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The 'Anazah Tribes

Author(s): Touvia Ashkenazi

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TO THE RABI'A GROUP¹ belong the 'Anazah and the closely related 'Asad who live near each other to the north of the Wâdi Rumma.² The Pilgrim Road from Baṣra³ to Medina⁴ crosses their territory. The 'Anazah, who are scattered throughout the peninsula of Arabia, Syria and 'Irak, are divided into a Southern and Northern branch. All the tribes, and all the clans of the 'Anazah tribes, in the opinion of the ar-Rwala, have a common father and therefore are they beni al-'amm, their paternal cousins.⁵ They are called by many travellers the 'Anazah nation.⁶ The 'Anazah of the Syrian desert are the most

* Because of limitations of special type available native words are given in the text without diacritical marks. A list showing the proper orthography is given at the end of this article—Editor.

1 *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1938, pp. 176-178; see tribal descent of Arabian Bedouins, Carl Raswan, *The Black Tents of Arabia* (Boston, 1935), p. 232; cf. Reynold A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs* (1933), p. xix, "The Descendants of Rabi'a"; Philip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (3rd ed., revised, 1946), pp. 93, 280, 502 n.1; L. Massignon, *Annuaire du monde musulman* (3rd ed., 1929), pp. 95, 101, 106, 131, 177, 439; Charles M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta* (New York, 1946), vol. 2, p. 477.

2 *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 1, p. 374; cf. *First List of Names in Arabia* (N. W. and S. W.) (Permanent Committee on Geographical Names for British Official Use, Royal Geographical Society, December, 1931, p. 8 (Rima, Wâdi ar: wadi, 160 km south of Hail; Arabic A [for Arabic forms see list at end of this article]). See also David George Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia: a Record of the Development of Western Knowledge Concerning the Arabian Peninsula* (New York, 1904), Rumma, W. er —, pp. 164, 184, 190, 208, 233, 239, 273, 277, 285, 288 ff., 296 ff., 306, 316, 326, 340, 341.

3 Baṣra: pr. Baṣra (sharp s); Arabic B.

4 Medina: 350 km north of Mecca; conv. for Arabic C — Al Medina; formerly Arabic D — Yathrib.

5 The word duriyye, "descendants," is replaced among the ar-Rwala by the word dana which designates very distant descendants irrespective of whether they have actually sprung from a common ancestor or whether the relationship is due to adoption. This term is employed particularly by the 'Anazah. Dana, "descendants": John Lewis Burckhardt employs this term in 1810 (*Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys* [2 vols., London, 1830], vol. 2, pp. 4-6); cf. Alois Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins* (New York, 1928), pp. 47-50; Victor Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins* (Paris, 1930), p. 113; *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades des états du Levant placés sous mandat français* (Beyrouth, July, 1930), p. 7.

6 Alois Musil, *Arabia Deserta* (New York, 1927), p. 1; Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, p. 176; Carl Raswan, *Tribal Areas and Migration Lines of the North Arabian Bedouins* (Geographical Review, vol. 20, no. 3, 1930), p. 494; *idem*, *Vocabulary of Bedouin Words Concerning Horses* (Journal of Near Eastern Studies, vol. 4, no. 2, 1945), p. 97.

powerful of all the purely nomad confederations from the borders of 'Irak to the eastern frontiers of Syria.⁷

(1) The Southern 'Anazah, comprise the tribes from which are descended the Ab al-Hayl, Eben Sabah, Ebn Sa'ûd, and various clans of the Kahtan and the Muntifeš (al-Aškar, etc.). (2) The Northern 'Anazah are subdivided into (a) the Dana Muslim, and (b) the Dana Bišr. The Dana Bišr include the Wuld 'Ali⁸ and the ar-Rwala,⁹ who are also known as the Al-Glâs.¹⁰

THE NORTHERN BRANCH

The Northern Branch of the 'Anazah are subdivided, as we have mentioned, into two branches: (a) Dana Bišr and (b) Dana Muslim.

According to Gertrude Bell,

The Anizah are divided roughly, into three groups. The Amarat, who claim descent from a legendary ancestor called Bishr, occupy, under Fahad Beg ibn Hadhdhal, the south-east angle of the Syrian desert and spend the summer near the Euphrates. The

7 *Review of the Civil Administration of Mesopotamia* (India Office, 3rd December 1920: Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty, London, 1920 [Cmd. 1061]), pp. 39-40; Musil, *Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins*; Max Fr. von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen* (Leipzig, 1939), vol. 1: "Die Beduinenstämme in Mesopotamien und Syrien," pp. 62-130; *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.*, pp. 15-33; Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, "Les tribus du desert," pp. 41-45, 113-123; Raswan, *The Black Tents of Arabia*, pp. 110-112; *Les tribus arabes de Syrie* (Beyrouth, 1922), p. 6; *The Military Handbook of Palestine and Syria* (Cairo, 1918), pp. 53-55; J. C. Glubb, *The Bedouins of Northern Iraq* (Journal, Royal Central Asian Society, vol. 22, part 1, 1935), p. 15; E. Bräunlich, *Beiträge zur Gesellschaftsordnung der Arabischen Beduinenstämme* (Islamica, vol. 6, part 1, Leipzig, 1933), p. 89; Raswan, *Tribal Areas and Migration Lines, etc.*, pp. 497-499; *Report of the Commission Entrusted by the Council with the Study of the Frontier between Syria and Iraq* (League of Nations, Mandates: Official No. C. 578, M. 285, 1932), vi, p. 27.

8 *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.*, pp. 26-28; Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, p. 84; Raswan, *Tribal Areas and Migration Lines, etc.*, p. 499, map, "Tribal Areas of the 'Aneze Tribes."

9 Musil, *Manners and Customs, etc.*; *idem*, *Arabia Deserta*, pp. 14-16; *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.*, pp. 19-25; Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, pp. 113, 123; Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, vol. 1, pp. 62-130; *The Military Handbook, etc.*, p. 53; Lady Bell, ed., *The Letters of Gertrude Bell* (New York, 1927), vol. 1, pp. 332, 351; Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, vol. 1, pp. 234, 271, 358, 376, 388, 565; vol. 2, pp. 37, 92, 134, 205, 269, 326; T. E. Lawrence, *Revolt in the Desert* (New York, 1927), pp. 58-59, 95, 111, 244, 249, 260, 268, 274, 296, 299, 302, 310, 315, 320, 324; *Report, Iraq for the Year 1929* (Colonial no. 55, 1930), pp. 35-36.

