

ETHNOHISTORY OF THE BEDUL BEDOUIN OF PETRA*

by
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Introduction

The Bedul (البدول) of Petra are currently a small Bedouin tribe of around 100-150 households, with a total population of approximately 1500 people (Bienkowski 1989: 335; Shoup 1985: 288). According to historic accounts and informant data, traditional Bedul subsistence was primarily based upon the herding of goats, supplemented by the seasonal cultivation of small plots of barley, tobacco and wheat, and the hunting and gathering of available plant and animal resources. Donkeys and a few camels were kept as beasts of burden. During the winter months, the Bedul would often move their goat herds out of the highlands surrounding Petra to the lower elevations along the eastern edge of Wadi 'Arabah in order to exploit the local flush of winter vegetation and to escape the bitter cold of the plateau.

Just east of Petra is the ancient village of Elji (الجي), home to the Liyathnah (الليثانه) tribe (Canaan 1929: 196-202; Musil 1908: 57-58; Peake 1958: 202; Shoup 1985: 290-291), a people traditionally considered to be *fellahin* (farmers) rather than *bedu* (Bedouin). Traditional Liyathnah subsistence included the cultivation of wheat and barley, horticulture based upon olives and fruit trees, the herding of sheep, goats and a few cattle, and the sale of provisions at

Gaza and seasonally to both the Egyptian and Syrian Hajj (Burckhardt 1822: 433; Hornstein 1898: 99; Irby and Mangles 1823: 404; Palmer 1871: 440). While their village was known as Elji throughout the nineteenth century (Bartlett 1848: map facing page 16; Burckhardt 1822: 420; Hornstein 1898: 99; Morris 1842: 272; Musil 1908: 57; Palmer 1871: 440; Robinson and Smith 1841: 513), it gained its modern name of "Wadi Musa" in the early 1900s (وادي موسى) (Canaan 1929: 196; Jarvis 1942: 38-39, 121; Lawrence 1937: 328; McKenzie 1991: 139), apparently as a result of being the only significant village within the Wadi Musa drainage and its consequent position as the local administrative center when governmental authority was finally established in the area.

Within the Petra region, the Bedul are surrounded by several other traditional Bedouin groups. To the north of Petra in the area of Wadi Beida are the 'Amarin (العمارين) Bedouin (Banning and Köhler-Rollefson 1983; 1986; Musil 1908: 58-59; Robinson and Smith 1841: 554), a people with whom the Bedul maintain close contact and social ties. Like the Bedul, the 'Amarin traditionally herded goats and some sheep, and cultivated small plots of wheat, barley and tobacco. To the west, in Wadi 'Arabah, are the Sa'idiyin (السعيديين)

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Bedouin (Musil 1908: 46-47; Peake 1958: 204), a traditional camel herding people.

The regions east and south of the Petra-Wadi Musa area are occupied by several other Bedouin groups, the traditional subsistence of which invariably involved a mix of herding and agricultural activities. These include the Nu'aimat (النعميات) and al-Mara'iyah (المراعيه), themselves bordered to the east by sections of the Ḥuweīṭat Ibn Jazī (حويطات بن جازي), and to the south by the Ḥuweīṭat Ibn Injad (Canaan 1929: 217-218; Musil 1908: 51-55; von Oppenheim 1943: 291-308; Shoup 1985: 288). The Ḥuweīṭat Ibn Injad (حويطات بن نجاد) were historically known as the 'Alawin (العلوين), the name by which they appear in many nineteenth century texts (Burton 1879: 233; Musil 1908: 54; von Oppenheim 1943: 295, 298, 302, 306, n. 2, 307, n. 13). Associated with them in the vicinity of Ḥumeima is a population of southern Bedul (Musil 1908: 54; Ohannessian-Charpin 1986: 385; Shoup 1985: 288). The origins and histories of these various populations, and particularly those of the Bedul, have long been a matter of scholarly debate.

Origin Traditions

Speculation on Bedul origins has included the suggestion that they descend from either ancient Jewish populations extant in the region before the rise of Islam (Jarvis 1942: 125; Peake 1958: 203) or from the Nabataeans themselves (Nielsen 1933: 207; Shoup 1985: 288), that they are of Gypsy derivation (Albright 1935: 19, n. 3), or that they were simply an offshoot of the Ḥuweīṭat (Ohannessian-Charpin 1986: 385; 1992: 406; Murray 1939: 20-21; Musil 1908: 54). Traditional accounts of Bedul origins, as altered and manipulated by various informants in the recent past to fit contemporary social and political circumstances, have been particularly vexing for many scholars. Recent political, economic and cultural issues associated with the removal

of the Bedul from their cave-dwellings within Petra National Park (USAID 1968: 11, 23-24) and their resettlement in 1985 and 1986 at a government-sponsored housing development at Umm Ṣaiḥun to the north of the ancient city have also complicated this issue (Ohannessian-Charpin 1986: 385; Shoup 1985: 288).

