

# Commission on Nomadic Peoples

“Nomadism as Ideological Expression: the Case of the Gomal Nomads”

Akbar S. Ahmed

Newsletter of the Commission on Nomadic Peoples, Number 9, September 1981

The Commission on Nomadic Peoples of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (IUAES) is collaborating with the Ford Foundation to digitize, preserve and extend access to the journal of *Nomadic Peoples*. For more information regarding the journal *Nomadic Peoples* visit the Commission on Nomadic Peoples website at [www.nomadicpeoples.info](http://www.nomadicpeoples.info) and the Berghahn Books website at [www.berghahnbooks.com](http://www.berghahnbooks.com)

Nomadism as Ideological Expression: The Case of the Gomal Nomads

by Akbar S. Ahmed

This paper is speculative and exploratory.<sup>1</sup> Data were gathered during the period I was Political Agent in South Waziristan Agency (1978-1980) in Pakistan where some groups of the nomadic Suleman Khel and Dottani tribes live. These tribes have traditionally used the Gomal route to enter Pakistan, along the Gomal River which flows from Afghanistan into the Agency to join the Indus near Dera Ismail Khan. Over the last two generations some members of these tribes have decided to settle along the Gomal. Indeed, their association with the Gomal, reinforced by the presence of those who settled here created a name for them. They are known--and refer to themselves--as 'de Gomal khalq', 'the people of Gomal'. In this paper, I will, therefore, refer to the two tribes under discussion as the Gomal nomads.

Nomad ethnographies have traditionally, and perhaps correctly, placed an emphasis on the dominant role of ecology as a factor shaping society; indeed, comparative studies have almost come to regard nomadism as an ecological adaptation. Climate and terrain, availability of pasture and water, and types of animals herded, are seen to influence patterns of movement and forms of herding and camping associations (Johnson 1969; Krader 1959; Rubel 1969, Spooner 1973; Sweet 1965). Thus nomadism is treated as a "trait of cultural ecology," characterized by "lack of interest in fixed property and fixed resources" (Spooner 1973:3-4). Political structures, too, are seen as related to ecology (Barth 1961, 1962; Black-Michaud 1975; Salzman 1967; Sweet 1965). Reflecting another view, Bates (1971) and Irons (1974) supported Lattimore's argument (1940) that nomadism may be also seen as an adaptation to the political rather than the natural environment. Although sufficient literature exists on the above themes, there is a conspicuous lacuna on the ideological/cultural content of nomadic life as it relates to concrete administrative/political zones. The Gomal nomads exhibit a defined ideological position which instructs daily life. This ideological position offers additional significant explanations for understanding Gomal nomads and phases of their sedentarization.

While agreeing with the main body of literature on nomadism, I suggest that perhaps we may usefully examine ideology as an additional factor to ecology in explaining nomadism. My data from Waziristan indicates that we should examine ideology with specific reference to and within administrative zones more closely as an explanation of and for nomadism. I argue here that the Gomal nomads live in the administrative and social interstices of the larger states not by accident but by choice, not as victims of ecological conditions but as part of a political strategy which expresses explicitly a desire to live freely. This feature is perhaps most characteristic of those nomadic tribes crossing administrative/political borders in South Asia. The State in South Asia is traditionally highly centralized, monolithic and bureaucratic (the Mughal matrix being still visible). For the often illiterate, traditional, generally poor nomad, the State characterizes vast powers, corruption and impersonal administration. He wishes to remain free of its tentacles. He can do so only by movement.

In addition, it is suggested in this paper that nomadic life be seen as an ideal cultural expression or statement of the larger tribal group--usually

sedentary--to which the nomads belong. Through a nomadic existence, certain key features of the larger society are translated, expressed and perpetuated. Nomadism may thus be seen as an ideological expression and social extension of Pukhtun society reflecting the two major systems within which the Pukhtun organizes his life, Pukhtunwali, the Code of the Pukhtuns, and Islam. Gomal nomads themselves emphasize these sets of ideologies, which presume and presuppose each other, in explaining their style of life. Indeed, there appears to be a conflation of these two systems as reflected in the key features of Gomal life.

There are two key features of the Gomal ideology: azadi,<sup>2</sup> political freedom--owing allegiance to no political system or man--and thereby underscoring the unique and direct relationship with the one God; and tor (lit. black) or safeguarding honour of women. Together these two features permit the Gomal nomads the fullest possible expression of ideal Pukhtun values.

