâb river and

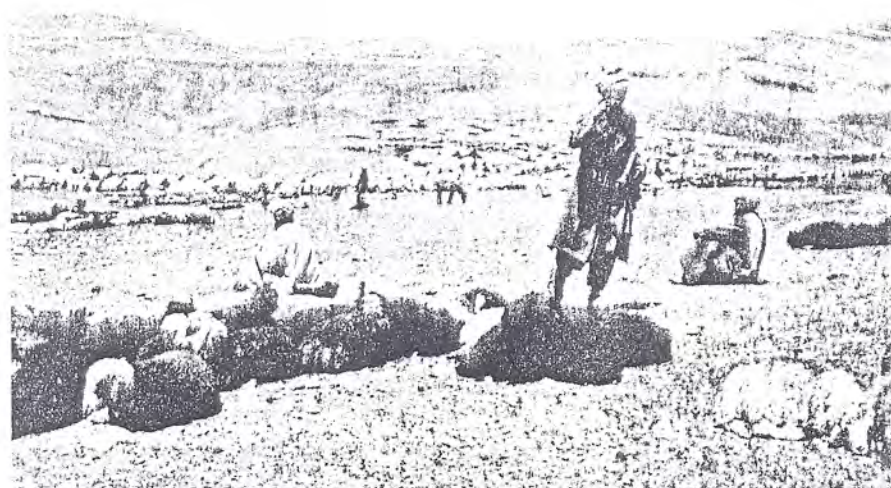


fig. 6.—View of Gomâb bazar from the south-west. In the foreground and behind the tents can be glimpsed the sheep flocks brought to the market by Durrâni pastoralists. June 29, 1960.

Iarî Rûd, 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 rounded 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 rears 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 then, of decisive importance, there is a never-failing supply of the finest spring water. The name of the bazar is connected with the spring, Gomâb (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 Afghânistân a man of this class is 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 24th and from the 26th to the 29th we were in Gomāb bazar. On the first day the bazar had scarcely begun; there were only six white trading tents where Pakistānī and Japanese clothes, velveteen, and the gay waistcoats from Dēra Ism'āl Khān were on sale, and then, closer to the spring, small groups of East Afghān buyers who had encamped under the open sky sheltered by low stone walls or piles of fuel plants (*būta*). Both the dealers (settled Taghar of the Ahmadzai) and the buyers (including now settled 'Isākhēl, Ahmadzai and others) had come by lorry to Daulat'yār, and thence had walked to the bazar site in three days, Taghar people bringing with them their goods on hired camels. In addition the first salesman had arrived. They were western *māldārs*, true pastoralists, who had encamped with their flocks of high-rumped *turki* sheep on the slopes by the bazar—a couple of thousand, probably. On the 26th there were 38 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 bazar had only then “come to the boil”, as one termed it. I should judge that the bazar 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 Firōzkōhī (Aimāq) visit the bazar 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 bazar preserved the character it had from the first day. Furthest to the WSW it consisted of the closely-packed bazar 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 bazar. 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 bazar also possessed its mosque. Around it were encamped bands of vendors with their flocks of sheep; these were Durrānī *māldārs* with flocks of up to a couple of hundred sheep or more. There were also Firōzkōhīs with small flocks of sheep or goats, which were largely sold for consumption in the bazar itself. Now and again one also encountered well-to-do Firōzkōhī and other Aimāq (and Uzbegs) from areas up towards Maimana, Bālā Murghāb etc., who were selling wholesale, like a few wealthy Chaqcharān Firōzkōhī, who send their animals for winter grazing to the lowlands to the NW. (In Chaqcharān 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 bazar 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 Panjāb, and it must be admitted that the nomads knew how to sell: sweet,



Fig. 7.—Open air booth in Gomâb, where horse-shoes, iron pots and cheap car-tyre sandals are on offer. June 28, 1960.