The name *Bedul* most probably derives from the Arabic word *badala*, meaning "to change" (Shoup 1980: 91; 1985: 289), although alternative suggestions have included its derivation from the Hebrew root *bad-el*, meaning "dissent" (Peake 1958: 203), or from an Arabic word meaning "weak-minded," with the derogatory suggestion that the ancestor of the tribe was mad (Bienkowski 1985: 150-151). Some contemporary Bedul informants have alternatively suggested that their tribe descends from *Badl*, one of the sons of a mythical king *Nabt* of the Nabataeans, and that their tribal name therefore means the "clan of Badl" (Shoup 1985: 289).

The earliest recorded indigenous account of Bedul origins and their view of the history of Petra may be credited to John Wilson (1847) as a result of a conversation which he and his travelling companion had with the Bedul of Petra in 1843.

Having been struck with the peculiarity of their countenance and dress, we asked the sheikh and some of his dependents whom we had invited to our tents, if they considered themselves a distinct Arabian tribe, or a portion of any known Arabian community. Their reply was startling: — "Lá, nahnu aulád Beni-Isráyen." "No; we are the offspring of the Bene-Israel," — and gave occasion to the following conversation, which Mr. Smith and I recorded at the time in their presence: — *Travellers.* — "Who excavated the tombs and dwellings of Wady Músá?" *Felláhin.* — "The Bene-Israel, the Turkmans, and the Nasrání," — Christians, but applied to foreigners in

general, such as the Greeks and Romans [Wilson 1847: 330].

Further:

T. — “Were all the excavations intended for the accommodation of the dead?”

F. — “No; they were intended for the living also.”

T. — “Who were the first inhabitants of Wady Músá? Tell us all you know about their history.”

F. — “This country was first in the possession of the *Jahilí* Kaum el-'Abd, of the 'Ignorance of the people of the slave.' After them came the Bene-Israel under Músá. After that the Bene-Israel became Muhammadans [Wilson 1847: 331].

Finally:

T. — “Do you intermarry with the Arabs?”

F. — “No; we intermarry with the Bene-Israel of the Beit-Shár.”

T. — “Where do these people reside?”

F. — “They live in Jebel Atlabek and Jebel es-Safáh. Their Wady is named el-Hamd. They come to us in the hot weather” [Wilson 1847: 331].

Several points may be made concerning this intriguing conversation. Initially, the Arab tradition which attributed the carving of the tomb façades at Petra to the “Children of Israel” is attested as early as A.D. 1276, when Sultan Baibars travelled through the site (Zayadine 1985: 167). The Bedul of Petra in 1843 obviously considered themselves distinct from other populations in southern Jordan by claiming descent from the ancient inhabitants of the site who had first carved the tombs and caves at Petra.

Reflecting local tradition, the Bedul understood these ancient people (which primarily, if not exclusively, included the Nabataeans) to have been the “Bene-Israel,” the influx of whom was associated in local folklore with the Biblical Exodus under the prophet Moses and their passage through

the area (see al-Ḥamawi 1986: 346). This use of the term “Bene-Israel” should therefore be understood within the general context of distinguishing between the ancient indigenous inhabitants of the region and all subsequent intrusive populations of Greek, Roman, Arab or Turcoman descent. During her visit to Petra in 1847, Harriet Martineau was similarly told by the Bedul that they were of the tribe “Aulad Binee Israel” (1848: 352). It was not intended, however, as a claim to actual Jewish descent.

Further, the Bedul of Petra seemingly intermarried with a closely related group further south, since the “Wady al-Ḥamd” mentioned in their account is located approximately 11 kilometers north-northwest of Ḥumeima. This was presumably the southern section of the Bedul mentioned earlier. They were apparently a relatively nomadic group, as they were specifically referred to as being “of the Beit-Shaár,” the traditional black goat-hair tent of Near Eastern Bedouin. The seasonal movements of this Bedul section apparently included a migration north to the higher elevations of the Petra region during the summer months.