10 Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, vol. 1, p. 271. Doughty remarks further "Incorporate of old with the Ruwalla, are the ancient Annezy Aarab, el-Jellâs; of whom a wady of Kheybar, their former possession long forsaken by them, is yet named" (vol. 1, p. 377). And further he notes: "We came through palm-groves in a valley bottom, W. Jellâs, named after the old division of Annezy, which having long since forsaken Kheybar, are at this day—we have seen—with the Ruwalla in the north" (vol. 2, p. 92; also pp. 134, 205).

Rwala under Nuri Ebn Shalan, are opposite neighbours of the Amarat on the Syrian side, and just as the Amarat turn to Karbala and Najaf for supplies, so the Rwala turn to Damascus. The third group is composite and consists of the Fedan and Sbaa, both descended, like the Amarat, from Bishr. The Fedan follow the Mheyd family; among the Sbaa, Eben Murshid and Ebn Kuayšîš are the leading saikhs.^{10a}

DANA BIŠR

The Dana Bišr consist of a number of independent groups of families: el-Fed'ân, Khorsa, as-Sba'a 'Ebede, and as-Sba'a Kmusa. Each of these groups, properly speaking, is a tribe.

According to Burckhardt, the Dana Bišr

divide themselves into two great branches: (1) The Tana Madjed Arabs to whom belong as minor tribes, the Fedan and the Seba; (2) The Selga Arabs. Of these the greater part occupy the district of El Hasa on the Persian Gulf, belonging to the Wahabys. Of these Selgas there are three ramifications, the Medheyan, Metarafe, and the considerable tribe called Oulad Soleyman. The Selga Sheikh is Ibn Haddal, a strenuous supporter of the Wahabys. He was present in almost every battle fought from the year 1812 to 1815 in Hedjaz against the army of Muhammad Aly; and it was chiefly through his exertions that Tousoun Pasha was kept completely in check on his progress in spring 1815, from Medinah towards Kasym.¹¹

And further he states:

El Beshar, the most numerous of the Aeneze tribes. Their great chief is ibn Haddal, who encamps with his tribe in the Nedjed where most the Beshar tribe have taken up their abode. Ibn Haddal is at the same time one of the principal men at the court of Derayah, if so may be styled the seat of Ibn Saoud. . . . The Beshar are divided into the following powerful tribes—el Fedhaan, Ibn Imhyd, Ibn Ghehein (who conducted me to Palmyra in 1810), Ibn Kay Shyshe, Ibn Ghedzour, el Zebaa. In my way from Hanah to Tedmor. I found all the watering-places occupied by Arabs of this tribe: the greater part of them are in Nedjed; el Mauddje, el Metarafe, whose brethren are likewise in Nedjed; el Seleyamat, el Hosseniy (not to be mistaken for the Hessene) el Medheyan. Thus far extends my knowledge of the greater Aeneze tribes.¹²

The term Dana Bišr is equally used to denote the tribes of northern Syria as well as those of 'Irak. According to Raswan, who lived for many years among the 'Anazah tribes, "the Bishri [include] the three federated clans of the Anaza: the Fid'an, Sba and Amarat. . . ." ¹³ Bišr is the name of Abd's ancestor whose

10a *Review of the Civil Administration of Mesopotamia*, p. 41.

11 Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, vol. 2, pp. 4-6.

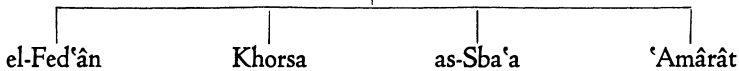
12 *Idem*, vol. 1, pp. 8-9.

13 Raswan, *The Black Tents of Arabia*, p. 28.

progeny branches into two: 'Abd and 'Amârât.¹⁴ The el-Fed'ân and as-Sba'a are brother tribes, of the same blood as the 'Amârât, and all three unite when one is attacked by outsiders.¹⁵

TABLE 1

Dana Bišr



DANA MUSLIM

The Dana Muslim consist of the Beni Wahab and the Al-Glâs, the ar-Rwala being a subdivision of the latter. The Beni Wahab are divided thus: (1) al-Hsene;¹⁶ (2) Wuld 'Ali: consisting of Dana Mifreg, head chief from the family of Eben Smeyr; al-Mašta, head chief from the family of Eben Tayyar; al-Mašâlih, head chief from the family of Eben Ga'îš. The Al-Glâs are divided into al-Mihlef and ar-Rwala.

The ar-Rwala traditions explain that originally the Dana Muslim divisions were encamped in the vicinity of Heybâr,¹⁷ where in the valley of Al-Glâs they still have their hlal, palms. From there they are said to have moved towards the north.¹⁸

The first tribe to migrate was al-Hsene, whose chief was descended from the kin of Eben Melhem. To him was entrusted the control of the Pilgrim Road

14 This is one chapter in Arab genealogy which it would be interesting to explore. Cf. *Les tribus arabes de Syrie* (Haut Commissariat de la République Française, Direction du Service des Renseignements du Levant, Beyrouth, May 1922), p. 56. Müller gives a different spelling: Obeid and Amor (*En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, p. 122). A French document gives Amer (Amarat and Obeid) (*Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.*, p. 15: "Généalogie des Anézés"). See also Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, vol. 1, p. 376.

15 Doughty cites the relation between the three: "Sbâ, Feddân, Ammarât" (*Travels in Arabia Deserta*, vol. 1, p. 376).

16 Their head chief is from the family of Eben Mezayed. On the al-Hsene consult *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.*, pp. 31-33, and Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, pp. 113-114.

17 Heybâr: 130 km north of Medina; Arabic *E*. Doughty calls that neighborhood "Khey-bar the patrimony of Annezy" (*Travels in Arabia Deserta*, vol. 1, p. 314); Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, pp. 117, 169; Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia*, pp. 21, 30, 36, 68, 169, 184, 267, 272, 273, 282 ff., 289 ff., 317, 340; William Muir, *The Life of Mohammed from Original Sources* (T. H. Weir, ed., Edinburgh, 1912), pp. lxxii, cv, 87, 113 n., 222 n., 283, 310 n., 320 n., 343, 348, 361 n., 374, 375-383, 386 n., 394, 399 n., 419, 425, 481, 503, 513, 528, 536; conquest of, p. 374 ff.

