

محموعة توفيق كنعان الموارد / منشورات توفيق كنعان

Source: Canaan, Taufik. "The Saqr Bedouin of Bisan". Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society. Vol. XVI: (1936: 21–32).

THE JOURNAL of the PALESTINE ORIENTAL SOCIETY

VOLUME XVI 1936

JERUSALEM PUBLISHED BY THE PALESTINE ORIENTAL SOCIETY 1936

•

:

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Albright, W. F.	Zabul Yam and Thapit Nahar
Ashbel, D.	On the Importance of Dew in Palestine 316
Bergman, A.	The Israelite Tribe of Half-Manassch
CANAAN, T.	The Şaqr Beduin of Bisān
_	Arabic Magic Bowls
Eissfeldt	Hesekiel Kap. 16 als Geschichtsquelle
GINSBERG, H.	Ba'lu and his Brethren
GLUECK, N.	Christian Kilwa
Kirk, C. E.	Excavations at 'Auja Hafir: The Greek Inscriptions . 279
Köppel, R.	Prähistorische Klimafragen um Ghassūl 269
McCown, C. C.	New Historical Items from Jerash Inscriptions 69
MAISLER, B.	A Genealogical List from Ras Shamra
Mayer, L. A. & R	EIFENBERG, A. A Samaritan Lamp 44
NASRALLAH, R.P.J.	Le Gisement Ghassoulien de Tell es-Soma 293
PICARD, L. & SOLON	NONICA, P. On the Geology of the Gaza-Beersheba District 180
Reifenberg, A.	Ein neues hebräisches Gewicht
-	Jūdische Lampen
Rosenau, H,	A Note on Synagogue Orientation
Schwabe, M.	Ein griechisches Grabepigramm aus Tiberias 158
TAYLOR, W. R.	A second Forgery of the Balustrade Inscription 37
	Samaritan Inscription from Gaza
de Vaux, R. P., R.	Deux Fragments de Khorsabad

Book	Reviews																		46,	255,	32	2
------	---------	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	-----	------	----	---

Treasurer's Reports, Lists of Members and similar announcements are omitted in this reprint edition.

THE ȘAQR BEDOUIN OF BÎSĂN T. Canaan

(JERUSALEM)

In the east and south-east of the village of Bîsān live the Sagr Bedouin. Their territory extends to Tubas in the south, but in the winter months they move even as far as el-'Odia (north of Jericho). In the summer months they may settle in certain parts of the districts of Nazareth, Djenin, or even in that of Haifa. To the north of their territory lives the tribe el-Ghazzāwîveh, with whom the Saqr are in continuous feud. The grand seh of the Saqr assured me that his tribe emigrated from the Arabian Peninsula, probably from Nedid. Their ancestor is said to have had two sons, Mallak and Fawwaz. The brothers quarrelled and decided to separate. Fawwaz went northward and settled ultimately in the southern part of Syria. His descendants are at present known as 'Arab es-Sirdîveh. A sub-tribe of the Sirdîveh settled in Basret eš-Šām and became fellahin. The descendants of Mallak moved slowly to the north. A part of them settled in the district of es-Salt and are at present known as 'Arab el-'Abbad; while the remainder ultimately reached Palestine and occupied the ghor of Bîsan. The grand seh of the Bisan Bedouin assured me that his tribe reached Palestine about 50 to 75 years before the era of Ahmad Paša edj-Djazzar. i.e. 200-250 years ago.

Enquiry made in Transjordan¹ verified the statements of $s\bar{c}h$ Fadl about the Bedouin of 'Abbad. This tribe is divided into two important sub-tribes. In the following an account of these sub-tribes with their 'asayir and leaders is given:

I. The sub-tribe 'Abbad el-'Ardah, known also as 'Arab

¹ I have to thank Dr. T. Qa'war for his great help, and Mr. (Ayd el-Karādj for his valuable information. Most of the notes sent to me by Dr. Qa'war originate from the eighty-year old sēh Muhammed eš-Šamlūl. edj-Djrūmîyeh. The last expression is derived from the name of their ancestor Djurm, who was the founder of this sub-tribe. They live in the upper part of Ghōr Abû 'Bēdeh and in Ghōr el-Mašâlhah. This sub-tribe is made up of the following 'asāyir.