Based upon this interview and influenced by Biblical connotations, Wilson reached the following conclusions concerning Bedul origins:

As they consider themselves distinct from the Arabs, and have no intermarriage with them, it is extremely probable that they are the descendants of some of the older races, commingled with one another it may be, who anciently inhabited Idumea (Wilson 1847: 332-333).

While later accounts of Bedul origins continued to link them with the ancient inhabitants of the Petra region, the religious and ethnic implications of those accounts as tied to local folklore were seemingly modified by informants to suit the altered social and political environment of the twentieth century. This is particularly apparent in

temporal variations in the traditional account of how the Bedul received their tribal name. In 1929, Canaan recorded the following version of this tradition:

The *Liâtneh* tell the following story about the origin of the *Bdul*. When Moses and the Israelites surrounded Petra he declared war against the inhabitants and conquered and slaughtered them all except twelve who hid themselves in a cave on top of the mountain *Umm el-Biyârah*. Moses ordered them to come down. They answered “*innâ abdalnâ yâ nabiyy allâh*” We have changed, O prophet of God. “What have you changed?” asked Moses. “Our religion; for we accept yours,” was the answer. Since that time they are known as *Bdul* [Canaan 1929: 216].

Although this tradition, which was widely mentioned during the late 1920s and early 1930s (Albright 1935: 19, n. 3; Nielsen 1933: 207), implied that the Bedul derived from the ancient inhabitants of Petra, the tradition was set within the context of local folklore concerning the Biblical Exodus. However, the resulting implication of a religious association with Judaism to the exclusion of Islam was increasingly distasteful given the social and political situation created by Jewish immigration and national aspirations in Palestine during the British Mandate.

In 1937, Murray recorded the same tradition among the Bedul of Petra, but modified to suggest that they received their tribal name “... because they were originally Jews and ‘changed’ their religion and became Moslems” (Murray 1939: 20-21). The tradition had apparently been altered to suggest an early conversion from Judaism to Islam, with Bedul claims to an extremely ancient local ancestry consequently shortened to one involving the populations present at the time of the Islamic conquest. It was this version of the Bedul origin narrative which both Peake (1958: 203) and Jarvis (1942:

125) were apparently familiar with in the 1930s. While this conveniently pushed all reference to Judaism into the ancient past and provided the Bedul with a long association with Islam, it still left them with the implication of an unpopular ethnic and religious association.

The modern version therefore goes even further in eliminating all references to Judaism, as originally derived from placing the tradition within local folklore concerning the Biblical Exodus, and notes only a conversion to Islam on Umm al-Biyara during the Muslim conquest (e.g., Bienkowski 1985: 150-151; Ohannessian-Charpin 1992: 406; Shoup 1980: 91; 1985: 289). At present, some Bedul informants simply claim descent from the ancient Nabataeans, and eliminate all elements relating to a religious conversion (Ohannessian-Charpin 1986; 1992; Shoup 1985: 289). Regardless, the common element found in all of these origin traditions from 1843 to the present is the Bedul claim to descent from the ancient inhabitants of the region.

Bedul Lineages and Subtribal Associations

Like other patrilineal, patrilocal Bedouin societies, the Bedul tribe is actually a confederation of lineages claiming a common ancient descent (whether real or fictive). The Bedul of Petra are currently divided into the five subtribes of al-Fuqara (الفقرا; often spelled *الفقره* by informants), al-Jdeylat (الجديلات), al-Muwasa (الموسى), al-Jamadah (الجمده) and as-Samahin (السماحين). While the Bedul refer to these five divisions as subtribes (*ashirah*; عشيرة), their traditional context was seemingly that of “clans” (*hamulah*; حمولة) or lineages (Canaan 1929: 216, n. 2; Shoup 1985: 288). As stated by the Bedul (and noted by Ohannessian-Charpin 1986: 385), the Jamadah arose through fission within the Muwasa, while the Samahin are counted among the Bedul by fusion through marriage within the

Table 1: Bedul Subtribes عشائر البدول.