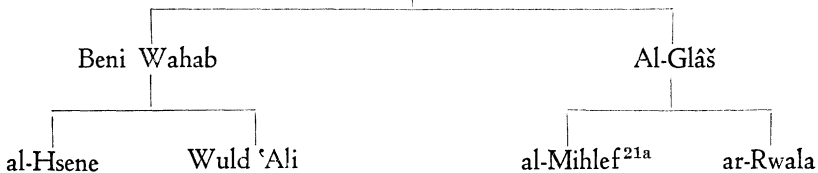
18 Musil, *Manners and Customs, etc.*, p. 89.

from Damascus as far as al-'Ela',¹⁹ in return for which he received a large sum of money from the Turkish Government. In the oasis of Heybâr several families of Wuld Sleyman and the Wuld 'Ali still have their palms. The Serahin, who belong to the as-Sba'a tribe and obey the chief of the kin of Abu-Sama, have their fellahin there.²⁰

The house of Sa'ûd is a descendant from the 'Anazah branch, who further belong to the Maşâlih. King 'Abd el-'Azîz Eben Sa'ûd honors and appreciates the feelings of these 'Anazah, and especially those belonging to the Maşâlih. According to Hafîz Wahbe,

in the year 850 of the Hegira came Rabî'a, son of Man'a, from their ancient abode, called Dar'a near Katif to 'Ali Eben Dar'a master of Hagr and Gaz'a near ar-Riad, member of the Rabî'a Eben Man'as tribe. Eben Dar'a gave the latter Mulayid and Guzayba, famous places in Dar'a. They settled down and built there these places, he, and his descendants after him. Man'a was the father of Rab'a who became famous and powerful all around his place. His son Musa was even more famous than his father. Musa was father of Ibrahîm, grand father of Mukran and Sa'ûd. Sa'ûd is the father of the House of Sa'ûd.²¹

TABLE 2
Dana Muslim



THE SOUTHERN BRANCH

To the Southern Branch of the 'Anazah belong: (1) Ab al-Hayl, (2) Ebn Sabah, (3) Ebn Sa'ûd, (4) Kahaţan—various clans, (5) Muntifeş, (6) Al-Aşkar, chief of the Muntifeş tribe are also descendants from the 'Anazah.

CHIEFTANSHIP

The word *ḵowm* indicates the Bedouins ruled by a chief. Thus it is possible to say: "Kowm eben Sa'lân, he is of the *ḵowm* of Eben Sa'lân"; "the *ḵowm* of

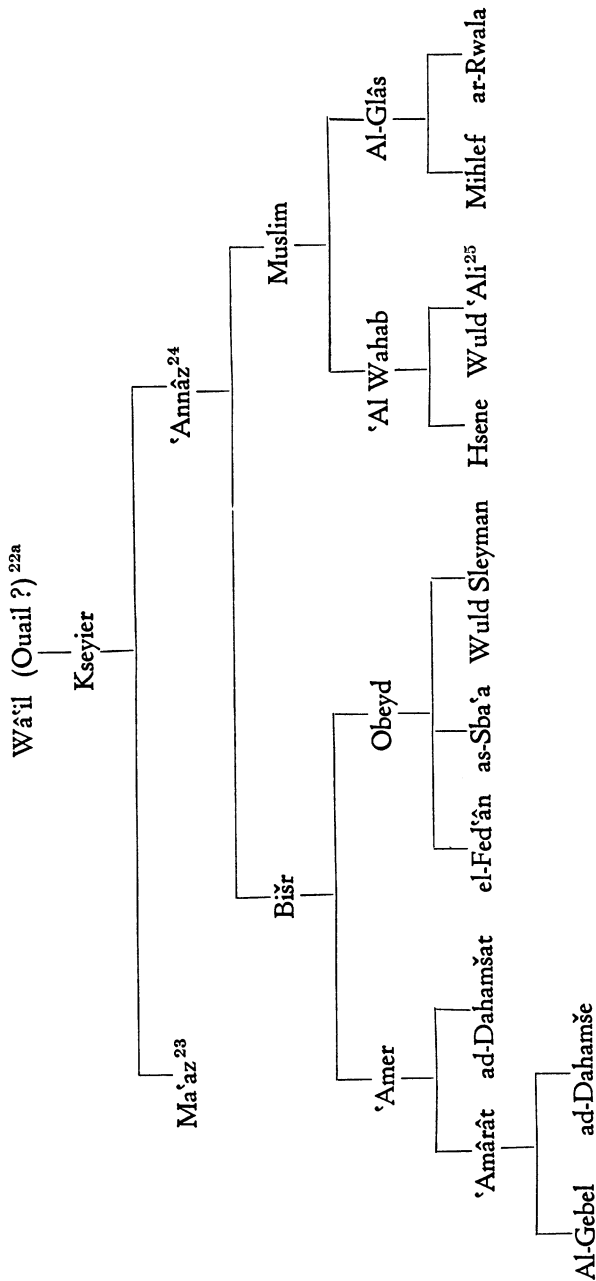
19 Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia*, pp. 182, 183, 184, 271.

20 Musil, *Manners and Customs, etc.*, p. 58.

21 Hafîz Wahbe, *Gaziratu-l-'Arab fi-l-karni-l-'İsrin* [The Arabic Peninsula in the Twentieth Century] (Cairo, 1354:1935), pp. 106-107. Cf. K. S. Twitchell, *Saudi Arabia, with an Account of the Development of its Natural Resources* (with Edward J. Jurji, 1947), p. 88.

21a Also called Muhallaf.

TABLE 3
Genealogy of the 'Anazah²²



²² *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.*, p. 15; Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, p. 122.

^{22a} Cf. "Wâ'ilin (sons of wâ'il, that is the Annezy)" (Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, vol. 2, p. 477). Cf. Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, p. 122: "Tableau de parenté des Anézés" (Ouail or Ouraïl); *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.*, p. 15; "Généalogie des Anézés."

²³ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, vol. 1, p. 94.

²⁴ Raswan, *The Black Tents of Arabia*, p. 232.

²⁵ Were called before Al-'Ali (Ršed Eben-Smeyr) (*Arabia Deserta*, p. 84).