Azadi may be understood--as it is understood by the Gomal nomads--in terms of administrative borders and structures.<sup>3</sup> In this regard, a serious methodological criticism may be leveled at much of the literature on nomadism which ignores the existence of the administrative structures within which nomads operate. The nomads appear to make move and counter-move as a response to seasonal/ecological factors solely. They seem to operate in an administrative vacuum. However, transition from one administrative zone to another is a key factor in migration implying vastly differing personnel, rules and procedures. One major factor in migration is the attempt to escape or, where possible, exploit the administrative structures. Mobility allows nomads freedom inconceivable to peasant or settled groups. For instance, the Tribal Areas in Pakistan, where Government presence is minimal, allow the nomads almost complete freedom to transport and sell prohibited commodities. In contrast, this is more difficult in the Punjab due to different administrative arrangements. The escape from and exploitation of these administrative webs within which other groups live allows nomads cultural and political freedom. Their names appear on no revenue forms for taxation or police records for identification. Settled Pukhtuns who may be somewhat dismissive about the ignorance and poverty of nomads, such as the Gomal group, nonetheless recognize them as an expression of azadi which contrasts with their trapped situation within administrative and political webs. Their migrations and activities are thus viewed as 'escaping' between and from different zones rather than as response to herding needs.

Migration may thus be seen as a political or cultural escape, both in a real and symbolic sense, from political zones. Indeed, this is how they perceive themselves. Their very names 'powindah' (in Pakistan) 'one who travels on foot' and 'kochi' (in Afghanistan) 'one who travels' (both derived from Persian) support this. I will also argue, as others have done, that to place nomads in a discrete social category with rigid boundaries may create methodological problems. Nomadism remains and reflects an aspect of its own desire to remain de-sedentarized. The sedentarization process, perhaps inevitable in the last half of the twentieth century, may be a logical state in social and economic progress but it also creates serious dilemmas for the Gomal nomad. For a start, his understanding of azadi--the fundamental nomadic concept--is compromised.

#### Gomal Ethnography

Let us examine the ethnographic data.<sup>4</sup> The Suleman Khel and Dottani, the

Gomal nomads of this paper, are two of the smaller tribes of South Waziristan Agency. The Suleman Khel number some 1,513 and the Dottani 2,383 souls (Pakistan Census 1972).<sup>5</sup> The tribes are organized along segmentary principles familiar in the literature. That is, they exhibit 'nesting' attributes, are acephalous, egalitarian and trace genealogical links to an apical ancestor characterized by me as nang or honour-based groups (Ahmed, 1980). The basic socio-economic--indeed political--unit appears to be the nuclear family, around the household head which includes his wife/wives and offspring organized as a 'tent-camp'. The number of this unit is usually between 12-15 souls. During and for the purposes of migration other such units related in the patrilineage join together. The tribes are found in south-east Afghanistan, where their major population lives, and also further south-east towards the Indus near Dera Ismail Khan.

Pastures in Pakistan are either those reserved by Government for the nomads, called chiraghan or melagah, or during migration those allowed by local tribes. Migration down the Gomal river and into Pakistan takes place annually in autumn and they return to their pastures in Afghanistan in early spring. Travel is calculated on the basis of a parowa or daily span of about 8-9 miles. Their animals are camel, sheep and goat. Horses are rarely used. Although the Gomal nomads are reluctant to mention the fact, there is an increasing tendency, over the last two generations, to 'settle' one male sibling as owner of joint property--usually 1-4 acres--along the Gomal river. This sedentarization, paradoxically, assists in the azadi of the nomads. The sedentarization of one member of the family allows them the best of both worlds. To enquiring officials, males are perpetually 'out' on migration while the Gomal house is a useful 'hide-out' in times of trouble across the border.

Both tribes are marginal to the political life of the South Waziristan Agency which is dominated by two powerful cousin tribes, the Wazirs and Mahsuds, and their intense agnatic rivalry (Ahmed 1981b, and Religion and Politics in Muslim Society: a case-study from Pakistan--forthcoming book). Indeed the intensity of the Wazir-Mahsud agnatic rivalry draws in the political administration of the Agency; their azadi is thus compromised. In contrast, the Gomal nomads live outside the sphere of the administration.

Indeed, I was probably one of the first Political Agents to visit the Gomal nomads in their traditional stronghold, the Zarmelan plain. The plain is an arid, dusty bowl of rock and sand surrounded by desolate and barren mountains. It is perhaps for this reason that the Wazirs and Mahsuds have allowed the Gomal nomads ownership of Zarmelan. They also live along the banks of the Gomal river which allows them to cultivate one crop of wheat and barley.