I. Bedul of Petra بدول البتراء		
<i>Subtribe</i> العشيرة	<i>Sheikh</i>	<i>الشيخ</i>
al-Fuqara الفقرا	Sa'ad Hweimel Salem	سعد هويل سالم
	Salameh 'Eid Suleiman	سلامه عيد سليمان
al-Jdeylat الجديلات	Suleiman Shteiyan Moḥammad	سليمان شتيان محمد
al-Muwasa الموسى	Saleem Salameh Fraij	سليم سلامه فريج
al-Jamadah الجمده	Nweije' Salman Ḥussein	نويجع سلمان حسين
	Muṭṭlaq Salem Ḥussein	مطلق سالم حسين
as-Samahin السماحين	Moḥammad Ḥammad Salem	محمد حماد سالم
II. Bedul of Ḥumeima بدول الحميمة		
<i>Subtribe</i> العشيرة	<i>Sheikh</i>	<i>الشيخ</i>
al-Fuqara الفقرا	Ṣabba' ibn Ḥassan	صباغ بن حسان
al-Ḥasasin الحساسين	Ḥamad abu Zeitun	حمد ابو زيتون
az-Zayatin الزياتين	Salamah ibn 'Akli	سلامه بن عكلي
al-'Akalin العكاليين		
al-Jdeylat الجديلات	Ḥussein Ḥammad	حسين حماد
al-Ḥusseinat الحسينات	Farraj ibn Urwei'ei	فراج بن ارويحي
al-Farajeen الفراجيين	'Audeh ibn Ḥamdan	عوده بن حمدان
al-Muwasa الموسى	Hweimel ibn Shahin	هويل بن شاهين

Muwasa. The date of these fission/fusion events is unknown, although Bedul informants agree that the three primary subtribes of al-Fuqara, al-Jdeylat and al-Muwasa were already established beforehand. Informants are also able to provide genealogies of at least five generations for the Jamadah and Samahin which supposedly post-date their development.

The three primary subtribes of al-Fuqara, al-Jdeylat and al-Muwasa among the Bedul of Petra are also those of the southern Bedul at Ḥumeima (similarly noted by Ohannessian-Charpin 1986: 385). At Ḥumeima, however, the Fuqara have fissioned into three subtribes (al-Ḥasasin, az-Zayatin, and al-'Akalin) and the Jdeylat into two (al-Ḥusseinat and al-Farajeen). Table 1 summarizes these various subtribes of the Bedul at Petra and Ḥumeima, giving the

names of the current Sheikhs of each.¹

Understanding the subtribes of the Bedul allows for the potential identification of at least some of their lineages within the broader context of other Bedouin societies in the Near East. Hence, the al-Fuqara are apparently related to or derived from the Fuqara section (الفقرا) of the 'Uneiza confederacy (عنيـزه) of the Ḥijaz (see Doughty 1936: 167, 270-271, 362; von Oppenheim 1943: 343-344). This relationship was frequently mentioned in interviews with older al-Fuqara informants at Petra, and was recently, and quite independently, stated to a visiting archaeologist by Fuqara Bedouin at the ancient Nabataean site of Meda'in Ṣaleḥ in northwestern Sa'udi Arabia (Thomas Weber, personal communication 1990). Similarly related to or derived from them is the Fuqara section (الفقرا) of the Jibarat con-

1. Editor's note: A subtribe among the Bedul of Ḥumeima which was not mentioned by the au-

thor is al-Jaramiyah (الجراميه), who have no close relatives in the area of Petra.

federacy (الجبارات) near Gaza (see von Oppenheim 1943: 81-82, 84). Significantly, the traditional origin story of the Fuqara section of the 'Uneiza confederacy of the Hijaz involved their ancient derivation from either the pre-Islamic Jewish population of Khaibar, or from the followers of the prophet Ṣaleḥ of the Thamud (Doughty 1936: 362, 641; von Oppenheim 1943: 343-344). As with the Bedul origin tradition, the claim here is to descent from the ancient inhabitants of the Hijaz prior to the Islamic conquest.

In addition to the presence of Fuqara, the Jibarat confederacy near Gaza also appears to exhibit links with other Bedul lineages and with the 'Amarin Bedouin north of Petra. The as-Samaḥin lineage which, as noted above, is counted among the Bedul by marriage within the Muwasa, is potentially related to, and possibly derived from, the Samaḥin subtribe attached to the 'Amarin section of the Jibarat confederacy (see von Oppenheim 1943: 87). Similarly, the al-Farajeen lineage of the Jdeylat at Ḥumeima is also attested as a subtribe attached to the 'Amarin section of the Jibarat (see von Oppenheim 1943: 87).

