

BEDOUIN OF NORTHERN ARABIA

Traditions of the Āl-Ḍhafīr

Bruce Ingham

ROUTLEDGE LIBRARY EDITIONS:
SOCIETY OF THE MIDDLE EAST



BEDOUIN OF NORTHERN ARABIA

Traditions of the Āl-Ḍhafīr

Bruce Ingham

ROUTLEDGE LIBRARY EDITIONS:
SOCIETY OF THE MIDDLE EAST

ROUTLEDGE LIBRARY EDITIONS: SOCIETY OF THE MIDDLE
EAST

Volume 5

BEDOUIN OF NORTHERN ARABIA

Bedouin of Northern Arabia

Traditions of the Al-Dhafir

Bruce Ingham

 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published in 1986 by Kegan Paul International

This edition first published in 2016

by Routledge

2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge

711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 1986 Bruce Ingham

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN: 978-1-138-19040-5 (Set)

ISBN: 978-1-315-62817-2 (Set) (ebk)

ISBN: 978-1-138-19044-3 (Volume 5) (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-315-64101-0 (Volume 5) (ebk)

Publisher's Note

The publisher has gone to great lengths to ensure the quality of this reprint but points out that some imperfections in the original copies may be apparent.

Disclaimer

The publisher has made every effort to trace copyright holders and would

welcome correspondence from those they have been unable to trace.

BEDOUIN OF NORTHERN ARABIA

Traditions of the Āl-Dhafīr

BRUCE INGHAM

 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

*First published in 1986 by
Kegan Paul International*

*This edition first published in 2011 by
Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN*

*Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada
by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017*

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© Bruce Ingham, 1986

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

*British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library*

*ISBN 10: 0-7103-0093-X (hbk)
ISBN 13: 978-0-7103-0093-5 (hbk)*

Publisher's Note

The publisher has gone to great lengths to ensure the quality of this reprint but points out that some imperfections in the original copies may be apparent. The publisher has made every effort to contact original copyright holders and would welcome correspondence from those they have been unable to trace.

To 'Ajimi ibn Shuhail al-Suwaiṭ

Contents

	<u>Acknowledgments</u>
	<u>Notation systems</u>
	<u>Preface</u>
	<u>Introduction</u>
<u>Chapter</u> <u>1</u>	<u>The history of the Āl Ḍhafīr</u>
<u>Chapter</u> <u>2</u>	<u>The traditional dīra of the Āl Ḍhafīr</u>
<u>Chapter</u> <u>3</u>	<u>The structure of the Ḍhafīr tribal confederation</u>
<u>Chapter</u> <u>4</u>	<u>The present situation of the tribe</u>
<u>Chapter</u> <u>5</u>	<u>Texts with translations and explanatory notes</u>
<u>Chapter</u> <u>6</u>	<u>Linguistic characteristics of the Ḍhafīr</u> <u>dialect</u> <u>Notes</u> <u>Bibliography</u> <u>Index</u>

Illustrations

MAPS

<u>1</u>	NORTHERN ARABIA: the territory of the Ḍhafīr and their neighbours
<u>2</u>	<u>BATTLES AND INCIDENTS INVOLVING THE ḌHAFĪR,</u>

marking the locality or the personage involved.
Also shown are localities mentioned in the texts

outside the Dhafīr dīra

THE TRADITIONAL DĪRA OF THE ĀL DHAFĪR, showing.

3

wells and camping grounds used by them

FIGURES

1

The Āl Suwait shaikhly line

2

The 'Afnān branch of the Suwait

PLATES

Hunting at the wells of Wguba

1

A Rufai' tribesman near al-Fulaij

In the tent of Hādi ibn Ābid near Ṣufairi

2

Guests at a wedding in Ṣufairi

3

Hunting at the borders of the Hajara

Bani Huchaim guests at Ghār al-Ḥamīr

4

Guests around the coffee hearth at a wedding in

Ṣufairi

5

Muḥammad ibn Sa'dūn

Muḥammad ibn Sa'dūn with members of his family

6

Guests at a wedding in Ṣufairi

After the hunt

7

Hunting at the borders of the Hajara

8

A desert bush at Sha'īb al-Amnah

Acknowledgments

The research for this study was carried out with the help of research leave grants from the School of Oriental and African Studies in 1977, 1978 and 1982. The University of Riyadh also gave me financial assistance in 1978 and the University of Kuwait gave me considerable help in introducing me to informants in 1977.

I must acknowledge the constant help and encouragement of the late Professor T. M. Johnstone, who always offered good advice and guidance and whose recent death is a sad loss to Arabic studies in the UK. Other mentors at SO AS and elsewhere include Professor J. Carnochan, Dr M. Gilsennan, Sir John Glubb, Alan de Lacy Rush and Muš'ab al-Murri.

In Saudi Arabia, I would have found it impossible to proceed without the approval of the authorities and in this respect I owe an immeasurable debt of thanks to Shaikh Musā'id ibn Saif al-Saif, whose constant and patient support was invaluable and without whose help my second trip to Saudi Arabia would probably never have happened. Similarly I must mention the late Amīr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Sudairi, my host in Saudi Arabia in 1978, and also His Excellency Nāšir al-Manqūr, the Saudi Ambassador in London.

Although I only stayed a short time in Saudi Arabia, I made many friends there and all of these have played a part in this work. The most important of these were 'Ajimi ibn Shuhail al-Suwait and his sons Faišal and Shuhail and Muḥammad ibn Sa'dūn al-Suwait. Other members of the Āl Suwait include Nāyif ibn Ḥamūd, Nawāf ibn Hazzā', Ridin ibn Šaḥan, Milbis ibn Jad'ān, Ḥamad ibn Sa'dūn and 'Utbān ibn Šufūg; also Lazzām, Ma'jūn, Muhalli, Fahad and Khālid, the sons of Nawāf, and Qāsim, Abdallah, Sa'dūn and 'Ugūb, the sons of Muḥammad ibn Sa'dūn; also Š'afag ibn Fuhaid, Š'aad ibn Ḍhāhir, and Mahdi ibn Dulayyim al-Žāsimi. Of the Ma'ālīm, thanks go to Mish'al ibn Bōdhan and Hādi ibn Ćābid. Others whose full names I did not learn include Muṭashshir the Rufai'i, Lafta, Miḥsin the 'Abasi and his brother Hādi; also Simāh, Abu 'Awwād, al-Jinūbi and Abu Salmān.

In Kuwait my thanks go to my host Wabdān ibn Rūmi and his brother Hadrūs; also to 'Āyidh Haitham, 'Awadh Haitham, Ṭalāl Sa'īd, Šaliḥ Manšūr al-'Alayyān, Sulaimān al-'Alayyān and 'Āyidh Ṭu'ma Ḥamdān.

Notation systems

Two systems of notation are used in this book, a transliteration and a transcription. The transliteration is used for Arabic names and terms referred to within the English text. It is one fairly commonly used for Arabic and needs little comment except that the form transliterated is in some cases the local pronunciation. This involves in the main the pronunciations g or ǰ [dz] for ق, ʿ [ts] for ك, and ḏh [ð] for ض and also in some cases differences of syllabication and vowel quality. Thus we have sometimes Zash'am not Qash'am, Mintifīz not Muntafiq, and Āl Ġithīr rather than Āl Kathīr; also Ḍhaḥīr not Ḍaḥīr in all cases. The latter is referred to as Āl Ḍhaḥīr 'the clan of the Ḍhaḥīr' or simply Ḍhaḥīr, as both are used as names of the tribe. A list of the equivalences is given below:

ā or a	ا
b	ب
t	ت
th	ث
j	ج
ḥ	ح
x	خ
d	د
dh	ذ
r	ر
z	ز
s	س
sh	ش
ṣ	ص
ḏh	ض
ṭ	ط
ḏh	ظ

'	ع
gh	غ
f	ف
q, g or ʒ	ق
k or ʕ	ك
l	ل
m	م
n	ن
h	ه
w or u	و
y or i	ي

The transcription system is used for the representation of the Arabic texts and in the description of the dialect. This differs from the transliteration only in so far as it has a number of extra vowel units and that it avoids the diagraphs th, dh, kh, gh, sh and ḏh. These are represented as follows:

ث = t

ذ = d

خ = x

غ = ġ

ش = š

ظ ض = ḏ

NB g is often pronounced [q] in initial position, i.e. [qōti] [qōri] for ġōti ġōri 'box, kettle'.

The vowel units distinguished are the following, giving IPA equivalents:

a half open vowel ranging from front through mid to back [ɛ],
[ʌ] or [a].

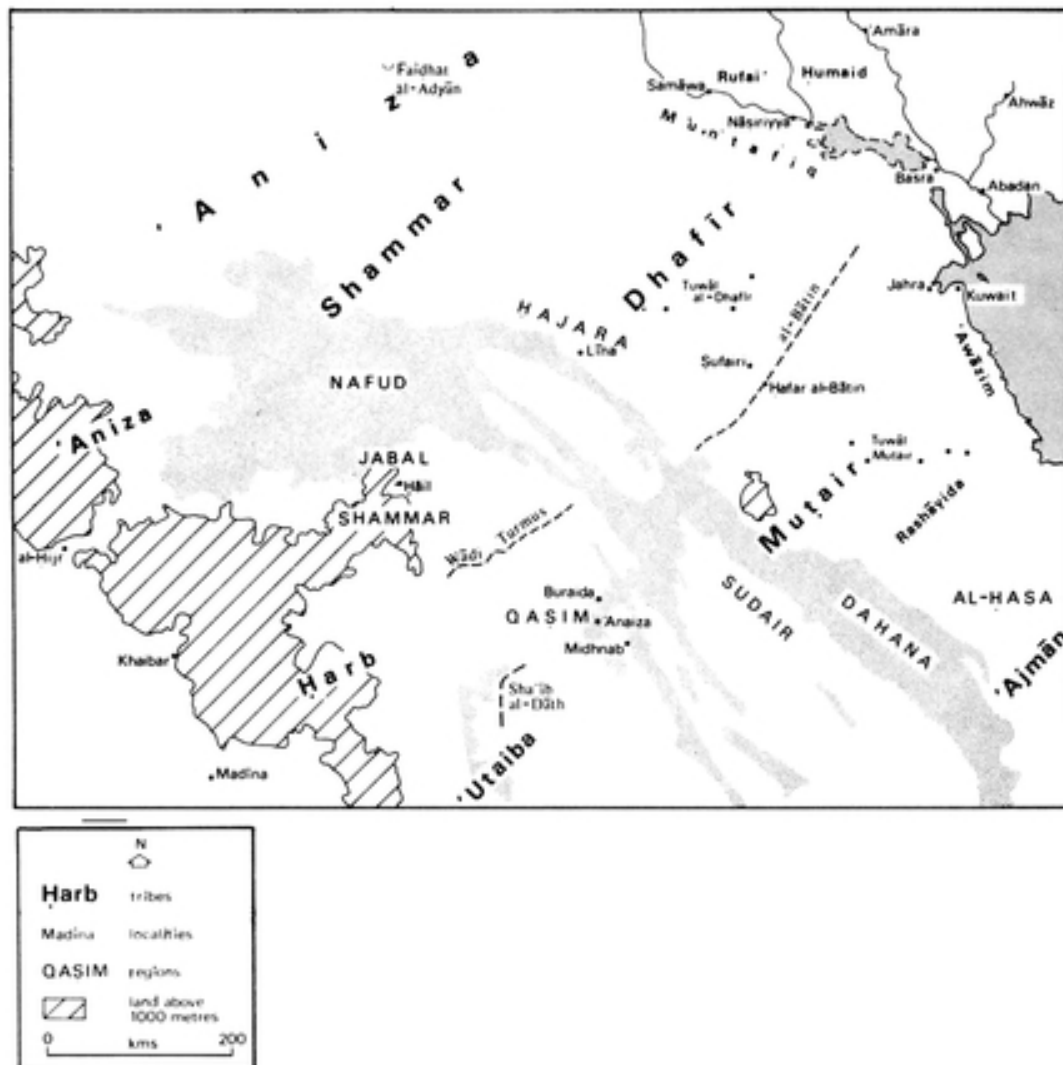
i when non-final this represents a half close lax front vowel

- [ɪ]; when final a high front spread vowel [i].
- u when non-final this represents a half close lax back rounded vowel [ʊ]; when final a high back rounded tense vowel [u].
- ə a lax mid central vowel [ə], strictly a glide occurring with initial consonant clusters.
- ā long open vowel ranging from front [ā], through [ʌ] to [ɑ̃].
- ī long high front spread vowel [ī],
- ū long high back rounded vowel [ū].
- ē long front mid vowel [e].
- ei glide from the above to close front spread.
- ō long back mid rounded vowel [ō].
- ou glide from the above to close back rounded.

The glide vowels ei and ou are variants of ē and ō respectively depending in most cases on the consonantal environment. Usually the gliding variants occur before the plosives and some fricatives. However, they seem also to occur in positions of emphatic stress.

Preface

Although the writer is by training an Arabist and linguist, this study impinges to some extent on the territory of the historian and anthropologist. Therefore some qualifications should be made about the aims of the work. Firstly this is not an analytic anthropological enquiry into the traditions of the tribe, but purely an attempt to piece together an account of the history and structure of the tribe from written sources and orally transmitted traditions. To a great extent, these two sources were found to agree on the broad principles and the use of the two in conjunction helped to build a more comprehensive picture. The appended linguistic analysis of the dialect is intended to complement the study of the relationship of the tribe to other populations of the area, through linguistic comparison. Equally it is hoped that the work will be of use to linguists in presenting a body of data from a previously undescribed dialect which may complement studies of other dialects of the Arabian peninsula and Iraq. In this I follow the traditions of Montagne (1935) on the Shammar and Musil (1928b) and Landberg (1919) on the 'Aniza. Although a considerable amount of poetry is contained, no attempt at literary or metrical analysis of the material is made. I cannot claim to have any critical facility with regard to the poetry and could not tell a good qaṣīda (ode) from a bad one, a fact which often astounded my informants. However, any investigator who makes even a cursory enquiry into a particular literary genre eventually comes to like it (by familiarity), even if he cannot appreciate it, and I confess to being very fond of this highly regular and stylised poetry, even though Arabists of the Classical school often find it monotonous and uninspiring. I therefore hope that this book will help to bring to wider audiences a type of highly parochial poetry from the heart of the Arabian peninsula which carries on directly the spirit of the pre-Islamic poets, albeit in a different linguistic form.



Map 1 NORTHERN ARABIA: the territory of the Dhafir and their neighbours

Introduction

Collection of the data

The following study of the oral traditions of the Āl Ḍhafīr is based on work done over the period 1977 to 1983. My initial interest in the tribe arose when I was working on the Arabic dialects of southern Iraq in 1974 and was intrigued to find out how their dialect related to the dialects of the Iraqi riverine tribes who were their neighbours for part of the year when they came into the Euphrates valley in the late summer. In fact I was unable to meet any of them in Iraq, but made some preliminary investigations in Kuwait in the spring of 1977, but on a very small scale. In the spring of 1978, however, I made a one-day visit to al-Ṣufairi near Ḥafar al-Bāṭin in Saudi Arabia where I met their shaikh 'Ajimi ibn Suwaiṭ, who allowed me to work through a questionnaire with some tribesmen at his majlis and amplify much of my earlier work. The Ḍhafīr invited me to stay longer with them, but other work forced me to return to Qaṣīm where I was staying at the time. I thought that I would probably never see them again until in the Christmas of 1980 I received a phone call from 'Ajimi in London and was surprised to find that he was here for medical treatment, attended by two relatives. I was able to make myself useful as an interpreter and the Ḍhafīris on their part were pleased to find someone interested in their dialect, history and way of life. They were here for three weeks and then returned in the spring for a week and again in the spring of 1982 for two months. During each of these periods I spent a considerable amount of time with them and continued working with them on their dialect and oral poetry. I found a particularly good friend and informant in Muḥammad ibn Sa'dūn al-Suwaiṭ, 'Ajimi's cousin who attended him on each of these visits. Muḥammad had never been outside the Arab world before but had served in the Arab Legion in Jordan in the 1950s. He was, I later discovered, considered a man of sound judgement and good counsel in the tribe and acted, in some ways, as a kind of adviser and secretary to 'Ajimi on these trips abroad. In the

Christmas vacation of 1982 I visited Şufairi again and was received as the guest of 'Ajimi and the whole tribe and passed an extremely enjoyable and useful month with them, later staying a week with their relations in Kuwait. During the whole period and after my return, I consulted both published sources here and also the India Office archives, to piece together as much as I could of their history.

Although this study originated in an interest in their dialect, I was drawn to find out more about the tribe's history since, although records exist going back to the seventeenth century in which they are mentioned, the fact that their territory exists on the borders of Saudi Arabia and Iraq has meant that they have for the last two centuries been very much away from the centres of civilisation. Musil, who travelled with them in the early part of this century, testifies to the wildness of their territory:¹

Nâzel [his Shammari guide] advised us to put on old clothes and take as few valuables as possible under the circumstances. Both he and Fahad asserted that the Zefir could not be trusted and that many clans camping along the Euphrates kept their herds grazing on the territory of the Zefir. Such clans waged wars both among themselves and against all their neighbours and robbed every wayfarer who came to them without the patronage of a member of their tribe.

An indispensable component of such a historical enquiry was the collection of tribal poetry. Two quite substantial collections exist for other neighbouring tribes. These are by Musil (1928a) on the Ruwala of the Syrian desert and Montagne (1935) on the Shammar of Northern Iraq. Both of these contain references to contact with the Ḍhafīr. Meeker (1979) has also made a study of Musil's material in the light of modern anthropological theory. Palva (1976) contains a long poetic narrative of the Āl Rashīd dynasty of Hail in the dialect of the 'Ajārma semi-nomads of southern Jordan. Landberg (1919) gives two long stories of 'Anizi origin with accompanying poems, which contain reference to the Āl Suwaīṭ. In Arabic Sudairi (1968) gives a very well annotated collection of poems from various 'Anizi poets and one Qaḥṭānī. Also al-'Ubayyid (1971) gives a collection of poems of the 'Awāzim tribe with notes on their history. Other collections of Najdi oral poetry also exist such as Socin (1900-1) and numerous personal anthologies by modern poets. However the works of Montagne, Musil, Sudairi and 'Ubayyid are specifically collections of tribal poetry relating to the tribe's past, and it was this type of poem that I was interested in collecting from the Ḍhafīr. These poems, which are strictly of the epic

genre, extolling the virtues and deeds of the tribe, are regarded by the bedouin as documents relating to their past and most stories relating to their history will have an accompanying poem as supporting evidence and will be thought less valuable without it. One of my main informants at al-Şufairi, Nāyif ibn Ḥamūd al-Suwaiṭ, refused to allow me to record any story from him unless he knew the appropriate poem to go with it, which illustrates the great importance attached to them. He admitted that he knew of many traditions concerning battles with the Bani Khālīd of al-Ḥasa and the Bani Şakhar of Jordan but did not wish to record them as he did not know the accompanying poems. Naturally poems relating to a particular tribe are better known within that tribe. However, many by virtue of their literary merit or fame of the author or the events referred to are famous throughout the bedouin world. These poems are often attributed to the main character in the poem, though not always. Here a word of qualification is perhaps necessary. There is no doubt that the skill of poetic composition is far more general among the bedouins than among people of western cultures. However, whether in fact the original author was in all cases the person to whom the poem is now attributed is perhaps doubtful. Equally the poems, being orally transmitted, often occur in a number of slightly different forms and some stanzas appear either identically or with slight differences in more than one poem. This seems to lead to the conclusion that, like other traditional art forms, they are the product of the culture and may evolve over the years, but are, for ease of reference and because every poem must have an author, more usually attributed to the central character of the story. As mentioned by Montagne,² the poetic tradition largely neglects events which reflect badly on the tribe and concentrates on moments of glory. This would explain why the Ḍhafīr poems in this collection concentrate around the nineteenth and twentieth centuries when the tribe had established itself in the desert fringes of Iraq and neglects the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when they were in considerable difficulty from the rising power of the Sa'ūd dynasty in central Najd. Two poems however are included (Texts 1 and 2) relating to their early beginning in central Najd, probably in the seventeenth century. Another factor must also be mentioned relating to the selection of the poems. Since a battle always involves an enemy, and since the enemy of yesterday may be the friend of today, it may be thought inexpedient or plain ill-mannered to vaunt the past defeats of one's neighbours at one's own hands. This is

particularly so since many of the ruling shaikhly families of the area such as the Āl Sa'ūd, the Sha'lān of the Ruwala, and the Hadhdhāl of the 'Amārāt have been in continuous existence for the last two centuries or more. Further individual rulers of these families are referred to generally as ibn Sa'ūd, ibn Sha'lān or ibn Hadhdhāl (without always mentioning the actual first name) so that they have a somewhat timeless character, making the past continuously alive in the present.³ Consistently with this principle, the texts contain mention of wars with the Bani Khālid under ibn 'Urai'ir, a now extinct dynasty, also the Jarba Shammar and Ruwala who are far away in the north and the Ikhwān who are now a non-existent force. Text 3 contains some slighting reference to the Ḥiblān, but this poem, although celebrating the Ḍhafīr, is attributed to a Shammari. Text 10 also celebrates a defeat of the 'Aniza, but this was given to me by a Khāldi in Kuwait where such feelings of inter-tribal rivalry are somewhat more relaxed. In all these things however the main consideration seemed always to be good manners and no informant, of whatever tribe, would ever have recited a poem which slighted another tribe in the presence of a member of that tribe.

The collection of the texts took place in al-Ṣufairi with the exception of Texts 3, 6 and 10 which were recorded in Kuwait. In Ṣufairi the procedure was that I would go in the afternoon to the house of Nāyif ibn Ḥamūd and there record whatever text he had prepared for the day and go over previous texts, particularly the poems which often contained difficult vocabulary. However, I always carried a note-book with me and might, at any time, note down information or ask for clarification of anything I had heard, particularly from Muḥammad ibn Sa'dūn who was regarded within the tribe as my khawi or 'companion'. It is important to mention that throughout this process it was not a matter of myself, as a researcher, collecting data from the tribesmen as informants, but rather a collective effort on the part of us all in an exercise regarded as of benefit to the tribe. It seemed to the Ḍhafīr that it would be useful to produce an accurate account of their life and history and they were glad to contribute. This also explains to some extent the nature of the texts. Although I, as a linguist, would have been happy to collect a wide range of texts which reflected bedouin life and used bedouin vocabulary, the Ḍhafīr felt that it would only be appropriate to include texts of historical importance and which related to persons of importance among the Ḍhafīr and other tribes. There were a number of older men at the village who had personal experience of camel-raiding in the old days, but as these

were only personal recollections, not supported by poems or well known in the bedouin world, it was not thought appropriate to include them. A further important factor was the identity of the informant. Nāyif ibn Ḥamūd and Muḥammad ibn Sa'dūn were members respectively of the shaikhly lines of the Āl Sulṭān and Āl 'Afnān and were therefore regarded as respectable authorities. All of the above texts were in an informal way approved by Nāyif, Muḥammad and Nawwāf ibn Hazza' and consequently had the approval of the tribe. Before I recorded a text, Nāyif would recount the tale and its poem aloud, so that any amendments or corrections could be made by those present. We would then record it. The recording was then played repeatedly so that any further mistakes could be rectified and all would be satisfied that it was a correct version of the events.

Availability of information on the Āl Ḍhafīr

Previous information on the Āl Ḍhafīr is available basically from three sources: from the historical annals of Najd, from material originating in HMG India Office reports, and from the writings of travellers in the area of whom the most important is J. B. Glubb, who spent a number of years with them in the 1920s during the period of the Ikhwān raids. Of the first type the most important that I consulted was ibn Bishr (undated) who, in tracing the history of the Āl Sa'ūd, mentions numerous incidents involving the Ḍhafīr from the seventeenth century till the nineteenth. Oppenheim (1952) in his section on the Ḍhafīr also mentions as sources al-Rāwī (1949) and Sulaimān al-Ghannām (undated), but I was unable to consult these. Philby (1955) draws largely on ibn Bishr, but adds further information from his own personal sources. Of the second type, Lorimer (1908-15) and HMG (1916) give accounts of the tribe, its composition and territory, which are also drawn upon by later authors such as Dickson; also important is Bell (1940), which is a collection of her own reports. The India Office archives also contain reports with incidental information extra to that included in the previous sources. Of the European explorers Burckhardt (1822 and 1829), Guarmani (1938) and Blunt (1881) mention the Ḍhafīr mainly through reports from other bedouin.

The first person recorded to have travelled with them in their own territory was probably Abdallah Fadhil Williamson, who spent some time with the Bani Ḥusain section in the 1890s, although his biographer gives us little information on the tribe.⁴ This is made up for by Musil (1928a) who explored their territory and also mentions traditions involving them via the Ruwala in Musil (1928b). Dickson (1949 and 1956), who spent a number of years in southern Iraq and Kuwait, met a number of their shaikhs and relates certain of their traditions. Philby (1922) also met Shaikh Ḥamūd ibn Suwayṭ and others and refers to the involvement of the Ḍhafīr in the First World War. Glubb (1960) is basically an account of the resistance of the Ḍhafīr and other Iraqi tribes to the Ikhwān raids from Najd. Glubb (1978) recapitulates much of this and adds further stories of the Ḍhafīr, as also does Glubb (1948).

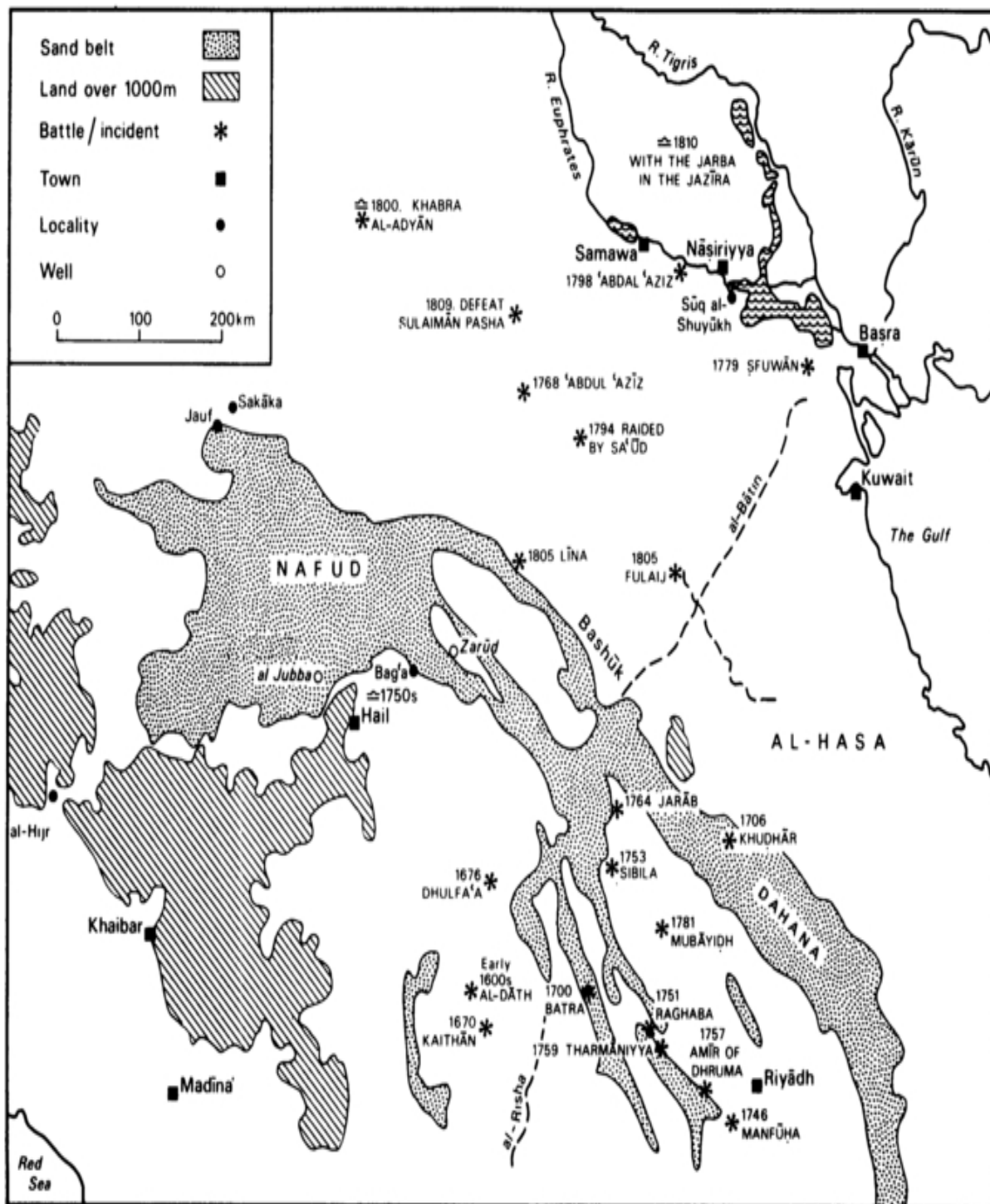
Chapter 1

The history of the Āl Ḍhafīr

The original home of the Ḍhafīr according to their own tradition was in the Hijaz. The first of the shaikhs whose name is recorded is Ḥamdān al-'Ama, Ḥamdān the Blind, who is nine generations before the present shaikh 'Ajimi ibn Suwaīt. Doughty states that their original home was in al-Ḥijr, from where they and the 'Beny Saīd' were expelled by the Bani Sakhar.¹ The 'Beny Saīd' he mentions could be the Āl Saīd section of the Ḍhafīr. The Ḍhafīr themselves were unaware of this tradition and only know that their origins were in the Hijaz. Their tradition states that Ḥamdān refused to pay tribute to the Sharīfs of Mecca and that as a result they fought a battle at al-Dāth [Text 1] probably in the early 1600s. The results of this battle were inconclusive, but Ḥamdān found it difficult to resist his powerful opponent and sought the help of Thuwaini ibn Qash'am, the Qash'am being at that time the most powerful tribe of the desert south of the Euphrates and significantly also led by the Qash'am clan who are to this day considered one of the most noble of desert families.² With the help of the Qash'am he overcame the Sharīf, but from that time on the Ḍhafīr began to move away from the Hijaz. A surprisingly similar story is given by Ibn Bishr of a disagreement between Salāma ibn Suwaīt,³ the grandson of Ḥamdān, and the Sharif Ḥamūd ibn 'Abdallah in 1080 AH [1669] involving a confiscation of camels, and it is quite possible that both of these stories refer to the same incident. The incident involving Salāma is in fact the earliest comparative dating I have found.

Philby suggests that the eastward migration of the Ḍhafīr may have coincided with a devastating famine which visited Najd in 1674 and is referred to in the bedouin tradition as al-Jarmān⁴ and may also have caused the eastward migration of the Fuḍhūl from their home in western Najd. If so, this would be after their movement eastward from the Hijaz as suggested by their own tradition.

Map 2 BATTLES AND INCIDENTS INVOLVING THE ḌHAFĪR, marking the locality or the personage involved. (Also shown are localities mentioned in the texts outside the Ḍhafīr dīra)



Ibn Bishr relates two further incidents involving Salāma: his capture by Barrāk ibn Gharīr, the first Bani Khālīd ruler of al-Ḥasa in 1676,⁵ and his capture by the Sharīf after the battle of al-Abraq with the Fuḍhūl in 1696.⁶ In

1670 a further battle is recorded between the Ḍhafīr and Barrāk at Kaithān.⁷ At around the same time a war is recorded in 1676 between the Sharif Ḥārith and the Ḍhafīr at Dhulfa'a in Qaṣīm;⁸ also in the same year the battle of Dalaqa between the 'Aniza and the Ḍhafīr.⁹ In 1700 the Fuḍhūl raided the Ḍhafīr in the Nafūd al-Sirr at Batra and in the same year Ibn Suwayṭ attacked the Āl Ghizy in Sudair.¹⁰ In 1706 Dujaini ibn Sa'dūn attacked the Āl Zārī' section of the Suwayṭ and expelled Ibn Suwayṭ from Sudair. In the same year a further battle occurred between the 'Aniza and the Ḍhafīr at Khudhār near the Dahana in which Ibn Suwayṭ was the victor.¹¹ In 1726 an unnamed Ibn Suwayṭ is united with the Muntafiq on a raid into al-Ḥasa in which they were defeated. The catalogue of raids and battles continues, in which the Ḍhafīr are usually united with the opponents of the Āl Sa'ūd, in 1746 at Manfūḥa,¹² and in 1751 at Raghaba where they are united with the people of Sudair under Shaikh Faiṣal ibn Shuhail who is the grandson of Salāma. In 1753 the Ḍhafīr were defeated by the Bani Khālid at Sibila.¹³ Faiṣal is again mentioned in 1764¹⁴ when he is sent on a mission of intercession to Najrān by Muḥammad ibn Sa'ūd. Previously to that a number of battles and raids are mentioned. In 1757 the Ṣmida section of the Dhāfīr intercept and defeat a raid of the Amīr of Ḍhruma against Washm.¹⁵ In 1759 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Sa'ūd raids the 'Askar section of the Dhafīr at Tharmāniyya near Raghaba¹⁶ and subsequently the Āl Sa'ūd section at Jrāb between Sudair and the Dahana in 1764¹⁷ and following this the Miḥimra section on the Iraq borders in 1768.¹⁸ In 1779 the Ḍhafīr were attacked by the Subai' at Ṣfuwān near Basra¹⁹ and in 1781 Sa'ūd ibn Sa'ūd attacked a large concentration of the Āl Sa'ūd and Ṣmida at the wells of Mabāyiḍh at Mijwal near Sudair, in which the shaikhs Dahām aba Dhrā'a of the Ṣmida and Thawāb ibn Ḥallāf of the Sa'ūd were killed.²⁰ In 1794 Sa'ūd ibn Sa'ūd again raids the Ḍhafīr in the Ḥajara²¹ and in 1800 the Ḍhafīr join various Iraq tribes including the Muntafiq, Qash'am, Āl Bu'aij and Zaghārīt on a grand raid into Najd under the leadership of Sulaimān Pāsha, the Ottoman governor of Iraq.²² During this period the oral tradition speaks only of the year when Faiṣal ibn Shuhail was the guest of Ibn Buraić at Bag'a on the borders of the Nafūd (Text 2).

The chronicle of Ibn Bishr next speaks of Shayyūsh ibn 'Afnān, the grandson of Faiṣal, whose son Musliṭ is killed in a battle with the Muṭair in 1805.²³ The Dhafīr tradition does not recall Musliṭ, but he is quite likely to

have been a brother of Sulṭān, the most famous son of Shayyūsh, since brothers are often given cognate names. In the same year Shayyūsh was again attacked and defeated by Sa'ūd Ibn Sa'ūd at Līna where he was grazing herds for the people of Sudair. In 1805 the Saudis again attacked them and killed many of them at Fulaij near Ḥafar al-Bāṭin.²⁴ In 1809 Shayyūsh in the company of Durai'i ibn Sha'lan of the 'Aniza was attacked by Sulaimān Pāsha with levies of Iraqi nomads on the borders of Iraq. However, the combined forces of the 'Aniza and Ḍhafīr beat them severely.²⁵ In 1830 Turki ibn Sa'ūd attacked a group of the Bani Ḥusain between Wguba and Ḥafar al-Bāṭin.²⁶ In 1831 the Bani Ḥusain joined Turki in another expedition against the 'Utaiba.²⁷ These are presumably the same Bani Ḥusain who later joined the Ḍhafīr under Nāyif ibn Suwaiṭ, the grandson of Shayyūsh.

The name Ḍhafīr also occurs as a tribe of the Hijaz mentioned by Ḥamdāni as part of the confederation of al-Mira in the thirteenth century. Oppenheim regards them as probably related to the present Āl Ḍhafīr²⁸ but there is almost no evidence of a connection. The identity of the name is not strongly positive evidence as instances of the name also occur in the south for which no relationship has ever been suggested. In fact our knowledge of the beginnings of the Ḍhafīr is much the same as our knowledge of most of the present bedouin groups in central and northern Arabia, since a continuous record of tribal activities only begins in the middle ages. At the same time we begin to hear of the 'Aniza, Shammar, 'Utaiba and others. Groups that can be traced in name at least and to some extent also in location back to the early Islamic period are few. These include the Qaḥṭān of southern Najd, the Quraish of Hijaz, and the Ṭayy of northern Iraq; also, though with less certainty, the Bani Tamīm of Central Najd. The majority of the important tribes of the early period either left central Arabia to be absorbed into the population of the Fertile Crescent and the Gulf Coast or disappeared in name to reform into the present groups. Although tribal tradition usually links the present tribes to the older groups by quite definite genealogies, we have little historical evidence to support these links. In practice we have here to deal with an entirely new set of groupings which correspond to the beginning of a new period of involvement of Central Arabia with the more well known parts of the Middle East, i.e. Syria, Iraq, al-Ḥasa and the Hijaz. This involvement manifests itself to a great extent in contact with the Ottoman rulers of Iraq and Syria, both on the part of the

rising Wahhaby state of Central Najd and nomadic tribes such as the Ḍhaflr, who found themselves in conflict with them.

It is useful at this point to review the history, as we know it, of the emergence into the northern desert of the main bedouin groups there today. One account is given by Blunt²⁹ based on information obtained from bedouin informants in the early 1800s. According to this version the Shammar began their push forward into the northern desert in the middle of the seventeenth century. They marched up from the Najd and occupied the Ḥamād, destroyed Tadmur, broke the line of Ottoman communication between Baghdad and Damascus and attacked the Mawālī, the most powerful tribe of the area. These they defeated after twenty years of war. However, almost immediately the 'Aniza arrived and, uniting with the Mawālī, pushed the Shammar across the Euphrates into the Jazīra. These early Anizis were the Fad'ān and Ḥṣina who were followed later by the Sba'a, Wild 'Ali and the Ibn Hadhdhāl clan. The Ruwala appeared at the end of the eighteenth century. An alternative account is given by Montagne³⁰ based on Burckhardt and Rousseau which brings these immigrations further forward, with some Shammar arriving in the Jazīra in the eighteenth century before the arrival of the Aniza. These were the Ṣayih, Khruṣa, Faddāgha and Thābit, with some elements of Tūmān and 'Abda. These early Shammar invaders were then reinforced by the Jarba who arrived in the early nineteenth century and became involved in a war with the 'Ubaid of the Khābūr region. The Shammar according to this version had been in the Shāmiyya in the eighteenth century but were quickly defeated by the 'Aniza and forced into the Jazīra. Montagne³¹ notes that Niebuhr mentions them in 1765 near Hīt and Gubaisha dominating the Zaghārīt and Aslam, who are now however counted as Shammar. The war in the Jazīra with the 'Ubaid resulted in a victory for the Shammar and the 'Ubaid retired south to Ḥawīza. Their allies, the Ṭayy-were driven north to Nissibin. This latter account agrees with the Ḍhaflr tradition (Text 4) in which the Ḍhaflr under Shayyūsh assist the Shammar against the 'Ubaid in the Jazīra. It is also based on accounts of the early nineteenth century which claim the events were recent. Montagne's version also admits to a certain vagueness as to what the term Shammar covers. Earlier invaders such as the Jais, Tayy, Simbis and Zawba' coming probably in the seventeenth century are regarded as of Shammar origin, but mixed with the original population and almost completely sedentarised.³² This therefore gives the possibility of a constant stream of

immigration from the Jabal Shammar area from about the seventeenth century. This would include also the tribes of the Shammar Ṭawqa, Shi'as of southern Iraq such as the Mas'ūd, Zaghārīt and southern Zawba'.