1. Manāsîr el-'Asālmeh. Their grandfather and founder was Dīb el-Kanānî who came from the Banî Kanāneh about 400 years ago. Their present leader is $s\bar{e}h$ Sa'd el-Halaf.

2. Manāsîr el-(Ōneh. The founder of this subtribe was (Ōn ibn Ahmad. He came about 400 years ago from Hidjāz. Their present *sēh* is Karīm Pāšâ en-Nahār. This *'ašīreh* lives in Wādī es-Sīr.

3. el-H(a)tālīn. A member of this *'ašīreh* is called ibn Hitlān. Their grandfather, who emigrated about 450 years ago from Nedjd, was Dghēm of the er-Rašīd family. Their present *sēh* is Ahmed el-Abd ibn Hitlān.

4. en-N'Emāt came about 200 years ago from Djolān. Their leader is Mūsâ 'Abd er-Rahmān el-Ya'qūbî.

5. el-Yâzdjîyîn (pronounced by some also el-Yazqîyîn) call themselves Qaršîyeh as they pretend to have come from Qurais¹. Their present $s\bar{c}h$ is Shāb el-Hamad.

6. el-M'ādāt (pronounced also el-Ma'dāt). Their grandfather Milhim el-M'ādāt came 300 years ago from Hidjāz. The present leader is Mūsâ el-Mihdjîn.

7. el-Ghanânīm emigrated about 250—300 years ago from the district of Aleppo. They are related to the N'emāt Bedouin of Aleppo. Their founder was Ghannām and the present $s\bar{e}h$ is Radwān Abû Hrēs.

8. er-Ramādneh family is made up of two parts. a) The Dawâhîk, related to the Hwêtāt of Transjordan. The leading sēh is Hamrān. b) A second part, who came from Hidjāz.

9. el-Hadjāḥdjeh are related to el-Fuqarâ. Their ancestor was Muhammad el-Faqīr. They live in Ṣīḥān ('Ardet el-'Abbād).

10. eş-Şanābreh's ancestor was Mişleh Abû Şnōbar who came about 250 years ago from Nedjd. A member of this family is known as Abû Şnōbar.

11. edj-Djabbūrīn or Abbād (Īrâ and Yarqâ. They are made up of the following families:

¹ According to Dr. T. Qa'war.

22

a. el-Bqūr are the oldest family of the whole 'Abbād tribe. Their ancestor I'bēd el-'Adri' emigrated from Egypt. He settled first at Tell Šhāb in Haurān. Later the tribe moved to Transjordan (Hirbet Kafr Hūd). Their present leader is Muhammad Pāša Kāyid Abû Baqr. The name $Bq\bar{u}r$ is derived from their occupation of raising cows (baqarah, pl. baqar).

b. er-Rahāmneh emigrated about 300 years ago from Tripoli in Africa. They constitute a part of the tribe with their own ancestral name. Their ancestor 'Alî settled first in *Hirbet* Kafr Hūd. Later on the tribe moved to Ghōr ez-Zarqâ. The present *sēh* is 'Abd er-Rahān er-Rahāmneh.

c. ez-Ziâdât's ancestor, 'Ilwān, came about 250 years ago from Karak. He belonged to the Bedouin of el-'Amr. The members of this 'asīreh are renowned for their valour; their sēh is Nimr el-I'rêdj.

d. edj-Djabrâ. Their ancestor, Hamdān, emigrated about 300 years ago from Egypt. The present *šēh* is Husēn el-Fāris.

e. el-Mhērāt are fuqahâ.

The grand $s\bar{e}b$ of all the 'Abbād tribe is Ahmad el-'Abd ibn Hitlān and their kafil is Muhammad Pāšā el-Baqr. The first named $s\bar{e}b$, i.e. the grand $s\bar{e}b$, who is also called '*ilm* 'Abbād, is at the same time the chief and highest judge of the whole tribe and the last instance in political affairs. The kafil is the person who has the power and duty to execute all the orders of the grand $s\bar{e}b$.