While these data may reflect historic connections between the Bedul of Petra and Ḥumeima and other Bedouin populations in the vicinity of both Meda'in Ṣaleḥ in northwestern Sa'udi Arabia and the Negeb Desert near Gaza (comprising the core area of the ancient Nabataean kingdom), they do not provide a temporal context for such relationships. What can be stated with certainty is that Fuqara were historically present in all three areas, that a section of Fuqara along with the Muwasa and Jdeylat constituted the principal lineages of the Bedul, and that this core group antedated the fission and fusion processes responsible for the later proliferation of lineages at both Petra and Ḥumeima. Even so, it seems reasonable to suggest, as did Wilson in 1843 (1847: 332-333), that the Bedul claim to de-

scend from the ancient inhabitants of southern Jordan is, at least in part, fully justified. The associated issues of Bedul claims to Petra as part of their traditional tribal territory, and their historical association with the Ḥuweitat, are discussed below.

The Position of the Bedul in the History of Southern Jordan

Bedul Regional Dominance Prior to the Late 1860s

From historical and ethnographic data, it is apparent that the ancient site of Petra was already within traditional Bedul tribal territory at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Although Burckhardt did not encounter people within the Petra Valley during his historic visit on August 22-23, 1812, he did mention that his Liyathnah guide was extremely nervous and fearful of "robbers" in the area (Burckhardt 1822: 432). As noted by McKenzie (1991: 140), this implies that his guide expected a human presence in the Petra Valley, and that the area was not within the control of the Liyathnah.

After subsequently heading south-southeast from Elji, Burckhardt provided the following brief account of what is apparently the earliest documented western encounter with a section of the Bedul:

At the end of three hours, after having turned a little more southward, we arrived at a small encampment of Djaylat (الجبلات), where we stopped to breakfast. The Bedouin tents which composed a great part of this encampment were the smallest I had ever seen; they were about four feet high, and ten in length. The inhabitants were very poor, and could not afford to give us coffee; our breakfast or dinner therefore consisted of dry barley cakes, which we dipped in melted goat's grease [Burckhardt 1822: 434].

Travelling in Arab guise and taking notes in a booklet hidden up his sleeve, Burckhardt recorded names as he heard

them. In this case, it would seem that he had stopped at an encampment of Jdeylat (الجديلات), herding their goats high in the plateau during the late summer in that year of drought (Burckhardt 1822: 433).

Six years later, the next western encounter with the Bedul was less friendly. The exploratory party of Charles Irby and James Mangles (1823) inadvertently became embroiled in intra- and inter-tribal conflict when they attempted to visit the ruins of Petra in 1818 (Crawford 1839: 39; de Laborde 1836: 131-132, 144-146; Stephens 1838: 64). Having obtained permission to visit the site from Ibn Rashid, the principal Sheikh of the northern Ḥuweitāt (Burckhardt 1812: 417), objection was raised by one Abu Zeitun ("Father of Olives"), the "Sheikh of Wady Mousa" (Irby and Mangles 1823: 383-384). While the party, under the protection of Ibn Rashid and his followers, were eventually able to visit the site, it was only after intense negotiations and threats of violence from Abu Zeitun and his followers (Irby and Mangles 1823: 391).

The full name of this remarkable Sheikh was actually Imqaibel Abu Zeitun (مقبيل أبو زيتون). In uneasy alliance with Sheikh Ḥussein Abu Moḥammad of the 'Alawin, Abu Zeitun and his followers figured prominently in the accounts of many western travellers to Petra until his death in 1842 or 1843 (e.g., Kinnear 1841: 127-128, 130-131, 136-138, 142-144; Robinson and Smith 1841: 535-536, 538, 539, 540-541, 544, 546; Stewart 1847: 192). The Reverend Henry Formby (1843), who visited Petra in 1840 with a large group of western travellers, drew sketch portraits of these remarkable men (Figs. 1, 2). According to Robinson and Smith (1841: 535-536), Abu Zeitun was the "Sheikh of the Bedūn [Bedul], a clan of the Haweitāt who pasture in and around Wady Mūsa." Bedul informants remember him as a great Sheikh of the al-Fuqara, and point to ancient agricul-

tural plots traditionally belonging to al-Fuqara near Qaṣr Bint Far'un (قصر بنت فرعون "Castle of the Pharaoh's Daughter") in the ruins of Petra which are still known as the "land of Abu Zeitun." The present Sheikh of az-Zayatin section of the splintered al-Fuqara subtribe at Ḥumeima still bears his name (Table 1).