An important event tying the Gomal nomads to the fixed administrative structure of the Agency during my tenure was my nomination in 1980 of the Suleman Khel elder, Zarif Khan Kamrani (whose genealogy we will see below) to the prestigious Agency council. He was the first Gomal nomad to be appointed and in time a vocal representative of their needs in Council meetings. My hope was that, through more active involvement in Agency affairs, the Gomal nomads could legitimately demand and obtain more facilities from Government. The connection would also serve the nomads well in the times of trouble that lay ahead in the region. I was not to be disappointed. Schools, tube-wells and roads were high on their list of demands--as they were on mine for these tribes. Another important development which took place during my tenure was directly related to the emerging

political situation in the region. A Scouts<sup>6</sup> post has been established on the point where the borders of Afghanistan, Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Province meet, on the banks of the Gomal river. Zarmelan today is thus 'penetrated'. The Zarmelan post situated on the vital route used by the Gomal nomads will surely affect their traditional movement; it detracts from their azadi. It also illustrates what is one of my major arguments in this paper, which is to underline the consequences of larger political developments on nomadic ideology and life.

### Gomal Genealogy

Let us briefly consider the genealogies of the Gomal nomads. The Suleman Khel are one of the larger and better known tribes of the Ghilzai confederation-- the total population of which was estimated to be about a million by Robinson (1934:55) and which is now estimated to be more than doubled, between two to three million. The Ghilzais, who have provided ruling dynasties in India (1290-1320) and Persia (1722-1729), retain a somewhat exaggerated sense of social importance. The Dottani, on the other hand, are not Ghilzai.

The origin of the Ghilzai remains obscure, some commentators claiming holy Islamic descent for them while others point to a Turk origin. Robinson, following Dorn and the Mughal historians, relates the story which gives them the holy descent and also their name: Shah Hussain, a noble born but impecunious Persian, married Matu, daughter of Sheikh Batni, a tribal chief in Afghanistan, after making her pregnant. The boy "being the fruit of a clandestine amour, was called Ghilzye. Ghil, in the Afghan language, signifying a 'thief' and 'zye', 'born, a son'" (Robinson 1934:53). The Gomal nomads reject this story and explain the name as deriving from 'khals'--or land they owned in Afghanistan-- hence 'khalzoi'--'sons of the land (of khals)'. This, in time, became Ghilzai. Ghilzai, in turn, had a son Ibrahim from whom descended Suleman Khan. Lodi is appended to Ibrahim--from 'loe dey'--'he is the eldest'-- after Ghilzai pronounced Ibrahim as the 'eldest' of his sons.

The story of Ghilzai origin establishes two interrelated social facts: first, their 'holy' descent and second, their non-Pukhtun ancestry. As a consequence of these facts, the Ghilzai are included to underscore their 'Islamic' character.

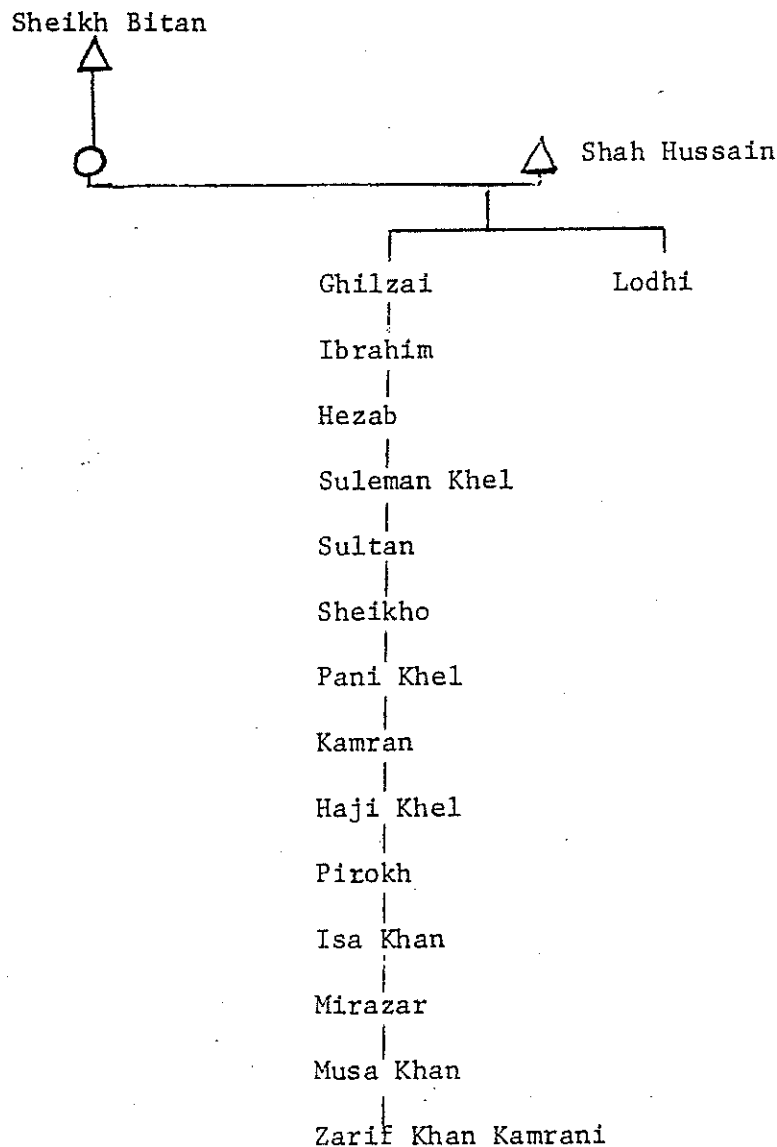
The Ghilzai have traditionally been rivals to the ruling Durrani dynasty for political power. Consequently, the Durrani have constantly sought to weaken and divide the Ghilzais, especially the Suleman Khel. Amir Abdur Rahman, the Iron Amir, is said to have deported about a thousand families from each of the leading divisions of the Ghilzai to Afghan Turkistan (Robinson 1934:57). It is perhaps no accident that the first non-Durrani to rule Afghanistan after the over-throw of the Durrani rule in 1978 was Noor Mohammad Tarraki, a Ghilzai. Some observers note that Tarraki's purge of Durranis reflected a zeal which was more ethnic than ideological.