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 Aimâq area were not quite so high as in Hazârajât. The traders from the booths also purchased sheep and anything else they thought was advantageous—saddlebags, 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 Gomâb. It was all like the bazar in Panjâb, 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 armourer'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 Durrânî nomads today themselves drive the flocks to the market at Kâbul, and not a few eastern people (including the Memands) go by lorry to North-west Afghânistân 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 bazars, 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 *gulâbî*² in Gomâb comprise people of the following tribes: Taghar (Ahmadzai), Spînsarai (Sulîmânkhêl), Shînwârî, Sulîmânkhêl Khwâzak (Sulîmânkhêl), Allâ(ud)dînkêl (Ahmadzai), Zindîkhêl (Ahmadzai), Alôzî, Mangal, Zâdrân, Andar, Dâmanî, Daurânî, Nîâzî, Kharôfî, Mirakhl (Sulîmânkhêl? Mohmand?), to which come the Khiderkhêl, Mûsâkhêl and 'Isâkhêl, all Ahmadzai, who primarily come as cattle buyers and seldom have tents with them. This information I was given in Gomâb. From other quarters I have learned that the following tribes are also represented; 'Alîzai, Bahrâmkl (Ahmadzai), Maţânî, Mullâ- or Mallâkhêl, Utmânzai (Mohmand), Daulatz, Âkâkhêl, Ibrâhîmkhêl (Ahmadzai), and Zarangkhêl (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 Paktiâ province, that is to say people from the Gardêz-Khōst area. Somewhat less prominent are the tribes from the southern part of Paktiâ province, Zurmat and Kattawâz etc., the various Sulîmânkhêl tribes, Mullâkhêl, Kharôfî, Daurânî etc. As a whole the Taghar people are the most important among the tent traders, and the 'Isâkhêl 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 trading and in sheep purchasing. This means that in nearly all the tribes mentioned there will be settled people and pure nomads. Only the Zâdrân, Mangal and Dâmanî (and certain Sulîmânkhêl sections possess a purely settled background (or a decided local nomadism).

Gomâb bazar serves the local population in Chaqcharân, that is to say the Fîrôzkôhî and Tâjik (the latter living particularly in the Murghâb valley towards the north, and in some tributary valleys to the Murghâb towards the north-west but first of all the bazar serves the western nomads, the Durrânî *mâldâr*s, who u



Fig. 8.—Corner of a Zindikhêl tent booth in Gornâb bazar. To the left the traditional peaked-shoes (Persian *pây-zâr*), and in the foreground cheap jewellery, mirrors etc.

June 29, 1960.

Chaqcharân as their summer grazing land and winter in Bâdghîsât and Maimana areas. They comprise the under-mentioned tribes and sub-tribes: Ahmadzai, Mohammadzai, Zamândân, Ishâqzai, Shamâlzai, Hôtak, Nûrzai, Bâbur, Mirânzî, Târî, Dîrsh Mohammadiân, Yûsufzai, Remîzai, Achikzai, Omarzai, Mûsâzai, Jalâlzai, Charmî, Bârazzai, Perûzai, Bayânzai, Sinân, Bâbî, Tîmûrî, Bakhtêrî, Zûrî, and Tûnzai, according to information obtained in the bazar. Of these the Mohammadzai, Ishâqzai, Nûrzai, Achikzai and Bârazzai are well-known Durrânî tribes, whilst many others are the so-called "Durrânî-ized" Ghilzai tribes: Hôtak, Ahmadzai, Bâbî and others. Finally, there are two Aimâq tribes, Tîmûrî and Zûrî, who belong to the "Durrânî-ized" Aimâqs (cf. Ferdinand 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 *mullâs* who all originated from East Afghânistân 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 *mullâs*, and when the bazar ended all gave them money. These *mullâs* 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 *mullâ*. After the bazar ended these *mullâs* went to Âbûl.

In the camp there was also a Kandahârî, *malang* (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 Firôzkôhî beggars. Finally, there was Moh. Aziz Kakar 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 rumours were 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 systematic investigation very greatly.

We left the bazar just as it was coming "to the boil", as Moh. Aziz had to return to Kâbul.