The prominence of Sheikh Imqaibal Abu Zeitun in the accounts of western travellers to Petra was due to his contention that since the ruins of Petra lay within Bedul territory, Bedouin common law allowed them the right and profit of carrying all travellers and freight, and that fees paid by foreign travellers to other Bedouin groups, such as the 'Alawin, for transport and guides to Petra did not abrogate that right. While some western travellers strenuously objected (e.g., Layard 1840: 16-17; Robinson and Smith 1841:543, n.1), others recognized the validity of his case (e.g., Crawford 1839:39-40; Kinnear 1841: 168-169; Stewart 1847: 192). As discussed by one early traveler:

We made the best bargain we were able with the old Sheik of Wady Mousa; nor can the price be considered very exorbitant when compared with what is often paid for seeing curiosities in England and some other countries. Petra belongs to the Bedouins as truly as the Tower in London or Holyrood House does to the British government, and they have about as good a right to fix the terms of admission [Olin 1843: 2: 45].

From 1843 to at least 1849, Abu Zeitun's contention that it was the right of the Bedul to profit from travellers to Petra because the site lay within their tribal territory was actively pursued by his successor, Sheikh Suleiman (Bartlett 1848: 126; Martineau 1848: 352; Wilson 1847: 301-302), who was apparently his nephew (Crosby 1851: 215, 221-222).

The social and economic position of the Liyathnah in the ancient village of Elji, as



Fig.1. Sheikh Hussein Abu Mohammad of the 'Alawin section of the Huweitat (الشيخ حسين أبو محمد العلاوين), as drawn by the Rev. Henry Formby at 'Aqaba in 1840 (1843: 252). Hussein is shown counting the gold five-piaster pieces paid to him by a large group of Europeans in order to visit Petra under his guidance and provisioning and protection.

described by Burckhardt in 1812, exemplifies extant tribal relations in the Petra area during the early nineteenth century.

On our return [from the ruins of Petra] I stopped a few hours at Eldjy. The town is surrounded with fruit-trees of all kinds, the produce of which is of the finest quality. Great quantities of the grapes are sold at Ghaza, and to the Bedouins. The Lyathene cultivate the valley as far as the first sepulchres of the ancient city; in their townhouses they work at the loom. They pay tribute to the Howeytat and carry provisions to the Syrian pilgrims at Maan, and to the Egyptian pilgrims at Akaba [Burckhardt 1822: 433].

Consisting of a small population with largely immovable resources and an econo-

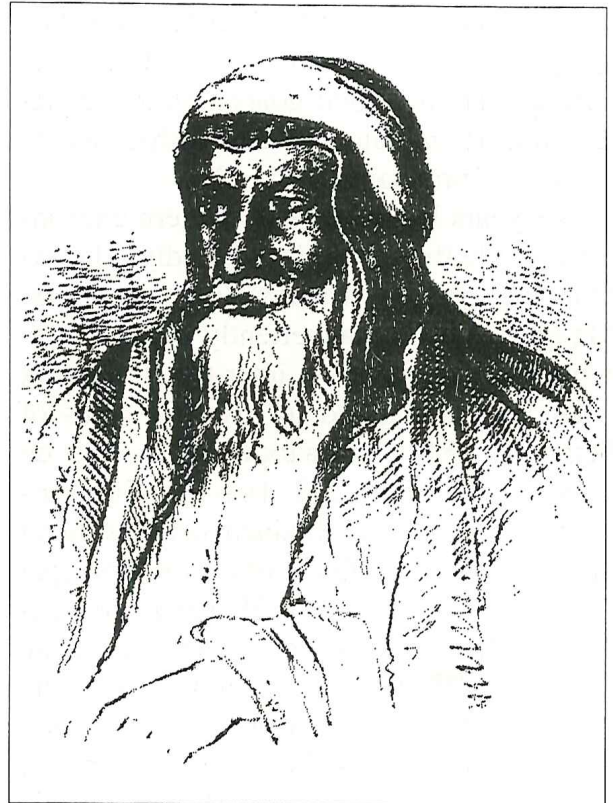


Fig. 2. Sheikh Imqaibel Abu Zeitun al-Fuqara (الشيخ مقبيل أبو زيتون الفقرا) of the Bedul, as drawn by the Rev. Henry Formby in 1840 (1843: title page).

my tied to long lines of communication through territories which they did not control, the Liyathnah, like other villagers south of Karak (e.g., Tafila, Shobak and others; Burckhardt 1822: 403, 405, 419), were necessarily dependant upon the more powerful Huweitat Bedouin, to whom they continued to pay tribute or "protection money" until the end of the nineteenth century (Musil 1908: 52-53, 57).