The Ḍhafīr tradition tallies generally with the above account although little of the above is recalled in detail. They say nothing of the time before Ḥamdān, only that the Ḍhafīr came into being in the Hijaz as a confederation of different elements under the leadership of the Suwaīt. The component elements were the Suwaīt and Sa'īd who formed the Buṭūn section, and the Dhir'ān, Żuwāsim, Ma'ālīm, 'Uraif and 'Ilijānāt who formed the Ṣmida. The 'Uraif and 'Ilijānāt were associated together under the name 'Askar mḥalaf. All of these except the Żuwāsim, 'Ilijānāt and Ma'ālīm are referred to individually from time to time by Ibn Bishr. From the time of Ḥamdān it is recorded that they found life difficult in the Hijaz and began to move eastward (ṭḥaddaraw). Generally it is admitted that times were hard before 'Afnān. Tradition relates this to the fact that there was a shortage of able-bodied men among the shaikhs of the Suwaīt. Each shaikh bore only two sons, of which one would die (bass rajjālēn, wāḥid ymūt u wāḥid yḥaya). 'Afnān, however, had four sons and from then on the line was fruitful and conditions improved. One of his sons, Dughayyim, is the subject of a tradition well known among the northern tribes concerning a Shammari called al-Ḥithrubī (Text 3) who took refuge with the Suwaīt after having killed another Shammari.

By this time the Ḍhafīr had begun to emerge into the northern desert in a fairly permanent way. From now on their neighbours were the northern tribes of Shammar and 'Aniza and the Muntafiq confederation of the Euphrates. Previously, as mentioned above, the Ḍhafīr had fought the 'Aniza in Najd at Ḍhulfa'a and Khudḥār. They relate that they arrived in the north at the same time as the 'Aniza although the Shammar were already operating there in a large way at that time. As mentioned earlier, accounts of the time of arrival of the 'Aniza differ, but if, as in one account,³³ they arrived in the late eighteenth century, this would agree with the Ḍhafīr tradition, since Dughayyim would have been alive at about that time. After the death of Dughayyim, his brother Shayyūsh took over. Tradition relates that Shayyūsh was invited by the Āl Jarba of Shammar to join them in an expedition against the 'Ubaid (Text 4), who were at that time in possession of the Jazīrah. The aim was to take over the Jazīrah together. Having defeated the 'Ubaid, who retired to Hawīza where they still live, the Shammar and Ḍhafīr

were unable to come to an agreement, and after a further battle the Dhafir returned south to their present dīrah. This is presumably the same incident as that referred to by Oppenheim³⁴ which he dates to 1809. Ibn Bishr also says that after the attack on them in 1805 at Līna they fled to the Jazīra and to the Muntafiq and later in 1806 he describes them as part of 'a raid from the Jazīra'.³⁵

The Dhafir relate that when they came to their present dīrah, it was deserted. Although nominally under the control of the Turks, their effective authority did not extend south of the Euphrates (ma yta'addōn aššatt). The Iraq shepherd tribes Bani Ḥuchaim, Budūr and the rest of the Muntafiq were there, but as they were shepherds, not camel breeders, they were not in direct competition for grazing. The shepherd tribes became clients of the Dhafir and paid them sheep tribute, with the exception of the Muntafiq (gāmaw yāxdūn aššat 'ala l'arāg killah ilia almintifīz). Muntafiq is a rather vague term, and by this they may intend the Āl Sa'dūn, the bedouin shaikhs of the Muntafiq league. The Qash'am, their helpers in the time of Ḥamdān, seem to have been eclipsed by now and no incidents with them are recorded. The Dhafir relate that the Qash'am were powerful from the time of Ḥamdān to that of Salāma. In 1811 'Abdallah ibn Sa'ūd had attacked and beaten them under Nāṣir al-Qash'am near Ḥilla.³⁶ Similarly it seems that the Bani Khālīd shaikhs of al-Hasa who had for a time been in control of the area stretching up to the Euphrates had begun to contract back eastward since the Dhafir note that the two wells of Munī'iyah and Tugayyid al-Munī were previously the property of Munī' ibn Sulaimān of the Bani Khālīd, but that they took them over. A number of extremely deep wells, the Ṭuwāl al-Dhafir, exist in their territory which the Dhafir say were deserted and in ill repair on their arrival. These they repaired and re-dug and they have been an important part of their dīrah ever since. They have no knowledge of who these wells had belonged to, only that they were ancient (gidīm).

From the time of Shayyūsh the Dhafir began to establish themselves as a power in the Northern desert with their own defined territory. In the words of a traditional poem:

min šīxt aššayyūš killin bana bēt
walhēs minna janillu ra'iyah.
min šāx aššayyūš yā xēr izbil waššarr aẓf.
From the shaikdom of Shayyūsh, everyone pitched his tent
and even the wretched among us gained possessions.

When Shayyūsh took over, good fortune arrived and evil took its leave.

On the death of Shayyūsh his son Sulṭān took over and continued this period of consolidation, engaging in extensive raids north and west into 'Aniza territory and also making treaties with them [Text 5]. At this time also some of the Bani Khālīd had begun to come over to the Ḍhafīr under the leadership of Ibn Mindīl [Text 6]. The Bani Khālīd's power had begun to wane at this time and their rule in al-Ḥasa was to end in 1863.³⁷ They were severely beaten in 1829 at the battle of Sibya³⁸ at Khufaisa between the Summān and the Dahana by a combined force of Southern tribal levies of the Subai', Suhūl, Ghāṭān, 'Ajmān and Dawāsir under Turki ibn Su'ūd. With the Bani Khālīd were sections of the Subai', Muṭair, 'Aniza and Bani Ḥusain. Sulṭān's fame as a leader was widespread and he is mentioned by Musil³⁹ who dates him to the beginning of the nineteenth century. He was alive at the time of the Italian explorer Guarmani's visit to Najd in 1864.⁴⁰ Sulṭān was born in Najd and died in Iraq and from then on the history of the Ḍhafīr is intimately connected with the tribes of the north, although it seems that they avoided contact with the settled areas to a great extent.

Following Sulṭān came his son Nāyif, who led the Ḍhafīr in the second half of the nineteenth century. Nāyif was a contemporary of Muḥammad ibn Rashīd, regent of Hayil [Text 9]. The tradition records raiding between the Ḍhafīr and 'Aniza and also war with Ibn 'Urai'ir [Texts 8, 10 and 7]. Towards the end of the period of Nāyif the Āl Sa'dūn of the Muntafiq who were allies of the Turks began to have ambitions of building a desert empire and thus came into friction with the Āl Ḍhafīr.

Nāyif seems to have led the Ḍhafīr until the early twentieth century. After his death his son Ju'ailān took over for a brief period of five years and was followed by his brother Ḥamūd. Whether Ju'ailān died or was replaced is not recorded. According to Dickson Ḥamūd took over in 1914.

With the beginning of the involvement of the West in the affairs of the Arabian peninsula in the nineteenth century, we have a further source of information on tribal activities and relationships in the records of Western travellers. Probably the earliest to mention the Ḍhafīr is Burckhardt, who travelled in the Hijaz in 1814 and in Syria in 1810. The Ḍhafīr are conspicuously absent in his classification of bedouin tribes,⁴¹ perhaps due to their absence at the time in the Jazirah under Shayyūsh. He mentions them in

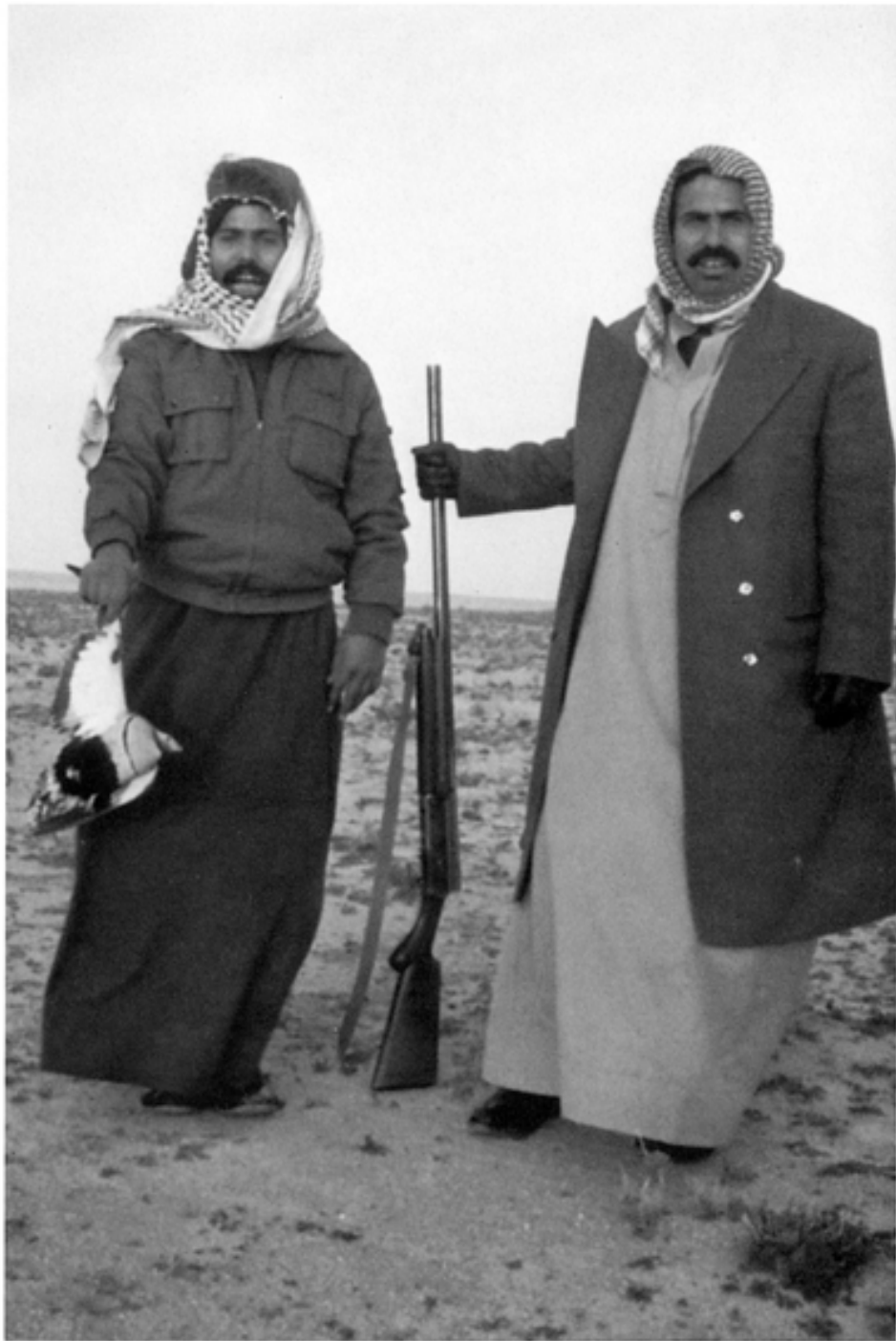
passing, however, in association with the Shammar of Iraq. He remarks on their great richness in horses and that they (i.e. the Shammar and Ḍhafīr) 'are the most powerful tribes in the neighbourhood of Baghdad and make frequent plundering excursions into the Haouran'.⁴² The Ḍhafīr tradition also recalls raids against the Bani Ṣakhar of the Ḥaurān under Shayyūsh, but no texts or poems were forthcoming. Burckhardt also mentions that the Shammar and Ḍhafīr were by 1810 replaced by the 'Aniza, mostly the Wild 'Ali, as spring



Above, hunting at the wells of Wguba. Left to right Muḥammad ibn Sa'dūn, Milbis ibn Jad'ān, unidentified, Faiṣal ibn 'Ajimi.
Below, a Rufai' tribesman with horse near al-Fulaij.



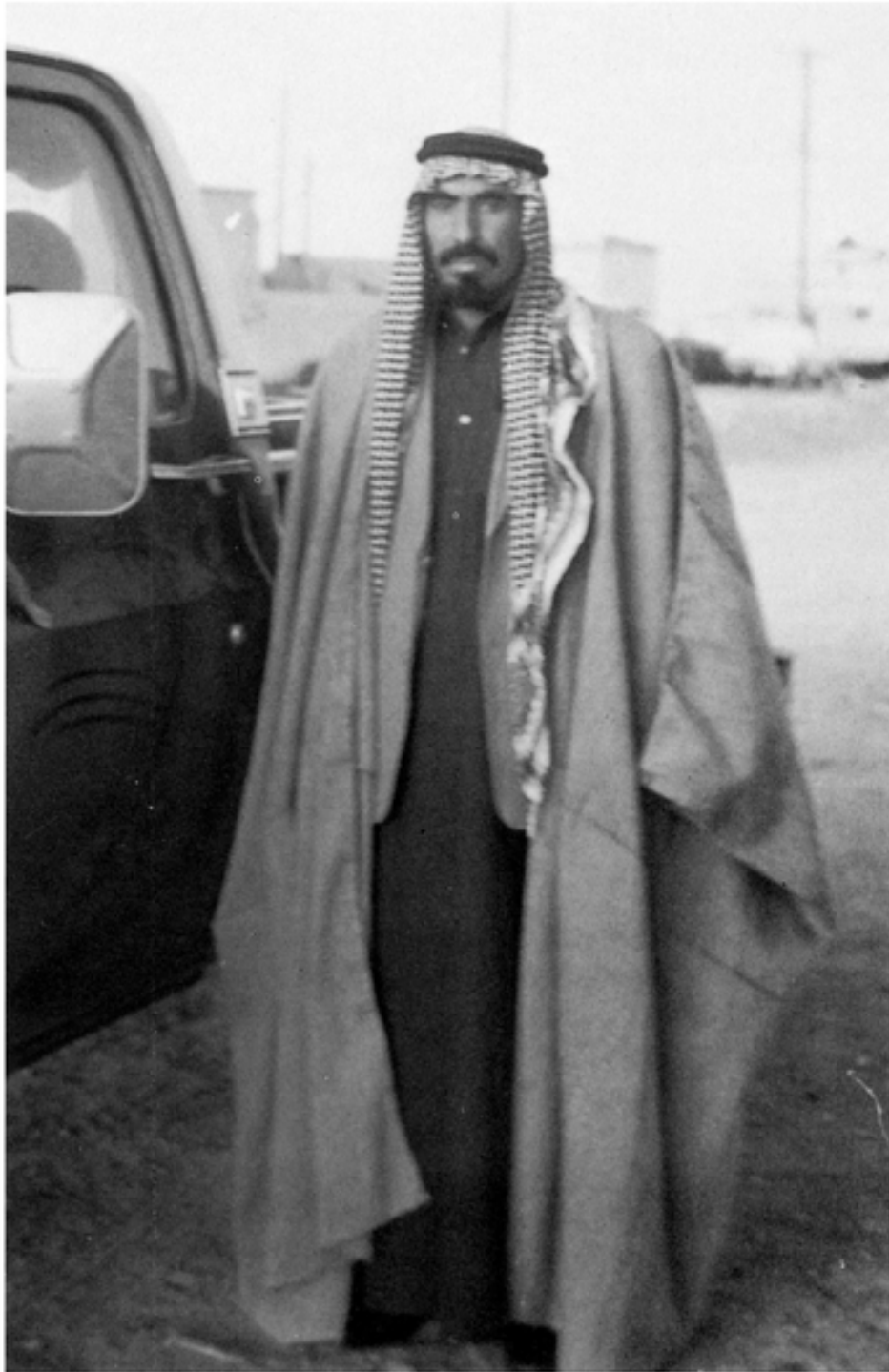
Above, in the tent of Hādi ibn Ābid of the Ma'ālīm near Şufairi. Below, guests at a wedding in Şufairi. In the centre Faişal ibn 'Ajimi, on his right the author.



Hunting at the borders of the Hajara. Lazzām and Ma'jūn, the sons of Nawwāf.



Above, Bani Huchaim guests at Ghār al-Ḥamīr west of Şufairi. Below, guests around the coffee hearth at a wedding in Şufairi.



Muḥammad ibn Sa'dūn.



Above. Muḥammad ibn Sa'dūn with members of his family. Below, guests at a wedding in Şufairi.



Above, after the hunt. Lazzām and Ma'jūn, the sons of Nawwāf. Below, hunting at the borders of the Ḥajara. The children help to prepare the meal.



A desert bush at Sha'ib al-Amnah north of Wguba.

visitors to the Ḥaurān.⁴³ At the same time he mentions the Bani Ḥusain, later to join the Ḍhafīr, as a tribe of wandering Arabs of Qaṣīm and parts of Najd and al-Ḥasa secretly professing the Shi'ite faith.⁴⁴ Palgrave, who travelled in parts of Najd in 1862-3, does not mention the Ḍhafīr at all, even in his account of the tribes of the Saudi and Rashīd dominions.⁴⁵ On his map of Central Arabia he shows the Masālīkh ('Aniza) and Bani Lām in the position where the Ḍhafīr's own tradition would have them at the time under Sulṭān. This omission is made up for by Guarmani, who visited Jabal Shammar in 1864, and refers to Sulṭān.⁴⁶ According to his account they were involved in constant wars with the Ruwala along the road from al-Jauf to Āl Jubba and raided from Sakāka to Sūq al-Shuyūkh, having overrun the territory to the east of Jauf abandoned by the Ruwala at the beginning of the nineteenth century. This places them very much in the territory regarded now by the Ḍhafīr as their traditional dīra and the account of fighting with the Ruwala agrees with their own tradition (Texts 5 and 6) and also with the account of Blunt who was in the Jabal Shammar area in 1878 and mentions wars between the 'Amārāt and Ḍhafīr.⁴⁷ Doughty, who travelled in Western Arabia and Jabal Shammar in the period 1876-8, mentions the Ḍhafīr along with the

Muṭair, Ruwala and northern Shammar as Arabs friendly to the Rashīd confederacy but not under their jurisdiction and from whom Ibn Rashīd received yearly presents.⁴⁸ A considerable number of Dhafir were acting as Muḥammad ibn Rashīd's attendants in 1872.⁴⁹

As the British came to be involved more and more in the affairs of the Arabian peninsula, the Dhafir came very much under their attention as a power in the desert. This was at the time of the leadership of the Ju'ailān and Ḥamūd at the beginning of the twentieth century. Ju'ailān is mentioned in government reports but had no direct contact with the British. Ḥamūd however was later to become an ally of the British in the First World War. At the beginning of the century, however, a power struggle was developing in the southern desert in which the Dhafir became unavoidably involved. The protagonists were Ibn Ṣubāḥ of Kuwait, Ibn Rashīd of the Jabal Shammar, and Ibn Sa'dūn of the Euphrates,⁵⁰ and later also Abd al-'Aziz ibn Sa'ūd. Both the accounts of the above European travellers and the Dhafir's own tradition indicate that for some time the Dhafir had lived on fairly good terms with the Shammar. Although sporadic raiding always occurred, nevertheless a certain relationship existed between them.⁵¹ The Dhafir and Shammar had neigh-bouring dīras and seem to have intermingled along the border without any great conflict. Their main traditional enemies were the Muṭair and 'Ajmān to the southeast and the 'Aniza to the north. The power of the Sa'dūns had in earlier times extended almost to Baghdad, but the present Sa'dūn ruler Sa'dūn Pāsha had been gradually driven back southward. His haughty behaviour had caused many of the riverine tribes to rebel against him and his power among them had been considerably reduced. He therefore conceived the ambition of expanding into the desert south of the Euphrates.⁵² Here he came into direct conflict with Ibn Rashīd and the Dhafir who regarded Sa'dūn's natural realm as being to the east of the Euphrates (Text 12). Certain sections of the Dhafir whose movements brought them into the Jazīra in summer were compelled to placate Sa'dūn. These included the Sa'īd who were consistently friendly to the Sa'dūn and also the Bani Ḥusain and Dhir'ān.⁵³ At the same time the Budūr, a shepherd tribe of the Muntafiq confederation, were in rebellion against the Sa'dūn and sided consistently with the Dhafir as also did another shepherd tribe, the Zayyād of the Bani Ḥuchaim confederation of Samāwa. A number of battles and engagements took place mostly between Sa'dūn on the one hand and the Dhafir and Ibn Rashīd on the other, but with constant changes of allegiance.

Ibn Rashīd defeated the Sa'dūn at Bardiya near the Euphrates in 1902. Again in 1903 at Turufiyya Ibn Rashīd defeated Ibn Ṣubāḥ, Ibn Sa'ūd and the Sa'dūn. In 1908 the Ḍhafīr with the Muntafiq and some of the Zayyād captured a considerable force sent by Ibn Sa'ūd and Ibn Ṣubāḥ at the Battle of Hadiya. Then in 1908 in retaliation Ibn Ṣubāḥ with the Muṭair raided the Ḍhafīr near Shāgra, capturing considerable booty. In 1909 the Ḍhafīr inflicted a considerable defeat on the Sa'dūn at Juraibi'āt (Text 12).

Sa'dūn Pāsha was then betrayed and treacherously captured by the Turks, later to die in prison, and his place was taken by 'Ajimi ibn Sa'dūn, his son. In 1913, 1914 and 1915 a number of engagements occurred in which 'Ajimi enlisted the help of the Muṭair and in one case also the Shammar to attack the Ḍhafīr who were encamped with the Budūr, culminating in a severe defeat of 'Ajimi at Nab'a in 1915.

At about that time the war broke out between the British and the Turks, and 'Ajimi sided with the Turks. Ibn Ṣubāḥ and Ibn Sa'ūd were allied with the British and Ibn Rashīd was nominally on the side of the Turks though he did not make any important contribution to the war. 'Ajimi and the Turks were gradually driven back from Basra and eventually, after the defeat of the Turks, 'Ajimi fled to Ibn Rashīd, and later retired to Turkey where he stayed for the rest of his life.

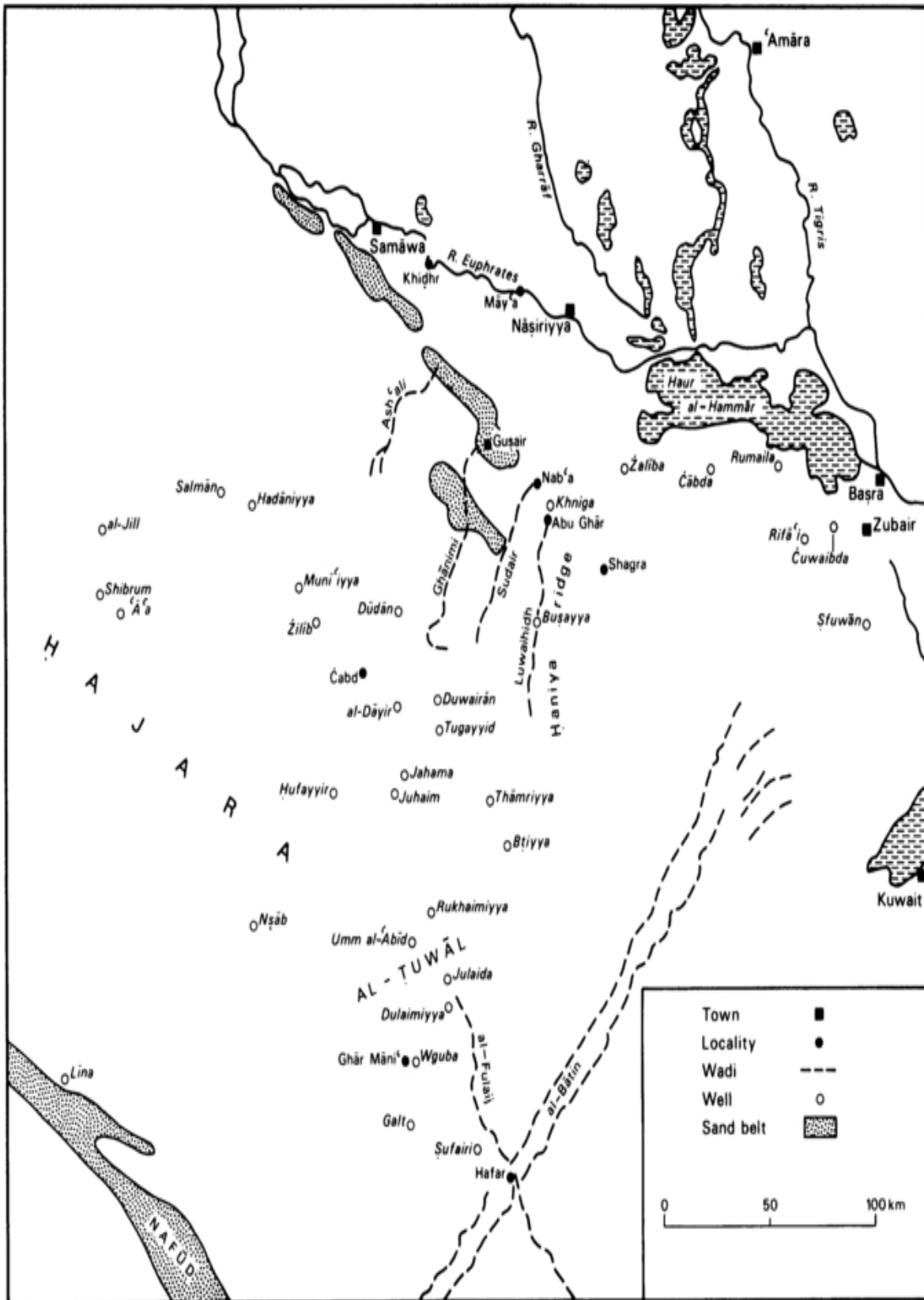
Following the First World War with the British Mandate in Iraq, the movements of the Ḍhafīr are fairly well documented under Ḥamūd and, after his death in 1925, under 'Ajimi. During this time it was the government policy to confirm one shaikh as the leader of a tribe and pay him a regular allowance in return for which he was expected to keep his tribesmen under control and prevent them from raiding into neighbouring states with whom the British had friendly relations, i.e. Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. In the period immediately following the war the Ḍhafīr, under Ḥamūd, were put in considerable difficulty by the unsympathetic attitude of the Iraq central government towards them. Yūsuf Bēg al-Sa'dūn had been appointed provincial governor of the southern desert which angered the Ḍhafīr who were rivals of the Sa'dūn. In their position on the borders of Najd and often in conflict with Najdi tribes, they were under considerable pressure to shift their allegiance to Ibn Sa'ūd and in the early 1920s Ḥamūd made overtures to the latter.⁵⁴ At the time of his death in 1925 however he was still an Iraqi subject.

In 1921 the period of the Ikhwān raids began, in which fanatical Muslim bedouin groups from Saudi Arabia made continuous raids into Iraq and Kuwait directed against tribes which did not follow the austere Wahhabi creed.⁵⁵ The Ḍhafīr and their shepherd allies the Budūr and Zayyād came under heavy pressure from these raids, particularly from the Muṭair under Faiṣal al-Duwīsh and Hāyif ibn Shugair (Text 14) and the 'Ajmān under Nāyif ibn Hithlain. These raids differed from the early methods of bedouin camel raiding in that the Ikhwān took no prisoners and killed all male captives. The violence of these raids and the continued lack of sympathy of the Iraq central government finally induced the Ḍhafīr to see the traditional Arabian regime of Ibn Sa'ūd in a more favourable light.⁵⁶ In 1927 'Ajimi ibn Suwaiṭ and a large section of the Ḍhafīr went over to Ibn Sa'ūd and have been Sa'ūdi citizens to this day. The rest of the tribe stayed in Iraq under Jad'ān ibn Suwaiṭ who eventually died in Kuwait. With the end of the Ikhwān raids in 1930 the governments of Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait put pressure on the bedouin to cease raiding, and from that time the modern period began in which the bedouin became citizens of a state rather than free agents. Gradually also the oil industry and the formation of national armies began to offer opportunities for employment. Although nomadism continued in some strength up till the early 1960s, the bedouin were being drawn into the sphere of the modern state. The more recent developments in the life of the Ḍhafīr are dealt with in [Chapter 4](#)

Chapter 2

The traditional dīra of the Āl Dhafīr

A glance at the chapter on the history of the Āl Dhafīr will show that they have been in almost constant movement over the last three centuries marked by periodic important battles with powerful neighbours: the sharifs in the Hijaz, the Āl Sa'ūd in Najd, also the 'Aniza and Bani Khālid, the Shammar in Mesopotamia and most recently the Muntafiq and Ikhwān in southern Iraq. It is therefore necessary to qualify closely any statements about a 'traditional' dīra. However, the Dhafīr themselves have no difficulty in describing an area which they regard as their own, even though they no longer occupy it in any consistent way. They can with similar ease describe the areas of their major neighbours which are also increasingly 'traditional' rather than 'actual'. The change in the nature of the tribal areas is due to a gradual breakdown of the tribal territorial system where ownership of a large area within which suitable grazing could be found was the basis of tribal power and identity. Nowadays two factors have begun to change this. One is the incorporation of the tribal system into the state in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia as one of the bases for national identity¹ which means that many tribesmen are now employed within the state and work in the armed forces or police, although their families may still live as nomads.² The second factor is the use of motor transport in the desert economy and the existence of newly-bored wells operated by pump which has made the old hand- or camel-operated wells of less importance. Nowadays a nomad can graze his herds far from the wells and bring water to them by truck so that greater freedom of movement is obtained. All this has been described in detail elsewhere³ and I have very little to add. My object here however is to give an account of the Dhafīr dīra as an ecological region and as a political and geographical power-base in interaction with other similar neighbouring areas. Although the area is described in synchronic terms as a static area, it must be remembered that we are speaking here only of the greater part of the nineteenth



Map 3 THE TRADITIONAL DĪRA OF THE ĀL ḌHAFĪR, showing wells and camping grounds used by them

century and the first half of the twentieth up till the early 1960s and of an area which must have constantly expanded and contracted within that time.

A bedouin tribal area in principle consists of a core of wells and watering places to which the herds can resort in summer and a surrounding area of steppe in which they can roam in search of grazing in the period of intermittent rain beginning in the early autumn.⁴ Also important is the accessibility of settled areas in which they can buy supplies and where they can sell their pastoral products. A further factor which also seems to have been important is that the area should also be one which caravan routes cross, which then became an important source of income with the nomads acting either as protectors of the routes or marauders of them. The nature of this interaction between nomad power and the power of local emirates and shaikhdoms of the settled lands is one on which conflicting views exist and this is not of crucial interest to us here. However, it is noteworthy that the Ḍhafīr account of their history does not mention it explicitly but sees it as a history of conflict between themselves and other tribes and emirates and also more recently of their gaining control over the shepherd tribes of the desert fringe of the Euphrates.

The dīrag of the Ḍhafīr, as described by my informants, consists of three core areas or dwelling places (masākin) as follows:

(i) A belt along the southern borders of the Euphrates from Ṣfuwān to Żalībah to the south of the Haur al-Ḍammār. This area also incorporates wells and watering places across the Euphrates, strictly speaking within the area of the Muntafiq, but which some sections of the Ḍhafīr used to visit either independently or as clients of the Muntafiq.

(ii) A series of valleys running northeast and draining into the Guṣāyim sand-belt in which underground water could be found. These are, from north to south: Ash'ali, Ghānīmi, Sudair and Luwaiḥiḍh and their allied wells of Shagra, Guṣair, Buṣayya, Abu Ghār and Salmān.

(iii) The Ṭuwāl, a group of very deep wells just northwest of Ḍafar al-Bāṭin, the most important being Wguba, Nsāb, Julaida, Rukhaimiyya and Dulaimiyya, with certain other allied wells to the north.

A number of other wells exist to the west of the area which cannot be easily allocated to any of these regions. These are also shown on the map.

These wells and watering places differ both in the quantity of water produced and its quality. Equally most wells are in fact groups of wells. Ābda, for instance, has about twenty-five wells, while some are single. The only wells which I have visited are Wguba and Dulaimiyya. Wguba lies in a large shallow plain in a hilly region and has four extremely deep wells which go down through high mounds in the earth and are completely lined with stone. The water was pulled up by camels and using long ropes and emptied into channels, four to each well, which ran down the sides of the mounds into troughs at the bottom of the mounds on the surface of the plain. The plain provided a spacious camping place for large herds and the mounds prevented congestion at the well-head. Dulaimiyya, on the other hand, consisted of only two wells, in a rather less well-defined valley, which seem to have been bored down through solid rock at the surface. A distinction is made between wells (gulbān, sing, źilīb) and watering places (hisyān, sing. hisu). The hisyān are found along the valleys but also at Šfuwān, Rifā'i, Simāhh, Jahama, Juhaim and Umm al-'Abīd. Here underground water could be found at a depth of one or two metres at various places. The ownership of the wells and hisyān as recounted by Nāyif ibn Ḥamūd and Faiṣal ibn 'Ajimi is as follows:

(i) *The Ṭuwāl*

Wguba	Āl Suwait
Rukhaimiyya	Āl Suwait
Bṭiyya	Āl Suwait
Nṣāb	Āl Suwait and 'Uraif
Julaida	Āl Sa'id
Dulaimiyya	Āl Sa'id

(ii) *Wells
north of the
Ṭuwāl*

Juhaim	Āl 'Uraif
Jahama	Āl 'Uraif
Tugayyid	Āl 'Uraif
Ḥufayyir	Āl 'Uraif
Duwairān	Āl Suwait

Rusaimi	Āl Suwaiṭ
Buṣayya	Āl Suwaiṭ
Munī'iyya	Āl 'Uraif
al-Hadāniyya	Āl 'Uraif
Ẓilīb	Āl 'Uraif
Ġabd	Ẓuwāsīm (Masāmīr)

(iii) *The western wells*

Āl-Jill	Dhir'ān
Shibrum	Ma'ālīm and Shammar
'Ā'a	Āl Suwaiṭ

(iv) *The Euphrates belt*

Sfuwān	Āl Suwaiṭ
Ġābda	Āl Suwaiṭ, Sa'īd and 'Uraif
Shagra	Āl Suwaiṭ
Jufra	Ẓuwāsīm, Suwaiṭ, Dhir'ān and 'Uraif
Rifā'i	Ma'ālīm and Suwaiṭ

Certain other areas such as the valleys in general, Salmān, Rumaila and Umm al-'Abīd were open to all. It will be noticed from the above that an extensive band of the outer wells are claimed by the Suwaiṭ, while a group to the north of the Ṭuwāl on the way to the valley region belong to the 'Uraif, while the two share Nṣāb and Ġābda. The Sa'īd have two wells in the Ṭuwāl and also share Ġābda. There are also two localities in the east of the area bearing the name of ibn Ḥallāf, the shaikhs of the Āl Sa'īd which may have been regarded as theirs at some time though my informants did not mention these. The Ma'ālīm are attributed two widely spaced wells at Shibrum and Rifā'i. The Dhir'ān are accredited one in the far west at al-Jill and one near the Euphrates at Jufra, the latter of which they also share with the Ẓuwāsīm who also have Ġabd in the centre, the 'Ilijānāt are not accredited with any wells specifically, but it may be that they are considered here alongside the 'Uraif with whom they are often grouped together as the 'Askar mḥalaf. The

later additions to the tribe, namely the Bani Ḥusain, Āl Ġiṭīr and Khawālīd, had no specific wells but they are usually said to have migrated with the Buṭūn, which probably means they shared the wells of the Āl Suwaīṭ and the Āl Sa'īd. This shows that the Suwaīṭ, as the most powerful group of the Ḍhaḥīr, reserved for themselves the wells furthest out in the desert and over the widest area, giving them more freedom of movement and greater freedom from interference from the settled areas. The ownership pattern is also interesting since it seems to cut across the widely recognised Buṭūn-Ṣmida territorial division, with the Buṭūn west of the Euphrates and the Ṣmida east of it or at least close to its western bank, (dūn aššaṭṭ ujāy bṭūn, min wara ššaṭṭ ṣmida.)

Although the majority of the wells belong to the Buṭūn in the person of the Suwaīṭ and Sa'īd, there is a substantial block of wells in the centre accredited to the 'Uraif who are grouped with the Ṣmida. Notice also that the Shammar⁵ had co-ownership of the wells at Shibrum on the borders of their two territories. The ownership of the wells can probably be related to an occupational factor dividing the Ḍhaḥīr along similar lines to those shown above. This is the ownership of two different types of camel, the Euphrates camel and the Najd variety. The Euphrates camel, called Judi (pi. jwada), was owned by the Dhir'ān and Żuwāsim. This was immune to certain insects which bred along the Euphrates in early summer associated with the zrēzi bird. This therefore meant that as soon as grass grew scarce in the desert in the early summer (gēd) these sections could bring their herds in close to the river and into the Haur al-Ḥammār region. The rest, on the other hand, i.e. the Suwaīṭ, Sa'īd, Ma'ālīm and 'Uraif, kept the Najd camel which could not withstand the onslaught of the insects and therefore had to stay in the desert on the wells until autumn (ṣḥiri).⁶ Then, when the insects had disappeared, they would come down to the Euphrates to rest and fatten the herds for a month or two. In some years when grass was plentiful they would not come to the Euphrates at all and in other years when conditions were hard in the desert they would come down even in the summer risking losses to their herds from the insects. At these times they would herd the camels together into a confined space and light fires the smoke of which would keep most of the insects away. This difference in the type of herds shows why the Dhir'ān and Żuwāsim did not need to have wells in the desert to the same extent since they could rely on the Euphrates region. This seems to indicate that the division Dhir'ān, Żuwāsim-Suwaīṭ, Sa'īd, 'Uraif, Ma'ālīm is more important

than the well-known Ṣmida-Buṭūn division which is presumably an older one based on early political ties. Even today when nomadism among the Ḍhafīr has decreased considerably, nomadic sections of the 'Uraif were known to be in the vicinity of the Tuwāl. It can be seen also from the above that the proximity of the Ḍhafīr dīra to the Euphrates is an important part of their nomadic economy.

The above wells and watering places formed the essential core of the territory, while the extent of the spring grazing area depended on the strength of the tribe *vis-à-vis* neighbouring bedouin tribes. Most early authorities⁷ however describe it as being roughly within a line going from Samāwa in the northwest to Shibiċa in the southwest, then eastward to around Ḥafar al-Bāṭin and northward to Zubair. The Bāṭin formed a fairly definite boundary between them and the Muṭair, although raiding occurred across it. The border on the west with Shammar seems to have been vaguer and the Ḍhafīr and Shammar are described as being intermingled in the region with no definite boundary.⁸ As mentioned earlier⁹ the Ḍhafīr and Shammar seem to have maintained fairly good relations during various periods throughout the time since the Ḍhafīr appeared in the north. The Dhir'ān and Żuwāsim who crossed the Euphrates in summer would, according to my informants, go sometimes as far afield as 'Amāra and Dīwāniyya. This again would obviously depend on their relations with the leaders of the settled population and in particular the Muntafiq.

The settled areas with which the Ḍhafīr were associated were the southern Euphrates at Samāwa and Nāṣiriyya and also Zubair and Kuwait. Which of these they traded with depended on political conditions at the time.

Neighbouring dīras to the Āl Ḍhafīr

It has been suggested above that the Ḍhafīr can be seen to fall into two groups either in terms of the type of herds kept or in terms of their degree of political independence of the rulers of the Euphrates region, namely the Sa'dūn. One could also explain this as a function of their existence in the hinterland between two main areas of influence, that of the Najd or Central Arabia and that of the settled areas of Mesopotamia. Although they were also close to Kuwait, the Āl Ṣubāh seem to have maintained a less

belligerent attitude towards the desert tribes and were content to enlist their friendship and cooperation. Their main neighbours could be regarded as being more closely linked to one of the main centres of influence. The Shammar, for instance, although accustomed to visit the Euphrates in late summer¹⁰ in the same way as the Ḍhaḑīr, had their main summer camping places and wells to the south of the Naḑūd in the Jabal Shammar. Their autumn grazing area was centred on the Naḑūd but spread over the northwest of the area of the Ḍhaḑīr to reach the Euphrates between Samāwa and Najaf. They were to a great extent independent of the power centres of Iraq except that, when in their autumn grazing ground, they were subject to the raids of the Muntafiq on occasions. The Rashīd government of Hail had however forged a definite link with Iraq by allowing families of Shi'a merchants to settle in Hail and arranging a regular caravan to bring supplies from Najaf, known as the ḥadra or 'going down', i.e. to the Euphrates. It is also true that in the case of the Shammar the attraction of Mesopotamia and also pressure from the growing power of the Aḑ Sa'ūd in Najd and later the 'Aniza in the north had caused some sections to split off entirely and move to the northern Jazīra under the leadership of the Jarba (Text 4). In government despatches of the 1920s the Suwait and Ṭuwāla are reported to have been camping together at Bashūk in 1929 and moving together from the Naḑūd to the Ṭuwāl later in the same year.¹¹ It is impossible to tell whether this represented a regular occurrence or whether it was caused at the time by the need for mutual defence against the Ikhwān. However, as mentioned earlier, the Ḍhaḑīr and Shammar, particularly the 'Abda section, seem to have maintained friendly relations during various periods.