Genealogy assumes an exaggerated importance for Gomal nomads because of their mobility and the span of their migrations. Unlike settled Pukhtuns, they cannot identify with known and fixed geographical features such as a valley or mountain. Even the Gomal river--which recently has given them a geographical association--symbolizes a form of freedom, winding its way, as it does, through two countries and numerous administrative/political zones. Genealogical memory, oral and imprinted in the minds of the elders, is thus a key to identity. Almost

all the males I talked to, who held positions of authority in their camps (elders, sons of elders), could trace their ancestry to Suleman Khel. The Gomal nomads express their Islamic associations tracing the conversion of Quais, their putative apical ancestor, by the Prophet himself. After converting, they explain, he changed his name to a more 'Islamic' name, Abdur Rashid.

Below is the genealogy of Zarif Khan Kamrani, the Suleman Khel elder. The genealogical links to Isa Khan (Isa is spelt as Azi) from Suleman Khel, are also provided by Robinson (1934:200-201). The genealogical table makes two points: the importance of generation recall to Gomal nomads--up to 14 generations linking Zarif Khan with his ancestor Shah Hussain--and the suggestion of non-Pukhtun origin of the tribe. The latter point, after Ghilzai's many centuries of assimilation and association with Pukhtunwali, is not sociologically important. The first point is important: genealogy remains a diacritical feature distinguishing Pukhtun from Pukhtun, and Pukhtun from non-Pukhtun.

The Genealogy of Zarif Khan Kamrani:



## Daily Life

Let us briefly examine the daily activities of the basic unit. The basic unit, as I suggested earlier, is socially, economically--indeed to a large extent politically--self-sufficient. The rhythm of daily life appears to be unchanged since the last two generations at least (see Robinson 1934 for details). Adult males on the move or in seasonal camps are involved in trade deals, temporary manual labour and conducting various forms of politics. The household head is the decision-maker and does not hold any official or administrative position. Women, as in other Pukhtun tribes, lead an exceedingly busy physical life. They cook, clean, sew, wash for the household and also tend the animals. Children, from an early age, assist their parents--in the early years the mother, and later, the boys are attached to the father. Although on the surface life is physically hard and unsettled, in the daily routine it assumes steady and known patterns. Authority is clearly demarcated, as are job roles. Each member knows his position in society.

For other needs, such as making cots, shoes, etc. the qasabgars, or service groups, have been affiliated to the tribe. Qasabgars are various supporting professionals such as cobblers, goldsmiths, barbers and carpenters. Ideally, there is no inter-marriage between qasabgars and the major host tribes. The qasabgar does not 'carry the gun' and does not own land, diacritics which distinguish him from Pukhtun. In time, some qasabgar groups, especially among the settled Dottanis, have merged with the host tribe assuming their name and creating fictitious genealogical links. Genealogy thus remains an important diacritical feature for tribes like the Suleman Khel who wish to distinguish non-Suleman Khel. We saw above the capacity of elders, like Zarif Khan, to recall male ascendants up to the apical ancestor of the tribe.