Eben Me'gel are encamped here"; "the *ḵowm* of Eben Gandal also took part in the raid"; but such a phrase as "That is the *ḵowm* of the Rwala" or "He is descended from the *ḵowm* of the Frege," will never be heard. When the late Prince Eben Sa'lân spoke of *gemâ'ati*, he was thinking of the various tribes who obeyed his orders and who would hasten to his assistance. *Gemâ'a* is almost the same as *ḵowm*.²⁶ The rank of chief²⁷ is hereditary in a definite house, *âl*.²⁸ It is usual to recognize as chief that member who is most suitable by reason of his mental and physical qualities; nor need he be the oldest in the ruling house. Among the clans and tribes ruling houses may persist as such until they die out, although their power may have become extremely weak and many families may have deserted them. A head chief or prince to whom the other chiefs have submitted, either of their own free will or under compulsion, and who represents a whole tribe or group of tribes, is overthrown more frequently than an ordinary chief, and his rank passes to another kin. This most frequently happens if the hereditary head chief is not distinguished by warlike ability. He then directs the external affairs of his tribe as *Seyh al-bâb*, while affairs of war are left to a man from a different kin. Such a leader is known as *Seyh aš-šdâd* or *Seyh al-harb*. If he succeeds in subduing the enemy and concluding a favorable peace, several clans may become attached to him. They obey him in peace. There ensue wars in which the hereditary head chief generally succumbs and his house acknowledges the supremacy of the previous military commander, who then becomes *Seyh al-bâb* as well.²⁹

According to tradition the head chief of all the Rwala was originally descended

26 Musil, *Manners and Customs, etc.*, pp. 50-51.

27 The ar-Rwala give the name of *Šeyh* and also *Šuyuh* to their head chief. The head chief declares war and concludes peace. Cf. *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.*, pp. 7-9; Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, pp. 202-208; Mohammed Fadhel Jamali, *The New Iraq: its Problem of Bedouin Education* (Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1934), pp. 27-29; Leo Haefeli, *Die Beduinen von Beersaba: ihre Rechtsverhältnisse Sitten und Gebräuch, aus dem Arabischen Übersetzt* (Luzern, 1938), pp. 29-31: "Eine Buch des Gouverneurs 'Aref el-'Aref in Beersaba"; Touvia Ashkenazi, *Tribus semi-nomades de la Palestine du nord* (Paris, 1938), pp. 51-53.

28 Generally the word *âl* denotes the same as *beni* or *eben*, its meaning being wider than that of *ahl*. *Feriz* is the name given to a group of kindred descended from the same ancestor. A *Feriz* is also wider than an *ahl*. The clan and sometimes the kin are denoted by the word *âl*, which is often interchanged with the article *al*, although the meaning of the former is known to every *Rweyli*, a member of the ar-Rwala tribe. Cf. Musil, *Manners and Customs, etc.*, pp. 47-50; Ign. Golziher, in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenland Gesellschaft*, vol. 50, pp. 11-117; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, p. 248; Bräunlich, *Beiträge zur Gesellschaftsordnung, etc.*, part 1, pp. 68-111; part 2, pp. 182-229.

29 Musil, *Manners and Customs, etc.*, pp. 50-51.

from the kin of the Ka'ka'a. Sa'lân was the son of worthy parents. Although he had no property of his own, he had charge of the camel herdsmen of the al-Mur'âz kin in the capacity of a fedâwi, free born servant. The herds grazed in the environs of a certain settlement in Negd. The Ka'ka'a once stole flocks of sheep and goats from the settlers and drove their camels into their fields. The settlers rushed out, captured the herds of camels, and hid them in the enclosed palm gardens. The Rwala surrounded the settlement, but they could not break down the defence, and the settlers threatened that the captured camels would die of hunger if the Rwala did not abandon the blockade. Accordingly the head chief of the Rwala made an offer of peace to the elder of the settlers. The elder declared that he would not negotiate except with his acquaintance Sa'lân and that he would not give up the camels except to him. The representatives of the Frege and Ribîshân pleaded with the chief to give Sa'lân the seal ring, and this was done. Sa'lân went to the elder and came to terms with him. The settlers returned the captured camels. All praised Sa'lân and said that he was a gentleman. Sa'lân remained in the settlement and did not return the ring to the head chief. The settlers, the Frege, and the Ribîshân supported him, and after four years he overthrew the head chief and himself guided the destinies of all the Rwala. A struggle for priority ensued between the head chief Eben Sa'lân with his Rwala and chief aš-Sreyfi of the Kwačbe. The latter belonged to the Kahaṭan division of the 'Anazah. Originally they camped in Negd. Under their chief aš-Sreyfi they advanced to the territory of the Rwala and encamped to the east of al-Gowf.³⁰ They wished to act and rule in complete independence, but the Rwala declared that they must acknowledge the Rwala supremacy or else withdraw. Thereupon the Kwačbe joined with the Sammâr and Zefîr³¹ and undertook a great raid upon the tribes obeying Eben Sa'lân. They were led by the seven sons of aš-Sreyfi. The Kwačbe and Sammâr wished to avenge their great

30 al-Gowf: oasis, northern Negd; Arabic *F* or *G* – Gowf al-'Amîr. Gowf al-'Amîr, the ancient Dûmat el-Gendel, a great oasis and suburbs in the south of the Syrian Desert and on the border of the Nefûd. Gowf signifies a hollow or low ground. The Sunn'a of Gowf are greatly esteemed in all northwestern Arabia and in the lands beyond the Jordan for their skill in metal- and marble-working (coffee mortars and pestles). There is a salt traffic from the neighborhood of Gowf to the Hawrân, whither there come every year many poor Gowfies to labor for the Druses. Cf. Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia*: Gowf (North), pp. 18, 36, 116, 157 ff., 162 ff., 170, 173, 247, 250 ff., 256, 266 ff.; Gowf (South), pp. 31, 56, 198, 200, 201, 210, 334. On the occupation of Gowf by Eben Sa'ûd and the abandonment of the oasis by the ar-Rwala consult *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades*, etc., p. 19. Gowf is mentioned by T. E. Lawrence in the First World War as Nuri Eben Sa'lân's capital (*Revolt in the Desert*, p. 59).