To the north, the Euphrates area in the vicinity of the Ḍhaḑīr was the home of two important confederations, the Bani Ḥuchaim in the area of Samāwa, and the Muntafiq in the area of Nāṣiriyya. The Bani Ḥuchaim was a much looser confederation than the Muntafiq which was ruled by the Sa'dūn clan, who had at various times played an important part in the politics of Iraq. Both of these included nomadic and sedentary sections who were not, however, divided on tribal lines. The nomadic sections were sheep-rearing Shāwiya (alternatively Shwāya or Shūyān) who came into contact with the Ḍhaḑīr in the autumn months when they would drive their sheep out into the desert southwest of the Euphrates well inside the Ḍhaḑīr dīra. On these occasions they were accustomed to enter into treaty relations with the Ḍhaḑīr and other bedouin tribes and certain clans are mentioned as regularly

migrating with the Ḍhafīr, such as the Juwārīn¹² section of the Muntafiq and the Zayyād of the Bani Ḥuchaim who often helped the Ḍhafīr in tribal battles.¹³ The Budūr, another subtribe of the Muntafiq, were also closely associated with the Ḍhafīr and at the beginning of the century were allied with them in a number of battles and raids. Bell,¹⁴ commenting on the vicissitudes of desert warfare, notes:

The Budūr have continually saved the Ḍhafīr from disaster, and further

the protagonists [in these tribal fights] are the Ḍhafīr and the Budūr. It is a curious alliance, Bedouin and camel tribe with Muntafiq and donkey tribe, originating in a blood feud against a common enemy, Ajaimi [ibn Sa'dūn].

However, Musil¹⁵ who travelled in the Ḍhafīr territory in 1915 was attacked by the Zayyād, but rescued by the Ḍhafīr under 'Alī ibn Ḍhuwaiḥi, which illustrates that such nomadic alliances were not of the most permanent nature. Also associated with the Muntafiq were certain camel-rearing Shi'a bedouin tribes of the area, namely the Rufai', Ḥumaid, Sā'da and Bu'aij. Of these the Ḥumaid and Rufai' were in the eighteenth century part of the Qash'am confederacy of the middle Euphrates between Hīt and Samāwa. These were the same Qash'am who had come to the help of the Ḍhafīr in the Hijaz. With the decline of the power of the Qash'am in the nineteenth century they moved south and joined the Muntafiq. Glubb suggests¹⁶ that in earlier times, i.e. during the heyday of Sa'dun power, these tribes nomadised only in the Jazīra, but under the encouragement of the Iraqi government they began to graze south of the Euphrates in autumn. It is true that earlier writers such as Musil and Blunt do not mention them. However, this may have been because they were subsumed under the blanket term Muntafiq. My informants regarded these Shi'a bedouin along with the shepherds such as the Budūr as all constituting a group of 'Iraqi nomads' (bādiyat al'arāg) and stated that within their own experience they were always intermingled with them in the grazing period (mitxālṭīn wiyyāna). Another Shi'a bedouin group of the same type as the above was the Kwida, who were regularly to be found with the Ḍhafīr.¹⁷ These Glubb describes as 'a small independent section, who camped along the edge of the desert west of Samāwa. They still lived in tents and bred camels, although they only consisted of seven or eight families. They claimed a somewhat tenuous relationship with Shammar.'¹⁸

All of these tribes had their summer quarters across the Euphrates in the Jazīra. The Budūr around Māy'a northwest of Nāṣiriyya, the Rufai' to the west of the Gharrāf and the Ḥumaid to the east. The Sa'dūn themselves who, though the overlords of a confederation of Shi'a shepherds and cultivators, were themselves Sunni camel-rearers, had their main summer camping grounds to the west of the Gharrāf.¹⁹ All of the above tribes differed from the Dhafir in that they included settled members living in the cultivated areas of Iraq and were themselves intimately connected with that region. It has been pointed out by other writers that the transition from nomad to sedentary and back again is not uncommon in other parts of the Middle East.²⁰ Many of the Muntafiq in fact constitute a type of semi-nomad, who would turn to sheep-breeding when agriculture failed and could in any case deploy their manpower in sheep-herding or agriculture as the times dictated. This is important in illustrating the difference between these and the Dhafir whose livelihood was entirely in the desert and came to the Euphrates mainly for supplies and to sell stock.

It is not easy to elicit from the scant records we have exactly what the relationship of the Dhafir was to the Euphrates area in earlier times. The Gazetteer, which is based on reports at the beginning of the twentieth century, suggests that they rarely visited the Euphrates and their relations with the settled areas were conducted mainly through other tribes.²¹ At about the same time they had formed a khuwa relationship with the shaikh of Kuwait allowing them to take a toll on goods passing through their territory from Kuwait.²² Glubb on the other hand, writing about the 1920s, states that 'all their interests bound them to Iraq where they sold their livestock and bought their provisions'.²³ By the time of the First World War, in any case, they had formed friendly relations with the British, as had also the Aslam under Ibn Ṭuwāla, and were involved in the protection of the railway line which ran from Baghdad to Basra south of the Euphrates.²⁴ Therefore probably with the demise of the Sa'dūns after their defeat in the First World War they had been encouraged to deal more closely with the towns of the Euphrates such as Nāṣiriyya and Samāwa. This of course does not include the Dhir'ān and Żuwāsim, who must have had close relations with these areas for some time, since they took their herds there in summer.

To the south their main neighbours were the Muṭair and Ḥarb. The Ḥarb tribe, originally centred around Madina in the Hijaz, had expanded their area eastward through the Qaṣīm to al-Ḥafar and were in the earlier days

considered subjects of Ibn Rashīd. The Ḍhafīr tradition does not say much of relations with the Ḥarb except for the incident of the Ḥarb camels acquired by Māni' ibn Suwayṭ (Text 9). The Muṭair, on the other hand, bordered with the Ḍhafīr all along the Bāṭin depression and were involved in constant raiding with them culminating in the period of the Ikhwān raids under the Dushān clan of Muṭair which were directed against the Ḍhafīr and other tribes of Iraq (Text 14). Notwithstanding their traditional enmity, it was not unknown for Ḍhafīris to live with the Muṭair as in the case of Māni' (Text 9) in the time of Nāyif or for Muṭairis to live with the Ḍhafīr, as in the case of the Muṭair woman living with the clan of 'Ugūb in the time of Ju'ailān (Text 12). The Muṭair dīra was similar to that of the Ḍhafīr in that it also centred on deep wells in the hinterland between Najd and Kuwait, the Ṭuwāl Muṭair. The Muṭair were in the past intimately connected with Kuwait where they obtained supplies.²⁵

The Muṭair were the main 'southern' neighbours of the Ḍhafīr, following an ethnic division by which the Ḍhafīr group themselves with the Ahl al-Shimāl 'northern bedouin' (i.e. Shammar, 'Aniza and Muntafiq) versus Ahl al-Jinūb 'southern bedouin' (such as Ḥarb, Muṭair, 'Ajmān and 'Utaiba). Certain linguistic features correlate quite closely with this division. These are referred to later in [Chapter 6](#). The Ḍhafīr also point to cultural differences which are not however easy to trace consistently over a wide area and may seem more evident to them living on the interface between the northern and southern areas. Geographically 'northern' signifies those bedouins who graze in the Syrian desert,²⁶ while 'southern' signifies those who utilise the pasture lands of Najd and al-Ḥasa. The above delineation of the tribal diras bordering on that of the Ḍhafīr should not be taken to indicate hard and fast lines which were never crossed. It was always possible for a tribe to camp in the dīra of a powerful neighbouring shaikh on obtaining his permission, as was the case with Sulṭān camping in the territory of Ibn Hadhdhāl (Text 5). Also, long-distance raiding often took tribesmen through the territory of their immediate neighbours to raid far afield. Dickson²⁷ mentions a raid of Faisal al-Duwīsh in 1927 which started at his home base of Arṭāwiyya in Eastern Arabia and took him to Wajh on the Red Sea where he looted camels from the Billi and Bani 'Aṭiyya. Glubb also mentions a raid by a party of Shammar from northern Iraq who looted camels from the tribes of Kuwait in 1925, having passed down through the desert west of the Euphrates and watered at Buṣayya.²⁸ The Shammar of Najd, feeling secure

in the wilderness of the Nafūd, could strike out on long distance raids against the Huwaiṭāt in Jordan²⁹ and the 'Ugaidāt shepherds on the northern Euphrates.

Chapter 3

The structure of the Dhafīr tribal confederation

Bedouin tribes can be divided into those which claim to be, and perhaps are, genealogically homogeneous and descended from one ancestor, very often bearing the name of the tribe, and those which admit to being composed of different unrelated elements. A classic example of the first type are the 'Aniza who claim descent from one ancestor, Wayil, and who, from a homeland in the region of Khaibar, spread out to occupy the Syrian desert sometime in the eighteenth century. Even among the 'Aniza, however, there are areas of vagueness such as the Muwāhīb clan, who are sometimes counted as part of the Sba'a and sometimes as of non-'Anizi origin. Other examples of genealogically homogeneous tribes are the Bani Ka'b of Khuzistan and the Āl Murra and 'Ajmān of southern and eastern Arabia. The Shammar, although a long-established unit both politically and in terms of geographical location, admit to being an amalgamation of the ancient tribes of Taghlib, 'Abs and Hawāzin, with the 'Abda section claiming descent from the 'Ablda of Qahtān.¹ Similarly the Mutair claim to be a coalescence of elements from 'Aniza and other tribes.² The Dhafīr are perhaps the example par excellence of a coalescence of different tribal elements. Their name, according to their own tradition, signified 'plaited' or 'woven together' and describes the action of their formation *tiḍāfaraw* 'they become woven together'. Each element of the tribe, however, retains a tradition of its original connection with some other group within the Arabian peninsula. The long-established division of allegiance within the tribe into Buṭūn, following the Āl Suwayṭ, and Ṣmida, following Aba Dhrā'a, does not correlate at all with genealogical origin. In a number of early works, accounts of the composition of the tribe appear which agree in general, though showing differences of detail. These occur in the works of Musil, Oppenheim and the Admiralty Handbook of Arabia.³ The differences result from the fluidity of bedouin tribal groups in general and perhaps particularly

in the case of a confederation such as the Ḍhafīr. The nature of the composition of bedouin tribes and the degree of historical reality of their genealogies has been interestingly discussed elsewhere. Also the tendency of European observers to wish to fit them into easily classifiable groups has been shown to be somewhat different from the way in which the Arabs themselves view the situation.⁴ We do not need to dwell on this here, but it is enough to say that the very act of asking for information on tribal groupings does put a certain amount of pressure on the informant to produce a tidy classification. It is therefore not unlikely that the account of the structure of the Ḍhafīr tribe given here may show similar faults of over-simplification.

Where differences of opinion occurred among the informants, these are recorded, and where my account differs from that of earlier writers some attempt is made to clarify this when possible.

The terms used by the Ḍhafīr themselves to describe the units of the tribe are the following:

(i) bait (lit. 'house' or 'tent') means a group of almost any size traceable back to a single male ancestor. In practice it is not usually used for a group going back more than two or three generations.

(ii) badīda ('clan'), a much larger descent group often not necessarily traceable to a single known ancestor but thought to be mutually related.

(iii) gibīla ('tribe' or 'sept'). A group which may include more than one badīda and which may in some cases bear the name of the chief badīda included. It was implied that a gibīla always followed a single war-banner (bairag). A composite tribe like the Ḍhafīr can also be referred to as a gibīla although it may itself include several gubāyil 'tribes'.

(iv) ḥilf ('confederation'). This can be used to describe a composite tribe like the Ḍhafīr or to describe larger political confederations crossing tribal boundaries such as the Ḍhafīr-Shammar–'Awāzim pact for mutual defence against raiding, referred to by Dickson.⁵

Other terms are also used interchangeably with the above. The word 'ashīra is used synonymously with gibīla to mean 'tribe'. The words fakhdh (lit. 'thigh') and baṭn 'stomach' are used in a similar way to badīda as a subdivision and may also be translated as 'clan'.

Following the above system the Ḍhafīr 'tribe' gibila is composed of the following 'tribes' gubāyil:

1. Āl Suwayṭ, composed of three badīdas: (i) Āl Suwayṭ; (ii) Āl Zāri'; and (iii) al-Ṭulūḥ.
2. Āl Sa'īd, composed of two badīdas: (i) Khuḍhūr; and (ii) 'Ajānīn.
3. Bani Ḥusain, a single badīda.
4. Dhir'ān, composed of two badīdas: (i) Miḥimra, the clan of Aba Dhrā'a, leaders of the Ṣmida; and (ii) Jam'ān.
5. Żuwāsim, composed of four badīdas: (i) 'Afā īn, the clan of Ibn 'Ufaiṣān, leaders of the Żuwāsim; (ii) Masāmīr; (iii) Āl Thāri; and (iv) Āl Khumayyis.
6. Ma'ālīm, a single badīda.
7. 'Uraif, a single badīda.
8. 'Ilijānāt, a single badīda.
9. Al 'Askar, a single badīda.

The last three, 'Uraif, 'Ilijānāt and 'Askar, were grouped together under one war banner as the Mhalaf 'Uraif (confederation of 'Uraif) or 'Askar mhalaf (confederated troupe). The 'Askar were originally the personal guards of the Āl Suwayṭ ('askar al-buwait). There are also settlements of the 'Askar clan in al-Kharj in Central Najd who acknowledge a relationship to the Ḍhafir. The shaikhs of the 'Askar are the clan of Ibn Guḥaiṣān and the shaikhs of the 'Uraif the Āl Aṣlib.

Of the above the Bani Ḥusain joined the Ḍhafir recently in the time of Nāyif during the second half of the nineteenth century. The rest are all part of the original confederation formed around the Suwayṭ clan in the Hijaz. The whole tribe was then divided in terms of allegiance into Buṭūn and Ṣmida. The Butun grouping includes Āl Suwayṭ, Āl Sa'īd and Bani Ḥusain, while the Ṣmida include 'Askar, Dhir'ān, Żuwāsim, 'Uraif, 'Ilijānāt and Ma'ālīm. The grouping of the Ma'ālīm with the Ṣmida was however contested by one of my Ma'ālīm informants who claimed that they were neither Buṭūn nor Ṣmida, but ('ala ṭirraḥam) ('on their own') and that the Bani Ḥusain were also independent of these groups. His justification for this was a tradition that a ruling on customary law within the tribe could only be considered valid if agreed on by three elders from each of the Buṭūn, Ṣmida and Ma'ālīm. This is partly supported, implicitly, by the Gazetteer's account of the sections of the Ḍhafir present in Kuwait as 'the Butun, Smid (Ṣmida) and Ma'alib' (presumably Ma'ālīm).⁶ Suwayṭis in the company at the time agreed with the tradition, but did not agree that it put the Ma'ālīm outside the

BuṭūnŞmida division. The provenance of the various tribes and clans as shown in the Handbook is shown below. I did not enquire into this with my informants except to confirm that the Suwaiṭ consider themselves and the Bani Ḥusain as Bani Hāshim, i.e. sharifs of the Hijaz. They also know of the statement that the Dhir'ān were 'abīd, i.e. of slave origin through their mother, but would not confirm or deny it.

Suwaiṭ	}	sharifs from the Hijaz
Bani Ḥusain		
Dhir'ān		claim sharīf ancestry, but said to be of slave origin
Āl Sa'id	}	Qaḥṭān
'Uraif		
Masāmīr	}	'Aniza
Ṭulūḥ		
Ma'ālīm		Bani Tamīm
Zuwāsim		Subai'

The 'Ilijānāt were not mentioned in the Handbook. They may, however, be related to the 'Ilijān or 'Aljān mentioned by Qalqashandi⁷ and classed as a section of the Khalid of Hijaz.

The shaikhs of the 'Ilijānāt, the Ḥumrān clan, were said to be of Turkish origin though from very far back. One of them, al-Ḥamar, is mentioned as an opponent of Ḥamdān ibn Suwaiṭ in the war with the Sharīfs in the version given in Ingham 1982b.

An alternative origin for the Ṭulūḥ was also given by one of my informants, namely that they were the sons of Jalḥa, the brother of Suwaiṭ, the ancestor of the Suvvaiṭ, both being the sons of one 'Azīz. This 'Azīz also had a third son Zughaiḥ, the ancestor of the Zughāba clan, who are not of the Dhafīr and about whom I was unable to obtain any further information.

As can be seen from the above, a 'component tribe' can include elements of different provenance. Thus the Suwaiṭ 'tribe' includes both the Al Suwaiṭ, sharīfs and the Ṭulūā who are from 'Aniza. Equally, the Żuwāsim, who are counted as Subai', include among them the Masāmīr, also from 'Aniza.

These genealogies are feasible in the sense that a composite tribe coming together in the Hijaz would be likely to come from neighbouring tribes of the area. The 'Aniza during the 1600s were mostly in the inner Najd or the Hijaz borders. Bani Tamīm is a name given to considerable groups of the settled population of the inner Najd area, and the Subai' are the main bedouin tribe of al-'Āriḍh who originate in the Wādi Subai' on the Hijaz borders. The Qaḥtan, though further south on the borders of the Rub' al-Khāli, were at an earlier time forging northward and involved in constant battles with the 'Utaiba.⁸ A significant point about the origins claimed by the sub-tribes is that they are all 'modern', i.e. founded in tribal groups of the present period, not in the ancient stocks of the early Islamic period such as 'Adnān, Muḍhar, Qays-'Aylān etc. which might have been more respectable. It would therefore seem possible to give them considerable credence.

Alongside those mentioned so far who can be said to be the core of the tribe, various other clans are reported by earlier writers to be 'with the Ḍhafīr' or to 'camp with the Ḍhafīr'. My informants listed these as the Āl Ġithīr, Bani Khālid and 'Awāzim who they included among the Buṭūn. Their relationship to the rest of the tribe was regarded as one of membership when they shared the same location. In reference to the Bani Khālid they said: iĀā jaw Āufrān wiĀa rāḥaw xawālid, 'when they come with us, they are Ḍhafīris and when they go away, they are Bani Khālid'. The Āl Ġithīr are originally part of the Bani Khālid and seem to have come over en bloc to the Ḍhafīr in the time of Nāyif. The Bani Khālid as a component of the Ḍhafīr are other clans of the tribe, in particular the 'Umūr under Ibn Mindīll. Musil⁹ mentions the following also as 'camping with the Ḍhafīr': Jiyārīn, Rashāyida, 'Uwen, Sulelat and Kwad. The Jiyārīn or Juwārīn are a shepherd tribe of the Bani Ḥuchaim confederation of the Euphrates. The Rashāyida are a serf tribe of the Muṭair to the southeast. The 'Uwain could be the 'Awnān of the Muntafiq mentioned by Dickson.¹⁰ The Kwad are presumably the Kwida, a small independent Shi'a camel-herding tribe of the Euphrates in the vicinity of Samāwa.¹¹ The Ṣulailāt are part of the 'Amārāt of 'Aniza, some of whom

became a ḥilf 'ally' of the Ḍhafīr in the time of Ḥamud when the Ḍhafīr were fighting the Muntafiq.¹²

The above illustrates the eclectic nature of the aggregation process. The confederation includes Sunni bedouin (the majority of the Ḍhafīr), Shi'a bedouin, the Bani Ḥusain¹³ and Kwida, Iraqi Shi'a shepherd tribes, Juwārīn and 'Uwain, and bedouin tribes of client status, the 'Awāzim and Rashāyida, both of whom are so to speak bedouin of the second rank with whom other bedouin traditionally would not intermarry. An even more unusual component of the tribe are the Anṣār (sing. Naṣrāwī) who are the descendants of Christian prisoners taken from the Turks in the First World War. These were children or youths working with the Turkish army. They were taken into the tribe and eventually given Ḍhafīri brides. They do not constitute a clan or sub-tribe but are counted as Ḍhafīris and Muslims and scattered throughout the tribe.

My informants said that the Āl Ḥumaid, a Shi'a bedouin tribe of the Euphrates, were also partly ex-Christian of similar Ottoman origin in Iraq. These they termed Ḥyāca 'people knitted in' which was a term that could also be applied to their own Anṣār. This information was volunteered in response to an enquiry from me as to why it was that many of the Āl Ḥumaid were blue-eyed (so far as I had observed) while their neighbours, the Rufai', were brown-eyed and more Arabian in appearance.

The usual view of the relationship of bedouins to settlers is that bedouins settle down and become farmers or townsmen, so it is interesting here to note recorded cases within the bedouin tradition of the incorporation of sedentary non-Arab elements into a bedouin tribe. What is remarkable here is not only that it happened, but that this incorporation is recorded in tribal tradition. According to the principles of 'generative genealogy' it would have been quite possible to invent a genealogical connection for any of these groups so as to fit in with the blood-tie foundation of the sub-tribes. It may be that in the case of the Ḍhafīr the exclusiveness of the central group, the Suwaiṭ, allowed greater flexibility in ethnic and religious identity for the rest of the aggregation. The Suwaiṭ, like certain other shaikhly families such as the Tuwāla of the Aslam Shammar, do not give their daughters in marriage to anyone outside the clan, of whatever status; they therefore perhaps attach less importance to the nature of the elements clustered around them.

Certain other groups are mentioned in the Handbook which were not mentioned by my informants and whom I had no chance to check on. These

were the Miz'ar, Haulah, Ma'alib (Ma'ālīm?) and 'Adwan.¹⁴ The 'Adwān are an independent tribe of whom many now live in Kuwait, but who are not credited with an independent dīra by any of the earlier writers. A number of subgroups of the Suwaiṭ are also mentioned in earlier works often with the status of tribal sections. These are the ḌhuwaiḤi, Buwait and 'Afnān. I was unable to discover exactly who the ḌhuwaiḤi were except that the maternal grandfather of the present acting shaikh Faiṣal ibn 'Ajimi was 'Ali ibn Ḍhuwaiḥi. The term 'Afnān was used to refer to the followers of Hazzā' ibn 'Agāb¹⁵ and the descendants of 'Ugūb who had quarrelled with Ḥamūd ibn Suwaiṭ and gone to live with Ibn Hadhdhāl. The term 'Afnān was chosen to distinguish them from the immediate shaikhly line who were descendants of Sulṭān and known as the Āl Sulṭān. The 'Afnān, so-called, were ultimately the sons of Fahad the grandson of 'Afnān, while the Āl Sulṭān were the sons of Shayyūsh the son of 'Afnān. Presumably they chose the name Āl 'Afnān rather than Āl Fahad because Fahad was undistinguished in the tribe's past and also because of the easy linguistic parallelism between the words 'Afnān and Sulṭān. Lancaster gives a similar interpretation of the division into Ḍhana Muslim and Ḍhana Bishr among the 'Aniza,¹⁶ pointing out that Bishr and Muslim were separated by several generations. Nowadays the 'Afnān have come back to the fold and the terms 'Afnāniyya and Sulṭāniyya are rarely used.

The term buwait is not strictly speaking a section but a title (see Text 3). The reigning shaikh at any time was called rā' albuwait 'owner of the little tent'. The term could perhaps have been used among the Suwaiṭ to distinguish the actual Āl Suwaiṭ from the Ṭulūḥ and Āl Zārī'. My informants however denied that the Buwait were in any way different from the Suwaiṭ. Government reports also mention 'Ibn Shumail of the Sulem group of the Ḍhafīr'¹⁷ who are not mentioned elsewhere. These may be identical with the clan of Shummāl who, I was told, were a group who travelled widely in Najd and Iraq herding sheep, but who had no definite dīra and were often in the territory of the Ḍhafīr and under their protection. These are Shi'a and a number of them still live among the Ḍhafīr.

The above account relates the coining together of various elements to form the Ḍhafīr tribe. As we have seen it was also possible for parts of the tribe to split off and join neighbouring powerful leaders as happened in the case of the 'Afnān under Ḥamūd. Government reports of the early twentieth century give numerous instances of this. Since about 1915 they mention that

the Bani Ḥusain and Dhir'ān 'as well as other smaller sheikhs of the Samid' had moved their allegiance to 'Ajimi ibn Sa'dūn with Ḥamūd being powerless to prevent them.¹⁸ Bell also reports¹⁹ in 1916 that the Al Sa'īd were at the time consistently friendly with the Sa'dūn and had captured some of Ibn Ṣubāḥ's camels, although the Ḍhafīr were at the time under a khuwa arrangement with Ibn Ṣubāḥ, i.e. Ḥamūd had concluded a treaty, but the Sa'īd refused to keep to it. In 1921 the local resident in Kuwait reports²⁰ 'there are two parties of Dhafir near the area who have separated from Hamud, the 'Afnan and Mu'allim (i.e. Ma'ālīm) now under ibn Haddhal.' The Sa'īd were also reported as 'not on good terms with Hamud. They belong to no tribe and live alone near Nasiriyya.'

This seemed remarkable to British civil servants at the time, who had formed the practice of attempting to gain influence with the tribes by paying money and giving supplies to a shaikh who they would consider as the 'leader' of the whole tribe. It must, however, have been quite normal within the bedouin tradition where whole tribes would only be united under one leader in exceptional times or when the leader himself was of exceptional force of character, as was the case with Nūri ibn Sha'lān of the Ruwala at the beginning of the century.²¹ Bell also remarks that the position of the Ḍhafīr between the Shammar under ibn Rashīd and the Muntafiq under the Sa'dūns was itself a divisive factor since they were compelled to have influence on both sides.²² The modus vivendi of the early twentieth century seems to have been that the Suwaiṭ and those who followed them formed good relations with the 'Abda and Ibn Ṭuwāla, who represented them with Ibn Rashīd (Text 12) while the Żuwāsim and Dhir'ān and increasingly also the Sa'īd were obliged to make their peace with the belligerent Sa'dūns. It seems that almost all of the Sa'īd started to move to Kuwait from about the 1930s. At about the same time a split in the leadership of the Ḍhafīr occurred when 'Ajimi ibn Suwaiṭ left Iraq and transferred his allegiance to Ibn Sa'ūd.²³ Those remaining in Iraq were led by Jad'ān ibn Suwaiṭ who later moved to Kuwait where he remained until his death. Text 14 also mentions that some of the Ḍhafīr had joined Hāyif ibn Shugair of the Muṭair during the Ikhwān period, although they are not mentioned by name. At the time of Hamdān also two shaikhs, Ḥamar of the 'Ilijānāt and Dulayyiċ of the Al Sa'īd, sided with the Sharif against Ḥamdān and were later captured and killed.²⁴

Chapter 4

The present situation of the tribe

The changes in the life of the Ḍhafīr in recent years are parallel to those of another major tribe of the Syrian desert, the Ruwala, as described by Lancaster (1980). His description is based on studies of settlements in eastern Jordan which are still involved in camel and sheep herding. Lancaster's description depends heavily on his informants from the Sha'lān, the shaikhs of the tribe, as mine does on the Suwaīt. The village of Ṣufairi, where most of my work was carried out, is basically a settlement of the Suwaīt with, however, a large contingent of Żuwāsīm, a number of notable Ma'lūmis and also some Khawālīd and Āl Ġithīr. It was reported that most of the Āl Sa'īd and 'Ilijānāt had moved to Kuwait. The Dhir'ān moved away to Saudi Arabia and also Kuwait in the time of Lazzām Aba Dhrā'a, who led the section in the 1920s in the time of the Ikhwān raids.¹ His territory was said to be deserted (dyāraḥam xāliytin 'anham) and the following two poems are attributed to the Dhir'ān marking their departure from the bedouin scene:

yā rā'eb alii mā hi danna
minwat ġarībīn ydannīha
ḥamrin wbarha tigil ḥanna
miṭl assarāwīl bīdēha
'an dōr abu ḥnēc ḥawwanna
w'an almaḡāzi uṭarīha
Oh rider on a camel which has been rarely ridden
the wish of a stranger (enemy) to ride her.
Of reddish wool the colour of henna,
appearing like hose upon its forelegs.
We have left the times of Abu Ḥunaić
left behind the raids and their stories.

Abu Ḥunaić is the bedouin name J. B. Glubb gained among the Iraq bedouins during the time of the Ikhwān raids. The composer was 'Agāb Aba Dhrā'a. The other poem consists of one stanza attributed to Badri al-'Ayzar al-Dhra'i:

yā hēf raḥat dīriti
liḥmeid u'afnīn alkalām
Oh woe that my lands are lost
to the Ḥumaid and those of impure speech

'Those of impure speech' presumably implies the Shūyān who speak a non-Najdi dialect.

Many of the Zuwāsīm and Bani Ḥusain were reported to have camels still in Iraq and to summer along the Euphrates, not having any contact with the Suwaīt. The main nomadic Dhafir around the area of Şufairi were said to be 'Uraif and Żuwāsīm, although the only ones I met were 'Uraif. As mentioned earlier, the majority of the nomads in the vicinity of Şufairi and around the Ṭuwāl were Rufai' bedouins and Bani Ḥuchaim shepherds, although many of the latter also brought camels over for sale. Very few of the Suwaīt were reported to live the nomadic life on a permanent basis, but many were still semi-nomadic based on Şufairi and camping out with flocks during the grazing season.

The Suwaīt population of Şufairi was basically the Āl Sultān and Āl 'Afnān, who with their followers had been following their traditional pattern of grazing in Iraqi territory up till the 1950s. After the revolution in Iraq in 1958 things became difficult for them and they began to avoid Iraqi territory. 'Ajimi ibn Suwaīt had transferred his allegiance to Ibn Sa'ūd in 1927, but as at that time the borders were relaxed as far as nomadic movement was concerned, it did not prevent his followers grazing in Iraqi territory. In the early 1960s he had built himself a semipermanent house at Rukhaimiyya near the border, about which the Iraqis protested to the Sa'ūdis. The Sa'ūdis asked him to dismantle this, but paid him compensation. Later he asked to settle at Şufairi where a pump-operated well had been bored by the oil company to supply water for transport and herdsmen. Şufairi was named after 'Abdallah Şufairi, an employee of the oil company, who operated the well and who still lives at the village although he is not a Dhafir but an emigrant from Qaşīm. Many of the Suwaīt then sold their camels in Iraq and brought all their sheep and tents over to Şufairi. Gradually, however, houses replaced tents. At the time of my first visit in 1978 Şufairi consisted of a number of traditional mud houses surrounded by a great number of tents. In 1982 there was a majority of houses with only a few tents on the perimeter, although almost every house still had its tent packed up and housed on frames above ground level for use

during part of the year. The houses were mostly huts built of wooden casing, but there was a considerable number of new concrete houses also. Facilities had also been provided by the Sa'ūdi government which included two school houses and a medical centre with a resident doctor. Electricity was provided directly by overhead cable from al-Ḥafar (completed in 1980) and most houses had water piped from the central well, the pipes running either above or below ground. Plans were in progress for all huts to be replaced by houses, built with government grants. There was a mosque, a number of shops, a bakery, a petrol station and a car repair yard. Most of the shops were owned by Dhafirīs.

This pattern of settlement could also be seen in the case of other bedouins in the vicinity. To the southwest was Kamm ibn Ṭuwāla where the Ṭuwāla clan of Shammar had settled and between Ṣufairi and al-Ḥafar the 'Aniza clans of ibn Hadhdhāl of the 'Amārāt and ibn Mirshid of the Sba's had also settled recently. These were all in tents except for the shaikhs who had built houses in the middle of the camps. Both of these had come to Sa'ūdi Arabia following their tribesmen who had gradually begun to move back to Najd, preferring the Sa'ūdi regime to the socialist regimes of Iraq and Syria.

The economic life of the village seemed to be based partly on herding and partly on the employment of younger educated men in the Sa'ūdi government. These were mostly in the army or the border police, but others were training as teachers. Many of the older men had served in the Arab Legion in the 1940s and 1950s and more recently also in the armies of the Gulf States. Many of the Suwaiṭ had herds of sheep which were being grazed either by members of their own family or by herdsmen of other tribes. Much of the social life of the village revolved around the majlis or guest house of the shaikh, where tribesmen came in for coffee daily and where any visitors to the village would come. Tribesmen not living at Ṣufairi who had business with the government would usually come to obtain a letter confirming that they were Dhafirīs and therefore Sa'ūdi citizens and explaining the nature of their business. The tribal majlis was held at the guest house of 'Ajimi ibn Suwaiṭ in the morning and again in the evening after afternoon prayer. Although 'Ajimi sat every day at the focal point in the majlis, most of the routine work was done by his son Faiṣal who had been confirmed by the tribe as acting shaikh. Other tribesmen also made coffee at particular times of the day when people would repair to talk. To have a coffee hearth was both a symbol of prestige for the owner, since

he could afford to provide the facilities and was a person of note to whose house people would come, and also was a socially beneficial act of use to the community. I myself used to take coffee at the home of Muḥammad ibn Sa'dūn in the afternoon and at the home of Ridin ibn Ṣaḥan in the late evening.

The village maintained considerable contact with Iraq and Iraqi tribesmen were constant visitors, mainly Bani Ḥuchaim from the area of Samāwa and Rufai'. The border was at the time nominally open to all nomads. This was to encourage Iraqi nomads who occupied better pastures to bring their flocks for sale in Saudi Arabia. These were mainly sheep, but also a few camels and, at that time, horses, which supplied the growing interest in horse-racing as a sport. Those who came over on business or to visit friends made the trip in one day by car with one tank of petrol, coming by well-worn tracks and crossing at border posts. The nomads who were herding in the vicinity almost all had some form of motor transport, usually trucks, some actual lorries. These could carry water, fuel, firewood and livestock. At some points in the desert fuel was cached in drums for use on long trips. Visitors from Kuwait were also frequent. These were Dhafiris living in, and in some cases citizens of, Kuwait. They usually came on Fridays to visit relatives and were usually Suwait. The village of Ṣufairi counted as a tribal centre of some importance, being situated within their traditional tribal territory and the home of their tribal leader.

The village at the time of my visit contained a considerable number of foreigners. The permanent resident doctor was a Pakistani with an Egyptian nurse. The schoolteachers were Palestinians, Egyptians and Iraqis. The new water tower was being built by Egyptians and Libyans and many householders had young Pakistani men-servants. These last were dressed in Arab clothes in the Dhafiri manner, sat with the coffee-guests and were sometimes taken with the men on visits to other households. They behaved and were treated in public very much as tribesmen. In appearance and demeanour they were similar to Dhafiris, although their command of Arabic was extremely weak. Their position was in contrast to that of other foreign workers in the village who almost never sat in the majlises. The exception to this was when a wedding was held for which a special large tent was erected and camels slaughtered. On this occasion, all male residents of the village came, of whatever nationality. Another frequent visitor was an Iraqi merchant from Samāwa settled in al-Hafar who had traded with the Dhafir

for thirty years. In the early 1960s he had begun to bring goods to the border to trade with the Dhafir then resident in Saudi Arabia. Later he had set up a shop in Hafar al-Bāṭin when other traders also began to settle there and supplied most of the shaikh's provisions on a regular basis.

One of the main tasks of the shaikh was the registering of tribesmen as Saudi citizens. The Saudi government had recognised the Āl Dhafir as a Sa'ūdi tribe and therefore any Dhafiri was *de facto* counted as a Saudi. All that was necessary was for a tribesman to demonstrate to the elders that he was a Dhafiri, if he was not personally known to them. This was done by tracing his ancestry back to some person who was known to the assembled majlis and by questioning him about other persons who would be related to him. When the process had been completed to the satisfaction of the tribal elders the person was entered on the tribal register. At the time of my visit this was an important concern as a committee was being held in al-Hafar in order to register the tribes of the region. However, almost any activity which involved the government could also necessitate a letter of introduction from the shaikh. This could be to apply for work, for a travel permit, or in some matter of litigation. Also certain reciprocal arrangements existed with tribal leaders in other areas, whereby if a Dhafiri got into difficulties far from home he could apply to a local shaikh for help and vice versa. The Dhafir had arrangements of this kind with certain respected sayyid families in Samāwa, who would help Dhafirīs who got into trouble with the Iraqi government when over in Iraq on business or visiting.

A word should also be said here about the question of bedouin identity. Although as will be seen from the above account the village of Şufairi was essentially a sedentary establishment, all the Dhafir there and elsewhere in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait regard themselves as 'bedouins' (baduw) as opposed to 'settled folk' (ḥaḍhar). This distinction depends on tribal affiliation. Anyone belonging to an established bedouin tribe is, in this present use of the term, where the majority are settled, a bedouin. This concept of bedouin-ness is also important as a correlation with Najdi identity, since for the Saudi government, bedouins from outside Saudi territory are more readily accepted for Saudi nationality than non-bedouins. Bedouin identity correlates also with a certain mode of dress, manners, marriage customs and allegiance to a tribal leader, although this latter now operates within a system of allegiance to the government of Saudi Arabia.

At present the shaikh is elected by the tribe and his election ratified by the Saudi government, so that the shaikh is also an official of the government.

Some reference has been made earlier to changes in the bedouin system of sheep and camel herding. This has been described in detail by Lancaster (1980), Marx (1978) and Chatty (1978). The system followed by the Ḍhafīr associated with Ṣufairi is similar to that described by Lancaster except that camels seem to be kept on a smaller scale only for milk and for nostalgic reasons. When camels are needed for slaughter for hospitality these were easily obtainable from neighbouring nomads. In the village a small herd of five or six camels was kept including one much-prized white camel. The economically useful herds were sheep which were always kept out in the desert with the herdsmen. These moved from place to place depending on the pasture and would graze from the borders of Iraq to the Nafud. Where it was necessary to move flocks a long way to change pasture, they could be taken by lorry, as they usually were when being taken to market. The availability of water has changed considerably in contrast with former times. The old hand-operated wells such as the Ṭuwāl mentioned earlier are used less often than before because of the laborious nature of the work. Nowadays the newly-bored machine-operated wells such as Sufairi, Takhādīd and Kamm ibn Ṭuwāla are the main source of water. With these wells herds can be grazed in the vicinity and water taken out to them by truck in large oil drums. At various places metal water cisterns are situated to which water is brought daily for the sheep.

The transfer from camels as the main flocks to sheep has happened because motor transport has enabled the bedouin to graze sheep over a wider area than was previously possible, so that they can now use their old camel pastures for sheep. Also the market for camels as pack animals and beasts of burden in the villages, although still there, is now very much diminished. The growing population of Saudi Arabia and the Gulf has increased the market for sheep so that northern bedouin in Syria, Jordan and Iraq and those in Saudi Arabia such as the Ḍhafīr and Shammar can use the superior pastures of the north and bring their sheep for sale in the south. To a large extent the old tribal areas have been preserved since the new wells have been bored within the territory of particular tribes who mainly use them. Nevertheless, with the passing of the old warlike ways a lot more freedom now exists for the tribes to use each other's wells and to pasture

outside each other's territory, though to what extent and under what conditions I was unable to find out.