Gomâb bazar has a short but hectic life. All reports agree that it only lasts for 10-11 days. Just as the place is linked with supernatural ideas about the spirit, so the bazar ends on account of supernatural motives. It was related that one year on the 9th day between 500 and 1000 pigeons flew in over the bazar and circled around. This was a portent, for the pigeons are considered to be *ferî* (Persian *perî*) and "after that day we cannot sell anything, and on the 11th day the tents will have left Gomâb". The flock buyers leave as quickly as they can, and reach Kâbul in about a month. For the sake of grazing they do not follow the highway all the time. On the other hand, the retailers are not finished with their sales in so short a time, even though prices drop a little towards the end. As the bazar they spread; some, including the settled Taghar, go to Âbûl, others to Charâs, and others may spread over Chaqcharân in small groups, and wander north-west and north, holding en route small bazars of varying duration. Each little tribal group follows in this way a quite definite route each year. It can be mentioned, for example, that from the Zindikhêl people, who now come from a purely settled milieu in Gardêz come some 5-6 tents to Gomâb, each year visit the following places where, with others, they form small bazars: Chishma-i-Sar in Chaqcharân (to which in all about 50-60 *gulâbî* tents come), Kôralar Bâdghîsât (all in all 80-90 tents), Khairkhâna in Bâdghîsât (in all 35-50 tents), Qal'a-i-Nau (in all 10 tents), Bâlâ Murghâb (in all 12 tents), Ghôrmâch (in all 5-6 tents) and Chichaktû (in all 5-6 tents) towards Maimana, and finally, thought, Maimana. These Zindikhêl people have taken this route for the last 18-19 years, and as late as the month of 'Aqrab (25th October-23rd November) they are busy with their trading activities. When all the goods are sold, the caravans are sent eastwards through Central Afghanistan, whilst some of the men go back by car via Mazâr-i-Sherîf and Kâbul. Altogether, these people are absent from their home district, Gardêz, for about 5 months on their trading trip.

The *mîr* administration will be referred to later.

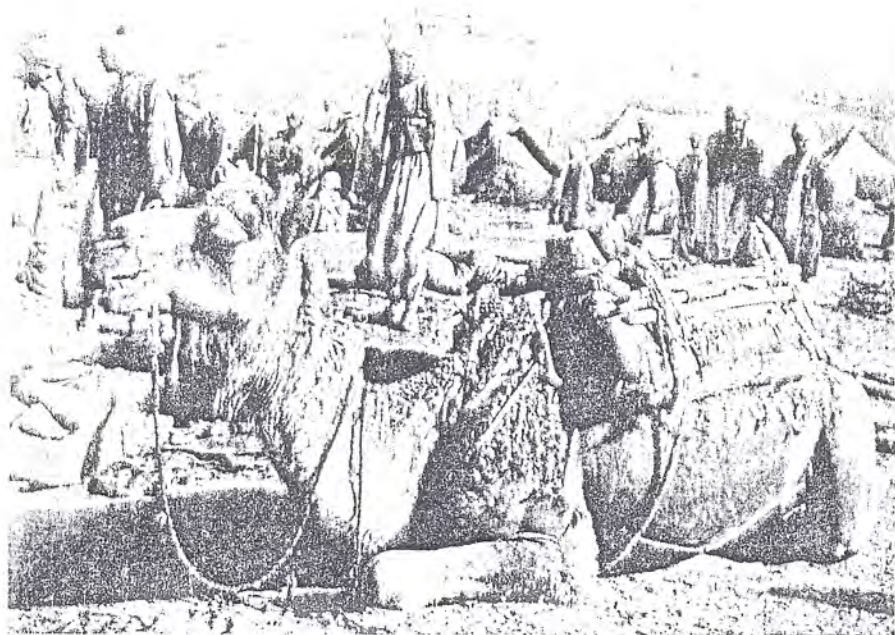


Fig. 9.—Camel belonging to Khwāzak trading nomads in Gomāb. The saddle is typical of the nomads going to the Dēra Ism'ail Khān District. June 28, 1960.

Charās bazar

Charās lies on the upper Murghāb river in north-eastern Chaqcharān. To judge by verbal information, the character of the bazar is that of the many minor bazars, and the number of tents hardly exceeds 60, and is more probably around 40. The bazar has no *mīr* administration, but apparently is one of the most long-lived. Mīr Ahmad in Ābūl said it lasted 50 days, whilst others have mentioned 2 and 2½ months. It is particularly visited by the following tribes: Nīāzī, Ṭaghar, Kharōṭī, Alōzī and Ḍaṭṭāpī.

Like the other bazars, Charās is both a sheep market and a retail trade bazar. It primarily serves the upper Murghāb area, which is mainly inhabited by Tājiks, and is likewise visited by Fīrōzkōhī. As an animal market it serves the *māldārs* from the Sar-i-Pul and Mazār-i-Sharīf areas.