I have been told that there are no foreigners in the 'Abbād tribe. This list shows clearly that the different 'asāyir came from different countries. Although most of them emigrated from the Arabian Peninsula, there are some who came from Egypt and others from Tripoli in Africa.

The Saqr tribe of Bisān is made up of several 'asāyir. Each 'asāreh is composed of several hamāyil (pl. of hamūleh). Some of these families are of true Bedouin descent, while others are 'abīd (pl. of 'abd = negro) and ghawārneh (pl. of ghōrānî, from ghōr,¹ lowland). The origin of the 'abīd is from negroes who were bought by the ancestors of this tribe as slaves. With time they became numerous, were released from slavery, and formed distinct families. The sēh Fadl el-{Irsān el-Mallāk could not give me any information about

'1 Ghor is the name given to the Jordan depression.

XVI

the origin of the $gh\bar{a}w\bar{a}rneh$. Probably they are the descendants of the original inhabitants of the $gh\bar{o}r$ who were defeated by the invading Saqr tribe and were slowly amalgamated with them. The word $gh\bar{o}r\bar{a}ni$, pl. $ghaw\bar{a}rneh$, is a correct derivative of $gh\bar{o}r$ and means "an inhabitant of the Jordan valley."

The true Bedouin of this tribe are again divided into three groups: the 'Umarâ (the princes), the Šyūh and the Fuqarâ. The latter are darāwīš and 'aṣhāb ṭarīqah (followers of a special order). The different Fuqarâ sub-tribes trace their origin back to the N'ēmāt tribe. They are renowned in the Ghōr as possessing special knowledge and ability in curing hydrophobia and treating dislocations, especially those of the upper jaw. The Fuqarâ are followers of 'Izz ed-Dīn Abû Hamrâ, a welî whose shrine lies near Aleppo.

The leader of the whole tribe of the Saqr, $5\bar{e}h$ Fadl el-Irsān el-Mallāk, is at the same time the direct $5\bar{e}h$ of the sub-tribes of the *Umarâ* and $\tilde{S}y\bar{u}h$. The following list gives the names of the different ' $as\bar{a}yir$ with their respective leaders:

The Umara 'asayir are:

el-Hawābî: Hasan el-'Bēdî. el-Mahādwî: Fāris. Bani,'r-Rbây'ah: Fādil er-Rbē'ah.

The 'asayir of the Syuh are:

ez-Zāmil: 'Ārif. el-Wādî: Ḥusēn 'Alî Djabr. eṣ-Ṣlēbî: Muḥammed. er-Rabāḥ: Sālim el-I'qāb. el-Mifliḥ: 'Abdallah 'Irsān.

The 'asayir of the common Bedouin:

el-Mrūdj: (Ārif. el-Mrēh: Hasan Abu Šūhah. el-Hawālid: Ţrêhim el-Hdjērî. el-Badândîyeh: Hasan el-Hamad. Zbeiyed: (Alî el-Fāris. el-Ma(âdīn: Sālim el-(Abdallah. el-Hmūd: Husēn. Qarrūt: Qāsim el-Blād.¹ el-Luēmeh: (Āyd. el-Ghnîyeh: Šāmih. el-Mawālî: (Abdallah. el-Bašātšmeh:² Hasan es-Salāmeh. et-<u>T</u>a(ālbeh: Hasan el-Falâh. I(bēd edj-Djanāh: Qāsim.⁸ es-Sabārdjeh: (Alî (Auwād. el-Qazāzmeh: Fāri(el-Qazzām. eš-Šōbakeh: Sa(d eš-Šōbakeh. el-Harrān: Bhēt. el-(Ardjāt: Lāfi. ed-D(ūm: (Alî. el-Bšērî: (Abdallah el-Bšērî. el-(Alyāt: Lāfi. er-Rbē(îyeh: Mnēzil el-Mīzān. el-Blādîyeh: (Alî Muḥammad Hsēn. el-Ghazālīn: Hsēn Ghazālî el-Hawāwrî: Salmān.