In addition, as many of the old camel-herding tribes have switched to sheep herding, some of the less powerful bedouin tribes have taken to camel herding² in a larger way. This is the case with the Humaid and Rufai' who at the time of my visit to Iraq in 1978 had substantial herds of camels. In the 1920s and 1930s they were not thought to constitute important bedouin tribes.³

Chapter 5

Texts with translations and explanatory notes

The following texts were recorded from Nāyif ibn Ḥamūd, Muḥammad ibn Sa'dūn and Mahdi ibn Dulayyim al-Ẓāsīmī at Ṣufairi and from Muṭni ibn Mijwi al-Khāldī in Kuwait. Although the last of these was from the Bani Khālid, as his name indicates, he had lived all his life with the Ḍhafīr and his dialect was identical to theirs as far as can be seen from the texts. Nāyif ibn Ḥamūd differed slightly from the other Ḍhafīr in showing a number of Iraqi expressions such as *aku* 'there is', *ham* 'also', which he presumably acquired in his earlier life in Iraq. All four were of the older generation and could be expected to speak the dialect faithfully. The Arabic texts are footnoted in order to highlight certain features of linguistic interest such as the preservation of the internal vowelled passive in verbs and certain idiosyncratic uses of the pronoun *int* 'you' as a general demonstrative. Also noted is the narrative imperative, where an imperative is used in reference to a past action of a third person in order to introduce more dramatic effect. The consonant –l– of the definite article *al–* is often elided and this is represented as *a(l)–* in the texts. The mark /– represents a break in the spoken delivery of the text. In the English translation footnotes are added to explain reference to persons and places mentioned, also occasionally where the translation is not absolutely literal. All localities mentioned in the texts are shown on the maps on pages xv, 9 and 22 with the exception of Jirjib and 'Ain Māni' (Text 4) and Marfū' and Ṣaida (Text 13). These were not located exactly, but some approximate indication of their position is given in the text.

Text 1 The war between Ḥamdān the Blind and the Sharīf in the Hijaz (1600s)

by Nāyif ibn Ḥamūd al-Suwait

kān ḥamdān al'ama aššrufa min bini 'ammu. killaham ašrāf walākin šarat naḥāsa bēnaham waššrufa baḡaw yḍiddūn gibīlat al ḍufīr u baḡaw yḍiddūn āl swēt. killaham balḥjāz maskanham. ba'dēn āmar 'ala riyājīlu ašširīf annikam trūḥūn yamm āl ḍufīr utixafrūnaham. alxafur šinu? 'indaham 'ādatham yāxḍūn min kill abā'ir nāgitēn i'tubār jizyah. yāxḍūn jizyah 'alēham min kill bēt nāgitēn. ṭāḥaw 'ala wāḥdin mn āl swēt ygāl-lu ḡānim min firgah ysammūnah āl frūḡ mn āl swēt, mnalfarż. ham ṭalātīn ḍilūl. gāl: 'minham haḍōḷa?' w-asga ma yasma' int¹ ya ḡānim. āḍānu mitsaddidāt lākan yšūf: 'šinham haḍōḷa?' gālaw: 'haḍōḷa riyājīl ašširīf uyabōn min kill abā'ar nāgitēn.' blaḡat albadu alfurg² sbān 'yabōn hāḍi u hāḍi.' gāl: 'xayyāl hāḍi uxayyāl hāḍi u xayyāl alfurg ḡānim.' gām 'alēham bassēf u ḍibaḥ attalātīn. maḥḥad šarad alla wāḥid. ḍibaḥham riyājīl ašširīf. gāl: 'wāḥid xallu yrūḥ yrāji' ašširīf.' ygūl: 'ḍbiḥōni āl-swēt.' tanāwaxaw ham wāl swēt 'ala hassibab hāḍa. u xaḍaw / tanāwaxaw bmougi'in ysammūnh addāt š'tb addāt. bi'dēn ibn swēt tiḍāyag mnašširīf. ašširīf 'indu gubāyil walgubāyil tamši ma' aṭṭuma'. ba'dēn rāḥ wašša yamm ibn žaš'am. ibn žaš'am, iṭwēni 'ala dōru, ysammūnu ubu šwārib. ṭwēni bal'arāḡ uhāḍa balḥjāz. šiyjīb wāḥid ilwāḥid? kitab-lu kitāb ma' almirsāl: 'ḥinna balgēḍ mā nagdar, lākan yašmut nafsu lēma yiji aššfiri. lā ja ššfiri ḥinna nafza'-lu.' yōm ja ššfiri u hu yjirrah ibn žaš'am 'ala bn swēt. yṭubb-lak³ 'alēham uyaksmūn aššrufa. yōm ygūl ašširīf / 'indu 'abd ismu bēš gāl: 'xēr ya bēš?' gāl: 'yā 'ammi hāḍa gōmin mā t'arif⁴ bēš.' ya'ni alžaš'am. haḍōḷa ḡirībīn mā tiṭaradna ḥinna wyāham. mā t'arifni. ma t'arif šijā'ati. yagšidūn 'ād ygūl aḥad āl swēt alii 'ād mā agdar atarjimu⁵ lākan a(l)-gaššād alii minham 'ala dōr albijādiyya. bijādiyya ham⁶ mn āl swēt ham faxḍin mnālswēt. gšidaw 'alēham ygūl:

'gbūraham baddāt baddin bidīdah
walgbūr minham uminna tšādi al'amārāt.'

Text 1 Translation

Ḥamdān the Blind and the Sharīfs were cousins⁷ through the male line. Both of them were sharīfs (nobles). But bad feeling grew up between them and the

Sharīfs determined to oppose the Āl Ḍhafīr and the Āl Suwaiṭ. Both of them lived at that time in the Hijaz. Then he ordered his men to go to the Āl Ḍhafīr and fine them. What was the fine? It was their custom to take from each herd two she-camels by way of tribute. They intended to take tribute from them from each tent, two she-camels. They came to one of the Āl Suwaiṭ who was called Ghānim from a section called the Āl Furūg of the Āl Suwaiṭ, the Farz. The Sharīf's men were thirty⁸ riders. He said: 'Who are these people?' He was deaf. Ghānim, he couldn't hear, his ears were blocked, but he could see: 'What are these people?' The people said: 'These are the Sharīf's men and they want two she-camels from every herd.' In the language of the bedu 'furg sibān' the best of first and the best of the last.⁹ 'They want this one and this one.' He said, 'The protector¹⁰ of this one and that one and the "furg" is Ghānim.' He attacked them with his sword and killed all thirty of them. Only one escaped. They killed the Sharīf's men. He said, 'Let one of them go and report to the Sharīf and say: "The Āl Suwaiṭ killed us." They fought a war with the Āl Suwaiṭ because of this and they fought at a place called al-Dāth, the valley of Dāth. Afterwards Ibn Swuaiṭ fell into difficulty with the Sharīf. The Sharīf had many tribes with him and these tribes were driven by the desire for gain. Then Ibn Suwaiṭ sent a messenger to Ibn Qash'am. At that time it was Thuwaini ibn Qash'am who they called Abu Shuwārib (Father of the Moustachios). Thuwaini was in Iraq and he was in Hijaz. What would bring one to the other? He wrote him a letter with the messenger saying: 'We are now in the middle of the hot season and cannot come, but let him keep the matter secret until the autumn comes. When autumn comes, we will come to his help.' When autumn arrived, Ibn Qash'am brought his army over and they fell on the Sharīfs and defeated them. That was when the Sharīf said / he had a slave called Baiṣ – he said: 'What news Baiṣ?' He replied: 'Uncle,¹¹ this is an enemy who does not recognise Baiṣ,' meaning the Qash'am, that they were strangers and they had not fought with them before, they didn't know him, didn't know his bravery. They then composed a poem. One of the Āl Suwaiṭ, which of them I cannot tell you, but the poet was at the time of the Bijādiyya.¹² The Bijādiyya were also from the Āl Suwaiṭ, a branch of the Suwaiṭ. They composed this poem:

Their graves are at al-Dāth, tribe by tribe.

Their graves and ours, whole tribes in number.¹³

Text 2 Faiṣal at Bag'a as the guest of ibn Buraic (1760s)

by Nāyif ibn Ḥamūd al-Suwayṭ

bzaman fēṣal badu, mā ham ḥaḍar u jaw nzalaw 'ala bag'a. bag'a amīrah ibn breic min ahal bag'a. u lamman nzalaw cinnaham akrahaw kiṭrat al'urbān u'ala nnaham mā ydānūn šōfaham wlā ya'lamūn wiššu alii warāham. walḥaḍar gabul ḍu'ifīn māham guwiyyīn ḥēl miṭl albadu. albadu agwa minham. ba'den nizal fēṣal ibn swēt u xaḍa ṭalaṭ iṣhūr 'indaham. min ba'ad ma ibtidat albadu almašīl, āmar 'ala āl ḍufīr, kāffat āl ḍufīr illi nāzlīn 'ind guṣīr, y'agil-lu ḥāylēn 'ind guṣīru, hādōli lajil assinā', lajil ydabbir ḥālu biṭim guṣīru. u hu 'agal 'ind ibin breic iṭna'aš ya'ni 'aṭāham 'aṭiyya. āmarham kill bēt yi'ti guṣīru nāgitēn. ibin breic 'ād šār šidāgah wiytimannāw yom šal. gāl:

ḥinna karahnāham liyāli wurūdaham
aṭārīham assikkar bjouf ḥalīb.
u tis'in lēlah gurbat aššijā' fēṣal
aḥab(b) min kill ḥabīb.

bass hāḍa alii a'arif-mnah mūjiz willa hi aṭwal min hāḍi. rḥalaw mu-hu liššimāl, miṭl ma tgūl nafs addīrah. lākan twazza'aw. albadu ytuwazza'ōn baššta y'tš ḥalālu walla yamši mi' ḥalālu. yxāfūn yijtam'ōn balbar 'an albiyāriž, ya'ni ham/ fēṣal 'ala dōr ibn ər'ē'ir. 'indu 'alāgāt nuṣṣ unuṣṣ nōb ṣuḥba u nōb gōm. u fōgin minham kān bḥukm aššrufa balḥjāz ham¹ nuṣṣ u nuṣṣ. hu waššrufa ma ytuwāddōn lann šāyra kānat 'ala dōr ajdādu aiawawalīn, šāyirtin ḍabḥa bēnaham u bēn aššrufa.

Text 2 Translation

At the time of Faiṣal they were bedu not settled people and they came and camped (for the summer) at Bag'a. The amir of Bag'a was Ibn Buraic of the people of Bag'a.² And when they encamped, it seems that they (the people of Bag'a) disliked the great number of the nomads and avoided their company as they did not know what trouble they might bring. The settled people in

those days were weak, not very strong like the bedu. The bedu were stronger than them. Then Faiṣal encamped and stayed three months with them. After the bedu had begun to move away again, he ordered them, all of the Āl Ḍhafīr who had encamped near a neighbour, to leave³ for his neighbour two young unfoaled she camels. These were for good will, so as to clear their obligation with their neighbours. And he left with Ibn Buraić twelve young she-camels. He gave them as a gift. He ordered each tent to give his neighbour two camels. Then friendship grew up with Ibn Buraić and he missed him when he left. He said:

We disliked them on the first evenings of their arrival,
But it seems they were like sugar hidden in milk.
Ninety nights in the company of the hero Faiṣal,
dearer than any beloved.

But this that I know of it is only a short part of it, otherwise it is longer than this. They then moved off, not to the north. As you might say in the same dirah. But the bedu spread out in winter to pasture their flocks or graze with their flocks. They are afraid to camp together in the desert because of raiders.⁴ Because they /-Faiṣal lived in the time of Ibn 'Urai'ir. He had relations with him which were half and half, sometimes friendship sometimes enemies. And before that under the rule of the Sharīfs in Hijaz half and half. He did not get on well with the Sharīfs because before in the time of their ancestors there had been war between them and the Sharīfs.

Text 3 Dughayyim in the northern desert; the rescuing of al-Ḥithrubi (1790s)

by Muṭni ibn Mijwi al-Khāldi

hāḍa ṭāl 'umrak alḥiṭrubi ṭariš, mu hu 'ind halu wlih ja daxīlin ziban 'ala bētu wila yaṭirdu mfawwiz attajgīf min šammar xālu xāl alḥiṭrubi. yōm agbal 'albēt wila ḍrubu wila jād'u. uyōm jdi'u inṭiḥtu uxtu wilā-hu jād'u: 'daxal ya mfawwaz, daxal!' jdi'u. gḍubat albēt u fajjat albēt xiyāṭu u xallat albēt šayyin ṭāyḥin ihnā. u šayyin ṭāyḥin ihnā. u yōm ja lḥiṭrubi wila bētu mafjūja min

'ind arraffa. gāl: iēh yā yumma?' gālat: 'albēt alii ma yinji daxīlu xall alii yijīh yag'id baššams.' ṭawwiritu 'alēh. 'wiš alatur?' gālat: 'hāḍa lamur whāḍa lamur.' hāh, daxal 'ala ljarba int yattajgīf. u yōm sima' badda'wa u hu yinīr. hu ḍāllin mnajjarba ygūl tara y'arīfk. u yijī-lu 'niziyyin balmaḍma u yti'azzibu. wilā mēr ham killaham 'ala /– ibn swēt wibn haḍḍāl wajjarba nāzlin yamm xabra ddyān mta'āhadīn inn alii yaf'al fi'l inna ngawwidu, mā nidixlu mizālha 'ala lma. wilā riḥna killin yidill rifīzu alii yabi. hu rāḥ u taḡayyab 'aljarba lann ygūl tara y'arīfk. u ta'azzab al'nūz killin ma yadrūn wiš 'indu wilā waladin¹ mazyūn u 'indaham uxtil-laham mazyūnah u gālaw: 'hāḍa ḡadi² ḥācyin flāna, mta'az-zibna yaba flāna.' wila galliṭaw aṭṭa'ām xadā-lu ligmah ligmītēn u gām. ilā šbaḥat sriḥat abā'arham u rāḥ yḍaḥḥiyah lamma yalḥag harrā'i u 'ugbin nikas. gāl hal'nūz ma'āzību gāl: 'yā flāna /– lā talḥagu yarrā'i. ig'id xallu yasriḥ u xall flāna talḥagu.' yabi yšūf hu yaby-albint walla' mā yabyah. wiš'illitu tara mā yadrūn wiš'illitu. ēh u ytanaššidūnu. 'int wiš tabi?' miṭl harrabu' alii int 'indaham walla innaham y'arfūnak willa haḍḍōla ma y'arfūnu: 'int wiš ḥājakk wiš taba³ minna walyōm mint bhāḍa.' u kiḍa u kiḍa ēh. gāl: 'abad!' hāh. yōm saraḥ balbil u hi talḥagu gāl: 'rūḥi mi'u.' u gōltin: 'xleif ysallim 'aleik' (uxūha) 'xleif ysallim 'aleik.' ygūl: 'ēh.' 'alyōm arrā'i rāḥ winh yasraḥ balbil lēma yiji.' gāl: 'inšallah' tilḥīzu albint ḡadāw. ṭīstu ṭalat lugmāt. yāxiḍ ṭalat lugmāt u y'ayyi bass, 'atitu ḡadāw hattalāt ygūl: 'dūc ḡadāc inti inksi lahalc.' gālat: 'lā ana ygūl-li: "la tta'addēnu" uxūy.' 'ya bint alḥalāl ana mā abēc.' azzibda 'ayyat u hu yrūḥ lawwal albil. ḡal: 'ajal xallīc 'ind almaghōr⁴ 'ind attāli!' tabēh yiji 'ayya la yiji u hi tatbi'u. yōm tbi'tu u šāfah jitu u hu y'aggbah minnu min mṭal albil u talguf-lu. yōm lguftu gālat: 'yamm al'ijrah ana abēk wint tšaddid 'inni.' u hi thūm tabi ṭhibbu u hu yaltuma balmiš'āb ila jād'in sinnah yōm jat tabi thibbu. u tagḍib sinnah thazmu bšēlitah wlā dammah tagtir brummitah. jat gālat lixwānah: 'hāh hāḍa l'ilm u hāḍa l'ilm' gālaw: 'hāḍa bu 'illitin ma bayyindah-lina.' yōm ja ballēl u hu yashab 'indaham rubbāba yōm nāmaw annās mā 'indaham aḥad:

yā xalaf ya misca ḥawāli mnalxōf
 abtēt wint itnaššidni lak ayyām
 yaxu xlēf alii bak attīb mašhōr
 alkill minkarn yašba' attēr winḥām
 tafrij ilḥālin cinnaha ḥāl abu l'ōf
 aw almirīḍ alii 'an azzād šawwām

wallah lō jāni zāhi alxuṣur waššnūf
 hittēš lo inna 'ala rrūh 'azzām?
 wazzibdah albēda 'ala tamrat ajjōf
 mā tagbalah ábdin 'alēh attina zām.
 šafyi mfawwiz nagwat arrabi' mangūf
 xayyālhin lā jann 'at'at u raḍḍām
 agta' 'ala hannās tōfin wara tōf
 wagliṭ 'alēham min rib'at albēt ziddām
 wamma 'alayy albīḍ tašfuṣ balićfuf
 walla 'alayy albīḍ tashar wana anām
 wincān mā nabrid gilīlin mnaljōf
 wallah ma' alxufrāt huṭtu bi wšām

ana huṭtu ydiggunni hurm.' gālaw: 'alla yāxiḍk hāḍi sahla. baḥḥir flāna mā talḥag alxēl. ilbis hdūm flāna u baḥḥiru lā minnu /-tarāhu hāda yird 'ala halxabra wy'āwin rāṭh, rā'i abā'ru uhu dāxlin 'ala ljarba wibn swēt wajjarba mti'āhdīn alii yaf al fi'l inna ngawwidkamyāw. u yōm jaw cinnah hurmitin wāridtin 'alfaras 'alēham uhu yabi yanhaḍ addalu u yšubbu y'āwinham 'ala lhōḍ wilā yaḍribu ma' addigdiḡ u yantila lēma ḍrubat 'ala ḍḍil' algšayyir wlēh šwāw tāyhātin bwazn alhōḍ. wiylawwiḥ 'ala halfaras u yazbin ibn haḍḍāl. yōm ja bn haḍḍāl wiyḥawwil yhuṭt īdēh min wara bintu u hi tidaxxilu dxīl u silim: 'ya yuba daxal 'alayy.' gāl: 'mal'ūn abūc ana bēni wbēn aljarba 'ahad. wallah agawwidh aljarba.' 'yuba ḥattin īdēh warāy.' gāl: 'wallah ana wajhi gabul wajhić.' gām u yaṭmur 'ala farasin libn haḍḍāl u yazbin ibn swēt u yiji balbwēt. albwēt muḍḍif. albwēt hāk alḥīn dgayyim. alamīr dgayyim waxūh slēmān baddīwān wlawinnah alxēl jāy wila dgayyim yamm almḥaram. mā diri badda'wa wila jjarba jayyin mi' iṭaru 'iṣrīn xayyāl yabōnu. wila slēmān yōm gām gāl: 'ya šfūg.' slēmān uxwil-lidgayyim mnāl swēt: 'arrajāl alii ḥawwal balbwēt, abā'iru yamm almaḡātīr walfaras.' gāl: 'lā wallah lō ti'tlīni tarš al ḍufir, lō wāḥdin gita' wajhi alla aḍbaḥu.' wila dgayyim yamm allajja wila hu jāy mnalbēt. wlawinn dgayyim jāyak assēf biḍrā'u: 'wiš al'ilm?' gāl: 'wiš bēni u bēnak?' gāl: 'bēni u bēnak alii yagta' wajhak u yadxal 'alayya a'ṭikiyyāw.' gāl: 'hāda 'indak gita' wajhi.' gāl: 'wēnu ma adillu.' gāl: 'balbwēt.' gāl: 'albwēt? albwēt mā 'āhad. al'ahad bēni ana wiyyāk wana mā jāni aḥad.' u yisill assēf u tiṭarad alxēl. u yal'ab 'ād alḥiṭrubi yōm jālu halkēf.

ya rācbin malḥa mnalhijin ḥāyil
 mibrīt aḍḍir'ān ḥamrin sijillah

lā tašda mirsāt almaḥāyil
 min muxṭara haffat ma' albīr wallat
 tilfi 'ala ḥiblān hal annagāyil
 yibšir dixīl byūtaham balmaḍillah
 mā ḍall ġēr asswētāt ḍāyil
 dġayyim ṭana bassēf dūni fsallah
 swētāt mā-ham min hazzāl alḥamayil
 yā ma ġadaw bgāratin mušma'illah
 aḷḷah yi'tūn alamhār alašāyil
 almi'irga wa'nānaha ziyārtīl-lah
 ar'a bḍīrr 'šēl ulāni bsāyil
 bayman izrūd unāzlin b'aṭ'aṭīl-lah
 mā nišadt 'an rās bah azzūm tāyil
 alia si'dūn wana mižinyil-lah.

si'dūn ibn 'rē'ir 'aḷḷa si'dūn' ygūl 'wana mā ajīlu.'

Text 3 Translation

O long of life, this man al-Ḥithrubi was away on a journey and was not with his family and a fugitive came and sought refuge at his tent. And another Shammari Mufawwaz al-Tajghīf turned him away. He was his maternal uncle, the uncle of al-Ḥithrubi. When the fugitive came to the tent he struck him and knocked him down. When he knocked him down, (al-Ḥithrubi's) sister pushed him away, but he knocked him down. She cried out: 'He has sought refuge, Mufawwaz, he has sought refuge!' but he struck him down.⁵ The mother grasped hold of the tent and ripped the tent cloth apart down the middle seam and left the tent with part of it fallen on one side and part on the other. And when al-Ḥithrubi arrived, there was his tent ripped apart down the middle seam. He said: 'Why mother?' She said: 'The tent that cannot harbour a fugitive, let anyone who comes to it sit in the heat of the sun!' She aroused him against Mufawwaz. 'What is the matter?' he said. 'This is the matter!' she said. Yes, al-Tajghīf had fled to the Jarba. But when he heard what had happened he fled again fearing that they would know who he was. And he came to an 'Anizi in the middle of the desert and became his neighbour. And at that time they were all at /-. Ibn Suwait, Ibn Hadhdhāl and the Jarba were encamped at Khabra al-Adyān.⁶ They had all made an agreement that anyone who committed a deed of violence we will bring him to the revenge-

seekers, we will not give him refuge, so long as we are encamped at this pool. But when we leave, anyone will know which friend he seeks (i.e. the laws of refuge will be resumed). Al-Hithrubi went away and hid from the Jarba because they would tell who he was and became a neighbour of an 'Anizi camp. Nobody there knew what he wanted. There he was, a good-looking young man, and they had a sister who was also good-looking and they said: 'Perhaps he has spoken to her, and has come to live here because he wishes to marry her.' And when they used to bring the food at meal times, he would only take one or two mouthfuls and then rise and leave. And in the morning when their herds went out to graze he would go out to help them until the herdsman arrived (in the desert) then he would return. These 'Anizis, his hosts, said to their sister: 'Oh Fulāna⁷ /- Oh herdsman⁸ do not follow him, let her follow him. You stay here and let her follow him!' He wished to see whether al-Hithrubi was interested in the girl or what was wrong with him since they did not know what was wrong with him they kept asking him: 'What do you want?' In the same way as these hosts of yours might ask, but they know you and these people did not know him.⁹ They asked: 'What is it that you require, what do you want of us, you were not here (in camp) today?' Such questions as this, yes. He answered: 'Nothing at all!' Yes. When he went out with the camels she came up to him. The brother had said: 'You go up to him and say: "Khulaif sends his regards" (her brother).' He replied: 'Yes (what does he want).' She replied: 'Today the herdsman has gone away, so you go out with the camels until he arrives.' He said: 'Yes, if God wills.' The girl bought him his lunch. His food was only three mouthfuls. He would only take three mouthfuls and then decline the rest. She gave him his food, the three mouthfuls, and he said: 'Here is your food, now go back to your family.'¹⁰ She replied: 'No, my brother told me not to leave you.' The result was that she refused to go, so he went to the front of the herd and said: 'Then you stay with the pack-camels at the back of the herd.' She wanted him to come with her, but he refused so she followed him. When she followed him, he saw her coming, he tried to avoid her among the camels, but she crept up on him. When she crept up on him she said: 'Oh wretch, I am in love with you, but you avoid me.' And she jumped forward and tried to kiss him. And he, hit her with his staff and knocked out her tooth, when she jumped forward to kiss him. She took her tooth and wrapped it in her shawl, while the blood was still dripping from her lip. She came back and said to her brothers: 'Yes, this is the news, this is what

happened.' They said: 'He has some problem which he has not yet told us about.' When night came, he began to play on the viol, when the people were all asleep and there was no one with them. He recited this poem:

Oh Khalaf,¹¹ Oh my protector from fear
I have waited many days with your enquiries
Oh brother of Khulaif whose virtue is renowned
From both of you the birds of the air feed and fly away.¹²
Look to the plight of one who is like the bird Abu al-'Auf¹³
or like a sick man who is unable to eat.
By God, even if the girl with golden jewellery and beautiful
clothes came to me
What use would it be even were she intent on love.
The heart which is overcome by anger
refuses even the dates of al-Jauf mixed with cream.¹⁴
My only cure is Mufawwaz, the bravest of the companions
and noble
the hero of the horsemen even if they come to sandy or stony
ground.
I will attack him in full view cutting a way past his companions
and approach him among the men in the tent at the tent
door.
Either the white-skinned girls will clap for me (in celebration)
or they will sit awake over me while I sleep in death.
And if I cannot cool my heart of this anger,
By God, you must tattoo my face and leave me with the
women.

'Let me be tattooed like a woman.' They said: 'God take you, this is an easy matter. See that girl who looks after the horses. Put on her clothes and watch till he /—' Because he used to come to the pool and help his herdsman, his camel herd. He had taken refuge with the Jarba and Ibn Suwait had agreed that whoever commits a crime of violence we will turn him over to you. And when he approached him he looked like a woman coming on a horse towards them and when Mufawwaz was about to lift up the leather bucket and pour it into the trough to help them, al-Hithrubi stabbed him under the arm and cut downwards until he reached the small rib and his liver fell out on the side of the water trough. And he leapt onto the horse and fled to Ibn Hadhdhāl. When he arrived at Ibn Hadhdhāl's camp he dismounted and clasped Ibn Hadhdhāl's daughter between his arms and she took him under her protection and he was safe. She cried out: 'Father, he is under my protection.' He said:

'God curse your father, I have an agreement with the Jarba and I will turn him over to them.' 'But father,' she said, 'he has clasped me in his arms.'¹⁵ He said: 'My honour is more important than yours.' Al-Ĥithrubi leapt up onto one of Ibn Hadhdhāl's horses and fled to Ibn Suwaït and came to the little tent.¹⁶ The little tent was the guest tent. The master of the little tent at that time was Dughayyim. The Amīr was Dughayyim and his brother was sitting in council when suddenly the horsemen arrived, Dughayyim being at that time with his family. He did not know about the trouble and suddenly the Jarba had arrived in the tracks of al-Ĥithrubi, twenty horsemen in pursuit of him. Sulaimān rose and said: 'Oh Sufūg'¹⁷ (what do you want)' Sulaimān was the brother of Dughayyim of the Āl Suwaït. He replied: 'The man who dismounted at the little tent, his camels are over there beside the pure-bred white camels and the horse.' He said: 'No by God, even if you were to give me all the herds of the Āl Ḍhafīr, if anyone dishonours me I will kill him.' Then suddenly Dughayyim came to the uproar, on his way from his family. Up he came with his sword cradled in his arm: 'What has happened?' he said. Ṣufūg said: 'What is our agreement?' He said: 'Our agreement is that whoever dishonours you and comes to me for protection, I will turn him over to you.' He said: 'That man who is with you has dishonoured me.' He said: 'Where is he? I don't know which he is.' He said: 'In the little tent.' He said: 'The little tent? But the little tent did not make any agreement. The agreement is between you and me and nobody has yet come to me.' And he drew his sword and drove off the horsemen. And when al-Ĥithrubi heard this good news he began to recite:

Oh rider on a pure-bred dark camel which has not borne
 young¹⁸
 clean of limb¹⁹ and of a reddish hue
 If it was the fixing of the wheel of a well
 it would have fallen off its pin down the well and
 disappeared²⁰
 It arrives at the camp of the Ĥiblān,²¹ carriers of rumour
 to give the fugitives of their tents the news of this
 disgrace.
 No one remains of use except the Āl Suwaït
 Dughayyim stood in front of me with his sword drawn
 The Suwaït are not men of dubious ancestry
 How many a hill separated on all sides have they occupied²²
 By God they give pure bred mounts²³

with the saddle and bridle as a gift as well.
I sleep on the blade of a sword and have no fear
To the right of Zarūd²⁴ encamping by the sandy ground
I have not asked help of any man, for whom the problem was
not too much
except for Sa'dūn and I hold him dear.²⁵

He meant Sa'dūn ibn 'Urai'ir. 'Except for Sa'dūn,' he says, 'and I will not go to him.'

Text 4 Shayyūsh and the Shammar in northern Iraq (early 1800s)

by Nāyif ibn Ḥamūd al-Suwaiṭ

aššayyūš, aljarba fāris ḍaddōh gibīlat šismaham alii balḥawīzāh, al i'beid, u wašša liššayyūš. u kān aljarba tawwu ḥādrin min najd ugibīlitu alli mi'u ḍa'īfah u baḡa šīxat aljazīra ulā timakkan 'alyah min guwwat haḍōlak al i'beid alii agwa mnu. u wašša liššayyūš 'ala nn "indi dīrtin tayyibah wabēk tafza'-li 'ala halah.' u lifa 'alēh iššayyūš: 'hāh?' gāl: 'wallah 'indana li'beid wint tšūf ḍaddōna w lā 'indana gidratil-laham.' gāl: 'ya-ljarba nabi nta'āhad ana wiyyāk 'ala laxāwah alii nadirsah inn intināšifah nušš ana wiyyāk nuššin li aljazīrah u nuššin lak.' gāl: 'ya sā'a ya mbāraka.' ta'āhadaw 'ala harrāy hāḍa u mišaw 'alēh uḥārubaw li'beid u jallōham lalḥawīzāh waḍ'afōham lann šammar walḍufīr gibīltin ċibīrah. yōm ja lḥōl gāl: 'ya bn swēt waḷlah mā yistiwi šēxēn bdīrtin wiḥdah.' gāl: lā ya jarba, xaf aḷlah. 'idd alma'āhada lli bēnna wbēnak. int jibtini min dīrti minnāk 'ala halma'āhada hāḍi.' gāl: 'waḷlah mā 'indana mā min rāsēn bhiḍriyya.' ygūl ajjarba. gāl: 'zēn amma li wamma lak.' u tikāwinaw hu wiyyāw wiysawwi 'alēham lēlat jirjib. ysammūnah šammar lēlat jirjib. šammar ilā minhu tirāwa wāḥid minham, gāl: 'alayya lēlat jirjib.' u yashābham uyatba'ham rab'aham int yabn swēt uyagšid 'ād māni":

ya rācbin min 'indana fōg 'abbār
min nasil farḥa jāḍbīnin iḍrābah
yilfi lbēt fārsin ċinnh algār.

u éam fātrin 'ašša nnišāma fugārah
uḥinna swētātin 'ala lḥarb šabbār
winčān alma'ādi lḥarbina šabb nārah
uḥinna hal aljam' msabbil yā tār
miṭl addiba lcatfān yāta zzubāra

hādi lagwat iššayyūš.

Text 4 Translation

At the time of Shayyūsh, Fāris al-Jarba was opposed by that tribe at al-Ḥawīza, what is their name, al-'Ubaid. And he sent a message to Shayyūsh. And the Jarba had only just come down from Najd and his tribe that was with him was weak. He wanted to be shaikh of the Jazīrah,¹ but was not powerful enough because of the strength of those others, the 'Ubaid who were stronger than him. He sent a messenger to Shayyūsh saying: 'I have here a good dīra and I want you to come and help me against its people.' Shayyūsh came to his help: 'Hāh?' He said: 'Well, we have here al-'Ubaid who, as you see, have opposed us and we have no power against them.' He said: 'Oh Jarba, we will make an agreement on the basis of the tribute which we will consider that we will divide it in half, half of the Jazīrah to me and half to you.' He said: 'O blessed hour.' They came to an agreement on this plan and proceeded on that basis and fought the 'Ubaid and drove them away to Ḥawīza. They weakened them because Shammar and the Ḍhafīr together constitute a large tribe. When the new year came round he said: 'Oh Ibn Suwait, two shaikhs will not fit in one dīra.' He said: 'No, oh Jarba, fear God! Remember the agreement between us. You brought me from my dīrah far away on this agreement.' He said: 'We have no more agreement. You cannot have two heads in one hat.' The Jarba said this. He said: 'Good, either it will be yours or mine.' They fought a battle and he made them suffer the night of Jirjib. Shammar call it the night of Jirjib.² If one of them quarrels with another, he says: 'The night of Jirjib is upon me.' And Ibn Suwait utterly defeated their force and Māni' composed this poem:

Oh he who rides from us on a tireless camel
whose line has come all the way from Farḥa³
He comes to the tent of a horseman who stands like a rock⁴

How many times has he given the humps of young camels to
the guests to eat
We are the Suwait, patient in war
even if the enemy is inflamed against us
We the men of the raiding party ride onwards once we start⁵
like piled up young locusts striding across the hilltops.

This was the battle of Shayyūsh.

Text 5 Sultān and ibn Hadhdhāl (1860s)

by Nāyif ibn Ḥamūd al-Suwait

sultān ibn swēt, min jimlat ma sawwa, ta'āhad hu wibn haḍḍāl hēt inn dīrat
ibn swēt šārat māhi xušībah ma-bah rīf u dazz 'alēh u gāl: 'yīzbil ibn swēt
aḷḷa yḥayyīh. addīrah dīrtu.' u ta'āhad hu wiyyāw balmakātīb. ibn haḍḍāl
'indu bn šī'lān. wibn šī'lān mtizārbīn hu wiyyāw umtijāwzin hu wiyyāw. āl
ḍufīr yōm sam'aw inn ibn haḍḍāl mušhib ibn swēt killin dawwir bhalu
al'īšah. nzalaw 'ala bn haḍḍāl bḍīrt ibn haḍḍāl. u yanzil al'reifi d'eibīl ibn
bādi yanzil 'alēham. 'indu nyāgin maḡātīr walmaḡātīr zēnah ubkiṭ-rah.
uyanzil 'alyah, btaraf addīrah. uyšīl ibn haḍḍāl u yōm fuṭan lamman¹ albil
ziddāmu u yanzil 'alyah: 'min hu-lu halbil hāḍa?' gāl: 'walla halbil hāḍi
lid'eibīl ibn bādi mnāl ḍufīr uḥinna ya bnhaḍḍāl ibn swēt imta'āhdin int
wiyyāw.' gāl: 'waḷḷa hāḍi mā 'alyah 'ahad. nabi nāxḍah.' wuxḍāh ibn haḍḍāl.
d'eibīl ibn bādi riḥib ḍilūlu u nitaḥ libn swēt ibn swēt 'aṭturīzu: 'hā nya bn
bādi?' gāl: 'waḷḷah albil wuxḍat.² xadāh ibn haḍḍāl.' gāl: 'céf xadāh ibn
haḍḍāl wḥinna mta'āhdīn ḥinna wiyyāw?' gāl: 'waḷḷa xadāh.' gāl: 'waḷḷa ya
bn bādi ḥinna nabi nxasir-lak albil nabi nxasir-lak abā'-ark u ḥinna 'indana
'nizah mistādyā.' tistādi abā'ar mn āl ḍufīr. txabar yōm tsāḥabaw, wāḥid arsal
'ala wāḥid yistādūn min ḥalālaham alii mtuwāxḍīn gabul bizzimān alawwal
in / unclear / aššuhba. gāl: 'abaxasir-lak anniyāg.' gāl: 'lā waḷḷah, xasārti in
mā thayya niyāgiti mā abi xasārah.' gāl: 'ya 'nizah ibn haḍḍāl bāg 'alēna.
wintam alyom min istāda minkam istāda. walli mā stāda mā ḥinna mi'tinu
lōn.³ yaḷḷa sallimah li'nizah. u yankis yamm dīrtu ibn swēt. yōm wuṣal dīrtu
u hu yaṭwi albēt wiyšīl ysammūnah albadu šōla wiyšūl-lak⁴ 'alēh ma yadri

ibn haḏḏāl 'anah. mʾrabbi' ibn haḏḏāl u guwi. 'indu l'mārāt u 'indu ibn ši'lān.
mā futaṇ aḷḷa wibn swēt nāzlin 'alēh u yzaḥligu killu u tiji nyāg ibn bādi
killah brūsah. yagšid 'ād ibn bādi yōm jat anniyāg:

yšūg 'ēni yōm arā'i widīdi⁵
nārin baddija tiš'al ša"al.
tēr šalwa liḷjalāyil yšīdi
šādat drē'i wibn jandal u haḏḏāl
xalleit ḥuśša ya 'alābi lhureidi
ya ḥuśšitin mā gaḷḷabak kill dallāl
u hāḏi lbweiḏah taww wasmah jidīdi
ēḏa⁶ wlā lah mabrakin 'ind alandāl.

gāl-lu: 'min hu alandāl.' gāl: 'alli ybūg hu annaḏil.'

Text 5 Translation

Among the things which Sulṭān ibn Suwaīt did, was that he came to an agreement with ibn Hadhdhāl because the dīrah of ibn Suwaīt had become infertile, there was no grass there. And ibn Hadhdhāl sent a messenger to him saying: 'Let ibn Suwaīt approach. God's greeting to him, the dīrah is his own.' And they made an agreement in writing. At the same time with ibn Hadhdhāl was ibn Shi'lān, who had formed a marriage relationship with him.⁷ When the Āl Ḍhafīr heard that ibn Hadhdhāl had made peace with ibn Suwaīt, each person went out with his family in search of grazing.⁸ They encamped near ibn Hadhdhāl, in his dīrah. An 'Uraifi called Du'aibīl ibn Bādi also encamped near them who had a herd of white camels of the best type and in great numbers. He encamped with the herd near the dīrah (of ibn Hadhdhāl). Ibn Hadhdhāl was moving camp and suddenly saw the camels in front of him. 'Whose are these camels?' The people replied: 'These are the camels of Du'aibīl ibn Bādi of the Āl Ḍhafīr and you have come to a truce with ibn Suwaīt, Oh ibn Hadhdhāl.' He said: 'These camels are not concerned in the truce.⁹ We will take them.' And ibn Hadhdhāl took them. Du'aibīl ibn Bādi mounted his camel and rode off and met ibn Suwaīt on his way. 'Well, ibn Bādi, what has happened?' he asked. 'My camels have been taken,' he said. 'Ibn Hadhdhāl took them.' 'How did ibn Hadhdhāl take them when there is a truce between us?' He said: 'He just took them.' Ibn Suwaīt

said: 'Ibn Bādi, we will compensate you for your camels, since the 'Aniza are nearby and they return raided stock.' They would give back the raided stock of the Āl Ḍhafīr. As you know, when a truce was made, one side would send to the other asking for his camels back which had been taken before in the earlier time / unclear / friendship. He said: 'I will replace your camels.' But he replied: 'No, if my own white camels are not given back, I do not want compensation.' Ibn Suwaīṭ turned to the 'Aniza and said: 'Oh, 'Aniza, ibn Hadhdhāl has broken his word, and today all of you who have received raided stock from us have received it, but as for the rest we will not give them anything.' And he gave back the raided stock and went off back to his own dīrah. When he got to his dīrah he folded up his tent and moved off. The bedouins call it šōla, 'a surprise attack'. He made a surprise attack on ibn Hadhdhāl. Ibn Hadhdhāl did not know about it, he was in strength grazing on the spring vegetation, with him were the 'Amārāt and ibn Sha'lān. He knew nothing of it when suddenly ibn Suwaīṭ was upon him and swept up all the herds and brought back all of ibn Bādi's camels one by one. And ibn Bādi composed the following poem when his camels were returned:

My eye rejoices when I see my beloved¹⁰
 like a fire shining in the darkness.
 A speeding falcon taking only the best prey
 has defeated Durai'i, and ibn Jandal and Hadhdhāl.¹¹
 I had left behind Ḥuṣṣa,¹² oh long-necked ones like ostriches¹³
 Ḥuṣṣa who had not been deceived by any broker¹⁴
 And this white skinned one has only just been branded
 and does not kneel near those without honour.