Life is hard and luggage is kept--almost by nomadic definition--to a minimum. The daily budget is spent largely on food items of which the main are tea, sugar, meat, pulses, flour and kerosene oil. The average family--or basic unit--is estimated to spend between 50-60 rupees (5 to 6 dollars) daily. Milk and fire-wood are free for the nomads.

The major expenditure revolves around the rites de passage. Marriage is the major and most expensive of these, in part due to the actual bride-price payment, followed by rites of death, birth and circumcision. The pattern for the rites de passage are familiar from other comparative data on Pukhtun tribes (Ahmed 1980). The low daily budgets and expenditure on rites de passage are a consequence of the nomadic life; one that lends itself to easy movement at short notice across changing borders and zones in South Asia. A factor that supports their movements and assists them in mapping strategy is the recent arrival of the radio among the Gomal nomads. Almost every family unit possesses the radio and the family head is an avid listener to national and international news.

## The Ideological Content of Gomal Nomadism

I want to turn to a discussion of the ideological content of nomadic life. As I suggested above, the influence and presence of Islam permeates life among the Gomal nomads. Indeed, as they see it, Islam is visibly interlinked with their ancestry--traced to their holy ancestor Shah Hussain--and their tribal mythology. For instance, the Gomal nomads explain the downfall of the Ghilzais by a story involving a Pir--saint--and his 'curse'. Apparently an ancestor of

the tribe had displeased the Pir who cursed the tribe through khayray, or 'badoa' (literally 'bad prayer'). For seven generations, he had predicted, the Ghilzais would be dominated by their rivals, the Durrani. A Ghilzai proverb claims "Badshahi da Durrani, tura da Ghilzai"--kingship belongs to the Durrani, but the sword (power, honour, etc.) belongs to the Ghilzai. The story reflects interestingly on history as Durrani rule began in Afghanistan about seven generations ago (allowing about 30 years for a generation). Religious mythology was again sustained for the Ghilzai when Noor Mohammad Tarraki in 1978 came to power in Kabul displacing Durrani rule. Their tribe, the Ghilzais, the Gomal nomads point out, have provided a Muslim dynasty in India. They have carried the banners of Islam to far points of South Asia. Islam and tribal identity appear inter-linked to them.

In contrast to the observations of other anthropologists (such as Barth regarding the Basseri) I found the Gomal nomads firm in their allegiance and--where locally understood--practice of Islam. Robinson also notes, "They are generally strict in the performance of religious duties" (1934:9). For instance, almost every nomad I checked wore a religious talisman--taweez--usually verses from the Holy Quran--around his neck as a visible symbol of his faith and protection against unspecified dangers.

It appears that a certain myth about Muslim nomads possessing "a reputation for being poor Moslems" (Tapper 1979:2) prevails in nomadic studies in spite of general, though scattered evidence to the contrary (Ahmed and Hart 1981; Cole 1975; Ibrahim and Cole 1978; Irons 1975; Lewis 1961; Pastner 1971; Salzman 1967). My observations corroborate those of Evans-Pritchard (1973) who noted that laxity in practice of the Cyrenaica Bedouins was not to be understood as irreligiosity. Nomads translate various aspects of life into Islamic idiom. For example, Lancaster notes the Rwala Bedouin's adverse reaction to sedentarization is seen in primarily "religious" terms (Lancaster 1980:20-27).

Some observers point to laxity in practice as a proof that nomads are "poor Moslems". It is noted that fasting during the month of Ramadan--one of the five compulsory features of Muslim life--is suspended. It is my observation that the question of fasting has been misunderstood by many observers of Islamic groups. According to Islamic tradition and customs, the fast may be legitimately postponed if the person is 'travelling' (on safr--journey). The Gomal nomads who do not fast if the month of Ramadan coincides with their migration appear to compensate--under Islamic practice--the days missed once they have camped for the season. When travelling the nomads drop the nafil in their daily prayers. They explain this as a special dispensation deriving from the time of the Prophet.