- ¹ The q (\bar{c}) is pronounad by some as dj (\bar{c})
- It is written الشاكمه, the k (ك) being pronounad as ts.
- ⁸ Some pronounce the q (3) like a German g.

The 'Abid 'asāyir are:

XVI

el-Ghrēr: Fdēl. el-Himwêl: 'Umar. el-I'bēd: 'Id. el-Qūṣān: 'Alî. el-Mawālî: Hasan Yūsif. el-Murdjān: Hsēn. el-'Abed: Maḥmūd. eš-Šhūr: 'Awad el-Muflih. el-Mahdî: Rašīd 'Abd el-Mahdî. el-Bayāțrah: 'Abdallah.

The Ghawarneh 'asayir are:

c!-Māṣālîħ: Ḥallūṭ. el-Qahāwšeh: (Īd. Djarabint: (Uqlal-Hādî. The Fuqarâ families are:

el-I wêtiyîn: Mhammad. ez-Zēdān: Rādjî.

The five $\langle as\bar{a}yir \rangle$ of the $Sy\bar{u}h$ belong to the sub-tribe el-Mallāk, which is said to be the direct descendant of the founder of this Bedouin tribe, Mallāk the son of Saqr. The $s\bar{c}h$ of the $Sy\bar{u}h$ families is at the same time the grand $s\bar{c}h$ of the whole tribe of es-Saqr. The masāyih of these five sub-tribes hoist one or more ostrich feathers on their tents. The feather is fastened to the central pole of the tent, which is known in this region as el-quib. The $sy\bar{u}h$ (leaders) of the the other sub-tribes hoist a white flag. The 'Abīd and Ghawārneh syūh do not enjoy any of these prerogatives.

The Zbeiyed family is the largest 'asīreh in the whole tribe. The Bani,'r-Rbây'ah are proud to be Huseinîyeh, i.e. descendants of Husën the son of Fāțmeh, the daughter of the Prophet Mohammed. A thorough analysis of all the data given above shows clearly that the Ṣaqr and the 'Abbād tribes, which claim to be descendants of one and the same father, came from different regions. Time and political needs amalgamated them.

Most of the Saqr tribe cultivate grain. The land used to be their own property, but was expropriated by Sultān 'Abdul-Hamīd. As these Bedouin, like many other owners of tracts of lands, could not pay the official taxes for several years, the Sultān paid the accumulated sums to the *hazīneh* and took possession of the land. The former owners were allowed to continue the cultivation of the land, paying $20^{0}/_{0}$ of the income, $10^{0}/_{0}$ being the regular land tax and $10^{0}/_{0}$ for the Sultān as the rent of the land. The British Government, recognizing the cultivation rights of these Bedouin, kept them in their district. A new regulation makes it possible for every one to take complete possession of his land after paying L. P. 1.500 for every dunum.

The cultivated land lies in the Bîsān district, mainly to the east

of the village, in the $gh\bar{o}r$ of Bîsān, and in the subdistrict of Blād Hārteh. The Saqr raise also cattle and move with them in different seasons to different places.

The men of one class may take for wives only girls from their own category or from an 'astreh of a lower class. The 'Umarå, the noblest class, on the other hand, may take their wives from any one of the different classes. The most important qualification in such a case is beauty. The mahr of a virgin negress is 45 sheep $(s\bar{a}h)$ and L.P. 10; that of a widowed or divorced 'abdeh (negress) is only 30 sheep and L.P. 5. The mahr of a daughter of an 'Amīr or Šēh may be as high as L.P. 250. A bridegroom pays for his cousin only one quarter of the mahr, as he has the first right to her.

Circumcision may take place at different ages. It is seldom done before the age of two months, and boys often reach the age of fifteen years before it is performed. The Bedouin prefer to do this act in special "houses" $(by\bar{a}t = \text{tents})$, like those of the $mas\bar{a}$ 'ih of el-Mallāk, the "houses" of Šēh Fāri' el-Qazzām, Hasan Abû Šūhah, el-Mrēhî, ed-Dwēš, and Rādjî ibn Zēdān.