They asked him: 'Who are the people without honour?' He said: 'Whoever breaks his word is without honour.'

Text 6 Sultān and ibn Sha'lān (1860s)

by Muṭni ibn Mijwi al-Khāldi

assālfā hādī kān ibn š'ēlān¹ 'ala bn mindīl 'ala halna u ḥāl bēnaham atṭrād
 uḍbiḥaw sultān ibn mindīl. ḍbiḥu sultān ibn š'ēlān ulaw innaham miẓfīn

walxēl titārad ulawinna² lāh̄zin sultān ibn swēt hu ufaz'atu u yōm wuṭa l̄harīm ilyā l̄siyāh 'ind albēt. gāl: 'rih ya flān bah̄hir minhu alli maḍbūhin mnal'umūr.' al'umūr hinna. 'halli yšīhin al(l)harīm 'alēh.' u yōm ja wila hu sultān ibn mindīl alamīr 'ala mā zīl.³ ja gāl: 'ya sultān almaḍbūh sultān.' gāl: 'sultān?' gāl: 'sultān!' u yōm jāham alxēl tiẓfi utiẓbil nōbin miẓfin-baham nōbin miẓiblīn. gāl: 'wēn alii jida' sultān yā hal alxēl?' gālaw: 'jdi'u halxayyāl haḍāk.' u yōm gāl: 'jdi'u alxayyāl haḍāk.' yxayyil 'alēh u yaḍribu lē jād'u. yōm ḍribu u jdi'u cīnnu y'arif innu sultān. gāl: 'takfa yā sultān xallini 'ala mā-bi.' gāl: 'waḷḷa xal yšl̄hin ašš'ēliyāt 'alēk miṭil ma yšīhin al'umriyāt 'ala sultān.' u hu yḍac̄c̄ih. ygūlūn 'ād ba'ad:

sultān ḍibaḥ sultān ibsultān yā zeid
xaḍ alguḍa bē⁴ jāru wistarāhi

killaham attalāta asāmīham sultān wāl mindīl jīrānin lasswēt lākan ana ma'rif mnah aḷḷa hal cālmitēn hāḍalli.

Text 6 Translation

This story is about ibn Sha'lān who was against ibn Mindīl, against our people,⁵ and a battle took place between them and they killed Sultān ibn Mindīl. Sultān ibn Sha'lān killed him and they were retreating back and the horses were charging against each other and suddenly Sultān ibn Suwaīt and his followers arrived and when he arrived at the tents of the women he heard the cries of the women near the tent. He said: 'Go and see who it is that has been killed of the 'Umūr.' We are the 'Umūr. 'See who it is that the women are crying over.' And when he came he saw that it was Sultān ibn Mindīl, the Amīr as one might say. He came and said: 'Oh Sultān, the one killed is Sultān.' He said: 'Sultān?' They said: 'Yes, Sultān.' And when he came to them the horses were charging back and forth, at one time charging towards them and at another charging back. He said: 'Where is the one who struck down Sultān, oh horsemen?' They said: 'This horseman struck him down.' He rode at him and struck him until he knocked him to the ground. When he struck and knocked him down, it seems that ibn Sha'lān knew who he was. He cried out: 'Please, oh Sultān, leave me with the wound which I have.' He said: 'Let the Sha'lān women cry over you as the 'Umūr women cry over

Sulṭān.' And he struck him the death blow. After this they recited the following poem:

Oh Zaid, Sulṭān killed Sulṭān because of Sulṭān.
He took revenge for his neighbour and his anger cooled.

All three of them were called Sulṭān and the Āl Mindīl were neighbours of the Āl Suwaīt, but I only know these few words of the poem.

Text 7 Nāyif's war with ibn 'Urai'ir; the story of the horse Miti'ba (1880s)

by Muḥammad ibn Sa'dūn al Suwaīt

hāḍi sālfat nāyif ibn swēt hu wibn 'rē'ir yōm yithārbōn gabul hukm āl s'ūd.
kān ibn 'rē'ir yabi ibn swēt u arsal-lu mandūb xid'atin libn swēt, nāyif. gāl:
'ruḥ libn swēt min šān innuh ilyā sa'alk tigūl: "ana bayyā"' yibī' aḡgrāḍ 'ind
mā ḥawwal 'ala bn swēt, gāl: 'šint mnen jīt yā walad?' gāl: 'waḷḷa ana bayyā'.
'mnēn jīt:' gāl: 'waḷḷah ana jīt mnalḥasa.' gāl: "āyant ibn 'rē'ir?" gāl: 'waḷḷah
'āyant ibn 'rē'ir ḥāssinah 'alēh dahar u ḥalālu mujrib u ḥāltu šēnah.' wiskit ibn
'rē'ir u ṭir minham w-injiḍi¹ bhāk aššijara. wa 'ind ma xadā-lu šwayya jāham
yamši gāl: 'l'yā walad ana nāsidk ḥallah, mā gāl-lak ibn 'rē'ir: "ilā jīt ibn swēt
gul-lu inn ḥalālu mudhir u ḍārbu jarab ḥitt-innu mā yadri 'anna n'adi 'alēh
mi² itark.'" gāl: 'lā waḷḷah šahēh³ ya bn swēt.' gāl ibn swēt: 'yaḷḷah! lal'arab
'yaḷḷah šīlu!' u ham yšīlūn al'arab wiysawwiṭ irrā'i miti'bah ilfreid rnn ālḍufir
farasin⁴ tayyibah. gāl: 'int tag'id balmuruḥ⁵ u tišubb annērān ḥitta ilā ḍahar
'alēk ibin 'rē'ir ygūl al'arab mā rāḥaw u lā jāham 'ilm niḍar.' u yišubb allēl
uyamši 'ala halmuruḥ yišubb annērān.⁶ yōm ḍahar 'alēham ibn 'rē'ir lā waḷḷah
annērān šābba wannās ibmaḥallah. yōm itla'at aššams / gabul taṭla' aššams
wila lmaḡerah⁷ 'alēh mḡert ibn 'rē'ir, alxēl jayyin mnalḥasa. yōm riḥib alfaras
wilkidah⁸ wil-hi mugti ya'ni mā tibūl almugti. hu rā' alfaras alfreid, frusu
aḡtat. idā šārat mugti alfaras ya'ni mā tgīr abdan. yōm jōh: 'hā ya walad wiš
int?' gāl: 'waḷḷah ana adawwir-li nāḡitin rja'at xalūj 'ala wlidah.' 'wēn al'arab?'
gāl: 'waḷḷa l'arab šaddaw ams w-agfaw min hāḍa.⁹ gāl-luh: 'u yadrī- bina

al'arab?' gāl: 'waḷḷa mādrī tīgīl¹⁰ jayyham 'ilm niḍar u tīgīl jayyham šayy lākan šāl ibn swēt w-inḥadar.' gāl: 'irībūh, irībūh ma' aḥad al'abīd haḍōla. xallūh bimhalūbitu!' mā yadri 'anah innah faras alfreid miti'bah. riīb alfreid ma' ridif hāk al'abd. waḷḷa yōm xaḍa šwayy lā waḷḷah mtallitu ilfaras. tallitu baḥḥisan. tallit¹¹ aḥḥisan mnuh u wgufat u hi tbūl 'ala lgaṭi. ilā šār mā tbūl alfaras tigṭa mā tamši mā thaḍub yōm bālat u xluṣat u xaḍa ljlāl wijdi'u wirāb 'alyah. wiygūm yihaḍub u yimurr aššēx gāl: 'ibn 'rē'ir ana asallim 'aleik. ana alfreid u 'ala miti'bah 'uhu yalkidah ygīr. yaḷḷah yā hal alxēl. ham yaṭirdūnuh u ṭird uṭird min ṭal'at aššams lēma ja ḍḍuhur. u 'ajzaw yaḷḥagūnu xēl ibn 'rē'ir abdan. hāḍi alli muṣlaxitin yidah min xēl ibn 'rē'ir u hāḍi alli jādi'tin rā'yah u hāḍi mitmalxitin īdēnah mn arrikiḍ. u xarribham xarāb. u yōm ja bn swēt win-hu nāzlin. gal: 'ibn swēt, ibn 'rē'ir mā ḥālak ḥālu. alyōm min ṭla'at aššams lēma ja ḍḍuhur u ham yaṭirdūn-bi lākan sarriḥ! sarriḥ! waḷḷa mā 'ād yijik ibn 'rē'ir. sarriḥ!' ibn 'rē'ir yōm rja'at xēlu 'alēh mā gḍubaw alfreid, gāl: 'yaḷḷah ankafna!' uhu yinkif liblādu uhāḍi sāifat ibn 'rē'ir wibn swēt 'ajiz 'anu rija' liblādu u salāmakk.

Text 7 Translation

This is the story of Nāyif ibn Suwaiṭ and ibn 'Urai'ir when they were at war before the rule of the Āl Sa'ūd. Ibn 'Urai'ir intended to raid ibn Suwaiṭ and he sent one of his men to him in order to trick ibn Suwaiṭ, Nāyif. He said: 'Go to ibn Suwaiṭ, so that if he asks, you can say you are a merchant' selling wares. When he arrived at the camp of ibn Suwaiṭ, he asked him: 'Who (lit. what) are you and where have you come from, lad?'¹² He said: 'Well, I am a merchant.' 'Where have you come from?' He said: 'Well, I have just arrived from al-Ḥasa.' He said: 'Did you see ibn 'Urai'ir?' He said: 'Well I saw ibn 'Urai'ir and noticed that this year he has suffered a drought and his herds are suffering from mange and he is in a miserable state.' Ibn Suwaiṭ became silent and stood up and went and sat down leaning against a tree. When he had stayed there a while he came walking towards them and said: 'Lad, I adjure you by God to tell me, didn't ibn 'Urai'ir instruct you: "If you come to ibn Suwaiṭ's camp, say that my herds are drought stricken and attacked by mange, so that he will not know that we are going to attack him hard on your tracks." He said: 'No, by God, it is true, ibn Suwaiṭ.' 'Let's go!' said ibn

Suwait to the 'arabs. 'Let's go, move camp!' and the 'arabs moved off and he called to the owner of Miti'ba (the Tírer) who was one of the Āl Dhafír called al-Furaíd.¹³ Miti'ba was one of their good horses. He said to him: 'You stay at the campsites and light up the fires so that if ibn 'Urai'ir appears he will think the 'arabs have not gone and no warning has come to them.' So he lit up the fires and walked about the camp fires. When ibn 'Urai'ir appeared, he saw that, by God, the fires were alight and the people seemed to be in their places. When the sun rose / before the sun rose there was the raiding party of ibn 'Urai'ir charging down upon them, coming from al-Ḥasa. When al-Furaíd mounted the horse and spurred it on he found that it was in retention which means it could not stale. Al-Furaíd was the owner of Miti'ba. His horse/if a horse is in retention it cannot gallop at all. When they got to him (they said): 'Well lad who are you?' He said: 'I am looking for a she-camel which has strayed back looking for her calf.' 'Where are the 'arabs?' He said: 'Well, the 'arabs moved off yesterday and went away from here.' He said: 'And do the 'arabs know about us (coming)?' He said: 'Well I don't know, but it seems that they have had some warning or something but anyway ibn Suwait has moved camp and gone down country' (towards the Euphrates).¹⁴ He said: 'Mount him up, mount him with one of those slaves. Put him on his own nag!' He didn't know that the horse was Miti'ba the horse of al-Furaíd. Al-Furaíd mounted up behind the slave. By God, when they had gone on a slight distance, No, by God, the horse pulled at him, it pulled the reins from his hand and stopped and staled after having been in retention. If a horse cannot stale it cannot move and cannot gallop. When it had staled and finished, he took the reins and threw off the slave and mounted up and galloped off and passed by the shaikh and said: 'Ibn 'Urai'ir, my greetings to you. I am Furaíd mounted on Miti'ba,' and he spurred it on and galloped off. The horsemen charged after him chasing him. They chased and chased from sunrise until noon came. They were unable to catch him up, the horsemen of ibn 'Urai'ir, absolutely! This horse had skinned its foot, this one had thrown its rider and this one had twisted its ankle, of ibn 'Urai'ir's horses. He completely ruined them. When he got to ibn Suwait he found them making camp. He said: 'Oh ibn Suwait, ibn 'Urai'ir's condition is not like yours. They have been chasing me today from sunrise till noon arrived. But (don't worry) spread out and graze the herds, ibn 'Urai'ir will not come any longer. Spread out and graze!' When ibn 'Urai'ir's horsemen came back he saw that they had not caught al-Furaíd. He said: 'Let's go, we are going back!' And he went

back to his own country (al-Ḥasa) and this is the story of ibn 'Urai'ir and ibn Suwait. He gave up the idea of fighting them and went back to his country. Your health!

Text 8 Nāyif and the Ṣlubi poet ibn Sakta (1880s)

by Nāyif ibn Ḥamūd al-Suwait

hāḍa 'ala zimān nāyif ibn swēt ākān ibn haḍḍāl 'ala qismin min āl ḍufīr
wiysammūn maṭli'ah guṣīdah ysammūnh aššēxa lākan ana ma a'arif illa
mūjizin mnah lākan ygūl:

'abadrā'a yxalli 'ala ddār
gīṭa' ḥalāl miḥimra walmasāmīr'

ṭab'an innahu¹ annās mā ṭibb wāḥid yimdaḥ² 'ala ttāni, aku rajjālīn
ysammūnu daxīl ibn sakta. rāḥ yamm ibn haḍḍāl u guṣad-bu guṣīdah
yamdaḥu. ba'dēn jat ittaṣilat lāl swēt. gālaw: 'kēf rajjālīna yirūḥ yamm ibn
haḍḍāl u yamdaḥ ibn haḍḍāl 'alēna. in allah jābu ḍibaḥnāw.' ibn sakta mā-lu
muxliṣin lāl swēt rajjālīl-laham³ xāṣṣ. u rumat-bu haddinya w jāham. ēh! gāl:
'walla ana jayyin abīkam taḍbaḥūni. ana simi't innakam nāḍrīn 'alayy
taḍbaḥūni, idbiḥūni!' gālaw ba;ḍ annās, šīxān allī balmajlis, gālaw: 'yā ibn
sakta 'aṭna mraḍḍiya!' giṣad ibn sakta:

'yaḷḷah yalli middakk mā-lha⁴ ṭmān
yā xālzin lēlin tigaffa nahārah
yā xālzin baddaw 'išbin u gīdrān
u fyāḍīn miṭl azzuwāli ḥamārah
min mizintin baṭrāfha tigil ḍayyān
taiga zzubeidi šāyxin balgarārah
naḥart ibn haḍḍāl wana jwei'an
waljū' bagṣa lgalb ṭāwin ṣdārah
wa 'aṭāni lmagsūm bē-waṣṭ⁵ dīwān
u tarast 'idli ma xasarna xasārah
u taiga li'māri waḍḍufīri balakwān
u min ḍall hāk alyōm bēha⁵ nyārah
walli ḥaḥā-lak ubu snētān ḥaḍḍāb
ummu w-ubwayyu bē⁵-mawāzīd nārah

w-aṭni kalāmi lmin tuwaḥḥa bdīwān
'amāmi miṭl saṭrat ḥarārah
mā tḍūf ridnin min almadārī' sakrān
xaṭw⁶ alwalad ribḥin blayya xasārah.
'ala ḥnēfa tidwi dwāy šēhān
talḥag ilā ṭāl almida 'ugub ḡarah.'

smahō-lu 'ugub halguṣīdah. u ygūl ba'ad ibn sakta:

'rīcbin min 'indana fōg ḥurrah
mirbā'aha 'išb alfiyāḍ alḥuwāsīr.
wilā ḍara'tah balmiš'āb kōrin tifurrah
miṭl algiṭāt alli xaṭafha waḥaš ṭēr
u tilfi 'ala nāyif whūb almaḡarrah
walkōn balḡarrāt bah alḡarābīl
u gām aṣṣa'ab yarṭa bšēlu wiyjurrah
u tūḥi nnaxāwi ma' 'ajāj adda'āṭīr
u 'iyāl ubu ridin baham kill marrah
xiyyālt algarwah 'ala ššarr walxēr
win šār 'ind igṭiyyihin kill šarrah⁷
miṭl aḍḍaḡāyim bassyūf aššamāšīl.
kam wāḥdin bassēf rāsu yṭurrah
u dājan 'aleh m'askarat almasāmīr
murṭ igṭi Hi lihin almabarrah
miṭl alḥamām lā ta'āṣaf 'ala bīr.'

Text 8 Translation

This was in the time of Nāyif ibn Suwaiṭ when ibn Hadhdhāl attacked a group of the Āl Ḍhafīr and (a poem was composed about it), the beginning of which, the poem, they call The Shaikha', but I only know an excerpt from it in which he says:

He left Aba Dhrā'a sitting at the tent door
and divided the herds of the Mihimra and Masāmīr.⁸

Obviously people do not like someone to be praised at the expense of someone else. There was a man called Dakhīl ibn Sakta⁹ who went to ibn Hadhdhāl and composed a poem in praise of him. Then the news of the poem reached the Āl Suwaiṭ who said: 'How can our man go to ibn

Hadhdhāl and praise him at our expense. If God brings him, we will kill him.' Ibn Sakta had no /– he was sincere to the Āl Suwayt and was their man exclusively. Things turned out in such a way that he came to them. Yes! He said: 'I have come and I want you to kill me. I have heard that you have sworn to kill me, so kill me!' Some people, shaikhs at the majlis said: 'Ibn Sakta give us (a poem) in appeasement!' Ibn Sakta composed the following poem:

Oh God whose time is unlimited
Oh creator of night followed by day
Creator of grass and rain-pools in the desert
and hollows in which the flowers shine red like carpets
From rain clouds which seem lit up at their edges,
You find truffles growing higher than the hollows.
I went to ibn Hadhdhāl when I was hungry
and hunger was twisting itself in the depths of my stomach.
He gave me my portion in front of the assembly
and I filled my purse without any loss to us.
And when you find the 'Amāri¹⁰ and the Dhafīri at war
Flee from the fear of that day!
Whoever spoke to you, Oh Abu Sunaitān,¹¹ was a liar
and his mother and father are in the fires of hell.
And I turn my poem to those who listen in the dīwān
My uncles¹² are like a row of hawks
Do you not see Ridin¹³ drunk with war,
Many a boy is only profit, no loss.
On Hunaifa who rushes like a hawk
and catches up the charge even if the way is far.

They forgave him after this poem. And ibn Sakta also composed the following:

O rider from us on a pure-bred camel
grazed on the grass of the verdant hollows,
If you touch it with the riding stick, it makes the saddle twirl,¹⁴
as the duck falls when struck by the wild falcon.
Riding towards Nāyif, who attacks by surprise
in attacks that make the heart tremble
Even the brave man begins to run and drag away his belongings
And you hear the battle-cries in the dust from the horse ranks
The sons of Abu Ridin are there every time
the riders of Garwah¹⁵ in good or evil times.

And when a battle occurs on horseback
they are like lions with their light swords.
How many a head have they sent spinning with their swords,
the nail-shoed¹⁶ horses turning round about.
Hairless-backed horses, well cared for
like the pigeons twirling round above a well.

Text 9 Nāyif and the disaffection of Māni' ibn Suwayṭ (1880s)

by Nāyif ibn Ḥamūd al-Suwayṭ

'ala dōr nāyif, māni' jannu ba'ārīn min ḥarb. gibīlat ḥarb taḥat mḥammad ibn rašīd u mḥammad ibn rašīd ibzimānu ḥākīm u bēnuh u bēn nāyif ibn swēṭ ma'āhadah 'ala innaham mā yūkal¹-laham ḥalāl. ba'dēn jann alba'ārīn 'ind māni' w-ašār 'alēh nāyif ibn swēṭ gāl: 'yā māni' amma tiddi lba'ārīn libn rašīd wamma tintiziḥ 'an dīratna, tiṣīr bgēr gibīlah ḥattan nta'addar nigūl: "ab'ad yamm algibīlt alflāniyya mūhu 'indana. mū-hu bḥukmina," u šāl u nizal 'ind mṭēr u yōm nizal 'ind mṭēr gāmaw ytiḡāmizōn-bu uhu rajjālin ṭayyib mā ydāni šwayy addaḡt. gālāw: 'hāda jāna māni' mijrim libn rašīd u mijrim libn swēṭ.' mā gālō-lu lākan sam'ah. yōm sam'ah u yatwi bētu wyšīl. aṣṣubh yaṭwi bētu wiyšīl u yanzil 'ala bn swēṭ wiyiddī-laham hāḍi lguṣīdah:

rācbin min fōg ḥamrin ridūmi
fītrin daharha min ḡarībāt alajnās
tilfī libn farraj min 'ugub nōmi
algarm wald algarm fakkāk alamrās
'an dīrt alḥigrān ḥinna nišūmi
u ḡaddāy faḡš attōm mā fakk-lu nās
ḥinna nanḥir alii yḥamlūn zūmi
wilyā ḥamalna zumaham mā-bah bās.
u rjāl rab'i bilmajālis cītūmi
wal'agul waṣṭ arbā'aham cīl biḡyās
wḥinna za'alna bēnna balxšūmi
w'ala lma'ādi min xibīṭīn aladwās
yatlūn nāyif mitl ḥurr arrijūmi
'ala rudī addēd miscīnh alkās

walli darab ibmuxlibu mā ygūmi
'alaf 'alēh aṭṭēr farxin u žirnās.

wismaḥō-lu balba'ārin. simaḥ-lu ḥatta bn rašīd bihin.

Text 9 Translation

In the time of Nāyif, Māni'² acquired some camels from Ḥarb. The tribe of Ḥarb were under Muḥammad ibn Rashīd, and in his time Muḥammad ibn Rashīd was a ruler of the territory and he had an agreement with Nāyif ibn Suwaiṭ preventing mutual raiding. Then Māni' acquired these camels and Nāyif ibn Suwaiṭ indicated to him that he should either give back the camels to ibn Rashīd or move away from their dīrah and stay with another tribe so that they could excuse themselves and say: 'He has gone away to such and such a tribe and is no longer with us. He is not under our jurisdiction.' He moved away and encamped with the Muṭair. When he settled with the Muṭair they began to joke about him. He was a man of strong character and would not put up with pressure. They said: 'Here is Māni' come to us, a criminal in the eyes of ibn Rashīd and a criminal in the eyes of ibn Suwaiṭ.' They didn't say this to him openly, but he heard about it. When he heard it, he folded up his tent and moved camp. The next morning he folded up his tent and moved away. And he encamped near ibn Suwaiṭ and presented him with this poem:

'Oh rider on a well-fattened red camel
Slender³ along the back a wonder of creation
Going towards ibn Farrāj⁴ after I slept
Hero of the heroes solver of all problems
We are leaving the land of wretched men
The man who feeds both new born twin⁵ camels helps no one
We go to he who is patient with our problems
And if we are also patient with his, all is well.
My companions are taciturn⁶ in council
And intelligence is well measured among them
Disagreements amongst us are taken easily⁷
but on the enemy we stamp fiercely.
We follow Nāyif, the falcon of the cairns
Weaned on the cup of war from a suckling babe

One struck by his talons rises no more
The birds feed on him young and old.'

And they forgave him for the camels. Even ibn Rashīd forgave him for them.

Text 10 The raid of the 'Aniza on the Bani Khālīd under Nāyif (1880s)

by Muṭni ibn Mijwi al-Khāldi

nāzlin ahalna bfēdt addāyir. addāyir dīrah fēdah balḥijara u ja bn haddāl mi'u
arba' māyat xayyāl 'āhdin 'ala halna yabēham. ṭaraḥ-lu 'abdin min 'abīdana
'ind aṣṣluba, min 'abīdana ḥinna gudīb u gdubōh. gāl: 'hāh, hinna mā-ḥinna
ḡēr /- 'arabna mā-ham 'indana. aṣlan mā ḡēr /- mā yiji xamsta'aš xayyāl bass,
'arabna mā-ham ḥādrīn. lākin alḥīna bass ḥinna alḥamūla 'ala māzīl.'
'allimōh aṣṣluba gāl al-'abd: 'cinna-' gāl: 'mā txasa timan almiliḥ.' gāl:
'sanamham ygūlūn-li mā ḡēr xamsta'aš rajjāl' ygūlu. gāl: 'mā yaḥtāj
xamst'ašar xayyāl lākin wallah incān 'amāmi 'ala-lli ana xābir itjannib¹
assābōr mā tšūfu.' willa hu yāxid almiš'āb u ya-dribu al'abd ilā ḡād almiš'āb
'a-rās al'abd igṭa'. u yōm ja l'īd, 'īd a ddaḥiyya uhu yṣabbiḥham. u yōm
ṣabbaḥham u ham y'īnaham aḷḷah u yirībūnham 'alēh yiji kōnin mā yḥadurh
aṣṣidīz. wiyjannibūn azzamāmīr ēh yjannibūn azzamāmīr wiyriddūnah.
yasirdūn ibn haddāl saridtin mā jarat wilā mēr ba'ad 'arabna ma'addufīr
ḥadir. jāham alxabar. gālāw: 'ibn haddāl aḡār 'ala bn mindīl w-axadu.' wilā
mēr wāḥdin minham yōm gām aḷḷah yijīrak yḥirr u ymirr. u hu šā'ir, dḡayyim
assīrbil. dḡayyim yōm axad al'ilm yijīh. gāl: 'ababšīr 'amāmak, sridaw ibn
haddāl widbiḥōh u sālmīn.' gām yal'ab:

'ya wanniti wannat judī' alwusayid
walla ṣuwībin ḡāyd alkasr balḥēl
abṭeit mā jāni maradd arrasāyil
'ulūmin tijamma'-li 'ala ḡēr taḥsīl
ya rāḡbin min fōg sittin jalāyil
kubār almaḥāṣīl killihin kannisin ḥīl
'alēhin min ywaṣṣi kalāmin mẓādi
waṣṣal manāx aljēš bēt ibn mindīl.

ya wāyli mā jakk 'ulūm algubāyil
 fi'lin ygūd alwajh gōlaha ilā žīl
 hādi 'alēkam min kubār alfašāyil
 jumū' ksarakkam bass xamsat rayājīl
 'umūrāt lā račbaw surūj alašāyil
 ḥarībaham yasči madarraḥ rīnalmēl
 min darb xayyālin ysawwi hawāyil
 lamma tarayya' jallaha lilmažāḥīr
 u minham libin š'ēlān yanhaj masāyil
 y'allmah balli jara battafāšīl
 walbil šibāḥah ma' almaxālīz ṭāyil
 talga ddibāyiḥ min warāḥ almišācīl.'

dibāyiḥ albil almišācīl gabul. hādi ibn haddāl yōm yġīr 'ala halna. ibn š'ēlān
 mġīrīn 'alēham mitl al'ām u sārdīnu ba'ad. hdūdana /-halna 'ind albil gabul
 laham hadd. 'ind albil bxatah. waḷḷa rjāl. minham w-aṭyab. assālfā hādi 'ala
 šīxat nāyif. šēx bini xālid hāk a(l)ḥīn ibn mindīl, salmān.

Text 10 Translation

Our people (the Bani Khālīd) were encamped at Faiḍhat al-Dayir. Al-Dāyir is a camping place, a faidḥa (hollow) in the Ḥa ajara² and ibn Hādhḥal came with four hundred horsemen intending to raid them. He caught one of our slaves wiṣḥ the Sluba and made him captive. He (the slave) said: 'Yes, we are only /- our tribesmen are not with us. There are only fifteen horsemen here. Our tribesmen are not present, now there are only the shaikhly family as one might say.' The sluba told himā (ibn Hadhdhal) this news and he said: 'You are not worth a grain of salt they tell me that there are only fifteen worthwhile men³ among you.' He said: 'It would not need even fifteen men. If my masters are still as I know them they would ride off your best men before you even saw thām.' Ibn Hadhdhal took his camel stick and hit the slave so hard on the head that the stick broke. When the Festival of the Sacrifice came round he attacked them. When he attacked them, God assisted them and they mounted a force against him and there was a battle such that you would not wish your friend to be there. And they separated out his best camels and took them away. They inflicted a defāat on ibn Hadhdhal such as had never happened before. And at the time some of our tribesmen were dowḍ-īounry with the Dhafir. The news came to them that: 'Ibn

Hadhdhāl attacked ibn Mindīl and defeated him.' And one of them, God protect you, began to act in a worried fashion. He was a poet by the name of Dughayyim al-Sirbil. But then at last a messenger said: 'I wish to give good news to your masters; they defeated ibn Hadhdhāl and killed him and they are all well.' Then he began to play on the viol and recite:

'I moaned like a man confined to bed,
or a man wounded with a grievous wound.
For a long time no answer came to our enquiries
except snatches of news collected without support.
O six riders on strong mature camels
Large well-fed mounts all of them strong camels who have
not borne young
Among them one who brings sure tidings,
brings it to the camel herds at the tent of ibn Mindīl
O son of Wāyil⁴ have you not heard the news of the tribes
a deed which shames the heart to tell
This is a great dishonour for you
That you were defeated by only five⁵ men.
When the 'Umūr⁶ mount the saddles of their pure-bred horses
Their lances complain of being badly bent
From the blows of horsemen who strike fear,
When they took back the best camels to the herd.
And a messenger goes back from them to ibn Shi'ailān
telling them of what occurred in detail.
The appearance of the camels is like that of the men⁷
and you find the brave men dead on their account.'

In the former times brave men would die for their camels. This was when ibn Hadhdhāl attacked our people. And then ibn Shu'ailān attacked them like the previous year and they defeated him also. Previously our people had great luck with camel raiding. They had luck with camels. By God they were men, and even better. This story was at the time of Nāyif. The Shaikh of the Bani Khālīd at that time was Salman ibn Mindīl.

Text 11 The slaying of Dhāri (1912)

by Nāyif ibn Ḥamūd al-Suwaīt

hāda ṭāl 'umrak ibn mindīl, 'abdallāh jārin lāl swēt 'ala dōr snētān. 'abdallāh šēx bini xālid jārin libn swēt u 'indu. yadhar yōmin mnalayyām ġaza, u hu rajjāl fih xēr u 'agīd w-amīr gōm u ġaza mi'u dāri ibn snētān u yōm innaham ġazaw yadhar innaham imtizā'līnin fī mġazāham, imtizā'līnin bēnaham atnēn. walākan ya'ni lamman lifaw lal'arab ibn mindīl lā gāl: 'ana z'alt ana w-dāri.' u dāri mā gāl: 'ana z'alt ana w ibn mindīl.' dall assakta wmā-ḥad yadri 'anu. yōmin mnalayyām sayyar ibn mindīl 'ala imudif w-idirbu yā dāri w-idbiḥu. drubu dāri 'ala za'alham alli bēnaham alawwal alli mā yidra¹ 'anu. u yōm lifat bāl swēt. gālaw: 'hādi yastirna-mnah, aḷḷa nadbaḥ dāri bmukān 'abdallāh.' gām 'alēḥ ḥmūd bassēf widbiḥu,² 'ammak ya dāri uxūk yā snētān.³ ḥmūd u snētān axwān 'yāl nāyif hadōla. famattalat hal 'arab 'ala dabḥat haššaxš hāda kēf ya'ni waladham yadbaḥūnu 'ind jāraham. arsalaw 'ala bn mindīl. gāl: 'waḷḷa ana ḥalāl māabi hādi sārāt algašš balgašš, ḥukum šar'i. wana aba'irk ibn swēt akarrimkam-bah. mā abyah. hinna gniyyln wlā nabi abā'ir lākan ḥinna nḥasib-inna minkam antam⁴ ya rūs alamwāl. u hāḍi z'alatna šwayy waḷḷa šārāt mā tadrūn 'anah u dibaḥtu dāri bmukān 'abdallāh mā nabi šayy. xalaš.'

Text 11 Translation

O Long of Life,⁵ ibn Mindīl, 'Abdallah was a neighbour of the Āl Suwaiṭ, in the time of Sunaitān.⁶ 'Abdallah was the shaikh of the Bani Khālid a neighbour of ibn Suwaiṭ and encamped near him. It appears that one day he went on a raid and he was a man of ability and a leader, a man with followers. With him went Ḍhāri ibn Sunaitān and during the raid it appears that they had a disagreement over the loot, they disagreed between the two of them. But when they returned to their tribesmen, ibn Mindīl did not say: 'I have quarrelled with Ḍhāri' and Ḍhāri did not say: 'I have quarrelled with ibn Mindīl.' They remained silent and nobody knew about it. One day ibn Mindīl came to the guest tent and Ḍhāri struck him and killed him. Ḍhāri struck him because of that quarrel which was between them which no one knew about. And when the news got back to the Āl Suwaiṭ, they said, 'Nothing can protect us from this, unless we kill Ḍhāti in place of 'Abdallah.' Hamud⁷ attacked him with his sword and killed him. He was the uncle of Ḍhāri, the brother of Sunaitān. Hamūd and Sunaitān were brothers, sons of Nāyif. And

the 'arabs made a parable of the death of this person and that the Āl Suwaiṭ had killed one of their own people in revenge for their neighbour. They sent a messenger to ibn Mindīl and he said: 'I do not want flocks (in recompense). This is blow for blow a ruling by the Sharī'a (Islamic law) and I give you back the camels that you offer me as a gift Oh ibn Suwaiṭ. I do not want them. We are rich and do not need camels and we consider ourselves as part of you and you are the only wealth we need. And this was just a quarrel between us which you did not know about and you killed Ḍhāri in revenge for 'Abdallah. We do not want anything else. It is finished.'

Text 12 The war between Ḥamūd and ibn Sa'dūn and the death of 'Ugūb (1909)

'ala zmān ḥmūd ibn swēṭ hu walmintifiṣ tināḥsaw u ṣār bēnaham su tafāhim bēn ḥmūd ibn swēṭ šēx āl dufīr u bēn si'dūn šēx almintifiṣ. si'dūn yabi almaṣyax l'āmmah waldufīr daddōh. ibn swēṭ daddu. gāl; 'int mālak masṣaxa fī halmantṭga haāi. laāim masṣaxakk min aṣṣaṭṭ u ġād.' hāda wiṣ sawwa, 'ala zimān ibn sibhān / ibn rašīd, arkab jēš u yamm ibn sibhān u naxāw u sā'du 'ala sswēt. wāl swēt ma yadrūn ya'ni sirriyyan dazṣ u yōm innaham nzalaw bjraybi'āt, moug'in bitwāl aldufīr wilā bērag ibn rašīd 'alēham mbaxšišīnu biflūs, willa ā rasšī beēham u benēn ā sweē sudaāa. u yoō innaham nawuxaw wlaāmeē albeēag zṣddaāham wilaā bērag in si'dū. wyirēbuú aāl swēṭ yḥḥwwilun 'ala birrašīd gāl: "ād intam nabi nwaddīkam amm ibn si'duū." z'alat sšmmar. awal ma a'al ibinjibrīn 'abdah. akttr z'alat abdah wibn ṭwālah mi'ham. gālaw: 'yā bn sibhān ant jibt āl swēṭ u nawwaxt asswēṭ u šāl'in bērakk 'ala ajal āl swēṭ tnawwuxham libn si'dūn! ḥinna lo nadri innak 'ala āl swēṭ, ṣān mtigāṭi'in xiyāmakam gabul tiji. walḥīn waḷḷa lyā rāḥ wāḥid mn ā sweēt. yamm ibn si'dūn, ibn sidūdun yabi yadbahham lamman jibtūh laham. waḷḷah ntigata' xiyamakaā itnenakam.ugaāl: 'yā šammar baṭṭalna, lākan int ya bn si'dūn, in buġēt jirm ijrīmham 'an hazza'al hāda.' rkudaw wijirmōham. axdaw minham ḥalāl alf nāgah ijrām. alijrām wēn ṣār? ṣār mu bḥalāl āl swēṭ, baljīrān. yani ajjār, gṣara. sannad ibn rišīd yamm dīrtu yōm guda wibn si'dūn buga 'ala dīrtu lyā yabi yaćfit yadxal bal 'arāg. šālaw 'aleēh āl swēt. hāda yōm innaham lifaw 'ala halham mšīrīn wila jayyin rḥamat 'ugūb ibn swēṭ u

hi tfū' 'alēh bintil-lu mā mātāt illa grayyib. gālat: 'ya yuba ya lētak ḥādir.'
gālaw: 'šu šū-bu?' gālat: "ala jāratna flānah, wuxdan ba'ārīnah u šāḥat šaggat
toubah.' gāl: 'šāḥat?' gālat: 'ḥillah šāḥat' u yxabṭ aššādā byidu u yōm jōh
wilā mēr meit. u yōm innahu māt waxibraw almudīf gālaw: "ugūb hasswātī¹
sawwa wmāt.' gālaw: 'hinna lā minna ga'adna natna 'gūb fātana ibn si'dūn' u
ham yšilūn u ytilāgōn ham wiyyāham bmoug'in ysammūnh āl dufīr graybi'āt,
graybi'āt arramul ḥadr barramul bilḥaniyya wiytilāgōn ham wiyyāham u
yāxdūnham u yāxdūn alawwal wattāli u yidbah-bah najim ibn si'dūn. ygūl
'ād ḥmūd min ba'ad mā šārat alwāg'ah uxadoham gisad:

'albārḥa kill awwal allēl agūl āh,
min 'illitin bāz almala mā darā-lah.
min wāḥjin baššadur wal 'adum yašdāh
min nārin tuwaggad baddumīr išti'ālah.
yā ḥēf zāmlin ṭāwa' addidd wardāh
u ṭā' šōr mdayyi'īn aljamāla
yāmā dimaḥna zallitak wint tansāh
u taljid 'alēna birkūb alxiyālah
yā rācbin ḥurrin bi'īdin m'aššāh
yajfil yā ṭāla' suwādat dalālah
fōgah garmin yūšil al'ilm malfāh
lyā jīt ubu ṭāmir fa-ridd annigā-lah²
yā šēḥt aljīrīn mā 'ād nansāh
najzāh bē³-rugṭin ḥugūgin xiyālah
u r'ūdaha ḥiss allga balmatārāh
u brūgaha lam' annimaš min mišālah
alšēx minna ḡāli al'umur yansāh
waššēx minkam mā yrā'i ḥalālah
walli yzaddir mārīdīn širib min māh
u min kaddar aššāfi širib min zalālah.'

ubu tāmir si'dūn ubu 'jimi lākan našṣah ubu tāmir. hāda gušīdat ḥmūd ibn
swēṭ. gušad ba'ad lākin a'arif mūjiz mnah yagšid 'ala 'gūb:

lētak bdab'in yā ḥara kill manyūb
witšūf b'ēnak siwāt allahībah
u tasma' bdānak lajjat alxēl birkūb
u ḥiss almatārāh bilḥsūs aššulībah.