I suggest a more useful discussion than the "poor Moslems" versus "good Moslems" one (and where does that lead us to?--few Moslems--however "poor" in practice--will admit inferiority) would be to examine the pre-Islamic organization, values etc. that may have been "Islamized" and retained. We may thereby learn more about the ideological adjustments between Islamic universalism and nomadic particularism. An extension of this enquiry relates to the question of tribe and state in the Middle East. As we know the relationship is sometimes uneasy and largely undefined, which creates certain tensions in the contemporary world. Nationalist Governments sometimes behave as if they possess a monopoly on culture and religion. The issue is farther obfuscated by the "romantic" view of nomadic life against the "realist" view (see Lancaster 1980 for a good example of the one confronting the



other with reference to the Bedouins in Saudi Arabia). The "romantic" image, deriving from the "noble savage" prototype, perhaps does more harm than good to the object of affection. We may avoid this trap altogether if we view nomadism as an ideological expression of certain ideals of the larger settled group. The nomad, then, may be seen, as I argue, reflecting the higher ideals of society and not as a cultural aberration left high and dry by the ebb and flow of historical progression.

I am arguing that the nomadic interpretation of Islam may be seen literally and simply, as the Gomal nomad sees it, as the submission to the one God. Any other relationships makes him uneasy. To assert the freedom this relationship implies he must keep moving; he must also possess, what Robinson so aptly terms "restlessness in his blood" (1934:2). Matters pertaining to geographical locality and social relationships are the exclusive domain of the camp elder. Through them he ensures his freedom.

Let us briefly examine how the Gomal nomads may interpret the laws of tor distinctly from other Pukhtun groups. As we know tor, which suggests the violation of the honour of a woman, may be converted to spin--or white--only by death (of the couple involved). Tor, it is locally argued, is both Pukhtun and Islamic in concept. The courts and Law of Afghanistan and Pakistan often take a lenient view of tor cases; the accused is considered by the Criminal Procedure Code in Pakistan as having acted under 'grave provocation.' Nonetheless, tribesmen are sometimes involved in lengthy and expensive court-cases. In the Tribal Areas, the matter is simpler. Society allows killing--usually by the father or brother of the person--in tor cases. However, there are various escape routes which men often utilize (Ahmed 1980). New ideas and new money have further influenced people on tor cases (Ahmed 1981). In contrast the nomads, living within a whole, viable, defined and recognized universe--conceptualized as the basic socio-economic unit and during migration the tent-camp--can order the speedy implementation of the punishment. Society will explicitly approve. Moving from zone to zone, it is easy to elude entanglement with local people and administration. Few questions are asked and fewer answers provided. The nomad carries his secrets with him. Tor punishments, I was convinced through numerous cases recounted by the elders, are rigidly implemented. Otherwise, it was argued, not only morality but social morale, the ideological component of society, and ultimately discipline in the unit would suffer. The last, it was argued, was not possible for the efficient organization of a nomadic camp.

What remains of interest in the situation of the Gomal nomads is the pattern of their migrations. They traditionally crossed international borders and widely differing ecological zones. From the central zone of Afghanistan in autumn, south-east across the mountain ranges, along the Gomal river, into the plains of the Punjab, sometimes further south towards Delhi and Calcutta (and some, it appears, as far south as Australia--Robinson 1934:26). Winter was spent under tent-camps or in neighbouring villages working as part-time labour. The transition from Central Asia into South Asia was signified by the compulsory surrendering of arms at the check-posts on the borders between Afghanistan and British India. In this paper I am emphasizing the presence of these administrative structures and zones as I believe they are not sufficiently dealt with as a factor in nomadic life. They are a real and integral part of nomadic life; migration routes and camping sites are often selected with administrative borders and their personnel in mind. Some of the latter are to be avoided altogether, some negotiated, and some circumvented. The nomadic encounter with the personnel of the State, especially

on the outskirts or border zones, is fraught with possibility for both sets of actors.

Awareness of their passages through traditionally difficult administrative areas, and of the potential to mobilize migratory tribal networks for the Great Game, played between Imperial Russia and Britain, was fully exploited in the last and present century. Rudyard Kipling's horse-trader from Kabul, in Kim, personified the tribesman who represented a link with central Asia and the nomadic life.