Ābūl bazar

Ābūl bazar is situated in the *hokūmat* of Pasāband, about 25–30 kms south of Kassī, on the south side of the mountain chain, Band-i-Bayān, 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 Kassī-Shaharak high

road, a side road near Dīwāl Safēd leads directly east to Ābūl, though it is seldom taken. Grazing is good on the mountains around the bazar, and, most important of all: the valley tract possesses a small perennial stream.

On 25th July, 1960 we arrived at this bazar and remained there until the 27th. We came by the same road that we had used on 18th July, 1953³, and reached a bazar that was considerably quieter than it had been seven years before. Ten or twelve days earlier, we were told, the bazar had "gone off the boil", and there were now only about 80 tents left. Ābūl bazar, like Charās, normally starts a few days later than Gomāb, according to Mir Ahmad, between the 5th and 10th Saretan (i.e. 26th June-1st July) and it is then "in good shape for about 10 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 bazars. From what I could judge, the animal market seemed somewhat smaller than at Gomāb. The sheep were the so-called *kandahārī* type of fat-tailed sheep. As regards size, I should say that Ābūl was about the same as Gomāb, though I am unable to state which is the larger, as my information varies greatly.

Ābūl primarily serves the Pasāband district and in a further sense those parts of Ghôrāt lying south of Harī Rūd, that is to say the native population of that region, the Taimanī, who in general have somewhat larger flocks than the Firōzkōhī in Chaqcharān, and the Kandahār nomads there, the *māldār*, who are all pure Durrānī. In Pasāband itself there are the following tribes: Pōpal, Bārakzai, Nūrzai and 'Alizai, most of whom come from the Nauzād-Girishk area in South Afghānistān, but the Durrānī *māldār*s also come to Ābūl from Shahar Ghôr and other more distant places with their sheep. This applies to e.g. Achik Mashingzai etc. of Nūrzai, plus the Ishāqzai, who have their winter areas in the north and W Afghanistan. In other words, Ābūl is the central sheep market of all the Durrānī who have their winter area in the lowland from Girishk-Kandahār to the east on to Herāt and areas NW of it, e.g. Gulrān, in the west, and their summer grazing districts in the Taimanī 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 Afghān trading nomads visit Ābūl. Ahmad enumerated the following, who arrived with white tents unless otherwise stated: Taghar (Ahmadzai), Nīāzī, Sulīmānkhēl, 'Allā(ud)dīnkhēl (Ahmadzai), Khwāzak (Sulīmānkhēl), the most important, and next Stanīzī (Ahmadzai), Asīnzī, Maṭānī, Mangal (few), Zādrān (2-3 tents), Hussainkhēl, Ākhundk Dapī (no tents), Daulatzai, Mallākhēl, Ākākhēl (no tents), Utmānzai (Mohammadzai, no tents), Kharōṭī (no tents), Shmamazai, Tarrakhēl (no tents, *māldār*), Alī Bahrāmkhēl (Ahmadzai, no tents), Mūsākhēl (Ahmadzai), Jalālkhēl (Ahmadzai), 'Isākhēl (Ahmadzai, few tents). The list should not be regarded as complete, however, Ibrāhīmkhēl and Khiderkhēl (both Ahmadzai), Dautāpī and Mand also come there.

Without going into detail here, it can be said that the Ahmadzai people also dominate in this bazar, but, as opposed to Gomâb, there is a somewhat larger contingent of people from the southern part of Paktiâ province (Khwâzak, Sulimânkêl etc.), the original area of the trading nomads.

A number of the traders end their activities in Âbûl (for example, certain settled Taghar), others continue their caravan wanderings to the rest of the Taimanî area, where they hold small bazars in larger or smaller groups. On the road westwards from Âbûl we met both small groups of 3-4 tents, which remained close to some Taimanî summer camps for several months, and some relatively large bazars, for example, near Shaharak, where the Khwâzaks held a bazar for a week before proceeding onwards. These trading nomads cover the whole Taimanî area in this way, including Taiwâra, Tûlak 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 Taimanî 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 Taimanîs (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 Taimanîs 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 Taimanî 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 Pashtûns in parts of the Aimâq area is not as improbable as it is in Central Hazârajât.—A little above Kassî, at Harî Rûd, there is a village of Wardak Pashtûns 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 Âbûl

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 Pashtûn 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 patrilineal, segmented tribal system. Into all this comes the Pashtūns' high code of honour, and their strong contempt for the unfitting, the shameful. It must therefore be realised 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 bazars of Ābūl and Gomāb, 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 Pashtūns: 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 occasions such as weddings, where fellowship demands it; for that matter one can well be accepted as a guest by one's enemy.