31 On the tribe of Az-Zefîr consult Alois Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, p. 24; *idem*, *Northern Negd*, p. 169; Glubb, *The Bedouins of Northern Iraq*, p. 15.

defeat, and in the following year marched against the Rwala. This time it was to be finally decided who should command, and therefore the Kwačbe marched with their families, tents, and flocks, and established a war camp, manah, and Haw'a (or al-Hawa) to the east of the settlement of Skâka.³² The Rwala had previously occupied all the wells for a considerable distance around. The Kwačbe, together with the Sammâr, made several attacks on the encampment of the Rwala, but each time they were repulsed. The Rwala, who were commanded by a war-chief ('azid al-harb) Fheyd eben Ma'abhel, never attacked but so pressed their adversaries closer and closer that they were unable to obtain water anywhere. Then the elders of Kwačbe sent a messenger to Fheyd with a request for peace, and offered the Rwala half their herds. Fheyd agreed and peace was concluded. This harsh war is known as Manah az-Zren, "Battle-camp of the Two Starvations." The Sammâr, the allies of the Kwačbe, did not accept the peace and threatened them with war. Aš-Sreyfi then decided that he would acknowledge the supremacy of the Rwala and would join them entirely. His daughter Kut married Fheyd and his Kwačbe encamped together with the Rwala.³³

Still it is important to note what Burckhardt says of the Seyh of Wuld 'Ali, who in his time had their winter quarters on the Hagg road as far as Kal'at Zerkâ;³⁴ according to him "their sheikh, is named el Teyar: he occupies the first rank among their chiefs, and is therefore styled Abou el Aeneze, or 'Father of the Aenezes'."³⁵ According to Lawrence, "Nuri Shaalan, the great Emîr of the Rwala, who after the Sherif³⁶ and Ibn Saud^{36a} and Ibn Rashid³⁷ was the fourth figure among the precarious princes of the desert."³⁸

32 Sakâka: 50 km northeast of Gowf; Arabic *H*.

33 On the tribe of ar-Rwala consult Musil, *Manners and Customs etc.*; Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, vol. 1, pp. 234, 271, 358, 376, 388, 565; vol. 2, pp. 37, 92, 134, 205, 269, 326; *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.*, pp. 19-24; Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, pp. 14-16; Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, p. 113; *The Military Handbook, etc.*, p. 53; Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, vol. 1, pp. 62-130.

34 Kal'at ez-Zerkâ, close to the spring of that name (Trans-Jordan).

35 Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, vol. 1, pp. 3-4.

36 Hussein Eben 'Ali (1856-1931): first king of the Hegâz (1916-1924) and founder of the modern Arab Hshimite dynasty; Grand Sherif of Mecca (1908-1916) as a result of the Young Turk movement. In the World War he first sided with the Turks; later, on advice of his son Feisal and of Colonel T. E. Lawrence, he joined the Allied cause.

36a 'Abd-al-'Aziz ibn-'Abd-ar-Rahmân al-Faisal ibn-Sa'ûd (b. 1880?): King of Saudi Arabia (from 1932); born Riyadh, son of 'Abd-ar-Rahman; Wahabi sultan of Negd. In World War I he sided with the British against the Turks; invaded and conquered (1924-1925) the Hegâz, forcing abdication of King Husein and his son 'Ali; proclaimed himself King of Hegâz (1926); changed his title from Sultan of Negd to King of the Hegâz and Negd; by decree (1932) he proclaimed the official name of Hegâz and Negd as Kingdom of Saudi

The paramount chief of the 'Amârât is Fahad Beg Ebn Haddal who is nominally the ultimate lord of all 'Anazah, though, in fact, his western neighbor, Ebn Sa'lân, who commands the Syrian side of the desert, was more a notable personage. Unlike the Amîr of Gebel Sammâr and the ruler of Negd, Fahad Beg has no fixed abiding place. He lives with his tribe, true people of the camel, who follow where their grazing herds lead them. Yet the strong castles of Ebn Sa'ûd and Ebn Rashîd are not more impressive to the imagination than Fahad's encampment. In spring you may find him in the grassy steppes of the Syrian desert, with a couple of hundred tents round him, widely scattered in complete security from attack, and during many hours before you reach him you ride through his camel herds, for the 'Anazah are the greatest of all breeders. The old Seyh, seated on fine carpets in his guest tent, with his hawk and his greyhound behind him, offers a picture of tribal dignity which walled cities and the lofty halls of the central Arabian princes and their troops of armed slaves cannot rival.³⁹ In 1920, Fahad Beg claimed to be paramount chief of all 'Anazah (Syria and 'Irak), but whatever his *de jure* rights may be, *de facto* he has no shadow of authority over the Rwala and the chief Nuri Ebn Sa'lân. The Fed'ân and the Sba'a give Fahad scarcely definable recognition, which never, or very rarely, amounts to obedience; and even his 'Amârât Seyhs obey or turn a deaf ear to him as suits their convenience. Overlordship among the Bedouins is a loose term. Nevertheless, Ebn Haddal is the greatest nomad potentate on the western borders of 'Irak. The Turks endeavored to incorporate him into their administrative scheme by making Fahad's father Kaimakam of the desert between the Sitatah oasis and Karbalâ,⁴⁰ where (at the end of a canal running out from the Euphrates) he

Arabia. For a short account of the rise of the Wahabis under Eben Sa'ûd and the latter's conquest of Hegâz see *The Statesman's Year-Book* (1929), pp. 645-647.

37 Gertrude Bell writes on May 4, 1916: "I am now engaged in getting into communication with Ibn Rashid, whom it is rather important to preserve as a neutral if we can do no more. He is only about 4 days off and Sir Percy Cox has approved warmly of my sending him a letter. A curious game, isn't it, but you can understand that it is exciting to have a hand in it" (*Letters of Gertrude Bell*, vol. 1, p. 376). Dr David Hogarth, President of the Royal Geographical Society, gave an account on April 14, 1927, before the Society, of Gertrude Bell's adventurous expedition to Hayil, the capital of Gebel Sammâr: province, northern Negd; Arabic I.

Members of the ruling house are captives at the court of Ebn Sa'ûd at ar-Riyadh in Negd. The province of Gebel Sammâr was annexed to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

38 Lawrence, *Revolt in the Desert*, p. 173.

39 *Review of the Civil Administration of Mesopotamia*, p. 41. Cf. Robert Montagne, *Notes sur la vie sociale et politique de l'Arabie du nord* (extract, *Revue des Études Islamique*, année 1932, Paris, 1932); Glubb, *The Bedouins of Northern Iraq*, pp. 19-21; Eldon Rutter, *Slavery in Arabia* (Journal, Royal Central Asian Society, vol. 20, part 3, 1933), pp. 315-332.