In their quarrels the members of the Saqr Bedouin come to one of the following two judges $(q\bar{a}di, pl. qud\bar{a}t)$: Fāri^c el-Qazzām of the Qazāzmeh sub-tribe and Mar^ci₂l-Hasan of the 'Abādî. The first is the more important. Their decision is final. If a party refuses to submit to the judgement, the grand $s\bar{c}h$ of the Saqr has to execute the same by force. The position of the judge as well as of the $sy\bar{u}h$ of the 'asāyir is hereditary. The son of a $s\bar{c}h$ or of a $q\bar{a}di$ becomes, after the death of his father, a chief or a judge respectively.

When a Bedouin commits a murder or a rape his life and property are at the mercy of the sub-tribe of the murdered person or raped woman. The only way to protect himself and thus to gain time for settling matters, is to put himself under the protection of an influential \overline{seh} or still better under that of the grand \overline{seh} of the whole tribe. This act is known as *el-widjh*. The rights of such a refugee are strictly respected.

This protection extends generally for four to five months. A person who dares to break the *widjh*, i.e., who does not respect the privileges of the refugee and consequently does not respect

the honour and the position of the $s\bar{e}b$ who is giving the refugee protection, becomes the enemy not only of the $s\bar{e}b$ but of the whole tribe. Only the family of such an "honour-breaker" $(q\bar{a}t)i^{\epsilon}el-widjh$ stands on his side. They have to appease the $s\bar{e}b$ whose widjh has been broken for the wrong done by one of their members. The punishment of a $q\bar{a}ti^{\epsilon}el-widjh$ is very severe. He has to place a line of white camels, a line of white silver coins $(medj\bar{a}t)$ and a line of white garments from the place where he attacked the protected person to the tent of the protecting $s\bar{e}b$, the $s\bar{a}hib el-widjh$. As he is, in practice, unable to fulfil these requirements, he must flee to another district and remain there for a period not less than seven years, after which he may return to his 'asīreh. His people must, however, first have given satisfaction for the wrong he has done (sulhah).

A person in financial need is generally helped by the members of his sub-tribe. Such a help is called *el-ma*($\bar{u}neh$. Occasions necessitating such help are marriage, buying a mare, atonement for murder or rape. Sheep, goats, or money are presented. All such gifts are debts which have to be paid back by the person who receives them.

The Sagr tribe honour several awlia (saints). All lie in their own territory or near to it. Oil, candles and a white flag (rayeh $b\bar{e}dd$) are vowed to them. White flags are stuck on the grave itself or on the wall surrounding the court (el-Halabî). White flags are met with more often in this district than in central Palestine. At times red and green flags are seen, but the white colour predominates. When a vow is to be fulfilled the relatives of the person offering the vow accompany him to the respective shrine and dance several hours a day for one to seven days around the shrine: They intend to express in this way their gratitude to the well, and to show their joy at being answered. As at other places in Palestine the Bedouin of this district place some of their goods-wheat, barley, field tools, etc.-around the sanctuary, being sure that nobody will dare to touch them, for they are under the protection of the man of God. This custom is slowly dying out. Wheat and barley used to be stored in oval holes excavated in the immediate vicinity of the shrine (Abû Faradj).

The awlid of the Squr are:

1. Mhēšiq. His shrine lies in el-(Arīdah). He is the most important local saint. Mhēšiq is a very irritable (*niziq*) saint. He punishes every person who uses his name unlawfully, or who irritates him in any other way. The following story is characteristic of a *niziq weli*. A jackal ate an onion from a garden adjacent to the *weli's* shrine. Next day the Bedouin found the animal dead with the undigested onion protruding from its anus.

2. El-Hidr (in Bardalah, near Țūbās) is a powerful and forbearing saint.

3. Hamd el-Fâtūr in el-Fâtūr (to the south of Zarrā'ah) is an unimportant and not irritable saint.

4. El-Halabî has his shrine in the village of Bîsān. The tomb is surrounded by a high wall. He is regarded as the next powerful saint after Mhēšiq. El-Halabî is forbearing ($taw\bar{v}l$ er- $r\bar{u}h$), treating people with patience, even when they offend him.