By contrast, the Bedul freely encamped in the vicinity of Elji, as they were in 1818 when Abu Zeitun resisted the advance of Irby and Mangles (1822: 416-417), and in 1836 during the visit of Stephens (1838: 81). The western limit of Liyathnah cultivation lay near the modern Petra Rest House (Burckhardt 1822: 433), and their territorial claim ended before the entrance to Petra through its famous Siq. The cultivated fields frequently noted by early travelers within the ruins of Petra and to the south-

west near Jabal an-Nabi Harun (e.g., Crawford 1839: 39; Kinnear 1841: 132, 169; de Laborde 1836: 158, 194-5; Stanley 1856: 88; Wilson 1847: 299-300, 302) belonged to the Bedul. While the Bedul were subject to informal exactions of grain and animals by the 'Alawin section of the Ḥuweitāt (Kinnear 1841: 169; Wilson 1847: 301-302), they were clearly an allied tribe.

For general Bedouin tribal relationships and territorial associations in the region of Petra during the early nineteenth century, there is a brief, if somewhat muddled, scholarly account as a result of the visit of Robinson and Smith in 1838.

In the district esh-Sherah, the Bedawîn are all Haweitât, with a few allies. This is an extensive tribe, broken up into several subdivisions, and dwelling in various and distant parts of the country. Those found in these mountains are divided into the clans Abu Rashîd, el-Jâzy, el-Bedûn [Bedul], and el-'Alawîn. The last properly occupy the region towards 'Akabah; the Bedûn, as we have seen, pasture around Wady Mûsa. The Sheikh Abu Jâzy of Laborde, appears to have been the head of the division el-Jâzy; we did not learn the limits where they pasture.

The proper country of the Heweitât Ibn Rashîd, is around Shôbek; but they were said to be now in the region of Kerak. The spirited Sheikh Muhammed Abu Rashîd, to whose fidelity and perseverance Irby and Mangles and their companions were indebted for their visit to Wady Mûsa, was the head of this division. He is dead, and his clan were now governed by his sons. — Closely allied with these are the 'Ammârîn, who are not themselves Haweitât, but a respectable independent tribe; although they acknowledge the Sheikh of the Abu Rashîd as their head. They live in the northern part of esh-Sherah, and to them belongs 'Ain el-Buweirideh in the 'Arabah

[Robinson and Smith 1841: 553-554].

This account, however, only describes tribal affairs as they were perceived in 1838, and it is apparent from a comparison of various western accounts of the region that tribal divisions and political alignments were highly volatile.

Although the Ottomans established direct control over the region from Karak south after their defeat of the Mamluk army in 1517, the area was soon lost through rebellion and disloyal officials, and retained virtual independence from the mid-sixteenth century until 1893 (Gubser 1985: 13-14; Peake 1958: 84-85). While the Ottomans made punitive expeditions against Karak in 1678/9 and 1710/11, they did not establish a permanent presence. In the late seventeenth century, the Bani 'Amr Bedouin began to challenge the control over Karak and its region which an alliance between the descendants of the original Ottoman soldiers and indigenous groups had established. In the early 1700s, the Majali family (المجالي), who had originally come from Hebron as merchants, aligned themselves with the Bani 'Amr, resulting in the dominance of the Bani 'Amr at Karak (Gubser 1985: 14-15). Not content with a secondary position, the Majali initiated an alliance with the Ḥuweitāt against the Bani 'Amr around 1770 or 1780 (Burckhardt 1822: 381). The Bani 'Amr were defeated in two battles, and the Majali firmly established as masters of Karak. However, at the time of Burckhardt's visit, the people of Karak were still paying "protection money" to the Ḥuweitāt (Burckhardt 1822: 389).