40 Karbalâ: pr. Karbalâ, 80 km southwest of Baghdad; Arabic J. an-Najaf: pr. An Najaf, 145 km. south of Baghdad; Arabic K.

owned a few acres of arable land, tilled by riverain fellahin. These his son inherited, together with the Turkish title. It was one of the boldest strokes of Ottoman make-believe, but it could not give the nomad Seyh the remotest resemblance to a Turkish Effendi.⁴¹

We have to conclude that there is no one paramount chief among the 'Anazah tribes. The two most important 'Anazah chieftains are Fawwâz Ebn Sa'lân and Fahad Ebn Haddal on the borders of 'Irak and the Syrian desert respectively.⁴²

STATISTICS

We have little knowledge about their numbers in ancient times. We may relate what Burckhardt says when he travelled amongst them:

From some Damascus pedlars, who had passed their whole lives among the Bedouins, I learned particulars which induce me to state the force of the Aeneze tribes alone mentioned (viz: El Beshir) (their brethren in Nedjed not included) at about ten thousand horsemen, and perhaps ninety or one hundred thousand camel-riders; a number rather over than under rated.⁴³

And elsewhere he states:

To detail all their minor branches or yowayehs, would be to give an index of all their families, every large family with its relations constituting a small tribe in itself. It is difficult to ascertain the numbers of each tribe, from a prejudice which forbids them to count the horsemen; as they believe like the eastern merchants, that whoever knows the exact amount of his wealth may soon expect to lose part of it.⁴⁴

Modern travellers have checked and left us more particulars with regard to statistics of the 'Anazah tribes. The whole tribe was estimated by Lady Anne Blunt, in 1879, as follows: 1. Fedáan—4,000 tents; 2. Sebáa—4,000 tents; 3. Ibn Haddal—4,000 tents; 4. Hesénneh—500 tents; 5. Roála or Jeláas—12,000 tents; 6. Wélled Ali—3,000 tents; 7. Sirhán—?; 8 and 9. Erfuddi and Towf—?.⁴⁵ Habib Chiha estimated them at 97,000 tents.⁴⁶ During the First World War (1914-1918) the 'Anazah of Syria were estimated by the Intel-

41 *Letters of Gertrude Bell*, p. 41.

42 Cf. Raswan, *The Black Tents of Arabia*, pp. 115-116. Fawwâz Ebn Sa'lân became head chief of the ar-Rwala tribe and its satellites at the death of the Emir Nuri Eben Sa'lân, his grandfather, which occurred July 1, 1942 (*Palestine Post*, July 3, 1942).

43 Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, vol. 1, pp. 8-9.

44 *Ibid.*

45 Anne Blunt, *The Bedouins of the Euphrates*, pp. 190-192; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 1, p. 346.

46 Habib Chiha, *La province de Baghdad; son passé, son présent, son avenir . . . et une étude inédite sur les tribus nomades de la Mésopotamie* (Cairo, 1908), p. 243.

ligence reports of the British Army at 70,000 souls.⁴⁷ According to Gertrude Bell,

the 'Anizah in the Syrian desert and Jazirah may amount to a quarter of a million souls; the computation, it must be understood, is based on the slenderest data, no attempt to number the tents of the Bedouins having been so much as proposed.⁴⁸

The number of the nomads in Syria were estimated in 1930 by the French authorities to be 279,898, that live and migrate on an area of 120,000 square kilometres.⁴⁹ According to *Annuaire du monde Musulman* (1929), the 'Anazah tribes of Syria are estimated to be the following: (1) the ar-Rwala—14,000 souls, united with the Muhallaf—6,000; the Wuld 'Ali—7,000; the al-Fed'an—14,000 (13 clans); as-Sba'a—7,000 (3 clans).⁵⁰ According to Commandant Victor Müller, total tents of the 'Anazah tribes in Syria are estimated by him to be 11,100 (1931).⁵¹ According to official estimates of the French authorities in Syria in the year 1930 there were 9,010 tents.⁵² According to official estimates of the said authorities the Bedouins in Syria were estimated in the year 1926 to be 250,000 in rough numbers;⁵³ in the year 1927, 200,000 souls.⁵⁴ In the year 1928, we have a more detailed enumeration of the Bedouin population inhabiting the Syrian desert and the borders of the tilled country; and in the year 1929, it is estimated at 125,000 pure nomads and 100,000 semi-nomads.⁵⁵ Müller adds statistics that clarify the location of the Bedouins in Syria: Pure nomads—13,950; Mouvance of Deyr az-Zor⁵⁶—13,850; Mouvance of Aleppo—7,835 souls; Mouvance of Damascus—5,400 souls; Gebel ad-Druz—1,000 souls; together a total of 41,435 tents, with a population of between 250,000 to 300,000.⁵⁷ The *Report* of the Commission entrusted by the Council of the League of Nations with the study of the frontier between Syria and 'Irak, published in the year 1932, mentions the following important figures:

the Aniza Fid'an (3,000 to 4,000 tents), who in summer are to be found sometimes in the Aleppo district and sometimes in northern part of the Euphrates valley;

47 *The Military Handbook, etc.*, p. 53.

48 *Review of the Civil Administration of Mesopotamia*, p. 41.

49 *Rapport sur la situation de la Syrie et du Liban* (1930), p. 176.

50 Massignon, *Annuaire du monde musulman*, p. 438.

51 Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, pp. 147-149.

52 *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.*, pp. 19-33.

53 *Rapport sur la situation de la Syrie et du Liban* (1926), p. 23.

54 *Idem* (1927), p. 14.

55 *Idem* (1929), p. 76.

56 Deyr az-Zôr: town and sanjaq, Syria; Arabic *L.*

57 Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, p. 149.

the Sba (3,000 tents), who winter to the east of the Jebel Aniza and advance as far as the Gaara region itself; and the Ruwalla (4,000 tents).⁵⁸

No census was made among the Bedouins and it is clear that real statistics are lacking nowadays.