Text 12 Translation

In the time of Ḥamūd ibn Suwayṭ, he (Ḥamūd) fell out with the Muntafiq and a misunderstanding arose between them, between Ḥamūd ibn Suwayṭ, shaikh of the Ḍhafir and Sa'dūn the shaikh of the Muntafiq.⁴ Sa'dūn desired to have the general leadership of the area but the Ḍhafir and ibn Suwayṭ opposed him. He said: 'You can have no leadership in this area. Your leadership must be from the river eastward (i.e. the Euphrates).' What did he do? In the time of ibn Sibhān,⁵ ibn Rashīd, he mounted a force and went to ibn Sibhān. He asked for his help and he helped him against the Suwait. The Āl Suwayṭ did not know about this because he asked his help secretly. And when the Ḍhafir came and encamped at Juraibi'āt, a place near the Ṭuwāl al-Ḍhafir, suddenly the war-banner of ibn Rashīd was upon them. They (the Sa'dūn) had bribed him with money, for otherwise there was friendship between the Āl Rashīd and the Āl Suwait. And when they dismounted there was the war banner of ibn Sa'dūn and they mounted up and went to ibn Rashīd, but he said: 'Now we are going to hand you over to ibn Sa'dūn.' But the rest of the Shammar became angry. The first of them who became angry were ibn Jibrīn⁶ and the 'Abda and ibn Ṭuwāla with them. They said: 'Oh ibn Sibhān, you have brought the Āl Suwayṭ and captured them and raised your war banner against them intending to hand them over to ibn Sa'dūn! If we knew that you had set out against the Āl Suwayṭ, we would have attacked and destroyed your camp before you came. And now, by God, if even one of the Āl Suwayṭ is taken to ibn Sa'dūn, we will destroy the camps of both of you (ibn Rashīd and ibn Sibhān), for ibn Sa'dūn will kill them if you take him to them.' He said, 'Oh men of Shammar, I repent, but you Oh ibn Sa'dūn, if you wish to fine them, fine them for your displeasure (i.e. but do not kill any of them).' They ran to the camp of the Suwayṭ and fined them, they confiscated a thousand she-camels as a fine. Where did the confiscation occur? It didn't happen at the herds of the Suwayṭ, but among the herds of some of their tent neighbours⁷ (unbeknown to them). When the confiscation was completed ibn Rashīd went back to his dīrah and ibn Sa'dūn stayed where he was, until he would return later and enter 'Iraq (i.e. cross the river Euphrates). The Āl Suwayṭ prepared to attack him. When they returned first of all to their families on their way 'Ugūb ibn Suwayṭ (God rest his soul) was with them and his daughter who only died recently burst in upon him and said: 'Oh father, if only you had been there.' They said: 'What, what has happened?' She said: 'Because of our neighbour, her camels were taken and she cried out and tore her dress.' He said: 'She cried out?' She said: 'Yes, she cried out' and he

grasped hold of the camel saddle⁸ upon which he was leaning (and collapsed forward against it) and when they approached him they found that he was dead. When he died they had told the men in the guest tent saying: "Ugub just fell forward like this and died," they said: 'If we sit here waiting on 'Ugūb, ibn Sa'dūn will escape us.' And they moved off and they met at a place called by the Āl Ḍhafīr Graybi'āt, Graybi'āt of the sands, down country in the sands⁹ at Ḥaniyya. They met in battle there and they captured them, from the first to the last and Najm ibn Sa'dūn was killed there. And after the battle when they had beaten them, Hamūd recited this poem:

Last night I moaned all through the early night
from a pain unknown to other men.
From a grief in my heart like a breaking bone
from a fire whose flames were alight in my heart.
O woe that Zāmil¹⁰ obeyed our enemy and placated him
and took counsel with those who have lost their honour.
How many times have we neglected your misdeeds, though
you forget,
and now you gallop against us on shod hooves.
Oh rider on a pure-bred camel who halts far away at evening
who shies when he sees the loom of his shadow
Riding him a hero to whom all news they bring.
If you reach Abu Thāmir give him the war challenge
We will no longer ignore the cry of our neighbour¹¹
We repay the deed in a horde, numerous as the rain drops
Its thunder is the noise of a war of revenge.
Its lightning the flash of swords from the scabbard.
Our shaikh cares little for his precious life.
Your shaikh neglects even his herds.
He who tends the well, drinks of its water.
He who stirs the water drinks it when it clears.¹²

Abu Thāmir is Sa'dūn, the father of 'Ajimi, but he called him here Abu Thāmir. This is the poem of Ḥamūd ibn Suwayḥ. He also composed another poem but I only know a little of it, in which he addresses 'Ugūb:

Would you were at Ḍhab',¹³ o help of all in need,
and saw with your eyes the way of the battle,
and heard with your ears the sound of the hooves
and the hoarse voices calling for vengeance.

Text 13 The story of a Żāsimi living with the Jarba Shammar (1920s)

by Mahdi ibn Dulayyim al-Żāsimi

assālfā hādi wāḥid mniżżuwāsīm kān 'ind ajjarbān u jāh¹ xabar innah makyūn 'ala jimā'tu killaham al dufīr makyūn 'alēham winnaham madbūḥīn. ṣār ma yag'id biddīwān, bass yamši u dāymin ynaššid 'anham wiš ṣār 'alēham šinu ḥayy minham šinu lmayyit. u ba'ad ja halxabar bašširōh gālāw inn āl dufīr cāsibīn u lā 'alēham u hum al gōm alli jōham dabbīḥōham u ṣār 'ilmaham ḡānim waddufīr sālmin. gām yagšid šārī' ibn dabbūs hu 'ind fahad mnaljarbān u fahad ham² dāg yōm šāfu dāyig bālu. dāg minnu³ jāh halxabar gāl: 'abašširk inn ażżuwāsīm kāsbīn u sālmin.' gām ytikallam. gāl:

lā ya fahad lā tas'al algalb wiš jāh,
u š-amrah gām ytijaddad lhūdah
wal'ēn yā fahad daffīgat māh
saḥḥābitin ṣalf alḥabāyib tiḥūdah
min 'ugbaha rācbīn ḥamrin rdūmin m'affāh
u mā 'alyah alia ašdāda walmazāḥīb wjūdah
wilyā mišat cinnah 'ala lbēd touṭāh
šidūdtin mā mitlaha min šidūdah
tašd alli ma' al'adāra halāyāh
našmiyyitin kinn alkawāḡid ixdūdah
addaḥa ma' jisr msayyib imta'annāh
wal'ašur ma' jisr assimāwa ygūdah
maddat imnilmarfū' u ṣaydah m'aššāh
'aššat 'ala 'ēnin cītīrin wrūdah.
talga ṣṣmādi xātlin mā yta"adāh
itar halību balgušīma ygūdah
mār is'alan⁴ 'an isswēṭi wēn masbāh
biḥbāl šagra w'at'ata ma' nufūdah
'ilmin lifāni fazz galbi ilṭiryāh
u hādi fa'āyil lābiti biḥūdah
ibn šhēl bawwal alxēl yinḥāh
yarkud marākīdin rākdīnin ijdūdah
walli tiṭurr ibḥāfrah walli tōṭāh
min kitir ṭarr izzilim fatran i'dūdah.

hādi wint sālīm.

Text 13 Translation

This story is about one of the Żuwāsim who was living with the Jarbān⁵ who received news that all of his tribe, the Ḍhafīr, had been attacked and defeated. He began not to sit with the men in the council and would always walk about alone, always asking about them as to what had happened to them, who was alive and who was dead. And then the news came to him and they brought him good news that the Āl Ḍhafīr had won the battle and that there was nothing wrong with them and that they had defeated the enemy who attacked them.⁶ The news of them was good and they were all safe. The man whose name was Shāri' ibn Dabbūs began to recite a poem. He was with Fahad al Jarba at the time and Fahad had also begun to worry when he saw him unhappy. He began to worry about him. When the news came to him, he said: 'I bring you good news that the Żuwāsim have taken much booty and are all well.' He began to recite, saying:

Oh Fahad, do not ask of my heart what ails it,
and what makes its worries keep on recurring.
Oh Fahad my eyes have shed their tears
like a cloud battered by winds from north and south
riding after it a brown camel fattened and rested
carrying only the saddle and equipment and water bags
When she walks it is as if she steps on egg-shells⁷
A mount the like of which there is no other.
Resembling a young girl in her quiet movements
a beauty with cheeks as smooth as paper.
At afternoon she strides over the bridge at Musayyab,⁸
by evening he leads her over the bridge at Samāwa.
By nightfall she goes past Marfū' and Şayda⁹
to stay at a well where camels may drink
There you find the Şmida secure and unmoving.¹⁰
The tracks of his mount he leads in the sand dunes¹¹
Ask me also of the Suwait and their lands
by the ropes of Shagra¹² and its sandy ground.
Glad news came which made my heart rejoice.
These are the deeds of my friends on their borders
The son of Shuhail attacks the first of the horsemen
Charging forward in the way of his forefathers
Some the horse kicks with his hooves, others he tramples
His shoulders are worn away from charging the enemy.

This is the poem, may you live in health.

Text 14 The battle of 'Ajimi ibn Suwaiṭ with the Ikhwān at Guṣair (1920s)

by Nāyif ibn Ḥamūd al-Suwaṭ

hāda hāyif ibn šgēr sāknīn bẓaryah 'ala dōr alixwān. walaxwān laham dōrin jayyid uyadbaḥūn al'ālam xawwifīn annās wyǧazi uyšīl-lak¹ albērag min ẓaryah nāwin āl swēt uyṣabbiḥu u mi'uh ibn mindīl. bani xālīd u mi'uh ya'ni nās mījtaḥ 'ah 'aia sās inn tṣabbiḥ āl swēt u tadbaḥham walswēt mījtaḥīnin balṣṣēr. ma'ham gibīlat alẓuwāsīm mnāldufīr uma'ham gibīlat bini ḥsēn. hadōḷa 'udmat albidāyid wilbāẓi mḡaṭṭa'a lli ma'ham mn āldufīr wāl swēt ham šyūx āl dufīr. ṣabbaḥ ibn šgēr. 'alēham, hāyif ibn šgēr mn addūšān. waḷḷah āmar 'alēh widbiḥōh widbiḥaw nuṣṣ ḡōmu. wibtida Iḡaṣṣād ḡaṣṣādaham bẓimānaham sanad alḥhaššār mnīlẓuwāsīm. yḡul:

'rācb alli taḡsir algā' baxṭāh
tizrim lyā sićcan 'alēh aldlāfi
yā rācbah izdiha ṣōb mamšāh
u nuṣṣah lahal alarbā' almilāfi'

almaalāfi minham? ya'ni aku nās mn aldufīr mišattīn 'ala bin swēt mḥārbīnu dāddīnu.

'sallim-lina 'ala lli tangul assēf yimnāh
wilyā ṣār mā jiddu 'an alaṣil hāfi
ḡil jatna lbiyāriẓ ṣaṭritin mā ḥasabnāh
ḡōmin 'ala ḡabḥ almanāya mišāfi
u kattaw 'alēna lḡāmni mi' šaḡāyāh
ḡār addaḥa bayān u cišafi
u lā sannidaw lyā mā sa'adham xadamnāh
miš'alham alli yūẓid annār ṭāfi
wardan baxawāt jōzah wird adduwāmi 'ala māh
timm aḡrišan baxawāt jōzah miẓāfi
u ḥallō-baham ahl annimaš almḥannāh
lamma waga' binḥōraham min sināfi

u 'ind almaḥārim walbyūt almbannāh
rūsin ċima ddibš lyāl alguṭāfi.'

u ṭana 'ād batna lguṣīdah iljamā'tu.

'li lābitin mā tahwij aššex yanxāh
jazzā'tin mā tamminaw lilzuwāfi
mā tšūf xallāwi awwal alxēl yasdāh
yōm alfišag mitil ḥugūg aššiyāfi
watni lhajjād u bāž al'umur ansāh
salāyil 'ūdin ballga mā yfāfi.'

u guṣad wāḥid iḥsēni ya'ni sāmriyya:

'yā 'aršitin šār 'alēna bah čitām
rašāšah mitl azz'ēri balḥzūm
alii 'ala sābzin inḥāš išmām
walli 'ala riḡlēh yjaddi' balihdūm
u faṣṣan albīd mitil ma faṣṣan alḥamam
aw giṭan balgēḍ tilāwi'ah assimūm
u lāḥzat swēṭātin midābīs alcitām
zēzūmaha 'abdallah alhurr alḡašūm
dīb nab'ah jāk rizgak lā tinām
dīb alguṣēr mcarrimin-lak u m'azūm
mā tšūf hāyif ṭāḥ min hējin šmām
u s'ūd alašga tāyḥin dūk mxadūm.'

Text 14 Translation

Hāyif ibn Shugair was living at Żarya² in the time of the Ikhwān. The Ikhwān were in ascendancy at the time and were killing and terrifying³ people. And he went on a raid and raised the war-banner at Żarya aiming to raid the Āl Suwait, He attacked them in the morning and with him were ibn Mindīl, the Bani Khālid and people collected together to raid the Āl Suwait and kill them. The Āl Suwait were assembled at Guṣair,⁴ with him were the Żuwāsim tribe of the Āl Ḍhafīr, also the Bani Husain. These were the main clans and the rest were fragments of different clans and the Āl Suwait were the shaikhs of the Āl Ḍhafīr. Ibn Shugair raided them at morning. He was of the Dūshān.⁵ God ordained it that they killed him and half of his followers.

The poet of the *Ẓuwāsim* at that time was Sanad al-Ḥashshār and he composed the following poem:

Oh rider on a mount who shortens the earth with his step
who shies when the saddle is put on
Oh rider, lead her in the direction she takes
direct her towards the loyal camps.

Why does he say 'the loyal camps'; because there were people from the *Āl Ḍhafir* who had betrayed *ibn Suwayḥ* and were fighting in opposition.⁶

Give our greetings to him who carries his sword in his right
hand
if he is not bereft of good ancestry.⁷
Say the war-banners approached us in a line without number,
men intent on murder.
The *Ghanimī*⁸ valley and its tributaries flowed down on us
attacking in plain view at mid-day.
They did not retreat until we had killed their leader,
their torch, who lit their fire, was now gone out.
They fell on the brothers of *Jauzah*⁹ like thirsty men on water
then retreated back from them wheeling back.¹⁰
Men with henna'd¹¹ blades fell upon them
Stout-hearted men were at their throats.
And near the women's quarters and the builded tents,
Heads lay like watermelons on cutting day.

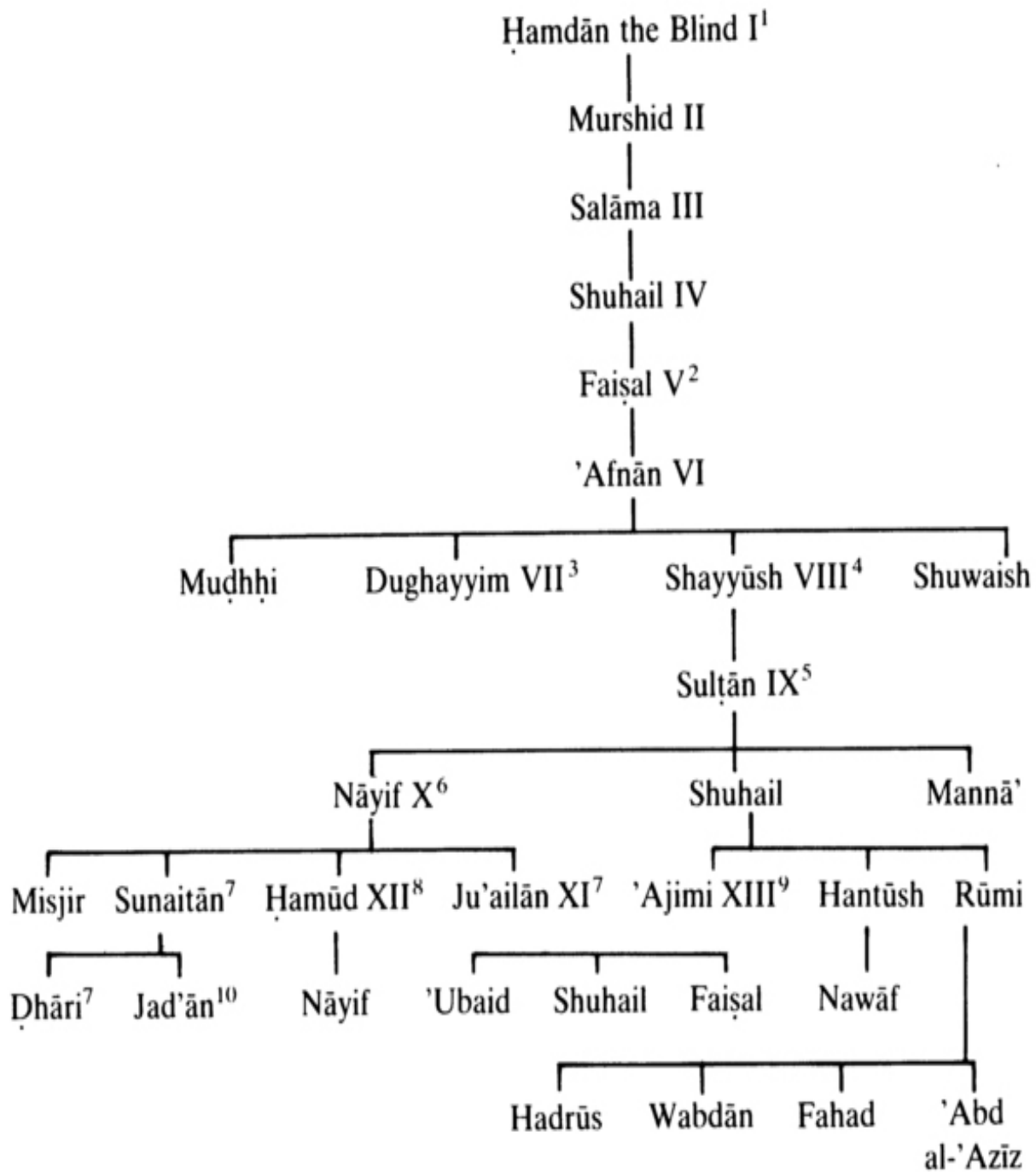
And then he turned his verse towards his companions.

My friends come always when the shaikh calls.
Warlike men who do not weigh the future 'gainst the present
Do you not see *Khallāwī* who charges at the first horsemen
when the bullets flew like summer rain
Also I mention *Hajjād*,¹² and forget the rest of life
Both great heroes without fear in battle.

And one of the *Bani Ḥusain* also composed the following poem of the *Sāmriyya* type:

What a battle occurred above us¹³ raising the dust and haze
in which the bullets lay like locusts on the hilltops
Those on horseback fell straight away
and those on foot cast away their clothes¹⁴

The women whirled about like pigeons in the air
or ducks in summer battered by the hot winds¹⁵
The Suwaiṭ came, men who raise the dust
Led by 'Abdallah¹⁶ like a proud falcon
Oh wolf of Nab'a,¹⁷ do not sleep, your food is ready
The wolf of Guṣair has prepared a feast
Do you not see Hāyif, who fell at the first bullet-hail
and Su'ūd al-Aṣga¹⁸ face down in reverence.



The Āl Suwayṭ Shaikhly Line

Nos I—XIII actual ruling shaikhs.

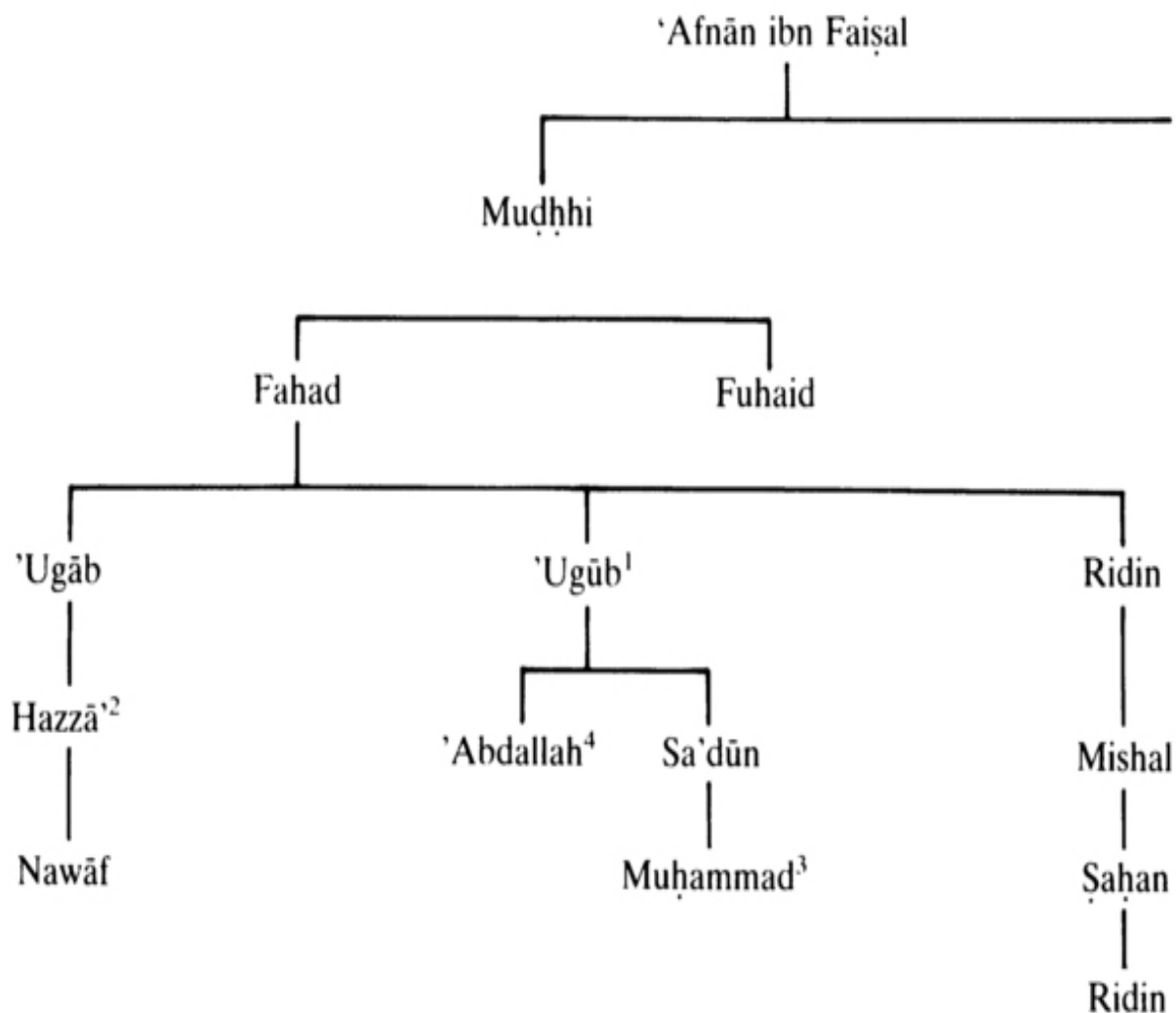
1 Text 1

2 Text 2

3 Text 3

- 4 Text 4
- 5 Texts 5 and 6
- 6 Texts 7, 8 and 9
- 7 Text 11
- 8 Texts 11 and 12
- 9 Text 14
- 10 Shaikh of the Iraqi section in the 1920s and 1930s.

NB Not all sons are recorded, nor are they recorded in order of age.



The 'Afnān branch of the Suwaït

1 See Text 12

2 Referred to p. 39.

3 Informant for Text 7

4 In poem of Text 14.

NB Only those of the Āl 'Afnān relevant to the narrative are noted here. Fahad also had four other sons, Dughayyim, Muḥammad, Fadgham and Ṣumair, all of whom had male issue except Ṣumair.

Chapter 6

Linguistic characteristics of the Dhafir dialect

Introductory

In the context of a study of the history of the Āl Dhafir, and their migration through central Arabia ending in their location over the last century and a half in the northern desert, an examination of the nature of their dialect is useful in drawing the pattern of their relationship with their present neighbours and populations further afield. Areal studies of language have shown that dialects of a language can show resemblances which have evolved either through a common genetic¹ origin, i.e. a historical relationship, or by the geographical spread of innovations from one dialect to a neighbouring one, i.e. an assimilative relationship. In general the spread of dialect features across a landscape occurs in waves out from centres of cultural influence and is characteristic of areas with a long history of stable settlement. The intrusion of dialect features from a distant region, on the other hand, is often indicative of a sudden displacement of population from one area to another. Early linguists such as the Neogrammarians of the nineteenth century were primarily interested in the second type which enabled them to reconstruct larger families of genetically related languages whose links were previously unsuspected. At a later stage dialectologists sought to show how geographical and social factors could influence the spread of features from one population group to the next. These two approaches have been termed the Family Tree theory and the Wave theory (Stammbaum theorie and Wellentheorie).

The characteristics of the Dhafir dialect can be examined along both these axes. In the area covered by central Najd, southern Iraq and the desert area between them, two main centres of dialect diffusion can be perceived.

These are the area of the settlements of Najd on the one hand, and the river valley system of Iraq on the other.² Both of these are areas where dialect innovation has taken place and features have spread outwards to surrounding areas. They are of course also centres of population and cultural diffusion in a general way, based on agricultural regions centred around irrigation sources, primarily wells in Najd and rivers in Iraq.

The area of Najd itself divides into two main dialect areas, a central one and a northern one. The central one is based on al-'Āriḍh, Washm and Sudair, the northern one on Jabal Shammar with Qaṣīm forming a transitional zone between the two. The so-called 'southern' bedouin tribes of the area, i.e. Muṭair, 'Utaiba, 'Awāzim, Rashāyida and the Harb of Najd, speak a dialect of the central type. The Shammar speak the northern dialect, while the case of the Bani Khālid is unclear. Those I interviewed among the Ḍhafīr spoke a Ḍhafīri type of dialect while others interviewed in Kuwait spoke a central type. The 'Aniza of the Syrian desert speak a dialect basically of the central type resulting from their original location in western Najd, but with certain features of a generally northern type though not specifically North Najdi.³

To return to the Ḍhafīr, certain features link their dialect to that of other bedouins of the central Najd where they originate, while others link it to the Northern type of the Shammar. One important fact emerges from a study of the tribe's dialect, namely that although, as mentioned earlier, the Ḍhafīr claim to be a composite tribe related to other known tribes of central Arabia, their dialect now shows no demonstrable link to these tribes in particular, but only to the central Najd in general. My investigations did not show any marked difference between the speech of different clans of the Ḍhafīr. Although my informants were mainly from the Suwaṭ, I did record texts from one Żāsimi (Text 13) and one Khāldi (Texts 3, 6 and 10), which were substantially the same as that of the Suwaṭ, with some minor exceptions in the case of the Żāsimi (see page [85](#)). The Khāldi was in fact indistinguishable from them. Apart from these, two other Żāsimis and one Ma'lūmi whom I regularly talked with spoke the same type of dialect. These observations and the statements of informants seemed to indicate that a fairly homogeneous dialect had grown up as characteristic of the Ḍhafīr although it must be admitted that my investigations were carried out almost exclusively in one locality, namely the village of Şufairi, and that it is therefore possible that nomadic Ḍhafīris elsewhere may show different

dialect features. The Dhafir themselves and their neighbours recognised that they had a recognisable dialect which could be distinguished from that of their two northern neighbours, the Shammar and 'Aniza who in turn differed from each other. As a linguist, it was not difficult for me to acquire a passable Dhafiri dialect, which other bedouins recognised and often remarked upon. However, although the dialect itself is definable, it is remarkable in having very few features which are exclusively Dhafiri. It was only the combination of them which was so. In contrast, the dialect of the Shammar shows a number of features which are exclusively Shammar or at least for which the Shammar are remarkable for showing them to the fullest extent. Put in another way, we can describe the Shammar dialect as a core dialect, i.e. one at the centre of a dialect area, while the Dhafir dialect is a fringe or border dialect, one showing the influence of two main blocks, namely the North Najdi and Central blocks. Whether this composite nature results from the tribe's composite origin and was brought with them from Central Najd or was acquired later in the northern desert from their Shammar and 'Aniza neighbours is impossible to decide on the basis of the material at hand. The features on the basis of which the relationships are traced here are basically phonological and morphological. However, it may be that a more thorough study of vocabulary in comparison with the dialects of Central Najd would give evidence to support their claims to relations with specific tribes. The data collected here only reveals a fairly general Najdi type of vocabulary linking it with Najd and the Syrian desert bedouins and comparing fairly closely with that of the 'Aniza as given by Landberg.⁴ This confirms Cantineau's observations on the dialects of the bedouin in general in which he emphasises the futility of tracing present dialect groupings to ancient tribal stocks: 'Tribus et clans se sont trop mêlés pour que d'antiques répartitions, en partie légendaire, correspondent à la réalité. Certes la division linguistique actuelle réclame impérieusement une explication politique, mais c'est dans l'histoire moderne de l'Arabie, depuis trois ou quatre siècles, qu'il faudra chercher.'⁵

A further unsolved problem was posed by the relationship of the Dhafir to the Euphrates bedouin, particularly the Rufai', in terms of dialect. As mentioned earlier these were, at the time of my visit, freely intermingled with the Dhafir around Şufairi. They also traditionally had overlapping tribal areas as some of the Dhafir camped in the Euphrates area in summer while the autumn grazing period brought them out into the desert with the

Dhafir. Two Dhafirīs whom I met at Şufairi spoke a dialect of the Euphrates type, but I was unable to find out whether or not this type of dialect was more widespread in the tribe. In particular, I was unable to discover whether these two spoke the Euphrates dialect as a result of living as individuals with some tribe like the Rufai' or whether they came from a section which spoke that dialect generally. My informants did not give the impression that there was any close relationship with the Euphrates tribes whereby families of one tribe would live with the other. They said however that this was true of the Shammar and that it was common for members of the one tribe to assimilate to the other as they were similar in appearance and dress and not too far removed in dialect. There were two people like this at Şufairi, who had lived with the Shammar and acquired their dialect, but had now returned to the Dhafir.

Having made the above preliminary remarks and qualifications about the scope of the study, the relationship of the dialect to the neighbouring dialects can be shown by comparing it first with the Najdi dialects as a whole and then by showing its resemblances to the North Najdi and Central Najdi types specifically. A further set of features is isolated which place it within a generally northern dialect area stretching from Qaşīm northward and including the dialects of Syria and Iraq. Lastly some reference will be made to the dialect of the Euphrates bedouin, illustrating its hybrid nature, partly north Najdi, partly Iraqi. These are brought into the comparison partly for geographical reasons, since they are the northern neighbours of the Dhafir, and partly because they mark the beginning of the Iraqi type. The Dhafir constitute the northernmost of the purely Najdi dialect type, so that here we see the interaction between the Sunni Najdi speech area and the Shi'a Iraqi one. No attempt will be made here to give a comprehensive description of the dialect since this can be elicited from the texts to a great extent and only those features are mentioned which serve to illustrate the position of the dialect *vis-à-vis* its neighbours.⁶

1 Characteristics of the Najdi dialects

(a) The main distinguishing phonological characteristics in comparison to the dialects of the Gulf Coast and southern Iraq are in the realisation of

Classical Arabic j, k and q. j is realised as a palatal plosive /j/ [ɟ] while k and q have undergone phonemic splitting resulting in /k/ and /č/ [ts] and /g/ and /ž/ [dz], with the forms /č/ and /ž/ occurring mostly in fronting environments. The forms /č/ /ž/ and /j/ contrast with /č̣/ /j̣/ and /y/ which occur in those environments in the neighbouring dialects. The forms given here are from Dhafiri material, but would be good also for other dialects with some exceptions, i.e. for instance that Dhafiri /čid/ is the equivalent of Muṭairi /žid/ (see below).

Examples

/j/ finjāl 'cup', jīzah 'marriage', jawzah 'Gemini', jimal 'camel', ajāli 'them', jiruw 'little dog'.

/č/ čam 'how much', čid 'perfective verbal particle', yiḏḥi' 'he makes someone laugh', tarāci 'earrings', cāy 'tea', ča'rah 'amount', ričib 'he mounted up'

/ž/ iżf 'stand', trāwiz 'it f. sways', žirwah 'Koranic reading', žirbah 'water bag', beiž 'cloth for holding coffee pot', ažžāblah 'tomorrow evening', bāžyah 'the rest'.

(b) Two morphological characteristics are important in delineating the Najdi group in this context. These are the preservation of the nominal indefinite marker -in, and the preservation of the Old Arabic system of internal vowel and syllabic marking to distinguish transitivity differences in verbs. Both of these are absent, or present to a lesser degree, in the dialects of the Gulf Coast and Iraq and are in general confined to the Arabian peninsula. They are however present in some varieties of Libyan Arabic and may therefore also be found in bedouin dialects of North Africa. The nominal marker -in is also present to much the same degree in the dialect of the Shi'as of the Gulf Coast, the Baḥāma.⁷ The contexts of its occurrence are irrelevant to us here,⁸ and many examples of it occur in the texts. The following are representative of them:

tāḥaw 'ala wāḥdiṇ mn āl swēṭ mnalfarż

They came upon one of the Āl Suwaiṭ, from the Farż. (Text 1)

tanāwaxaw bmoug'iṇ ysammūnh addāt

They met at a place called al-Dāth. (Text 1)

u 'ugbiṇ nikas

And afterwards he would go back. (Text 3)

u hu yaṭmah balmiš'āb ilā jād'iṇ sinnah

He hit her with the camel stick and knocked out her tooth. Text (3)

The system of internal vowel and syllabic transitivity marking for verbs first of all distinguished a basically transitive type with a vowel /a/ in the second syllable of the perfective and usually /i/ or /u/ in the stem of the perfective, i.e. nišad/yanšid 'to ask', xaṭab/yxaṭub 'to ask for in marriage', and an intransitive type with /i/ as the second vowel of the perfective and usually /a/ in the imperfective, i.e. silim/yaslam 'to be safe'. Secondly a causative type occurs with a prefixed a- of the type arćab/yirćib 'to cause to mount', afham/ yifhim 'to cause to understand'. Thirdly a fully productive internal vowelised passive occurs with a stem vowel /i/ in the perfective and /a/ in the imperfective of the type nšid/yinšad 'to be asked'. These features shown below with the 3rd person masculine singular are also present in the other persons and so result in contrasts with the Mesopotamian and Gulf dialects over the whole verbal system. This system, although it shows differences of vowel quality corresponds closely in function to the Classical Arabic system whereas in the Iraqi dialects this system has been reduced. The following table shows the correspondence of Classical Arabic, Najdi and Iraqi forms:

	<i>Classical</i>	<i>Najdi</i>	<i>Iraqi</i>	
Transitive	našad ⁹ yanšid	nišad yanšid	nišad yišid	to ask
Intransitive	salim yaslam	silim yaslam	—	to be safe
Causative	arkab yurkib	arćab yirćib	—	to cause to mount
Passive	nušid yunšad	nšid yinšad	—	to be asked

(c) Vocabulary

Specific Najdi vocabulary items are characteristic of most bedouin dialects of the Northern desert. In fact the contrast here is more between the Arabian peninsula and Iraq than between Najd and other areas since the dialects of

the Gulf resemble Najdi dialects to some extent in the vocabulary. Therefore the items given below are those occurring in the Dhafiri material and not in most Iraqi dialect types. They may occur in the Gulf dialects, but to a lesser extent. Within the bedouin dialects, differences also occur from tribe to tribe and therefore these items are not claimed to be universal Najdi vocabulary, but only items which are characteristically Najdi in the sense of not being Iraqi. Here specifically bedouin vocabulary to do with camel herding and tent life has been excluded since it would not occur in Iraqi sedentary speech. These are listed by the Arabic method by the root letters in the Arabic alphabetical order, baḥḥar 'to look at', бага 'to want', abxaṣ 'more knowledgeable', bāg 'to deceive, betray', tina 'to wait for', tall 'to pull', tayyah 'coming, arrival', jala 'to go away, retire', jida 'to throw', injiḍa 'to recline', ḥēl 'very', al-hīn 'now', ḥōi 'the new year', xabaṭ 'to grasp', xba 'pocket', ixtifat 'to be different', adna 'nearer', adwan 'less, smaller', dūn 'this side of, less than', dana 'to approach', dall 'to know the whereabouts of', daššar 'to leave', ḍall 'to fear', az-zibdah 'the best, the result', ziban 'to take refuge with', zūm 'pride', sannad 'to go back', sarad 'to defeat', siwāt 'as, like', hassuwa, hassuwayya, hassuwāti 'thus', šarad 'to survive', šmām 'straight away, immediately', šanag 'side', šada/šida 'to resemble', lḍni 'to be born', ḍuma 'thirst', ṭamm 'to hide', 'aṭa 'to give', 'aliā- 'I hope, would that', 'ilm 'news', 'allam 'to tell', 'ayya 'to refuse', 'āyan 'to see, espy', ġada 'to get lost', (a)ġadi 'perhaps', fēd(t) 'possessive particle' like māl as used in Iraq, fuṭan 'to remember', guḍab 'to grasp', agfa 'to go away', gallaṭ 'to bring in', tigil 'as though' (tigūl 'you might say), cid 'perfective verbal particle' (Classical qad), kumaš 'to defeat', kūd 'except', kōn 'battle', cān 'if, laxaṣ 'to grasp, Iōn 'something, anything',¹⁰ mēr 'but' also occurring in wilyāēr 'behold, then', amda- 'it is possible for . . . ' (impersonal verb occurring with the objective suffixes), nital 'to pluck', nikas 'to go back', ankaf 'to go back', nār 'to flee', niyyit- 'thought' (occurring in niyyiti 'I think' etc.), hām 'to jump forward', haga 'to guess', thāyag 'to peer', awnas 'to feel pain', tuwādd 'to be friendly with', widd- 'wish' (as in widd-i 'I wish' etc.), awḥa 'to listen', š-yūdi 'for what reason?', waġad 'child', wkād 'definite, definitely'.

2 Relationship to the North and Central Najdi Types

This is most easily seen by an examination of the personal pronoun suffix system. The North Najdi type differs from the dialects of most of the Arabian peninsula in this respect, and in some ways resembles the dialects of the fertile crescent though not in a very consistent way. The dialect of the Ḍhafīr shows a mixture of these two types. This can be shown with the preposition /min/ 'from' and the verbal forms /šāf/ 'he saw' and /šifna/ 'we saw'

	<i>North Najdi (Shammar)</i>	<i>Ḍhafīr</i>	<i>Central Najdi (Mutair)</i>
me	šāfari mni	šāfani mni	šāfani minni
you m.s.	mnak	mink	mink
you f.s.	mnić	minć	minć
him	mnuh šifnāw	mnuh šifnāw	minh šnifnāh
her	mnah	mnah	minha
you m.pl.	minkam	minkam	minkum
they m.	minham	minham	minhum ¹¹

The North Najdi suffix -ah 'her' produces differences of form in certain words where a vowel precedes the suffix, i.e. North Najdi 'alyah, C. Najdi 'alēha 'on it f.'; N. Najdi abwah, C. Najdi abūha 'her father'. One difference between the Ḍhafīr dialect and the Shammar, though not, I am told, the 'Abda section, involves the form of some suffixes following 'an 'about'; Shammar 'ni 'about me', 'nuh 'about him', 'nah 'about her', Ḍhafīr 'ani, 'anuh, 'anah.

An important characteristic of the North Najdi type is the fronting of certain feminine suffixes. This gives the forms -eih 3rd f.s. verbal suffix, -eih/-ih 3rd f.s. nominal suffix, -āy fem. pl. suffix. These contrast with -at, -

ah and -āt in the rest of the area. In this instance the Ḍhafīr dialect goes with the Central and more general type and contrasts with the Shammar.

North Najdi (Shammari)	Central Najdi & Ḍhafīr (ʿAniza)	
šāfeih	šāfat	she saw
mareih/marih	marah	wife
banāy	banāt	girls

Fronting of the nominal suffix -ah to -ih is widespread in the dialects of the Syrian desert¹² and also occurs in the Euphrates bedouin type. It is attested for the Negev bedouin¹³ dialects and the speech of 'Anaiza in Qaṣīm.¹⁴ In the northern desert the Ḍhafīr and 'Aniza would seem to be alone in showing the Central Najdi type.

3 Relationship to the generally 'northern' block

Certain other features place the Ḍhafīr dialect in a generally Northern group. These are unconnected with the specifically North Najdi features mentioned above, but link the dialects of the northern parts of the Arabian Peninsula (roughly above Qaṣīm) with the speech of Iraq and the Syrian area. In these features the Ḍhafīr are grouped with the Shammar and 'Aniza against the southern bedouin, i.e. Muṭair, 'Awāzim, Rashāyida, 'Utaiba and central Ḥarb (i.e. not those of the Hijaz). Of the settled areas, Qaṣīm, Kuwait and points south show the southern form while Jabal Shammar shows the form of the Syrian and Iraqi areas.

(a) The form of the 2nd m.s. suffix is -ak rather than -ik or -uk as in the south. This gives contrasting forms of the type Ḍhafīr, bētak 'your tent', Muṭair, bētik 'your tent'.