### Conclusion

Perhaps the greatest threat to the life-style of the Gomal nomads has little to do with the traditional factors of change analysts discuss (Sandford 1976 and traditional processes of sedentarization (Salzman 1980). In the case of the Gomal nomads, geo-political decisions made by heads of Government have affected their life. In the early 1960s President Ayub Khan of Pakistan, reflecting the deterioration in the relationship with Afghanistan, ordered the closing of the border to the powindahs. This resulted in severe dislocation and hardship for them. The Gomal nomads, nonetheless, managed to migrate to Pakistan through unfrequented paths such as the Gomal route. Their span of migration, however, was shortened. While they could pasture freely in the Tribal Areas of the Frontier where there are no police, fewer reached the Punjab with its complex and developed administration networks. When the Russians entered Afghanistan in 1979, the Gomal traditional life-style was once again severely affected. Until that year, their life was largely traditional and unchanging in spite of the inconveniences of Ayub Khan's ban on their entry. Even labour opportunities in the Arab States, which through remittances sent home are affecting other tribes (Ahmed 1981a and b), were largely ignored. To my mind, 1979 is the most critical year--and a turning point--in the recent history of the Gomal nomads. It is unlikely that their traditional life will be restored fully. Their capacity to express their needs for political freedom by shifting across borders will be impaired. This event may enforce sedentarization of the Gomal nomads. Nomadism, in any case, is not a total social category. A sloughing-off process, as we saw earlier, was clearly at work among the Gomal nomads.

However remote from political life they may have kept themselves in the contemporary situation, the Gomal nomads find their traditional life disrupted. Apart from a general unrest and tension in the country which disallows normal migration, many have expressed a desire to take part in the holy war-- Jihad. Azadi is now translated in a directly religious idiom which encompasses total social life. Many adults leave their families with their kin along the Gomal route and--in rotation with agnatic kin--take turns with their dated .303 rifles to wage  Jihad in Afghanistan against the supreme military power of the age. This gesture in itself, it could be argued, reflects the idealistic content to nomad life and translates as the desire to maintain azadi.

### Footnotes

Professors Ashraf Ghani, M. Meeker, P. Salzman and B. Spooner are gratefully acknowledged for their interest in this paper.

<sup>1</sup>I hope to publish a lengthier paper on this subject later.

<sup>2</sup>Not all anthropologists heed Mauss that the anthropologist has "to be also a novelist able to evoke the life of a whole society" (Mauss 1947:8). Novelists, on the other hand, with sometimes a sharper eye for cultural forms and comparisons than anthropologists who are necessarily confined to focusing on social features such as structure and organization, have perhaps best portrayed the feeling of freedom, azadi, of the nomads (among others Rudyard Kipling, John Masters and James Michener). The following paragraph captures this aspect, azadi, of the nomad: "Across the scrub-covered plain approached men with camels. The men had the faces of eagles and walked with long, slow, lifting strides. One of them looked up as he passed by. Anne smiled at him, expecting the salaam and the answering smile of an ordinary Indian wayfarer. But this was not India. The man stared her down, from pale green kohl-rimmed eyes. He carried a long rifle slung across his shoulders; a woman, shapelessly swathed in red and black cotton, swayed on top of the camel that he led; a lad of fourteen walked behind the camel; the lad had no beard, but his stride was an exact imitation of his father's insolent lilt, and he too carried a rifle.

'Pathans Aka Khel Afridis' Major Hayling said. Anne stared after them, a little angry, a little frightened" (Masters 1956:9). Here I am tempted to follow Meeker's use of "heroic" for such groups as suggesting political independence. (Meeker:1980).

<sup>3</sup>Both nomads and administrators recognize the azadi of nomadic life. The azadi of another nomadic group, the Gujars, had struck me when I was a young administrator (26) and in charge of Mansehra Sub-Division, as Assistant Commissioner in 1969. In an impressionistic essay I wrote of them: "There is an indescribable and unfettered freedom about them. . . .they laugh and march. Some nights camping by a grove of olive trees that protects a grave-yard, some nights under the shelter of jutting rocks by the road side; sometimes on the road in the month of sawan and its playful mists and rains; sometimes returning in September with trees along the road and in clumps turning autumn gold and yellow. . . .But always drifting, always free." (Ahmed 1973:51).

<sup>4</sup>Notes on Nomad Tribes of Eastern Afghanistan (Robinson 1934) written by a British political officer who served in the Agency about two generations ago--for the purpose of discouraging such groups from disrupting civil life in British India by petty theft, smuggling or even kidnapping--remains nonetheless a reliable document for the examination of the Gomal nomads. I was able to locate the descendants of some of the names mentioned by Robinson--and utilize his excellent genealogical charters.

<sup>5</sup>These figures are somewhat suspect. Tribal enumerations are based on what are officially called 'estimates'. The migratory nature of these two tribes makes the actual figure permanently living in the Agency even more difficult to assess. The continued deliberate vagueness of the tribesmen regarding such information further supports my argument: they do not wish to engage modern administrative apparatus as they feel it would compromise their freedom.

<sup>6</sup>The Scouts are a para-military force that guard the borders in the Tribal Areas.