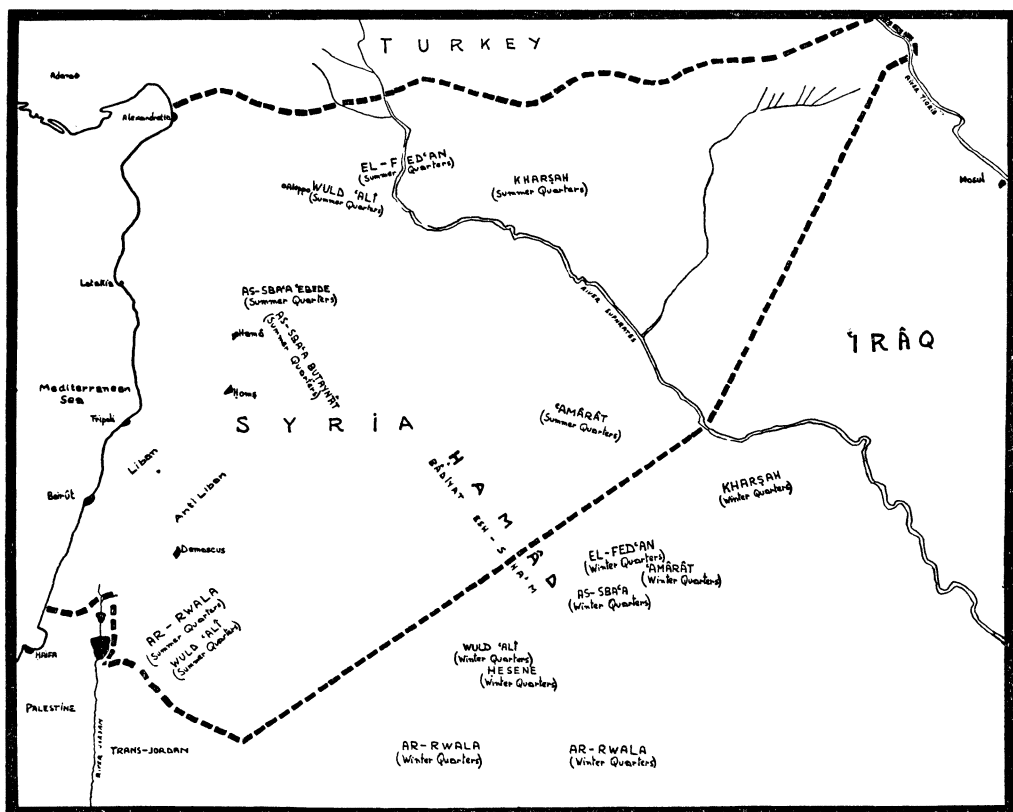


FIG. 1. Summer and winter quarters of the 'Anazah tribes in the Syrian desert.

MIGRATION PROBLEMS

At the present time the district covered by their wanderings include the whole Syrian plain, and reaches to the north as far as the latitude of Aleppo, and they are also found in the Beka'a,⁵⁹ to the south as far as the Sammâr hills, and east-

⁵⁸ *Report of the Commission Entrusted by the Council, etc.*, p. 27.

⁵⁹ Cf. L. Dubertret and J. Weulersse, *Manual de géographie: Syrie, Liban et Proche Orient* (Beyrouth, 1940), part 1: "La péninsule Arabique," pp. 15-16.

wards to the Euphrates and even beyond that river.⁶⁰ At the beginning of winter they move southwards towards the Sammâr hills where they still find fresh pasture for their camels. And from December onward no 'Anazah are found in the whole district north of the chain of hills which begins to the northeast of Damascus and reaches as far as the Euphrates. Toward March, when the she-camels have dropped their young, the 'Anazah begin to return north, so as to reach their summer quarters again by the middle of April. They do not take their sheep with them to the south, but leave them in the care of the subject tribes.

The Euphrates is, on the whole, the boundary between the 'Anazah and the Sammâr of Mesopotamia.⁶¹ The former, however, frequently cross the river by numerous fords in order to make raids in Mesopotamia, so that there is a permanent state of war between them and the Sammâr who are barely half their number. The 'Anazah are always readily assisted by the Yazidi's.⁶² The raids from one side of the river to the other usually begin with the arrival of summer. 'Anazah are found even in the district of Nisibis and Mosul.⁶³ And east of the Habur⁶⁴ there is a fairly considerable sept of the tribe, a sub-tribe of the Haddal,⁶⁵ who migrated to that district in consequence of dissensions with their fellow-tribesmen and joined the Sammâr.

CONCLUSION

It is of great importance to us to learn the part played by the 'Anazah tribes in the Near and Middle East in generations past, as well as the chances of a brighter future of these "Sons of the Desert," who are still completely nomadic for the greater part. The first requisite for our understanding of the situation is to recognize that the Bedouin must be a nomad who breeds and keeps camels.

60 *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.*, pp. 10, 20, 28, 29-30, 32; Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, pp. 50-82; Glubb, *The Bedouins of Northern Iraq*, pp. 13-14; Report, *Iraq for the Year 1929*, pp. 35-36; Raswan, *Tribal Areas and Migration Lines, etc.*, pp. 494-496; Report of the Commission Entrusted by the Council, etc., pp. 26-27; Musil, *Manners and Customs, etc.*; Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys; A Handbook of Arabia* (Naval Intelligence Division, Great Britain, London, 1920).

61 Consult on the Sammâr and related tribes: *Handbook: Northern Shammar*, p. 78; Musil, *Northern Negd*, pp. 31-33; Glubb, *The Bedouins of Northern Iraq*, p. 15; Jamali, *The New Iraq, etc.*, pp. 55, 65, 74, 122, 127, 141.

62 Report of the Commission Entrusted by the Council, etc., pp. 27-29; Th. Menzel, *Yazidi* (in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*); Lescot, *Enquête sur les Yezidis de Syrie et du Djebel Sindjar* (Beyrouth, 1938).

63 Mösul: conv. for Arabic *M* – Al Mûsil.

64 Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, pp. 74-76. Cf. Khâbûr, Nahr el: river 40 km east of Deyr az-Zôr; Arabic *N*.

65 *Les tribus arabes de Syrie* (Beyrouth, May 1922), pp. 19-20, 21-25.