(b) The negative construction with mā bi- does not occur in this dialect. Southern bedouins show forms such as ma-nta bjayy 'you are not coming', mā-hu bšidž 'it is not true'. These contrast with Ḍhafīri m-int jayy, mu-hu šidž.

(c) The preposition b- occurs to the exclusion of fī to mean 'in, at'. The existential particle is therefore buh or bah (i.e. 'there is', lit: 'in it'), contrasting with fih in the south and the word for 'here' is bhāḍa 'in this' contrasting with fīḍin in the south.

(d) A number of demonstratives show different forms in north and south. In the north a preformative hā- is prevalent while in the south a suffixed -ḍa occurs. This gives the following differences. Northern hāḍa, hāḍi, etc. 'this', hić 'thus', southern ḍah, ḍih, etc. 'this', ćida 'thus'. These differences are also reflected in the words for 'here' under (c) above. Although hīć was accepted by the Dhafīr and occasionally used by them the form hassuwa 'thus' was more typical (see above, page [82](#)).

(e) The 2nd person independent pronouns are of the forms int 'you' m.s., inti 'you' f.s., intum/intam 'you' m.pl., intin 'you' f.pl. These contrast with southern forms of the type ant, anti, antum, antin. Here they agree with the 'Aniza while the Shammar shows the southern form. The Gulf dialects also show the northern type in most cases.

4 Other features

Certain features are recorded here which occur in my material, but whose distribution within Najd I have not been able to determine.

(a) The feminine plural demonstratives are of the forms haḍalli or haḍallin 'these' f. and ḍallíc or ḍalliníc 'those' f. This is transitional between the normal Najdi haḍōli dōlíc etc. and the Iraqi type hāḍanni, x1E0F;annīć etc. Cantineau, 1936, p. 107, gives similar forms for the Nu'aim and Faḍhl of the Syrian desert.

(b) A degree of phonemic overlapping occurs between /ē/ and /ī/ and /ō/ and /ū/. Generally where one would expect Classical /ī/ and /ū/, these have become /ē/ and /ō/ in a number of environments, particularly where emphatic consonants are involved. This seems to be a feature common to many dialects of the Syrian desert and was mentioned by my informants as contrasting with the dialects of the southern area. A related feature is the occurrence of /ō/ and /ē/ where southern dialects would have /aw/, /ou/ and /ei/ in a number of forms, though I do not have many contrasting examples.

Overlapping of /ī/ and /ē/ with /ū/ and /ō/ was also discussed by Blanc for the dialect of the Negev bedouins.¹⁵ Examples of /ē/ and /ō/ relating to Classical or underlying /ī/ and /ū/ are the following:

aḡadēh	perhaps she (aḡadi-)
yabēk	he wants you (yabi)
taxxēna	you will put us under tribute (taxxi)
nxawēkam	we will accompany you (nxawi)
rxēṣ	cheap
ṣhēḥ	correct
ašōf	I see
'aṭōna	give m.pl. us!
tigōl	you say
slōgi	hunting dog
šrōgi	easterner
maḏhor	pack camel
m'azōm	invited
ḥzōm	hills
glōb	hearts

5 Characteristics of the Euphrates bedouin dialect

The data on the dialect of the Euphrates bedouin was obtained from two camps of the Rufai' near Jisr Sūdān on the Hollandi canal northwest of Nāṣiriyya and a camp of the Āl Ḥumaid near Sayyid Dakhīl in the same area but further north. Some material was also obtained from an unidentified camp of bedouins at Rauḏhatain to the north of Kuwait town. Although these bedouins would not name their tribe they said they were Ahl al-Shimāl 'northerners' which in this context meant from Iraq. Their dialect was in fact almost identical to that of the Ḥumaid and Rufai'. All of this data was obtained in the spring of 1977. This dialect can be described as a mixture of the North Najdi and Iraqi types and it is very difficult to say

which of these two components was predominant. The pronoun suffix system was close to the North Najdi type of the Shammar, with the exception that the suffixes -kam 'you' m.pl. and -ham 'they' m. did not occur. They were, strangely enough, truer to the North Najdi type than the Dhafīr in two respects, namely the presence of the feminine nominal suffix -ih in such words as xēzarānih 'staff', yizīrih 'Jazīra' and the presence of the form -an for the 1st person singular object suffix as in šāfan 'he saw me'. The full set of suffixes attested for these dialects are -an 'me', -ak 'you' m.s., -ič 'you' f.s., -uh 'him', -ah 'her', -na 'we', -kum 'you' m.pl., -čin 'you' f.pl., -hum 'they', m., -hin 'they' f.

The main Iraqi characteristics of these dialects are firstly the consonantal features mentioned above under 1(a) namely the realisations of Classical q, k and j as /j/, /č/ and /y/. Secondly the occurrence of the vowel (i) in the prefixes of the Imperfect giving yinšid 'he asks', tinšid 'she asks, you m.s. ask' and ninšid 'we ask', rather than tanšid, yanšid, nanšid as in the Najdi dialects. Examples of the consonantal realisations /j/ /č/ and /y/ from the dialects of the Euphrates bedouin include:

sābij	horse
jilīb	well
tijīfīn	you f.s. wait
čōl	desert
čīs	tobacco pouch
hīč	thus
čītab	camel saddle
čēf	now
yirčib	he rides
ačil	food
'ayy	dust storm
jiddām	in front of
yannab	he avoided
yimal	camel
ryāl	men
yāl	scarp

masāyīr

guests

The above presents a fairly involved picture of the dialect geography of the desert border between Iraq and Central Arabia. The Ḍhafīr dialect emerges as a rather mixed Najdi type with certain features of a generally northern type general to the Syrian desert presumably acquired by assimilation in the last century and a half. The Euphrates bedouin dialect on the other hand is a mixture of North Najdi and Iraqi characteristics which could have resulted either from the slow assimilation of an early Najdi invasion of the Iraq borders or of assimilation of Iraqi elements into a dominant Najdi bedouin group.

Notes

Introduction

[1](#) Musil 1928a, p. 164.

[2](#) *Ibid.*, p. 42.

[3](#) Peters, 1960, p. 34 also refers to this: 'In a sense a young son named after a father is not merely a son, but a father and possibly a great-grandfather also. The young boy becomes the contemporary carrier of the personalities of those of similar name who have preceded him while the behaviour of the living towards him is, by virtue of this, affected in a number of details.'

[4](#) Hope, 1951, pp. 171 and 190.

Chapter 1 The history of the Āl Ḍhafīr

- [1](#) Doughty, 1924, II, p. 167, also Peake, 1958, pp. 215-16.
- [2](#) Glubb, 1948, p. 39.
- [3](#) Ibn Bishr, p. 64.
- [4](#) Philby, 1955, p. 26.
- [5](#) ibn Bishr, p. 73.
- [6](#) *Ibid.*, p. 120.
- [7](#) Philby, 1955, p. 26.
- [8](#) Ibn Bishr, p. 77.
- [9](#) *Ibid.*, p. 80.
- [10](#) *Ibid.*, p. 132.
- [11](#) *Ibid.*, p. 149.
- [12](#) *Ibid.*, p. 17.
- [13](#) *Ibid.*, p. 27.
- [14](#) *Ibid.*, p. 48.
- [15](#) *Ibid.*, p. 34.
- [16](#) *Ibid.*, p. 43.
- [17](#) *Ibid.*, p. 47.
- [18](#) *Ibid.*, p. 58.
- [19](#) *Ibid.*, p. 73.
- [20](#) *Ibid.*, p. 75.
- [21](#) Philby, 1955, p. 85.
- [22](#) Ibn Bishr, p. 118.
- [23](#) Ibn Bishr, p. 133.
- [24](#) *Ibid.*, p. 136.
- [25](#) *Ibid.*, p. 145.
- [26](#) *Ibid.*, p. 38.
- [27](#) *Ibid.*, p. 39.
- [28](#) Oppenheim, 1952 III, 1, p. 54.
- [29](#) Blunt, 1879, II, pp. 175, 177. 180; also HMG Admiralty, 1916, pp. 75-6.
- [30](#) Montagne, 1935, pp. 40, 42.

- [31](#) Ibid., p. 47.
- [32](#) Ibid., p. 40.
- [33](#) HMG Admiralty, 1916, pp. 75-6.
- [34](#) Oppenheim, 1952, p. 55.
- [35](#) Ibn Bishr, p. 136.
- [36](#) Ibid., p. 159.
- [37](#) Ibid., p. 65.
- [38](#) Ibid., part II, p. 35.
- [39](#) Musil 1928b, pp. 576-7.
- [40](#) Guarmani, 1938, p. 99.
- [41](#) Burckhardt, 1808, pp. 217-45.
- [42](#) Ibid., pp. 17, 247.
- [43](#) Burckhardt, 1822, p. 308.
- [44](#) Burckhardt, 1808, p. 232.
- [45](#) Palgrave, 1865, I, pp. 299-301.
- [46](#) Guarmani, 1938, pp. 99-100.
- [47](#) Blunt, 1881, II, pp. 63, 91.
- [48](#) Doughty, 1964, I, p. 609; 1924, II, p. 22.
- [49](#) Ibid., II, p. 15, 16.
- [50](#) Bell, 1940, pp. 33-44.
- [51](#) Dickson, 1949, p. 48 mentions the hilf or 'alliance' of Shammar, Ḍhafīr, and 'Awāzim. Also Philby, 1922, p. 248.
- [52](#) Bell, 1940, pp. 33-42.
- [53](#) HMG Admiralty, 1916, pp. 81-3; Bell, 1940, p. 35.
- [54](#) Rīḥānī, 1928, pp. 275, 276, 277.
- [55](#) The events are chronicled by Dickson. 1949, pp. 350-61 and with regard to the Ḍhafīr and their allies by Glubb, 1966, *passim* who served with them for eight years in the desert patrol force.
- [56](#) Glubb, 1960, p. 192.

Chapter 2 The traditional dīra of the Āl Dhafīr

- 1** I can speak here only of these two countries as I was unable to visit the Dhafir in Iraq and know of them only by report from Dhafir in Saudi Arabia.
- 2** Lancaster, 1981, pp. 101-5.
- 3** Lancaster, 1981; Chatty, 1978; Marx, 1978.
- 4** The nature of the bedouin dīra is described by Dickson, 1949, pp. 46-52 and my account is an exemplification of his analysis for the Dhafir.
- 5** More recently in the 1950s a new well was bored at Takhādīd in the Dhafir territory which is used by the Shammar.
- 6** See also Glubb (1960), p. 227. Other bedouins who breed the jūdi are the shi'a bedouins of the Nāsiriyya region, the Huimaid, Rufai', Sā'da and Bu'aij; see also pp. 29-31.
- 7** Dickson, 1949, p. 47; Lorimer, 1908, IIA, pp. 411-42; HMG Admiralty, 1916, p. 81; Musil, 1928a, pp. 166-84; Oppenheim, 1952, III, i, p. 57.
- 8** Philby, 1922, vol. 1, p. 248.
- 9** See p. 18.
- 10** Philby, 1922, Ch. vi, p. 248; Sowayyan, 1981, p. 61; Musil, 1928a, pp. 6, 7, 191; Lorimer, 1908, p. 1749.
- 11** India Office Records R/15/5/41 HK/118, pp. 814-29 and Tel. No. 1050 16th April 1929. Glubb, 1960, p. 104 also mentions the Aslam camping at al-Amghār, well inside the Dhafir dīra, in 1920.
- 12** Musil, 1928a, p. 169.
- 13** Bell, 1944, p. 43.
- 14** Bell, 1944, pp. 43-44. The term 'donkey tribe' refers to the fact that these shepherds used donkeys rather than camels as a beast of burden.
- 15** Musil, 1928a, p. 175.
- 16** Glubb, 1960, p. 273.
- 17** Musil, 1928a, p. 169.
- 18** Glubb, 1978, p. 108.
- 19** Dickson, 1949, p. 552.
- 20** Musil, 1928a, pp. 316-17; Katakura, 1977, pp. 55-9.
- 21** Lorimer, 1908, II A, p. 411.
- 22** Bell, 1944, p. 36; but also paid tribute to shaikh Mubārak of Kuwait in 1912. HMG India Office R/15/5/99, p. 52.
- 23** Glubb, 1960, p. 192.

[24](#) Philby, 1922, I, pp. 40 and 238.

[25](#) Dickson, 1949, p. 49.

[26](#) Doughty, 1964, I, pp. 316, 385, 388-9, 465, also refers to this distinction, though regarding the Mutair also as 'in part Ahl es-Shemal', II, 1926, pp. 366-7.

[27](#) Dickson, 1949, p. 354.

[28](#) Glubb, 1960, p. 192.

[29](#) Ingham, 1982a, pp. 133-4.

Chapter 3 The structure of the Ḍhafīr tribal confederation

- [1](#) HMG Admiralty, 1916, p. 75.
- [2](#) Haqīl, 1980, p. 85.
- [3](#) Musil, 1928a, p. 169; Oppenheim, 1939, III, 1, pp. 59-60; HMG Admiralty, 1916, pp. 82-3.
- [4](#) E. L. Peters, 1960, pp. 30-1 and *passim*; Lancaster, 1981, pp. 151-8.
- [5](#) Dickson, 1949, p. 48.
- [6](#) Lorimer, 1908, II A, p. 411.
- [7](#) Qalqashandi, 1958, p. 140, section 461.
- [8](#) See Ingham, 1982a, pp. 107-10; Glubb, 1978, p. 151, for oral tradition relating to this rivalry, involving the shaikhly clans of Ibn Garmala of Qahtān and Ibn Humaid of 'Utaiba.
- [9](#) Musil, 1928a, p. 169.
- [10](#) Dickson, 1949, p. 545.
- [11](#) Glubb, 1978, p. 108.
- [12](#) India Office R/15/5/95, p. 21. An interesting tradition is recorded about the origin of the Sulailāt. When the 'Aniza were still in Najd, they made a raid on the Bani Lām. They found no camels, only two girls; these they took in marriage. One of these proved to be of noble origin. She bore Hadhdhal, the ancestor of the Ibn Hadhdhāl clan. The other was not of noble ancestry and was possibly one of the Sluba. She bore Sulail the ancestor of the Sulailāt. This tradition has the purpose of upholding the superiority of the clan of Ibn Hadhdhāl, leaders of the 'Amārāt.
- [13](#) Burkhardt, 1808, pp. 232 and 467, is the only writer to mention the Shi'ite identity of the Bani Husain.
- [14](#) They also mention the 'Battah' and 'Rasimi'. The Battāh are a branch of the Suwait, descendants of Murshid ibn Hamdān, but not via Salāma, while the 'Rasimi' are the Rsima clan of Shammar, followers of Ibn Rusaim, but attached to the war-banner of Ibn Suwait.
- [15](#) Mentioned by Musil (1928a, p. 167) and Glubb (1978, pp. 98-9), both of whom met him.
- [16](#) Lancaster, 1981, p. 156.
- [17](#) India Office, R/15/5/95, p. 54, 1921.
- [18](#) HMG Admiralty, 1916, p. 82.
- [19](#) Bell, 1940, p. 35.
- [20](#) India Office records, R/15/5/95, 27 Sept. 1921, No. 263-5.
- [21](#) Lancaster, 1981, pp. 83-4.
- [22](#) Bell, 1940, p. 34.

[23](#) Glubb, 1960, p. 192.

[24](#) For an account of this, see Ingham, 1982b, pp. 255-6.

Chapter 4 The present situation of the tribe

[1](#) Glubb, 1960, pp. 79-84.

[2](#) This tendency is also mentioned by Chatty (1978) for the tribes of Jordan.

[3](#) Glubb in a personal communication, but also implied in Glubb (1960).

Chapter 5 Texts with translations and explanatory notes

Text 1

- [1](#) int 'you' used as an indicator of the person spoken about. This often occurs in texts where more than one person is involved.
- [2](#) sing, fariž.
- [3](#) The so-called ethic dative. The hearer is involved in the action in order to add dramatic effect, i.e. lak 'to you'.
- [4](#) The feminine singular verb concord often occurs with groups or tribes.
- [5](#) The verb tarjam usually 'to translate' means in these dialects also 'to explain, interpret'.
- [6](#) The particle ham 'also' characteristic of Iraq and the Gulf is used by some Dhafirīs who have been in touch with the settled population of these areas, though it is not typical of the Dhafir dialect.
- [7](#) Descendants of Hāshim, the prophet's uncle.
- [8](#) Literally 'thirty riding camels'.
- [9](#) The riding camels were at the front of the herd and the pack camels at the rear. In Ibn Bishr's account of the battle between the Sharīf and Salāma ibn Suwait the confiscation was: xiyār awāil al-abā'ir wa xiyār tawālīha 'the best of the first of the camels and the best of the last' (Ibn Bishr, p. 64). As mentioned earlier it may be that both these accounts have their origin in a single incident.
- [10](#) xayyāl literally 'horseman' signifies 'owner, protector' and is often used in the nakhwa or war cry. The nakhwa of the Āl Suwait is xayyāl garwa ya swēti 'Suwait the protector of Garwa', garwa being the name of their prized herd of camels.
- [11](#) 'Uncle', the usual term of address of a slave to his master.
- [12](#) The Bijādiyya was a group of the Āl Suwait, who were renowned for their good counsel in war:
- [13](#) Signifying the great number of dead.

Text 2

- [1](#) The Iraqi term ham again as mentioned above.

- [2](#) The Āl Buraić are mentioned by Montagne, 1935, p. 117 as a branch of the Khrusa in the Jazīra. al-Sudairi, 1968, pp. 106-7 mentions that they joined Shammar 300 years ago and are originally from the Duwāsir.
- [3](#) literally 'to hobble'.
- [4](#) literally 'war-banners'.

Text 3

- [1](#) waladin. One would expect wladin.
- [2](#) gadi or agadi 'perhaps'. This may derive from qad yakūn.
- [3](#) taba <tabi.
- [4](#) maghōr also maḡhōr 'pack camels'.
- [5](#) The fugitive was fleeing from Mufawwaz with whom he had quarrelled. This story is given in a slightly different version by Landberg, 1919, pp. 1-54, also Glubb, 1948, pp. 136-7. The same story by Muhammad ibn Sa'dūn occurs in Ingham, 1982b, pp. 253-8.
- [6](#) Khabra al-Adyān or Faidhat al-Adyān 'The Pool of Oaths' at the confluence of Wadi 'Ar'ar and Aba al-Qaur. The place was in fact named after this event. Grazing was scarce in the desert and all three tribes had come to a truce at this one large pool of water. Dickson, 1949, p. 252 also mentions a congregation of different tribal elements at a large rain pool at al-Jahra near Kuwait in 1935.
- [7](#) Fulāna 'so and so', used when the actual name of the person is unknown or is avoided.
- [8](#) The narrator here switches the person addressed in mid-speech.
- [9](#) This remark was addressed to the author in explanation.
- [10](#) The girl would eat what he left.
- [11](#) Khalaf, the brother of Khulaif mentioned above.
- [12](#) Their hospitality is so generous that the birds feed from what remains.
- [13](#) A bird with feathers but little meat, i.e. useless for food.
- [14](#) Al-Jauf to the north of the Nafūd, property of the Āl Sha'lān and famous for its date garden.
- [15](#) I.e. signifying that she was now his protector as a member of the tent.
- [16](#) The term 'little tent' is a term of affection and does not refer to size. The Āl Suwaiṭ were famous for harbouring fugitives and became known as hal al-bwēt 'people of the little tent'. See Dickson, 1949, pp. 129-30.
- [17](#) Perhaps Sufūg ibn Fāris the famous Jarba chief, still alive in 1840. Montagne, 1935, p. 50.'
- [18](#) Therefore stronger and of greater stamina.
- [19](#) Literally forelegs, i.e. without sores or growths. A slightly different version of this poem occurs in Ingham, 1982b, p. 254.
- [20](#) An allusion to the speed and vigour of the mount.
- [21](#) Hiblān, the clan of ibn Hadhdhāl, the shaikhs of the 'Amārāt, who refused him refuge.

- [22](#) This refers to the practice of nomad tribes when invading a foreign dīra of seizing on a mountain as an initial stronghold. Doughty, I, p. 464, mentions that the memory of these mountains remains in the tradition of the tribe.
- [23](#) al-Hithrubi was later given a mount to flee to the Bani Khālīd.
- [24](#) Zarūd, a camping ground in the Dahana, belonging to the 'Abda, Musil, 1928a, p. 33.
- [25](#) The actual lexical meaning of this last verse is unclear, but the connotation is obvious.

Text 4

- [1](#) The land between the Tigris and Euphrates, probably only above Baghdad; here the text has been edited slightly. Nāyif hesitated on the name of the enemy and eventually gave them as the Āl bu Muhammad. However, a later version given by Falih ibn 'Ābir al-Žāsīmī named the 'Ubaid, which confirms Montagne's version of the Jarba invasion of 'Iraq, Montagne, 1935, p. 49.
- [2](#) There is a location Jibjib south of the Euphrates at Samāwa to which this may refer.
- [3](#) The prophet's camel. Just as the Āl Suwaīt as sharīfs are descended from Hāshim, the prophet's uncle, so their mounts are said to be descended from a noble source.
- [4](#) The word gār literally 'cave' usually indicates a high rock under which a ledge may contain a hollow or cave.
- [5](#) An alternative verse was also given: nazmī ċima tazmī šaxānīb sinjār. 'We excel as do the peaks of Sinjār.' Jabal Sinjār is a mountain ridge in the-Northern Jazīra, the disputed area.

Text 5

- [1](#) a variant of the more usual wilā-.
- [2](#) wuxḍat: internal passive.
- [3](#) lōn with the meaning 'thing'; see p. 101.
- [4](#) -lak. Rhetorical use of the 2nd person for dramatic effect.
- [5](#) The final -i of the second hemistich in this poem is a metrical convention.
- [6](#) ēḍa, although Classical, does occur in colloquial poetry; examples also occur in Landberg, 1919, p. 13.
- [7](#) Ibn Sha'lān the shaikhs of the Ruwala were also concerned in the truce.
- [8](#) I.e. they spread out over the desert without any leadership.
- [9](#) Ibn Hadhdhāl considered the truce to concern the Āl Suwaīt only, not other members of the Āl Dhafīr.
- [10](#) Ibn Bādi had just married and his bride was still in the bridal tent. He rejoices both at returning to his bride and at the return of the camels. The poem's verses can be interpreted both as in

praise of his bride, untouched by other men, and of the white camels protected from ibn Hadhdhāl.

[11](#) Durai'i ibn Sha'lān who was also alive at the time of Shayyūsh, Ibn Bishr, p. 145. The ibn Jandal clan were shaikhs of the Suwālīma section of the Ruwala, Musil, 1928, p. 50; also Meeker, 1978, p. 79.

[12](#) Ḥuṣṣa: the name of his bride.

[13](#) A derisive remark addressed to his enemies; 'long-necked' signifies 'stupid'.

[14](#) I.e. not given to anyone outside the tribe.

Text 6

[1](#) š'ēlān: an alternative form to šī'lān.

[2](#) lawinn-: an alternative to the more usual wilā-; see also Johnstone, 1964, pp. 93-5 for other cognates.

[3](#) žīl: internal passive from gāl.

[4](#) bē-jāru, The i of bi- is often lengthened for metrical purposes to ē.

[5](#) ibn Mindīl was the shaikh of 'Umūr section of the Bani Khālīd who were at that time coming over to the Dhafīr. The same story is mentioned in Musii, 1928b, pp. 574-7.

Text 7

[1](#) iskit, ṭir, injiḍi': narrative imperatives.

[2](#) mi': locative use of mi'.

[3](#) sahēh, see p. 104 for incidence of ē.

[4](#) farasin: one would expect frusin; see also waladin above p. 55.

[5](#) muruh plural of mirāh.

[6](#) nērān < nīrān; see p. 104.

[7](#) magērah < maglrah; as above.

[8](#) ilkidah narrative imperative.

[9](#) hāḍa meaning 'here'; see p. 103.

[10](#) tigil < tigūl 'you would say' meaning 'perhaps'.

[11](#) tallit: one would expect tallat.

[12](#) The word walad 'lad' is often used in addressing grown men.

[13](#) al-Furaid was from the 'Ilijānāt section.

- [14](#) *hadr* 'downwards' signifies northeast or towards the Euphrates; *fōg* 'upwards' signifies southwest. See also Musil, 1928a, p. 176.

Text 8

- [1](#) *innahu*: a classicism. More usually *innu*.
- [2](#) *yimdah* internal passive.
- [3](#) *rajjālil-laharn* < *rajjālin-laham*
- [4](#) *-lha*: in this poem the form *-ha* occurs a number of times rather than *-ah* for 'she, it f.' This is probably for metrical purposes since *-ah* also occurs.
- [5](#) *bē* < *bi-* see p. 113 above.
- [6](#) *xatw* often used in poetic expression with the singular meaning 'many a- or some-'.
[7](#) *'ind igṭiyyihin* 'on their backs', i.e. on horseback. This expression occurs also in the poem of Sa'dūn al 'Awāji: *walmout 'ind igṭiyyihin win ḥidīna* 'Death comes on their backs even if we are hard-pressed' Sudairi, 1968, p. 63.
- [8](#) *Aba Dhrā'a* is the leading family of the Smida section of the Āl Dhafir from the Mihimra section. The *Masāmīr* are a section of the *Žuwāsim*. The expression 'sitting at the tent door' signifies 'destitute of flocks with no possessions except a tent'. This also occurs in the poem of Sulaimān al-Yamani given by Muhammad al-Sudairi, Sudairi, 1968, p. 128.
- [9](#) *Ibn Sakta* was a *Šlubi*, one of the pariah group of hunters and gatherers of the arabian desert. Many of these were skilful bards and composers of poetry. See also Montagne, 1935, pp. 72-3. The *Siuba* are often attached in groups or individually as clients to bedouin tribes.
- [10](#) *'Amāri*: one of the *'Amārāt*, the followers of *ibn Hadhdhāl*.
- [11](#) *Sunaitān*, the eldest son of *Nāyif*; also the father of *Dhāri* mentioned in Text 11.
- [12](#) *Uncles*, i.e. masters. A slave or bondsman addresses his master as 'uncle'. Dickson, 1949, p. 234.
- [13](#) *Ridin* another son of *Nāyif*.
- [14](#) An odd expression, indicating the uneven gait of the camel.
- [15](#) *Garwah* the prized camel herd of the Āl Suwait. The *nakhwah* or battle cry of the Suwait was *xayyāl garwah ya swēṭi* 'Suwait the riders of Garwa!'
- [16](#) Lit. 'those with twisted nails in their shoes'.

Text 9

- [1](#) *yūkal*: internal passive.
- [2](#) The name *Māni'* occurs frequently in Dhafir tradition as a warlike member of the Suwait clan other than the shaikh. Other instances are in Text 4 and in Montagne, 1935, p. 98. The *Māni'* of the story of *Shayyūsh's* war with the Jarba (Text 4) is said to have a well named after him

Text 12

- [1](#) hasswāti: also hassuwayya and hassuwa, characteristic words for 'thus' in the Dhafir dialect.
- [2](#) lah for lu to fit the rhyme.
- [3](#) bē < bi-.
- [4](#) Sa'dūn Pasha ruled the Muntafiq from the 1880s to 1911; see also p. 17-19.
- [5](#) Ibn Sibhān, a family allied by marriage to the Āl Rashīd, who provided important ministers and advisors; see HMG Admiralty, 1916, pp. 378, 383.
- [6](#) The Jibrīn clan along with the 'Ajīl and Āl 'Alī were the leaders of the 'Abda section, the Tuwāla the leaders of the Aslam, HMG Admiralty, 1916, p. 79.
- [7](#) These were a Muṭairi family camping with the Ḍhafir.
- [8](#) Camel saddles are often used as tent furniture. In Dickson's version of the story he collapsed while mounted on his camel. Dickson, 1949, p. 130. However, my informants explained it as given above.
- [9](#) The belt of sand which runs parallel to the Euphrates at the end of the valleys which drain towards it. The Haniya ridge runs east of the Sha'īb Luwaiḥiḍh.
- [10](#) Probably Zāmil ibn Sibhān, the famous advisor of the Rashīds who died in 1914, HMG Admiralty, 1916, p. 378.
- [11](#) I.e. the Muṭairi woman whose camels were taken.
- [12](#) Stirring the water of a well or pool causes the dust to disperse. This action is compared with deeds of war.
- [13](#) A hill near the scene of the battle.

Text 13

- [1](#) jāh rather than jāw is a form used by the Zuwāsīm; see also p. 88 for further examples.
- [2](#) ham for 'also' may show a closer relationship of the Żuwāsīm dialect to those of Iraq than other Ḍhafīri groups.
- [3](#) minnu rather than mnu; again as in 2 above.
- [4](#) is'alan, a Shammari form, perhaps characteristic of the Żuwasim. See p. 101.
- [5](#) Jarbān: the plural of Jarba.
- [6](#) This battle is not identified, but as it was at the time of Fahad al-Jarba and 'Ajimi ibn Shuhail, the Ikhwān raids are probably referred to.
- [7](#) I.e. from the daintiness of her step.
- [8](#) Musayyab on the Euphrates between Baghdad and Karbala.
- [9](#) Marfū', a well in the Jazīra on the Jar'; Şayda, a well opposite Khiḍhr on the Euphrates. The exact location of these I have not yet found.

- [10](#) I.e. within their traditional dīra, which the poet now describes.
- [11](#) The sand belt south of the Euphrates.
- [12](#) Shagra, a well belonging to the Suwaiṭ further out in the desert.

Text 14

- [1](#) -lak: ethic dative.
- [2](#) Żarya: an Ikhwān settlement in the Ṭuwāl Muṭair, usually spelt Jeriya.
- [3](#) The Ikhwān raiders, contrary to bedouin custom, would kill any male captive of whatever age; see also Dickson, 1949, p. 348, Glubb, 1960, p. 126.
- [4](#) Guṣair at the end of the Shaṭb al-Ghānimi.
- [5](#) Dūshān: the plural of Duwīsh, to which belong the leaders of the Muṭair, renowned Ikhwān raiders, of whom the best known was Faiṣal al-Duwīsh who surrendered to the British in 1930 and was handed over to ibn Sa'ūd.
- [6](#) These were not identified, but may have been the Āl Sa'īd who often opposed the Āl Suwaiṭ at the time; see p. 40 above.
- [7](#) The components of bedouin honour are warlike prowess and noble ancestry.
- [8](#) Ghānimi, which runs northeast to Guṣair.
- [9](#) Brothers of Jauza: a sobriquet of the Duwīsh clan.
- [10](#) This being the method of bedouin cavalry warfare, to attack, wheel back and attack again.
- [11](#) Henna'd: i.e. red with blood.
- [12](#) Khallāwi and Hajjād were heroes of the battle.
- [13](#) In this poem the hills of Guṣair speak the words.
- [14](#) In order to run faster.
- [15](#) The battle raged at one point near the tents of the Āl Ḍhafir.
- [16](#) 'Abdallah ibn 'Ugūb.
- [17](#) Nab'a: a hill nearby, the site of an earlier battle.
- [18](#) Both these heroes of the Duwīsh died in the battle. Four hundred and sixty-seven of the enemy died, according to the Ḍhafir. This battle is not mentioned by Glubb, 1960, nor any engagement like it, although he does mention an Ikhwān raider called 'Turaiheeb ibn Shugair from Jeriya' (Żarya) (pp. 282-4 and elsewhere). This could be an engagement in which he was not present, although this seems unlikely. The tradition may have fused an Ikhwān engagement with the earlier battles of Guṣair and Nab'a mentioned in Bell, 1944, pp. 39-40, in which the Dhafir and Budūr achieved astonishing successes against Ibn Sa'dūn and their Muṭair allies.

Chapter 6 Linguistic characteristics of the Dhafīr dialect

- [1](#) It must be remembered that the word 'genetic' is used purely in relation to language and does not necessarily imply genetic links between the speakers, although these may be present incidentally
- [2](#) This includes also the area of Khūzistān in Persia, although for our present purposes this is irrelevant. But see also Ingham, 1976.
- [3](#) See p. 103.
- [4](#) Landberg, 1940, *passim*.
- [5](#) Cantineau, 1937, pp. 236-7.
- [6](#) Some of what follows reduplicates Ingham, 1982b, but further observations have also been added and rather fewer comparative examples are given.
- [7](#) See al-Tājir, 1983, p. 94.
- [8](#) For details see Ingham, 1982a, pp. 53-6.
- [9](#) The verb *našad* does not in fact occur in Classical Arabic for 'to ask'. It is introduced here purely for ease of comparison.
- [10](#) This I have only heard among the Dhafīr as in *mā šift lōn?* 'did you not see anything?', *tabi lōn?* 'do you want anything?'. It is however also mentioned by Doughty for the speech of the western Najd *'Mâana lōn* 'we have nothing left', i.e. *mā-lna lōn*. Doughty, 1964, I, p. 520.
- [11](#) The suffixes for 'us' -na, 'you' f.pl. -ćin and 'they' f. -hin are common to all and therefore omitted.
- [12](#) Cantineau, 1936, pp. 45-6, and 1937, pp. 149-50.
- [13](#) Blanc, 1970, pp. 31, 142.
- [14](#) Johnstone, 1967b, pp. 1-16.
- [15](#) Blanc, 1970, pp. 117-18.

Bibliography

- 'ABBOUD, p. f. (1978), The vowel of the imperfect prefix in Najdi', in *Linguistic and literary studies in honour of Archibald Hill*, ed. Werner Winter, Lisse, Netherlands, pp. 129-38.
- 'ABBOUD, P. F. (1979), 'The verb in northern Najdi Arabic', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XLII, 3, pp. 467-99.
- al-'Azzāwi, a. (1965), *Ashāir al-'lrāq*, vols I-IV, Baghdad.
- al-QALQASHANDi (1958), *Nihāyat al-arab fī ma"rifat ansāb al-'arab* (ed. 'Alī Khāqāni), Baghdad.
- BADAWI, M. M. (1965), 'An Intonational Study of Riyadh Arabic', PhD Thesis, London.
- BAILEY, C. (1972), 'The narrative context of the bedouin qasidah poem', *Folklore Research Centre Studies*, III, pp. 67-105.
- BAILEY, C. (1973), 'Poetry of the Desert', *Ariel*, XXXIII-XXXIV, pp. 187-99, Jerusalem.
- BAILEY, C. (1974), 'Bedouin star-law in the Sinai and Negev', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XXXVII, 3, pp. 580-96.
- BAKALLA, M. H. (1975), *Bibliography of Arabic Linguistics*, London.
- BAKALLA, M. H. (1983), *Arabic Linguistics: An Introduction and Bibliography*, London.
- BELL, G. M. L. (1907), *The Desert and the Sown*, London.
- BELL, G. M. L. (1940), *The Arab War*, London.
- Ibn BISHR, 'Uthmān ibn 'Abdallah (undated), *'Unwān al-Majd fī Tārīkh Najd*, Riyādh,
- BLANC, H. (1964), *Communal Dialects in Baghdad*, Cambridge, Mass.
- BLANC, H. (1970), 'The Arabic Dialect of the Negev Bedouins', *Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities. Proceedings*, vol. IV, no. 7, pp. 112-50.
- BLÜME, A. (1879), *Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates*, vols I and II, London.
- BLUNT, A. (1881), *A Pilgrimage to Nejd*, vols I and II, London.
- BURCKHARDT, J. L. (1822), *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, London.
- BURCKHARDT, J. L. (1829), *Travels in Arabia comprehending an account of those territories in the Hedjaz which the Mohammedans regard as sacred*, London.

- BURCKHARDT, J. L. (1836), *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, ed. Sir W. Ouseley, London.
- CADORA, F. J. (1979), *Interdialectal Lexical Compatibility in Arabic*, Leiden.
- CANTINEAU, J. (1936), 'Etudes sur quelques parlers de nomades arabes d'Orient', *Annales de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales d'Alger*, II, pp. 119-237.
- CANTINEAU, J. (1937), 'Etudes sur quelques parlers de nomades arabes d'Orient', *Annales de l'Institut de'Etudes Orientales d'Alger*, III, pp. 119-237.
- CHATTY, D. (1978), 'The current situation of the bedouin in Syria, Jordan and Saudi Arabia and their prospects for the future', paper presented at the Conference of the Commission on Nomadic Peoples of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, London.
- COLE, D. P. (1975), *Nomads of the Nomads: The Al Murrah Bedouin of the Empty Quarter*, Chicago.
- DICKSON, H. R. P. (1949), *The Arab of the Desert*, London.
- DICKSON, H. R. P. (1956), *Kuwait and her Neighbours*, London.
- DOUGHTY, C. M. (1924), *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, vol. II, London.
- DOUGHTY, C. M. (1964), *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, vol. I, London (reprint).
- ERWIN, W. M. (1963), *Short Reference Grammar of Iraqi Arabic*, Washington DC.
- FISHER, W. AND JASTROW, O. (1980), *Handbuch der Arabische Dialectologie*, Wiesbaden.
- AL-GHANNĀM, S. (undated), 'Raudhat al-afkār wa al-afhām limurtād ḥāl al-Imām wa ti'dād dhawī al-Islām', Cairo ms.
- GLUBB, J. B. (1948), *The Story of the Arab Legion*, London.
- GLUBB, J. B. (1960), *War in the Desert*, London.
- GLUBB, J. B. (1978), *Arabian Adventures*, London.
- GRANT, C. P. (1937), *The Syrian Desert, Caravans, Travel, Exploration*, London.
- GUARMANI, C. (1938), *Northern Najd*, London.
- HMG, Admiralty War Staff, Intelligence Division (1916), *A Handbook of Arabia*, vol. 1, May 1916.
- HMG, India Office Records, see Tuson, P.
- AL-HAQĪL, Ḥamad ibn Ibrāhīm (1980), *Kanz al-Ansāb*, Riyadh.
- IL-HĀZMI, A. M. (1975), 'A Critical and Comparative Study of the Spoken Arabic of the Ḥarb Tribe in Saudi Arabia', PhD Thesis, Leeds.

- HESS, J. J. (1938), *Von den Beduinen des Inneren Arabiens*, Zurich/Leipzig.
- HOGARTH, D. (1904), *The Penetration of Arabia*, London.
- HOLES, C. (1983), 'Bahraini dialects: sectarian differences and the sedentary/nomadic split', *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik*, X, pp. 7-38.
- HOPE, S. (1951), *Arabian Adventurer, the Story of Haji Williamson*, London.
- INGHAM, B. (1976), 'Geographical and social factors in the dialect geography of southern Iraq and Khūzistān', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XXXIX, 1, pp. 62-82.
- INGHAM, B. (1979), 'Notes on the dialect of the Muṭair of Eastern Arabia', *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik*, II, pp. 23-35.
- INGHAM, B. (1980a), 'Najdi Arabic text', in O. Jastrow, *Handbuch der Arabische Dialectologie*, Wiesbaden, pp. 130—9.
- INGHAM, R. (1980b), 'Languages of the Persian Gulf', in *The Persian Gulf States: A General Survey*, Baltimore, Md, pp. 314-33.
- INGHAM, B. (1982a), *North East Arabian Dialects*, London.
- INGHAM, B. (1982b), 'Notes on the dialect of the Ḍhafīr of northeastern Arabia', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XLV, 2, pp. 245-59.
- JOHNSTONE, T. M. (1961), 'Some characteristics of the Dōsiri dialect of Arabic as spoken in Kuwait', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XXIV, 2, pp. 249-97.
- JOHNSTONE, T. M. (1963), 'The affrication of "kāf" and "qāf" in the Arabic dialects of the Arabian peninsula', *Journal of Semitic Studies*, VIII, 2, pp. 210-26.'
- JOHNSTONE, T. M. (1964), 'Further studies on the Dōsiri dialect of Arabic as spoken in Kuwait', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XXXVII, pp. 77-113.
- JOHNSTONE, T. M. (1965), 'The sound change of j)y in the Arabic dialects of peninsular Arabia', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XXXVIII, 11, pp. 233-41.
- JOHNSTONE, T. M. (1967a), *Eastern Arabian Dialect Studies*, London.
- JOHNSTONE, T. M. (1967b), 'Aspects of syllabication in the spoken Arabic of 'Anaiza', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XL, pp. 1-16.
- KATAKURA, M. (1977), *Bedouin Village*, Tokyo.
- KURATH, H. (1972), *Studies in Area Linguistics*, Bloomington, Indiana.