5. Irhāb has his sanctuary at el-Hamrâ, not far from Farwāneh. This and the following saints are not much respected. All are *tawîlīn er-rūh*.

- 6. Sālim el-Wâbși, at el-Hamrâ,
- 7. Abû Faradj in el-Hnēzîr, near ez-Zarrā'ah.
- 8. eš-Šūbāsî, near Ţūbās.
- 9. Muhammad el-Qabû, in es-Şafâ.
- 10. 'Antar in el-Hamrâ.
- 11. ēs-Sehah Fiddah in el-Hnezir.

12. er-Radghâ in er-Radghâ near Ṭūbās. The two last are, as their names already denote, female saints.

The cemeteries of this Bedouin tribe are scattered in different places. They generally surround the shrine of a *well*. The sub-tribes of the Umarâ and Šyūh have their own cemeteries.

The inhabitants of Palestine were until recently divided politically into two groups, the Yaman and the $Q\bar{e}s$. The Saqr tribe belongs to the Yaman party. They are thus naturally allied to all Bedouin tribes and peasants who belong to this political party. If a tribe is attacked by any enemy they ask the help of their allies, whose moral and sacred duty it was, and still is, to come at once for assistance, even if they live far away. This custom is at present more strictly practiced by the Bedouin than by the fellāhīn. Es-Sagr are thus allied to the following Bedouin tribes:

28

CANAAN: The Şaqr Bedouin of Bisan

Tribe	Location .	Name of the seh
Banî Şahr	Salt district	Mitqāl bin Fāyz
Abbād	Balqâ	Ibn Hatlan
es-Sardîyeh	Haurān	S'ūd el-Klēb ibn Fauwāz
Bašātweh	Djisr el-Madjāmi ⁽	Zāhir el-Mitqāl
edj-Djbārāt	Gaza district	Muḥammad ibn Mušrif
Banî Hmēdeh	Kerak	Lāfi bin (i)Brīz
et-Turkmān	Merdj ibn 'Āmir	Radja_l-Ya'qūb
el-Balāwnî	A djlūn	Yūsif Abû Znēmeh

The present ties of alliance are not as strong as they used to be in past times. Thus for example the political bonds between es-Ṣaqr and Banî Hmēdah have been so neglected that they have nearly vanished, although formerly they were very strong. The Ṣaqr are also allied to some *Yamani* villages. Such villages are usually headed by some influential families. A family belonging to this category is the Dār Djarrār, who live in Sannūr, Djaba', and Burqīn. The first village was their capital. Dār Djarrār had many political quarrels with Dār 'Abd el-Hādî who are qēsi. The Ṣaqr always came to the succour of their allies.

The natural enemies of the Saqr Bedouin are those tribes who belong politically to the $q\bar{e}si$ faction. The most important Bedouin tribes of this category are:

Tribe	Location	Name of the seh
el-'Idwān	Between the Jordan	
	Valley and es-Salt	Sulțān
Banî Hasan	ez-Zarqâ	Šhāb ez-Ziyūrî
el-Ghazzāwîyeh	The ghor north of	
	Bîsān	Bšīr el Hasan
el-Mašālhah	Abû I(bēdeh	Muḥammad Sa'īd el-Fā'ūr.
el-Masā'îd	Wādî el-Fâr'ah	Abdallah ed-Dāmen
el-Fhālîyeh	en-Naqrâ (Ḥaurān)	Abdallah el-Badhan

The following story, which has doubtless some historical background, is given as the cause of the bitter enmity between eṣ-Ṣaqr and el-Idwān. The latter attacked the tribe of 'Abbād which is, as we have seen, related to the Ṣaqr Bedouin, drove it out of its own territory in el-Balqâ and occupied the latter. The beaten 'Abbād took refuge among the Ṣaqr Bedouin and lived with them for fourteen years. The Ṣaqr assigned a special part of

XVI

29

their territory to their guests. At the end of these fourteen years the two tribes together attacked the 'Idwān and drove them out of the land of the 'Abbād. In order to protect the 'Abbād against any unforeseen attack by the 'Idwān the Ṣaqr stayed with the 'Abbād Bedouin for seven years.