The bazar administration, or *mīr* administration as it is called, we heard more about before we reached the bazars than when we were there. Both in Ābūl and Gomāb they are practically in a state of dissolution. In Gomāb 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, *malik* Girdai of the 'Isākhêl, was referred to by his 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, *malik* Girdai had formerly been a *mīr* and was an important man in the bazar, but whether there were others equally important I cannot say for certain, though I think there were. With the western *māldārs*, on the other hand, we neither saw a *mīr*, nor even heard of one.

Everyone agreed that Gomāb 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 authority of the Afghān 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 Gardēzkhêl, Tagh Ahmadzai and Shah Gul Khan, 'Allā(ud)dīnkhêl, Ahmadzai; they had, we were told, occupied their "posts" for 25 and 16-17 years, respectively. In 1960 we 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 little from force of habit, was given to understand by him. But in the eyes of the trad-



Fig. 10.—Mir Ahmad Khan of Gardézhkhêl, Taghar, Ahmadzai. For many years the respected leader (*mîr*) of Âbûl bazar. July 26, 1960.

nomads he was still *mîr*, 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 bazar without uniform. For a new feature has made its appearance in the bazar: the Afghân authorities are represented by an officer and 8–10 soldiers. They lived in tents some little distance from the bazar. 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 Pashtûn from Kattawâz, behaved with great tact—for much depended upon the respect he was able to create for his person. When showing us the bazar 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 (Persian *shûgh*) atmosphere prevailing at Âbûl owing to a relatively big group of people from the southern part of Paktiâ province, and the fact that the *mâldâr* 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 bazars was that everything was extremely quiet and well-organised. Everyone was conversant with bazar life of earlier years, and law and order prevailed primarily because of the self-discipline of the trading nomads.

The unwritten law for bazar life was simply that all conflict was taboo; nevertheless it arose, it must immediately be settled. For this reason, or rather had had, the *mîr* institution. Homicide was naturally the worst offence and must on no account be avenged within the area of the bazar, where breach of order could only be resolved by the decision of the *jirga* (in the form of a compromise in accordance with the normal Pashtûn rules). If peaceful settlement was not desired, revenge must be postponed and sought outside bazar limits. In 1958 or 1959 a Durrânî *mâldâr* killed a trading nomad, *Âbûl*, but nothing was done about this until the next year when the question was shot outside the bazar area. Other offences, for example, theft or harm, are adjusted in accordance with the rather detailed Pashtûn rules (of this can be seen in Rai 1922, p. 49).—Theft was punished very severely: if caught the thief must pay 9 times the value of that stolen, again an ancient Pashtûn regulation. In Gomâb it was also said that the tent in which goods had been hidden was burned down, but Mir Ahmad denied the truth of this punishment.

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

When the sole bazar lay in Kermân, there was, to all appearances, one *mîr*, who was taken from the ranks of the eastern trading nomads, more particularly from the Ahmadzai. It was not until the Kermân bazar was dissolved and big bazars were started further to the west (about 1929-30), that one also had *mîrs* from the western, Durrânî, pastoralists. The move occurred, as mentioned, after the Ghilzai nomads had pressed the Durrânî of Hazârajât, and the latter dared no longer come to the bazar at Kermân. It must have been to re-establish confidence between the two groups, and that the new bazars were held in a peaceful atmosphere that the Durrânî obtained their *mîrs*, there then being one eastern and one western *mîr* association attended to order and justice in the bazars. Another measure smoothed the way was that the two *mîrs* for a number of years under King Shah together fixed the bazar prices. Before that there had been free competition, and later this was re-introduced.