- DE LANDBERG, H. (1919), *Langue des Bédouins 'Anazeh*, Leyden.
- DE LANDBERG, H. (1940), *Glossaire de la langue des Bédouins 'Anazeh*, Uppsala, Leipzig.
- lawrence, t. e. (1935), *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, London.
- lehn, w. (1967), 'Vowel contrasts in Najdi Arabic', in *Linguistic Studies in Memory of Richard Slade Harrel*, ed. Don Graham Stuart, Washington, pp. 123-31.
- LUTMANN, E. (1908), 'Arabische Beduinenerzählungen', *Schriften der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft in Strassburg*, vols. II and III.
- LORIMER, J. G. (1908-15), *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, Oman and Central Arabia*, Calcutta.
- MACRO, E. (1968), *Bibliography of the Arabian Peninsula*, Miami.
- MARX, E. (1967), *Bedouin of the Negev*, Manchester.
- MARX, E. (1978), 'Economic change among pastoral nomads in the Middle East', paper presented at the Conference of the Commission on Nomadic Peoples of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Studies, London.
- MATTHEWS, C. D. (1960), 'Bedouin life in contemporary Arabia', *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, XXXV, 1-2, pp. 31-61.
- MEEKER, M. E. (1979), *Literature and Violence in Northern Arabia*, Cambridge.
- MONTAGNE, R. (1935), 'Contes poétiques bédouins (recueillies chez les Šammar de Géziré)', *Bulletin des Etudes Orientales*, V, pp. 33-119.
- MONTAGNE, R. (1935-40), 'Le Ghazou de Sāye' Alemṣāḥ (conte en dialecte des Šemmar du Neǧd, sous-tribu des Rmāl)', *Mélanges Maspéro*, III, Cairo, pp. 411-16.
- MUSIL, A. (1928a), *Northern Negd*, New York.
- MUSIL, A. (1928b), *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, New York.
- NIEBUHR, C. (1772), *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen.
- OPPENHEIM, M. V. (1939), *Die Beduinen*, vol. I, Leipzig.
- OPPENHEIM, M. V. (1943), *Die Beduinen*, vol. II, Leipzig.
- OPPENHEIM, M. V. (1952), *Die Beduinen*, vol. III, Wiesbaden.
- PALGRAVE, W. G. (1868), *Personal Narrative of a Year's Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia*, London.
- PALVA, H. (1979), *Studies in the Arabic dialect of the semi-nomadic al-'aǧārma tribe (al-Balqa' district, Jordan)*, Gotenberg.

- PEAKE, F. G. (1958), *A History of Jordan and its Tribes*, Florida.
- PETERS, E. L. (1960), 'The proliferation of segments in the lineage of the bedouin of Cyrenaica', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, XC, 1, pp. 29-53.
- PHILBY, H. ST J. (1922), *The Heart of Arabia*, vol. I and II, London.
- PHILBY, H. ST J. (1955), *Sa'udi Arabia*, Lebanon.
- QAFISHE, H. A. (1976), *A Basic Course in Gulf Arabic*, Tucson, Arizona.
- RASWAN, C. R. (1930), 'Migration lines of north arabian bedouin tribes', *Geographical Review*, July.
- RASWAN, C. R. (1935), *The Black Tents of Arabia*, London.
- al-RAWI, 'Abd al-Jabbār (1949), *al-Bādiyah*, Baghdad.
- RĪḤĀNĪ, AMĪN (1928), *Tārīkh Najd al-ḥadīth wa mulḥaqātih*, Beirut.
- ROSENHOUSE, J. (1982), 'Some features of some bedouin dialects in the north of Israel', *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik*, VII, pp. 23-47.
- ROSENHOUSE, J. (1982), 'An analysis of the major tendencies in the development of the bedouin dialects of the north of Israel', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, LXV, 1, pp. 14-38.
- ROSENHOUSE, J. (1983), 'Texts in the dialect of the 'Aramsha bedouins', *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik*, X, pp. 39-70.
- SOCIN, A. (1900-1), *Diwan aus Centralarabien*, Leipzig.
- SOWAYYAN, S. A. (1981), 'A poem and its narrative by Riḍa ibn Ṭarīf aš-šammari', *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik*, VII, pp. 48-73.
- STANKIEWITZ, W. (1957), 'On discreteness and continuity in structural dialectology', *Word*, XIII.
- AL-SUDAIRI, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad (1968), *Abṭāl min al-ṣaḥrā*, Beirut.
- AL-SUDAIRI, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad (1974), *al-Dam'a al-ḥamra*, Jidda.
- TUSON, P. (1979), *The Records of the British Residents and Agencies in the Persian Gulf*, London.
- al-'UBAYYID, A. R. A. K. (1971), *Qabīlcit al-'Awāzim*, Beirut.
- VAN ESS, J. (1918), *The Spoken Arabic of Mesopotamia*, Oxford.
- WALLIN, G. A. (1851 and 1852), 'Probe aus einer Anthologie neurarabischer Gesänge, in der Wüste gesammelt', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, V (1851), pp. 1-23; VI (1852), pp. 190-218, 369-78.
- WEIR, S. (1976), *The Bedouin*, London.
- WETZSTEIN, I. G. (1868), 'Sprachliches aus den Zeltlagern der Syrischen Wüste', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*,

XXII, pp. 69-164.

Index

This index lists the most important names of persons, clans, places and events found in the text and also certain more general headings. Arabic personal names are notoriously difficult to index. This is partly because it is difficult to isolate a surname as such. Thus Shayyūsh, one of the sons of 'Afnān, could be referred to as Shayyūsh ibn 'Afnān, Shayyūsh al-Suwait, Shayyūsh ibn 'Afnān al-Suwait, or just ibn Suwait. For this reason, all names are cross-referenced to the main clan name, so that the above would be found under Suwait. The component elements ibn 'son of, Āl 'clan of, bani 'sons of, and al- 'the' are not counted in the alphabetical ordering. Thus Āl 'Afnān is to be found under 'Afnān, bani Khālid under Khālid and al-Sa'dūn under Sa'dūn. Names with the component Aba or Abu 'father of are, however, listed under Aba or Abu, since there are comparatively few of them and the whole constitutes an inseparable name in most cases, as in Aba Dhrā'a, which cannot be shortened to Dhrā'a.

'Ā'a, [25](#)
Abaal-Qaur, [112](#)
Aba Dhrā'a, [34](#), [35](#), [73](#), [114](#)
Aba Dhrā'a, 'Agāb, [43](#)
Aba Dhrā'a, Dahām, [10](#)
Aba Dhrā'a, Lazzām, [42](#)
'Abda, [12](#), [29](#), [33](#), [41](#), [83](#), [102](#), [112](#), [116](#)
'Abdallah, ibn 'Ugūb, *see* [al-Suwait](#), 'Abdallah ibn 'Ugūb,
'abīd (slaves), [36](#)
'Abīda, [33](#)
al-Abraq, [9](#)
'Abs, [33](#)
Abu al-'Auf (type of bird), [60](#)
Abu Shuwārib (or Mshōrab), [52](#)
Abu Ghār, [23](#)
Abu Hunaić (J. B. Glubb), [43](#)
Abu Ridin, [74](#); *see also* [ibn Suwait](#), [Nāyif](#)
Abu Thāmir, [85](#)
'Adnān, [37](#)
'Adwān, [39](#)
'Afāshīn, [35](#)
Al 'Afnān, [5](#), [39](#), [40](#), [43](#), [93](#)
ibn 'Agāb, Hazzā, *see* [al-Suwait](#), [Hazzā' ibn 'Agāb](#)
'AinMāni', [50](#), [115](#)
'Ajānīn, [35](#)
'Ajārma, [3](#)
'Ajīl, [116](#)
'Ajmān, [15](#), [18](#), [20](#), [32](#), [33](#)
Āl'Ali, [116](#)
'Aljān, [36](#)
'Amāra, [27](#)
'Amārāt, [4](#), [38](#), [44](#), [66](#), [74](#), [110](#), [112](#), [114](#)
al-Amghār, [109](#)

Aniza, [3](#), [10](#), [11](#), [12](#), [14](#), [15](#), [16](#), [18](#), [21](#), [28](#), [32](#), [33](#), [37](#), [40](#), [44](#), [58](#), [66](#), [95](#), [96](#), [102](#), [103](#), [111](#), [115](#)
'Anizi, *see* 'Aniza
Anṣār, [38](#)
Arab Legion, [2](#), [45](#)
al-'Āriḍh, [95](#)
army, [20](#), [21](#), [45](#)
Arṭāwiyya, [32](#)
Ash'ali, [23](#)
'ashīrah, [35](#)
'Askar (mḥalaf), [26](#), [35](#), [36](#)
Aslam, [13](#), [31](#), [39](#), [109](#), [116](#)
Āl Aṣlib, [35](#)
bani 'Aṭiyya, [32](#)
autumn (ṣfiri), [26](#), [52](#)
al-'Awāji, Sa'dūn, [114](#)
'Awāzim, [3](#), [35](#), [37](#), [38](#), [95](#), [103](#), [108](#)
'Awnān, [38](#)
'Azīz (father of Suwait), [37](#)
ibn Bādi, Du'aibīl, [65](#), [66](#), [113](#)
baḍīdah (clan or section), [34](#), [35](#), [52](#)
Bag'a, [10](#), [54](#)
Baghdad, [12](#), [16](#), [18](#), [113](#), [116](#)
Baḥāma, [99](#)
Baiṣ (the slave of the sharīf), [53](#)
bait (descent group), [34](#)
Bardiya, [18](#)
Bashūk, [28](#)
Basra, [10](#), [19](#)
bairag (war banner), [34](#), [83](#), [90](#), [110](#)
baṭn (tribal section), [35](#)
Bāṭin, [27](#), [31](#)
Batra, [10](#)
Baṭṭaḥ, [110](#)
bedouin identity, [47](#)
Beny Saīd", [8](#); *see also* [Āl Sa'īd](#)
Bijādiyya, [53](#), [111](#)
Billi, [32](#)
border police, [21](#), [45](#)
British, [19](#), [31](#), [117](#)
Bṭiyya, [24](#)
Āl Bu'aij, [10](#), [29](#), [109](#)
Budūr, [18](#), [19](#), [29](#), [30](#), [117](#)
ibnBuraić, [10](#), [54](#), [111](#)
Buṣayya, [23](#), [25](#), [32](#)
Buṭūn, [13](#), [26](#), [27](#), [33](#), [35](#), [36](#), [37](#)
Buwa it, [35](#), [39](#), [40](#)
éCabd, [25](#)
Ćābda, [24](#), [25](#)
camel breeders, [30](#)
ĀlĆithīr, [26](#), [37](#), [38](#), [42](#)

confiscation of camels, [8](#), [84](#)
 christians, [38](#)
 ibn Dabbūs, Shāri', [87](#)
 Dahana, [10](#), [15](#), [112](#)
 Dalaqa, [10](#)
 Damascus, [12](#)
 al-Dāth, [8](#), [52](#), [53](#)
 Dawāsir, [15](#), [111](#)
 Ḍhab', [85](#)
 Ḍhana Bishr, [40](#)
 Ḍhana Muslim, [40](#)
 Ḍhāri ibn Sunaitān, *see* [al-Suwait](#), [Ḍhāri ibn Sunaitān](#)
 Dhir'ān (the clan of AbaDhrā'a), [13](#), [18](#), [25](#), [26](#), [27](#), [31](#), [35](#), [36](#), [40](#), [41](#), [42](#)
 al-Dhrā'i, Badri al-'Ayzar, [42](#)
 Ḍhruma, [10](#)
 Ḍhulfa'a, [10](#), [14](#)
 Ḍhuwaiḥi, [39](#)
 ibn Ḍhuwaiḥi, 'Ali, [29](#), [39](#)
 Diwaniyya, [27](#)
 Dughayyim, *see* [ibn Suwait](#), [Dughayyim](#)
 Dughayyim al-Sirbil, [79](#)
 Dulaimiyya, [24](#)
 Dulayyić, shaikh of the Āl Sa'īd, [41](#)
 Dūshān, [31](#), [89](#), [117](#)
 Duwairān, [25](#)
 al-Duwīsh, Faiṣal, [19](#), [32](#), [117](#)
 early summer (gēḍ), [26](#)
 epic, [3](#)
 Euphrates, [1](#), [12](#), [14](#), [17](#), [18](#), [23](#), [26](#), [27](#), [28](#), [29](#), [31](#), [38](#), [70](#), [83](#), [84](#), [97](#), [109](#), [113](#), [116](#), [117](#)
 Euphrates camel (jūdi), [26](#)
 Fad'ān, [12](#)
 Faddāgha, [12](#)
 Faḍhl, [104](#)
 Fahad (ibn Muḍḥḥi), *see* [al-Suwait](#), [Fahad ibn Muḍḥḥi](#)
 Faiḍhat al-Adyān (the pool of oaths), [58](#), [112](#)
 Faiḍhat al-Dāyir, [78](#)
 fakhdh (tribal section), [35](#)
 ibnFarrāj, [76](#), [115](#)
 Farḥa, the Prophet's camel, [64](#)
 Farz, [52](#)
 First World War, [31](#), [38](#)
 foreigners at Şufairi, [46](#)
 Fuḍhūl, [9](#), [10](#)
 Fulaij, [11](#)
 al-Furaid (of the'Ilijānāt), [70](#), [71](#), [114](#)
 Furūg, [52](#)
 ibn Garmala, [110](#)
 Garwah (the prized camel herd of the ĀlSuwait), [74](#), [111](#), [115](#)
 Ghānirn, of the A1 Furūg, [52](#)

Ghānīmī, [23](#), [90](#), [117](#)
 ibn Gharīr, Barrāk, [9](#), [10](#)
 Gharrāf, [30](#)
 Gḥaṭān, *see* [Qaḥṭān](#)
 Āl Ghīzy, [10](#)
 Ghubaisha, [13](#)
 gibīlah (tribe), [34](#), [35](#)
 Graibī'āt, [84](#)
 ibnGuḥaiṣān, [35](#)
 Guṣair, [23](#), [89](#), [91](#), [117](#)
 Guṣāyīm (sand belt), [23](#)
 al-Hadāniyya, [25](#)
 Hadiya, [18](#)
 ibn Hadhdhāl, [4](#), [12](#), [32](#), [38](#), [40](#), [44](#), [58](#), [60](#), [61](#), [65](#), [66](#), [73](#), [74](#), [78](#), [79](#), [110](#), [112](#), [113](#), [114](#)
 ḥadra ('going down' to the Euphrates), [28](#)
 al-Ḥafār, *see* [Ḥafār al-Bāṭin](#)
 Ḥafār al-Bāṭin, [1](#), [11](#), [23](#), [27](#), [31](#), [44](#), [46](#), [47](#)
 Hail, [3](#), [16](#), [28](#)
 Ḥajara, [10](#), [78](#), [115](#)
 Hajjād, [90](#), [117](#)
 ibn Ḥallāf, [25](#)
 ibn Ḥallāf, Thawāb, [10](#)
 Ḥamād, [12](#)
 Ḥamar, shaikh of the 'Ilijānāt, [37](#), [41](#)
 Ḥamdān (al 'Ama) 'Hamdān the Blind', *see* [ibn Suwayt](#), [Ḥamdān](#)
 Ḥaniya ridge, [84](#), [116](#)
 Haouran, *see* [Ḥauran](#)
 Ḥarb, [31](#), [32](#), [75](#), [76](#), [95](#), [103](#)
 al-Ḥasa, [3](#), [9](#), [10](#), [12](#), [15](#), [17](#), [32](#), [70](#), [71](#)
 al-Ḥashshār, Sanad, [90](#)
 bani Hāshim, [36](#), [111](#), [113](#)
 Haulah, [39](#)
 Haur al-Ḥammār, [23](#), [26](#)
 Ḥaurān, [16](#), [17](#)
 Hawāzin, [33](#)
 Ḥawīza, [13](#), [14](#), [63](#)
 henna, [43](#), [90](#), [117](#)
 Ḥiblān, [4](#), [61](#), [112](#)
 Hijaz, [8](#), [9](#), [11](#), [12](#), [13](#), [16](#), [21](#), [30](#), [31](#), [35](#), [36](#), [52](#), [54](#)
 al-Ḥijr, [8](#)
 ḥilf (confederation), [34](#), [38](#), [108](#)
 Ḥilla, [15](#)
 Hīt, [13](#), [30](#)
 ibn Ḥithlain, Nayif, [20](#)
 al-Ḥithrubi, [13](#), [58](#), [59](#), [60](#), [61](#), [112](#)
 Ḥṣina, [12](#)
 baniḤuchaim, [18](#), [29](#), [38](#), [43](#), [45](#)
 Ḥufayyir, [25](#)
 ibn Ḥumaid, [110](#)

Ḥumaid, [29](#), [30](#), [38](#), [43](#), [49](#), [105](#), [109](#)
 Ḥumrān, [37](#)
 Ḥunaifa (the horse of Ridin), [74](#)
 bani Ḥusain, [6](#), [11](#), [16](#), [17](#), [18](#), [26](#), [35](#), [36](#), [38](#), [40](#), [43](#), [89](#), [90](#), [110](#)
 Ḥuṣṣa, the bride of ibn Bādi, [66](#), [113](#)
 Ḥuwaiṭāt, [32](#)
 ḥyāca (people knitted in), [38](#)
 Ikhwān, [4](#), [6](#), [7](#), [19](#), [20](#), [21](#), [28](#), [31](#), [116](#), [117](#)
 'Iijān, [36](#)
 'Iijānāt, [13](#), [25](#), [35](#), [36](#), [37](#), [41](#), [42](#), [114](#)
 Iraq, [2](#), [6](#), [10](#), [11](#), [12](#), [16](#), [19](#), [20](#), [21](#), [28](#), [29](#), [31](#), [40](#), [43](#), [44](#), [45](#), [47](#), [48](#), [49](#), [84](#), [95](#), [97](#), [98](#), [100](#), [103](#),
[109](#), [113](#), [116](#)
 Iraqi nomads, [11](#), [30](#)
 Iraqi tribes, [31](#), [45](#)
 Jabal Shammar, [13](#), [17](#), [28](#)
 Jahama, [24](#), [25](#)
 al-Jahra, [112](#)
 Jais, [13](#)
 Jam'ān, [35](#)
 ibnJandal, [66](#), [113](#)
 Jarba, [4](#), [12](#), [14](#), [28](#), [58](#), [60](#), [61](#), [86](#), [113](#), [115](#), [116](#)
 al-Jarba, Fahad, [87](#), [116](#)
 al-Jarba, Fāris, [63](#)
 al-Jarmān, [9](#)
 al-Jauf, [17](#), [60](#), [112](#)
 Jauza, [90](#), [117](#)
 Jazīra, [12](#), [13](#), [14](#), [16](#), [18](#), [28](#), [63](#), [111](#)
 ibn Jibrīn, [83](#), [116](#)
 al-Jill, [25](#)
 Jirjib, [50](#), [63](#)
 Jiyārīn, *see* [Juwārīn](#)
 Jordan, [2](#), [3](#), [32](#), [42](#)
 Jrāb, [10](#)
 Jubba, [17](#)
 Jufra, [25](#)
 Juhaim, [24](#)
 Julaida, [23](#), [24](#)
 Juraibi'āt, [18](#), [83](#)
 Juwārīn, [29](#), [38](#)
 bani Ka'b, [33](#)
 Kaithān, [10](#)
 Kamm ibn Ṭuwāla, [44](#), [48](#)
 Karbala, [116](#)
 Khabra al-Adyān (the pool of oaths), *see* [Faḍḥat al-Adyān](#)
 Khābūr, [12](#)
 Khaibar, [33](#)
 Khaiaf and Khulaif of the Shammar, [59](#)
 al-Khāldi, Muṭni ibn Mijwi, [50](#)
 bani Khālid, [3](#), [4](#), [9](#), [10](#), [15](#), [21](#), [26](#), [36](#), [37](#), [38](#), [42](#), [78](#), [80](#), [89](#), [95](#), [112](#), [114](#)
 Khallāwi, [90](#), [117](#)

al-Kharj, [35](#)
 Khawālīd, *see* [bani Khālīd](#)
 Khiḍhir, [117](#)
 Khruṣa, [12](#), [111](#)
 Khuḍhār, [10](#), [14](#)
 Khuḍhūr, [35](#)
 Khufaisa, [15](#)
 Āl Khumayyis, [35](#)
 khuwa, [31](#), [40](#)
 Khūzistān, [33](#), [118](#)
 Kuwait, [2](#), [4](#), [5](#), [6](#), [17](#), [19](#), [20](#), [21](#), [27](#), [28](#), [31](#), [32](#), [36](#), [39](#), [40](#), [41](#), [42](#), [46](#), [95](#), [103](#), [105](#), [109](#), [112](#)
 Kwād, *see* [Kwida](#)
 Kwida, [30](#), [38](#)
 bani Lām, [17](#), [110](#)
 Līna, [11](#), [14](#)
 little tent, [40](#), [61](#), [112](#) *see also* [Buwait](#)
 Luwaiḥiḍh, [23](#), [116](#)
 Ma'alib, *see* [Ma'ālīm](#)
 Ma'ālīm, [13](#), [25](#), [26](#), [27](#), [35](#), [36](#), [39](#), [40](#)
 Madina, [31](#)
 Ma'lūmi, [42](#), [96](#); *see also* [Ma'ālīm](#)
 majlis (shaikh's guest house), [45](#), [46](#), [73](#)
 Manfūha, [10](#)
 Marfū', [50](#), [87](#), [117](#)
 masākin (dwelling places), [23](#)
 Masālīkh, [17](#)
 Masāmīr, [25](#), [35](#), [73](#)
 Mas'ūd, [13](#)
 Mawāli, [12](#)
 Māy'a, [30](#)
 medical centre, [44](#)
 Mesopotamia, [21](#), [28](#)
 Miḥimra, [10](#), [35](#), [73](#), [114](#)
 Mijwal, [10](#)
 ibn Mindīl, [15](#), [35](#), [67](#), [68](#), [79](#), [89](#), [114](#), [115](#)
 ibn Mindīl, 'Abdallah, [80](#), [81](#)
 ibn Mindīl, Salmān, [80](#)
 ibn Mindīl, Sulṭān, [67](#), [68](#)
 al-Mira, [11](#)
 ibn Mirshid, [44](#)
 Miti'ba, [70](#), [71](#)
 Miz'ar, [39](#)
 motor transport, [21](#), [45](#), [48](#)
 Mu'allim, *see* [Ma'ālīm](#)
 Mubāyiḍh, [10](#)
 Muḍhar, [37](#)
 Mufawwaz al-Tajghīf, [58](#), [60](#), [112](#)
 Munīyya, [15](#), [25](#)
 Muntafiq, [10](#), [14](#), [16](#), [18](#), [21](#), [23](#), [27](#), [28](#), [29](#), [32](#), [38](#), [41](#), [83](#), [115](#), [116](#)
 Āl Murra, [33](#)

Musayyab, [87](#), [116](#)
Musliṭ, [11](#)
Muṭair, [11](#), [16](#), [17](#), [18](#), [19](#), [27](#), [31](#), [32](#), [33](#), [38](#), [41](#), [76](#), [95](#), [98](#), [101](#), [102](#), [109](#), [115](#), [116](#), [117](#)
Muwāhib, [33](#)
Nab'a, [19](#), [91](#), [117](#)
Nafūd, [10](#), [28](#), [32](#), [48](#), [112](#)
Nafūd al-Sirr, [10](#)
Najaf, [28](#)
Najd, [21](#), [28](#), [32](#), [40](#), [44](#), [63](#), [100](#), [110](#)
Najd camel, [26](#)
Najd, central, [4](#), [11](#), [12](#), [35](#), [95](#), [101](#), [102](#)
Najdi identity, [47](#)
Najrān, [10](#)
nakhwa (war cry), [111](#), [115](#)
Nāṣiriyya, [27](#), [29](#), [30](#), [31](#), [40](#)
neighbour (guṣīr), [54](#), [58](#), [80](#), [84](#), [85](#)
Nissibin, [13](#)
northern bedouin (Ahl al-Shimāl), [32](#), [109](#), [115](#)
Northern desert, [12](#), [14](#), [15](#), [94](#), [96](#), [102](#)
Nṣāb, [23](#), [24](#), [25](#)
Nu'aim, [104](#)
oil industry, [20](#)
Ottomans, [10](#), [12](#), [38](#)
pack camels, [59](#), [111](#), [112](#)
Qaḥṭān (also Gḥaṭān), [3](#), [11](#), [15](#), [33](#), [36](#), [37](#), [110](#)
Qash'am, [8](#), [10](#), [14](#), [15](#), [30](#)
al-Qash'am, Nāṣir, [8](#), [15](#)
ibn Qash'am, Thuwaini, [8](#), [52](#)
Qaṣīm, [1](#), [10](#), [17](#), [31](#), [97](#), [102](#), [103](#)
Qays 'Aylān, [37](#)
Quraish, [11](#)
rā' al-buwait ('owner of the little tent'), [40](#), [112](#)
Raghaba, [10](#)
railway line from Baghdad to Basra, [31](#)
Rashāyida, [38](#), [95](#)
Āl Rashīd, [3](#), [17](#), [18](#), [19](#), [28](#), [31](#), [41](#), [76](#), [83](#), [103](#), [116](#)
ibn Rashīd, Muḥammad, [16](#), [17](#), [76](#)
Rasimi, [110](#)
Ridin ibn Nāyif, *see* al-Suwayṭ, Ridin ibn Nāyif,
Ridin ibn Ṣaḥan, *see* [al-Suwayṭ](#), [Ridin ibn Ṣaḥan](#)
Rifā'i, [24](#), [25](#)
Rub' al-Khālī, [37](#)
Rufai', [29](#), [30](#), [38](#), [43](#), [45](#), [49](#), [97](#), [105](#), [109](#)
Rukhaimiyya, [24](#), [43](#)
Rumaila, [25](#)
ibn Rusaim, [110](#)
Rusaimi, [25](#)
Ruwala, [2](#), [4](#), [6](#), [12](#), [17](#), [41](#), [42](#), [113](#)
Sā'da, [29](#), [109](#)
ĀiSa'dūn, [14](#), [16](#), [17](#), [18](#), [28](#), [29](#), [30](#), [31](#), [40](#), [41](#), [83](#), [84](#), [117](#)

ibn Sa'dūn, 'Abdallah, [15](#)
 ibn Sa'dūn, 'Ajimi, [19](#), [29](#), [40](#), [85](#)
 ibn Sa'dūn, Dujaini, [10](#)
 ibn Sa'dūn, Najm, [84](#)
 Sa'dūn Pāsha, [18](#), [85](#), [116](#)
 al-Sa'dūn, Yūsuf Beg, [19](#)
 Şafwān.see [Şfuwān](#)
 A1 Sa'īd, [8](#), [10](#), [13](#), [18](#), [24](#), [25](#), [26](#), [27](#), [35](#), [36](#), [40](#), [41](#), [42](#)
 Şaida, [50](#), [87](#), [117](#)
 Sakāka, [17](#)
 bani Şakhar, [3](#), [8](#), [16](#)
 ibn Sakta, Dakhīl, [73](#), [114](#)
 Salmān, [23](#), [25](#)
 Samāwa, [18](#), [27](#), [28](#), [29](#), [30](#), [31](#), [38](#), [45](#), [46](#), [47](#), [87](#)
 Sāmriyya (type of poem), [90](#)
 Sa'ūd al-Aşga, [91](#)
 Āl Sa'ūd, [4](#), [6](#), [10](#), [18](#), [20](#), [21](#), [28](#), [69](#)
 ibn Sa'ūd, 'Abd al-'Azīz I, [10](#)
 ibn Sa'ūd, 'Abd al-'Azīz, [17](#), [41](#), [43](#), [117](#)
 ibn Sa'ūd, Muhammad, [10](#)
 ibn Sa'ūd, Sa'ūd, [10](#), [11](#)
 ibn Sa'ūd, Turki, [11](#), [15](#)
 Saudi Arabia, [1](#), [2](#), [17](#), [19](#), [20](#), [21](#), [42](#), [44](#), [45](#), [46](#), [47](#), [109](#)
 Saudi citizenship, [45](#), [47](#)
 Şāyiḥ, [12](#)
 sayyids (in Samāwa), [47](#)
 Sba'a, [12](#), [33](#), [44](#)
 schools, [44](#)
 semi-nomads, [30](#)
 settled folk (ḥaḍhar), [47](#), [54](#)
 Şfuwān (also Safwān), [10](#), [23](#), [24](#), [25](#)
 Shagra, [18](#), [23](#), [25](#), [87](#), [117](#)
 ibn Sha'lān, [4](#), [42](#), [65](#), [66](#), [67](#), [68](#), [79](#), [112](#), [113](#)
 ibn Sha'lān, Durai'i, [11](#), [66](#), [113](#)
 ibn Sha'lān, Nūri, [41](#)
 ibn Sha'lān, Sulṭān, [67](#)
 Shāmiyya, [12](#)
 Shammar, [2](#), [3](#), [4](#), [11](#), [12](#), [13](#), [14](#), [16](#), [17](#), [18](#), [19](#), [21](#), [25](#), [26](#), [27](#), [28](#), [30](#), [32](#), [33](#), [41](#), [44](#), [58](#), [63](#), [83](#), [84](#),
[95](#), [96](#), [97](#), [101](#), [102](#), [103](#), [105](#), [111](#), [115](#), [116](#)
 Shammar Tawqa, [13](#)
 Sharī'a (Islamic law), [81](#)
 Sharīf Ḥamūd ibn 'Abdallah, [8](#)
 Sharīf Ḥārith, [10](#)
 Sharīfs, [8](#), [9](#), [21](#), [36](#), [37](#), [41](#), [52](#), [54](#), [111](#), [113](#)
 Shāwiya, see [Shūyān](#)
 Shayyūsh ibn 'Afnān, see [al Suwaiṭ](#), [Shayyūsh ibn 'Afnān](#)
 sheep tribute, [14](#)
 shepherd tribes, [14](#), [18](#), [23](#), [30](#), [38](#); see also [Shūyān](#)
 Shī'a, [13](#), [17](#), [28](#), [29](#), [30](#), [38](#), [40](#), [98](#), [109](#), [110](#)
 ibn Shi'ailān, see Sha'lān

Shibića, [27](#)
 Shibrum, [25](#), [26](#)
 shi'ite, *see* [Shī'a](#)
 ibn Shugair, Hāyif, [19](#), [41](#), [89](#), [91](#)
 ibn Shugair, Turaiḥeeb, [117](#)
 ibn Shumail, [40](#)
 Shummāl, [40](#)
 Shūyān, [29](#), [43](#)
 ibn Sibhān, [83](#), [84](#), [116](#)
 ibn Sibhān, Zāmil, [85](#), [116](#)
 Sibila, [10](#)
 Sibya, [15](#)
 Simāḥ, [24](#)
 Simbis, [13](#)
 Sinjār (Jabal), [113](#), [115](#)
 Şluba, [71](#), [78](#), [114](#)
 Smida, [10](#), [13](#), [26](#), [27](#), [34](#), [35](#), [36](#), [87](#), [114](#)
 sōla (surprise attack), [66](#)
 southern bedouin (Ahl al-Jinūb), [32](#), [95](#)
 ibn Şubāh, [17](#), [18](#), [19](#), [28](#), [40](#)
 ibn Şubāh, Mubārak, [109](#)
 Subai', [10](#), [15](#), [16](#), [36](#), [37](#)
 Sudair, [10](#), [11](#), [95](#)
 Sudair (valley), [23](#)
 al-Şufairi, [1](#), [2](#), [3](#), [5](#), [42](#), [44](#), [45](#), [46](#), [48](#), [96](#), [97](#)
 Şufūg, [61](#), [112](#)
 Suhūl, [15](#)
 Şulail, [110](#)
 Şulailāt, [38](#), [110](#)
 Sulaiman (al-Suwait), *see* [al-Suwait](#), [Sulaimān](#)
 ibn Sulaimān, Munī', [15](#)
 Sulaimān Pāsha, [10](#), [11](#)
 Sulem, [40](#)
 Āl Sulṭān, [5](#), [39](#), [40](#), [43](#)
 Şummān, [15](#)
 Sunni, [38](#), [98](#)
 Sūa al-Shuyūkh, [17](#)
 AlSuwait, [3](#), [10](#), [13](#), [14](#), [24](#), [25](#), [26](#), [27](#), [28](#), [34](#), [35](#), [36](#), [37](#), [39](#), [40](#), [41](#), [42](#), [43](#), [45](#), [52](#), [53](#), [58](#), [60](#), [61](#),
[62](#), [66](#), [70](#), [71](#), [76](#), [81](#), [84](#), [87](#), [89](#), [90](#), [91](#), [113](#)
 al-Suwait, 'Abdallah ibn 'Ugūb, [91](#), [93](#), [117](#)
 al-Suwait, 'Afnān, [13](#), [92](#), [93](#)
 al-Suwait, 'Ajimi ibn Shuhail, [1](#), [2](#), [8](#), [19](#), [20](#), [41](#), [43](#), [45](#), [87](#), [92](#), [116](#), [117](#)
 al-Suwait, Ḍhāri ibn Sunaitān, [80](#), [81](#), [92](#), [115](#), [116](#)
 al-Suwait, Dughayyim, [13](#), [14](#), [61](#), [92](#)
 al-Suwait, Fahad ibn Muḍḥḥi, [39](#), [93](#)
 al-Suwait, Faiṣal ibn 'Ajimi, [24](#), [39](#), [45](#), [92](#)
 al-Suwait, Faiṣal ibn Shuhail, [10](#), [11](#), [54](#), [92](#)
 al-Suwait, Ḥamdān, [8](#), [13](#), [14](#), [15](#), [37](#), [41](#), [52](#), [92](#)
 ibn Suwait, Ḥamūd, [7](#), [16](#), [17](#), [19](#), [38](#), [39](#), [40](#), [81](#), [83](#), [92](#), [116](#)
 al-Suwait, Hazzā' ibn 'Agāb, [39](#), [93](#)

ibn Suwaiṭ, Jad'ān, [20](#), [41](#), [92](#)
ibn Suwaiṭ, Ju'ailān, [16](#), [17](#), [32](#), [92](#), [116](#)
ibn Suwaiṭ, Māni', [31](#), [64](#), [75](#), [76](#), [115](#)
al-Suwaṭ, Muḥammad ibn Sa'dūn, [2](#), [5](#), [45](#), [50](#), [93](#)
ibn Suwaiṭ, Murshid ibn Ḥamdān, [92](#), [110](#)
al-Suwaṭ, Nawwāf ibn Hazzā', [5](#), [93](#)
ibn Suwaiṭ, Nāyif, [11](#), [16](#), [32](#), [35](#), [38](#), [69](#), [92](#)
al-Suwaṭ, Nāyif ibn Ḥamūd, [3](#), [5](#), [24](#), [50](#), [92](#), [115](#)
al-Suwaṭ, Ridin ibn Nāyif, [74](#), [115](#)
al-Suwaṭ, Ridin ibn Ṣaḥan, [45](#), [93](#)
ibn Suwaiṭ, Salāma, [8](#), [9](#), [10](#), [15](#), [92](#), [110](#), [111](#)
al-Suwaṭ, Shayyūsh ibn 'Afnān, [11](#), [14](#), [15](#), [16](#), [39](#), [63](#), [92](#), [113](#), [115](#)
al-Suwaṭ, Sulaimān, [61](#)
ibn Suwaiṭ, Sulṭān, [11](#), [15](#), [16](#), [17](#), [32](#), [39](#), [65](#), [67](#), [92](#)
ibn Suwaiṭ, Sunaitān, [80](#), [92](#), [115](#), [116](#)
al-Suwaṭ, 'Ugūb, [32](#), [39](#), [84](#), [85](#), [92](#), [93](#)
Suwālīma, [113](#)
Syria, [12](#), [16](#), [44](#), [97](#), [103](#)
Syrian desert, [2](#), [32](#), [33](#), [42](#), [95](#), [102](#), [104](#), [106](#)
Tadmur, [12](#)
Taghlib, [33](#)
Takhādīd, [48](#), [109](#)
Ṭalḥa (brother of Suwaiṭ), [37](#)
bani Tamīm, [11](#), [36](#), [37](#)
Ṭayy, [11](#), [13](#)
Thābit, [12](#)
Āl Thāri, [35](#)
Tharmāniyya, [10](#)
Tugayyid (al-Munī'), [15](#), [25](#)
al-Ṭulūḥ, [35](#), [37](#), [40](#)
Tūmān, [12](#)
Turkey, [19](#)
Turks, [14](#), [18](#), [19](#), [37](#), [38](#); *see also* [Ottomans](#)
Ṭurufiyya, [18](#)
Ṭuwāl (al-Dhafīr), [15](#), [23](#), [24](#), [25](#), [27](#), [28](#), [43](#), [44](#), [48](#), [83](#)
Ṭuwāl Muṭair, [32](#), [117](#)
Ṭuwāla, [28](#), [31](#), [39](#), [41](#), [44](#), [83](#), [116](#)
'Ubaid, [12](#), [13](#), [14](#), [63](#), [113](#)
ibn 'Ufaiṣān, [35](#)
'Ugaidāt, [32](#)
'Ugūb (ibn Suwaiṭ), *see* [al-Suwaṭ](#), ['Ugūb](#)
Ummal-'Abīd, [24](#), [25](#)
'Umūr, [38](#), [67](#), [68](#), [79](#), [114](#), [115](#)
underground water, [23](#)
'Uraif, [13](#), [24](#), [25](#), [26](#), [27](#), [35](#), [36](#), [43](#), [65](#)
ibn 'Urai'ir, [4](#), [16](#), [54](#), [69](#), [70](#), [71](#)
ibn 'Urai'ir, Sa'dūn, [62](#)
'Utaiba, [11](#), [32](#), [37](#), [95](#), [103](#), [110](#)
'Uwen, [38](#)
valleys, [23](#), [24](#), [25](#), [116](#)

viol (rubāba), [59](#), [79](#)
Wādi'Ar'ar, [112](#)
Wahhabi, [12](#), [19](#)
Wajh, [32](#)
Washm, [10](#), [95](#)
watering place (ḥisu), [23](#), [24](#), [27](#)
Wāyil, [33](#), [79](#), [115](#)
wells, [15](#), [21](#), [23](#), [24](#), [26](#), [27](#), [28](#), [48](#)
wells, machine operated, [21](#)
Wguba, [11](#), [23](#), [24](#)
white camels, [48](#), [61](#), [65](#), [66](#)
Williamson, 'Abdallah Fadhil, [6](#)
Wild'Ali, [12](#), [16](#)
Zaghārīt, [10](#), [13](#)
Zālība, [23](#)
Āl Zāri\ [35](#), [40](#)
Zarūd, [62](#), [112](#)
Zafya, [89](#), [117](#)
Žāsimi, *see* [Žuwāsim](#)
al-Žāsimi, Fālih ibn ' Abir, [113](#)
al-Žāsimi, Mahdi ibn Dulayyim, [50](#)
Zawba', [13](#)
Zayyād, [18](#), [19](#), [29](#)
Žilīb, [25](#)
zrēži, (bird), [26](#)
Zubair, [27](#)
Zughāba, [37](#)
Zughaib, [37](#)
Žuwāsim, [13](#), [25](#), [26](#), [27](#), [31](#), [35](#), [36](#), [41](#), [42](#), [43](#), [86](#), [87](#), [89](#), [90](#), [95](#), [96](#), [116](#)