Any non-nomad is automatically ruled out. But there are tens of thousands of nomadic tribesmen in Syria and 'Irak who live in tents and are continually on the move, but who are not Bedouins, for they do not primarily breed camels, but sheep and donkeys.⁶⁶ A Bedouin must also be able to trace his descent from certain recognized pure-bred Bedouin tribes. We find, therefore, that a Bedouin, in the strictest sense, is a camel-breeding nomad of certain specified tribes.⁶⁷ There are seven or eight principal tribes in northern Arabia. (1) 'Anazah, the most numerous, fill the greater part of the triangle of the Syrian desert; (2) Sammâr, bound 'Anazah on the south, with a branch in northern 'Irak between the Tigris and Euphrates; (3) Mutair and the Az-Zefîr lie in the extreme south-east of our area, while Beni-Sahr, the Hwêtat, and Beni Atiyeh occupy the southwest corner. In addition to these, however, there are certain ignoble tribes scattered everywhere among the Bedouins.⁶⁸

It is also significant to learn what their social and economic status in Syria, 'Irak, and the Arabian Peninsula was under Turkish rule and before 1914 as well as under British, French, and Saudi-Arabian administration ever since then. Will this completely pure-nomadic stock succeed in preserving their ancient mode of life in the framework of the industrialization of the Near and Middle East? Or, will they be forced to retire to their lairs of old, the Arabian Peninsula, to preserve their traditions? Or, will they be forced by slow process to give up their completely nomadic habits, turn by degrees into semi-nomads and successively to semi-farmers, attached to the soil, until they finally are settled and firmly attached to a permanent abode? And we learn, from the past, that the 'Anazah tribes will not be able to continue for long in their present ancient mode of life, preserving all customs and circumstances of nomad life, because the Near East and Middle East are changing from patriarchal-feudal into progressive, civilized countries with a higher culture and standard of life. This will force a firm and fixed policy with regard to the nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes dwelling on the borders and in the deserts to become settled, to make them stop raiding, and give way to a new mode of life. Sovereign states in the Middle East have to initiate a settlement movement to attach them gradually to some fixed abode and to give up their seasonable migrations. The political importance of the Bedouins will therefore become reduced in the future, and the establishment of firm con-

66 Glubb, *The Bedouins of Northern Iraq*, p. 13.

67 *Idem*, p. 15.

68 Josef Henninger, *Pariastämme in Arabien* (in *Festschrift St Gabriel zum 50 jährigen Jubiläum*, Wien-Mödling, 1939), pp. 501-539; Glubb, *The Bedouins of Northern Iraq*, p. 15; Montagne, *Notes sur la vie sociale, etc.*, p. 74.

trol will destroy many of their most attractive qualities: their sturdy independence, their chivalry, their raids, and their poetry. Already their chiefs are showing signs of taking to politics or agriculture, while their ambitious youths are seeking enlistment and promotion in the police. In northern Arabia—touching on 'Irak, Syria, and Trans-Jordan—the Bedouin will lose his influence and most of his distinctive qualities. In Negd, where a greater proportion of the population is nomadic, the Bedouin may retain some of his importance rather longer. Imperialist rule will see with pity that the good old raid must cease, and representatives of the imperialist rule "hope they will not be swept away too rapidly by the spread of civilization."⁶⁹

And those Bedouin tribes, who refuse to settle down and exchange their tents for houses, who insist upon wandering and living upon camel- and horse-raising, will have to return to those waste lands and plains whence they emerged hundreds of years ago. But even there progressing civilization will hound them, as even the Arabian Peninsula is slowly advancing in this direction under King 'Abd el-'Azîz Eben Sa'ûd, himself of noble and pure nomadic descent. As long as there are deserts in the heart of settled countries, there will also be nomads, nomads who will threaten the borders of these settled countries and their progress. But now as of old, today as in the days of Byzantine and Persian domination, it is the duty of these progressive countries to ward off this threat, not by armies, but by wisely helping these nomads to satisfy their primitive and slender demands, to try and settle them at least partially on waste land and crown land, and to respect their internal customs and ways of life. Such settlement will strengthen the safety and good order of the open roads and highways and of the borders of sown countries in the Near and Middle East.

ORTHOGRAPHIC NOTE

The proper orthographic forms of foreign words are listed here in the order in which they occur in the text:

⁶⁹ The words of General Sir Percy Cox. See Glubb, *The Bedouins of Northern Iraq*, p. 31. On the other hand, much penetrating research at first hand must be consulted: Raswan, *Tribal Areas and Migration Lines*, etc., pp. 496-497; de Boucheman, *La sédentarisation des nomades du désert de Syrie* (*L'Asie Française*, no. 320, May 1934), pp. 140-143; Taha Hussein, *Literary Life in the Arabic Peninsula* (translated from the Arabic by Martin Springling: The Open Court, vol. 46, no. 12, 1932), pp. 828-846.

| | | |
|----------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| ʿĀnazah | Saʿūd | Šeyḥ aš-šdād |
| Eben Şabah | Maşalih | Šeyḥ al-ḥarb |
| Ebn Saʿūd | Abd el-ʿAziẓz Eben Saʿūd | Ḳaʿkaʿa |
| Kaḥtan | Ḥafiz Wahbe | Neğd |
| Ḍana Muslim | Heğira | aš-Šreyfi |
| Ḍana Bişr | Hağr | Ḳaḥaṭan |
| Āl-Ğlās | Ğazʿa | al-Ğowf |
| as-Sbaʿa Ḳmusa | Ğuzayba | Šammâr |
| al-Ḥsene | Ab al-Ḥayl | ʿazid al-ḥarb |
| Ḍana Mifreğ | Ebn Şabah | Ḥağğ |
| al-Maşâlih | Ḳaḥaṭan | Faḥad Beg Ebn Haḍḍal |
| Eben Ğaʿiṣ | ʿĀl Wahab | Ğebel, Šammâr |
| al-Mihlef | Āl-Ğebel | Nuri Ebn Šaʿlân |
| Ḥeybâr | Šaʿlân | Fawwâz Ėbn Saʿlân |
| ḥlal | Eben Ğandal | Ğebel ad-Drûz |
| Eben Melḥem | Freğe | Yazidi's |
| Seraḥin | ğemâʿati | Ḥabur |
| Abû-Sama | Ğemâʿa | Haḍḍal |
| fellaḥîn | Šeyḥ al-bâb | Ḥwêtat |

The following additional words appear in the footnotes:

| | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Başra | Az-Zeñr |
| ḍuriyye | Ḳal'at ez-Zerkâ |
| ḍana | Hussein Eben 'Ali |
| Ġaziratu-l-'Arab fi-l-karni-l-'İşrin | Heġâz |
| Muḥallaf | Hashimite |
| Âl-'Ali | 'Abd ar-Raḥman |
| Şuyuh | Husein |
| Ġowf al-'Âmir | (pr.) Kârbalâ |
| Dumat el-Ġendel | An-Najaf |
| Şunn'a | |

The following are Arabic forms indicated in the footnotes by italic capitals:

| | |
|--------------|---------------|
| A وادي الرمة | H سكاكة |
| B بصرة | I جبل شمر |
| C المدينة | J كربلا |
| D يشرب | K النجف |
| E خيبر | L دير الزور |
| F الجوف | M العوصل |
| G جوف العامر | N نهر الخابور |

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