<sup>7</sup>To illustrate the cause of this restlessness is to reflect on nomad character: 'As an Afghan once told Mr. Elphinstone, "We are content with discord; we are content with alarms; we are content with blood; but we never will be content with a master"' (Robinson 1934:8).

### Bibliography

- Ahmed, A.S.  
1973 Mansehra: A Journey, Ferozsons, Pakistan.
- 1980 Pukhtun Economy and Society: Traditional Structure and Economic Development in a Tribal Society, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- 1981a "The Arab Connection: Emergent Models of Social Structure and Organization among Pakistani Tribesmen" in June, Asian Affairs, London.
- 1981b "Mullah, Mahdi and Mosque: Emergent Trends in Muslim Society." (paper presented to SSRC Conference, South Asian Islam, Philadelphia, May).
- Religion and Politics in Muslim Society: Order and Conflict in Pakistan (forthcoming book).
- Ahmed, A.S. and D. Hart  
1981 From the Atlas to the Indus: Tribal Societies in Islam, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Barth, F.  
1961 Nomads of South Persia: The Basseri Tribe of the Khamseh Confederacy,
- 1962 "Nomadism in the Mountain and Plateau Areas of South West Asia" in The Problems of the Arid Zone: The Proceedings of the Paris Symposium, Arid Zone research 18, UNESCO, Paris, pages 341-355.
- Bates, D.G.  
1971 "The Role of the State in Peasant-Nomad Mutualism" in Anthropological Quarterly 3, pages 109-131.
- Black-Michaud, J.  
1975 Cohesive Force: Feud in the Mediterranean and the Middle East, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Cole, D.  
1975 Nomads of the Nomads: The Al Murrah Bedouin of the Empty Quarter, Chicago: Aldine.
- Evans-Pritchard, E.E.  
1973 The Sanusi of Cyrenaica, Oxford University Press, Originally published in 1949.

- Ibrahim, S.E. and D. Cole  
1978 Saudi Arabian Bedouin, Papers in Social Science, Cairo.
- Irons, W.  
1974 "Nomadism as a Political Adaptation: The Case of the Yomut Turkmen" in American Ethnologist I, pages 635-658.
- Johnson, D.L.  
1969 The Nature of Nomadism: A Comparative Study of Pastoral Migrations in Southwestern Asia and Northern Africa, Department of Geography, Research paper 118, University of Chicago, Chicago.
- Krader, L.  
1959 "The Ecology of Nomadic Pastoralism" in International Social Sciences Journal 11, pages 499-510.
- Lancaster, W.O.  
1980 Review of Ibrahim and Cole (1978) in Nomadic Peoples No. 5 Commission on Nomadic Peoples, IUAES.
- Lattimore, O.  
1940 Inner Asian Frontiers of China, New York: American Geographical Society.
- Masters, J.  
1956 The Lotus and the Wind, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- Mauss, M.  
1947 Manuel d'ethnographie, ed. D. Pauline Payot, Paris.
- Meeker, M.E.  
1980 "The Twilight of a South Asian Heroic Age: a Rereading of Barth's Study of Swat," in Man (N.S.) 15, pages 682-701.
- Pastner, S.  
1971 "Ideological Aspects of Nomad-Sedentary Contact" in Anthropological Quarterly, Volume 44, No. 3, July.
- Robinson, J.A.  
1934 Notes on Nomad Tribes of Eastern Afghanistan, reprinted 1978, M/S Nisa Traders, Quetta, Pakistan.
- Rubel, P.  
1969 "Herd Composition and Social Structure: On Building Models of Nomadic Pastoral Societies" in Man 4, pages 268-273.
- Salzman, P.C.  
1967 "Political Organization Among Nomadic Peoples" in Proceeding of the American Philosophical Society III, pages 115-131.
- 1980 ed., When Nomads settle: Processes of Sedentarization as Adaptation and Response, N.Y.: Praeger.

- Stanford, S.  
1976 "Pastoralism under Pressure," O.D.I., No. 2, London.
- Spooner, B.  
1973 The Cultural Ecology of Pastoral Nomads, Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co.
- Sweet, L.E.  
1965 "Camel Pastoralism in North Arabia and the Minimal Camping Unit" in Man, Culture and Animals: The Role of Animals in Human Ecological Adjustments, edited by A. Leeds and A.P. Vayda, American Association for the Advancement of Science, pages 129-152.
- Tapper, R.  
1979 Pasture and Politics: Economics, Conflict and Ritual among Shahsevan Nomads of Northwestern Iran, N.Y.: Academic Press.

Akbar S. Ahmed,  
The Institute for Advanced Study,  
Princeton University