The *mîrs* were elected by the participants each year at the beginning of the bazar. In the case of *Âbûl* the *mîr's* authority was well established among the trading nomads—re-election of the *mîr* being the rule. Mir Ahmad was

a great many years (though hardly 25), and before him was his paternal uncle, Hazrat Moh. Khan. Every year, in addition to the *mīr*, *wazīrs* were elected, one for each of the most important tribal groups taking part in the bazar, or, according to other information, only two *wazīrs* in all. Shah Gul Khan, who in 1953 was called a *mīr* was really a *wazīr*, being merely the only one (?) who was re-elected each year. These *wazīrs* (literally: ministers, assistants etc.), were the *mīr*'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 *wazīrs* who summoned the people together for consultation and other matters of common concern. The *wazīrs* 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 hardly been a very well-defined body, for all bazar participants were called "soldiers" and under the authority of the *mīr* and the *wazīrs*.

The Durrānī had their own *mīr* 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 *mīr* was elected both at Ābūl and Gomāb, but apparently no-one was continuously re-elected each year, as in the case of Ābūl's eastern *mīr*. I am a little doubtful as to whether the Durrānī have possessed such a well-organised system with *wazīrs* 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' *mīr* institution was to assure law and order and settle conflicts of all kinds, the *mīr* institution of the Durrānīs 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 *wazīrs* the *mīrs* 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 *mīr*'s own tribe. It is not clear how large a share the *mīr* (and the *wazīrs*) 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 Afghanistan, the *mīr* 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 Afghanistan. In addition we must also consider that, generally speaking, the same people return year after year to Ābūl and Gomāb. They know each other and this makes relations easier. In Gomāb the *mīr* 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

Âbûl the *mîr* previously-elected by the trading nomads has been retained de facto, but in addition the normal authorities guarantee law and order.

The *mîr* institution came latest to the Durrânîs and, apparently, first lapsed 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 *mîr* system has never existed in any bazars other than the three mentioned: Kermân, Âbûl and Gomâb. 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 *mîr* institution in the bazars is not an isolated phenomenon, but is based on the fact that the Pashtûn 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 waging 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, "Chelwastee" from each group ("Khail") was called "Meer", was customary among the south-eastern Pashtûns in "Damaun" (the present Dêra Ism'ail Khân District), Kattawâz 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, and 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 *mîrs* and *wazîrs*, and there can be no doubt that the bazar institution is based on these traditional offices in the Pashtûn society, that also played a prominent rôle among the trading nomads, not least during their defensive march through the Sulaimân mountains the previous century (cf. Elphinstone, 1842, Vol. I, p. 379 et seq).

When I suggested above that the offices of *mîr* and *wazîr* must be remunerative, I was thinking of the information here given.

Concluding remarks

The old trading tendencies of the East Afghân nomads and the conquest of Hazâra-jât constitute the starting point of the development in Central Afghanistan here outlined, where one meets a final flowering of the traditional nomad caravan trade, whereas that 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 Afghân development: the commercialisation 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 side line. By trade and increased wealth generally these people acquire land, which however does not entail settlement within the Hazâra's area, but has already been conducive to settlement in eastern areas, for example in the Lôgar 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 Dêra Ism'âil Khân District, where a large section of the trading nomads of previous centuries (Lôhânî 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 realisation 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 Pâkistân 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 Pākistān 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 *serāis*, and lorry transport, the latter being considered one of the most profitable occupations in Afghānistān today. Several big transport firms are thus owned by ordinary nomads who have Hazārajāt as their summer area ('Isākhêl, Bahrāmkhêl etc. of Ahmadzai). 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 (Ramtala 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 Hazārajāt. 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 bazars around the government centres. Conditions in North-west Afghānistān 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 Afghānistān with sheep for slaughtering 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 Afghānistān's traditional export goods. This is one of the reasons why they visit north and North-west Afghānistān. It is astonishing that they are able "to cope" competitively in Bādghīs and Bâlā Murghāb, where there is not only highroad traffic, but also many urban bazars (see above p. 146).

This transport eastwards, primarily down to Pākistān, 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, *Jalghōza* (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 Pākistān. 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 Pākistān and purchase bazar goods (now, however, mainly cotton clothing) for their trading in Afghānistān.