The cause of the bitter enmity between the Saqr and the Ghazzāwîyeh was the murder of two *umarâ* of the latter by members of the former.

Women play an important rôle in some phases of the daily life of the Sagr as is the case with all Bedouin tribes. This is especially the case in ghaza. The following story illustrates this fact better than any description. The Idwan Bedouin, reinforced by the family 'Abd el-Hadî and their fellahin followers, attacked the Sagr near the village el-Mirhad, in the Bîsan district. After a hard fight, the less numerous Sagr, who had defended themselves very bravely, had to retreat in disorder as far as the Wadî eš-Šarrar, near Mt. Tabor. In the first line of the retreating and beaten Bedouin were two Saqr Bedouin: a negro, Bhet et-Iledjeh, and a true Bedouin, Sa'id el-Mutlaq. A girl, named Fhedeh, was waiting at the outskirts of the camp, with the women of the tribe who were longing impatiently for news of the battle. From the excited state of the two horsemen she at once understood the whole situation, and knew that their men were beaten. She called on the two haiyaleh (horsemen) to stop, and forced them by her words to go back and try to save the honour of the tribe and the safety of the women. She shouted at them: Bhet, Bhet ya Ahu Fredjeh; Sacid, Sacid ya Ahû Šarbeh. The two warriors, preferring death to being despised for not having answered the call of women to save them from falling into the hands of the enemy, turned back and fought heroically in the first lines. They finally succeeded in retrieving the situation and in driving the enemy back. The 'Idwan and their allies were completely beaten. The Saqr boast that Saqid el-Mutlaq killed 72 of the enemy on this occasion.

The *nahweh* (exhortation) of the women inspires and stimulates the fighting men of every Bedouin tribe. A man is always called "the brother of (the name of his sister)"; for the honour and the protection of his sister, especially if she is not married, is his first and most sacred duty.

The Saqr tribe possesses several well-bred mares. One of the most important, Khêlet 'Adjūz, came from Nedjd. The name (adjūz (old woman) came from the old woman who raised her up. Imm 'Arqub received its name from the following story: Two Bedouin who were on bad terms met unexpectedly in a lonely part of the desert. One was riding a well-bred horse called Mašhūr and the other a mare known by the name Khēleh. Following the Bedouin rule that if two enemies meet in a deserted place and there is nobody to intervene and to stop their fighting (hadjdjdz) they have to forget their enemity for the moment, they dismounted, shook hands and partook together of a simple meal. The owner of Kheleh asked his opponent if his mare could be fecundated by Mašhūr. This was agreed upon under the condition that they should meet at this same place after the mare gave birth to a filly. The owner of the mare went in fulfilment of his promise a few weeks after his mare had given birth to a filly. His opponent, who intended by this trick to take possession of the filly, was awaiting him. He warned him of his intention. The owner of the mare galloped back, and his opponent was unable to overtake him. The filly forced her mother, by running from time to time in front of her, to lessen her speed. The Bedouin, afraid of being overtaken by his enemy, drew his sword and smote the filly on her *arqub* (tendon of Achilles). The blow slightly reduced the speed of the animal, but it still kept up with its mother. Having reached the tents of his tribe, the owner of the mare examined the wound and found it superficial. The filly received the name Imm 'Arqub and proved, as it grew, to be the swiftest mare in the tribe. Other well-bred mares are: Kbeseh, Mannaqiveh, Samhå, Isbaiyeh Imm Djres, Hiqlawiyeh, Djidramiyeh, Mahladiyeh, Hadbå, Djaflå, Hamdaniyeh and Šwemeh. The last owes her name to a birth-mark (sameh) on one side of her breast. It is said that all these mares have Nadid blood.

Although the Saqr are at present a very poor and uninfluential tribe they still remember past times when they played an important rôle in the political affairs of their district. They used to have a cavalry of 1000 djada^cah (a two year old mare) beside 1500 other horsemen and more than 2000 footmen. Nowadays they have become so poor that they have been obliged to sell large stretches

XVI

of their excellent land. Men and women work here and there to earn a few pennies to cover the expenses necessary for their miserable life.