In this description of nomadic expansion and trading activities the Ahmadzai tribes play an important part. In former days they wandered particularly between Khōst and highlands between Gardēz and Lōgar and a little north of there, now they move between (Pākistān)-Khōst and Hazārajāt, and to a lesser extent between (Pākistān)-Jalālābād and Hazārajāt. In the course of time these tribes have obtained an everstronger position among the Afghān nomad tribes. We have seen that they played a leading rôle in the conquest of Hazārajāt (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 Hazārajāt, they only engaged in trade to a limited extent. Taking all things into account it was those who dominated the bazar at Kermān who now dominate Ābūl and Gomāb, 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 (Kattawāz—Gōmal—Dēra Ism'ail Khān), 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 Afghānistān 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 enterprising 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. *Powindah* or *potwandah* is a term often used in British Indian literature for a "trading nomad". This erroneous usage goes back to the very speculative Dr. Bellew, who connected the name with the Persian *parwandah*, *parūndah* (*prwndh*) = "a bale of merchandise" (Bellew 1880, p. 103, cf. Steingass 1947, p. 246). Wilber 1956, p. 43 writes: "Among some tribesmen, called *powindehs*, stockbreeding is secondary to merchandising". On p. 278 Wilber (l.c.) gives Bellew's old explanation. Humlum 1959, p. 344 attempts to make it logical and writes: "Ce commerce des nomades est appelé 'powindeh' (du perse

«parvandelis — badiot de marchandises»). Raverty, 1888, p. 484 et seq. has fully explained the word «powandah» (pwandā), which in the southern part of East Afghanistan, for example in Kaniwāz and Kandahār, is used synonymously with the north-eastern «kuchāy» (kuchāi), Afghan Persian *kūchī* — nomad, *kūch* — march, decampment. Raverty derives *powandah* from the Persian *pāyidan* (pwīdā) — to wander; to run; to trot (Steingass 1947, p. 260), which gives a meaning close to «*kūchī*». Pashtō Qāmūs 1954, Vol. I, p. 207 gives *powanda* — «cattle-breeder» (*māldār*), «nomad» (*kūchī*), and, «inhabitant of the desert» (*bādīya-nishīn*), and Zudin 1950, p. 123–24: *pavēnda*, *pūvēnda* = 1) «nomad, cattle-breeder», 2) «pedlar, sutler». My excellent collaborator, Abdul Raziq Palwal, from Kandahar, knew the word *powandah* well, and explained that it was connected with the Pashtō *pāwel* (pwawl) — to graze, as does Zudin 1950, p. 123. *Powēndah* thus means just «nomad», «grazier» and the word contains no suggestion that these nomads indulge in greater or lesser trading. The trading nomads of the present day merely call themselves traders, *tejār* (sing. *tājār*).

2. *Gulābī* is the name normally used by the Aimāqs, and to some extent by the Hazāras, for the trading nomads. People are unable to explain either the meaning or origin of *gulābī*, which otherwise in Afghanistan means «coloured or pink, colour of a (red) rose» (Nawees 1958, Vol. 3, p. 194; and Tajikistan: Rakhimi & Uspenskoï 1954, p. 107), or, as in Iran, «pear» (Haim 1958, 603; cf. Steingass 1947, p. 1093). Pashtō pronunciation might suggest, though it is difficult to verify, that it is derived from Pashtō *gōrābāi*, which means «sugar water» Pashtō Qāmūs 1954, Vol. II, p. 183 (p. 853); Zudin 1950, p. 438). Perhaps therefore, it was originally a nickname for the trading nomads, who always bring with them Pashtō *gōra* (Afghan Persian *gūr*), 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 1960, I visited Ābūl with my collaborator, Abdul Raziq Palwal, and a photographer, Miss Josephine Powell, whereafter A. R. P. and I continued westwards on horseback to Ōbeh via Shaharak, Tūlak and Farsī. In 1953 the whole of the Danish Scientific Mission to Afghanistan, headed by H.R.H. Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark, visited Ābūl on 18th–19th July. Our reception was festive and well-arranged, with Pashtūn dances, equestrian displays and a shooting competition in our honour. In consequence the daily life of the bazar receded somewhat into the background. In earlier days, apparently, there were dances (Pashtō *attān*) more often at Ābūl when drummers came from Kābul, but in 1960 there were neither dances nor drummers at Ābūl 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 130–140 tents at Ābūl.

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