In 1812, Ibn Rashid was the principal Sheikh of the northern Ḥuweitāt (Burckhardt 1822: 413, 417). At the time of Burckhardt's visit, Ibn Rashid and the majority of Ḥuweitāt males were in Egypt helping the Pasha, Mohammad 'Ali, transport his army across the desert to 'Aqaba and Yanbo' (Burckhardt 1822: 413, 417) in support of the Pasha's campaign against the

Wahabis under Ibn Sa'ud (Baker 1979: 2-3; Peake 1958: 89-90). By the time of Irby and Mangles' visit in 1818, conditions had changed, since Ibn Rashid and his followers were then aligned with Sheikh Yousef al-Majali of Karak against the rest of the Ḥuweitat and the Bedul, led by Abu Zeitun (Crawford 1839: 39; Irby and Mangles 1823: 382-384, 391; de Laborde 1836: 144-146; Peake 1958: 191; Stephens 1838: 64). The Majali of Karak, who, by default, were invested by the Ottomans as representing their interests in southern Jordan (Wilson 1987: 55), were intent on wresting control of the Sharah from the Ḥuweitat (Peake 1958: 191), a plan consistent with Ottoman claims to the region and to which Ibn Rashid had committed his followers. The events of 1818 seemingly reflect a significant subtribal fission occurring among the Ḥuweitat.

When de Laborde visited Petra in 1823, a tripartite division of the Ḥuweitat into the 'Alawin, the Ḥuweitat Ibn Jazi, and the followers of Ibn Rashid was in place (Laborde 1836: 131-132, 144-146). However, Ibn Rashid's brother and nephews were counted among the 'Alawin (de Laborde 1836: 144). By 1836, one of his nephews, Ḥussein Abu Moḥammad, had become the Sheikh of the 'Alawin (von Oppenheim 1943: 307, n. 14; Stephens 1838: 64). It seems probable that the 'Alawin had fissioned as a result of Ibn Rashid's alliance with the Majali of Karak. The followers of Ibn Rashid eventually formed the separate and independent tribe later known as the Rashaydeh (الرشايدة; Musil 1908: 59-60), while the rest of the section, under the leadership of Ibn Rashid's relatives, had retained their Mamluk ties. The Bedul, under the leadership of Abu Zeitun, retained their alliance with the 'Alawin against Ibn Rashid and his followers.

In 1831, Mohammad 'Ali declared war on the Ottomans and sent his forces into Syria, resulting in the defeat of the Ottoman army at Konia and Egyptian control over all

of Palestine and Syria until 1841 (Abu Jaber 1989: 31; Peake 1958: 90). In 1833, the Majali of Karak sheltered the leader of a major Palestinian rebellion against Mohammad 'Ali, resulting in a 17 day siege and the eventual plundering and partial destruction of the town by Ibrahim Pasha's army (Abu Jaber 1989: 33). Isma'il ash-Shofi, who had succeeded his father, Yousef, as Sheikh of the Majali, fled the town and sought refuge among the Ḥuweitat, but was turned over to the government and hanged in Jerusalem (Gubser 1985: 16; Peake 1958: 190).

By contrast, during this period of Egyptian hegemony, the 'Alawin under Sheikh Ḥussein Abu Moḥammad had inherited the official and exclusive rights to carry supplies from Egypt to the fort at 'Aqaba, and to conduct the Egyptian section of the Ḥajj (Kinnear 1841:170; Bartlett 1848:100). The 'Alawin retained these rights until 'Aqaba, the last foothold of Egyptian authority in southern Jordan, was turned over to Ottoman control in 1892 (Kitchener 1884: 214-215; Musil 1926: 69; von Oppenheim 1943: 295; Palmer 1871: 431-432). Sheikh Ḥussein had also established the official and exclusive rights to conduct foreign travelers to the ruins of Petra, and Sheikh Abu Zeitun of the Bedul was often at pains to obtain a portion of the fees which Ḥussein received, or to obtain an additional fee once travelers reached Petra.

When Crawford visited Petra in 1837, Sheikh Hussein and the 'Alawin were, not surprisingly, in open feud with Ibn Rashid, his followers, and his allies at Karak (Crawford 1839: 40). A devastating raid was actually launched from Karak on Ḥussein's camp in Wadi 'Arabah the day after Crawford had left it, resulting in several deaths on both sides and the loss of many 'Alawin camels (Crawford 1839: 45; Morris 1842: 299-300). By 1838, when Robinson and Smith visited Petra, Ibn

Rashid had died and his followers, excluding the 'Amarin, had fled north to Karak (see account above). The 'Amarin had apparently remained just north of Petra, and were present in support of Abu Zeitun in his request that Robinson and Smith pay a fee for their visit to the ruins (Robinson and Smith 1841: 544).

Presumably upset by the unsettled conditions extant in the Sharah, the Egyptian government intervened in 1838-39, sending a small party of troops to Petra in an attempt to subdue the Bedul, ostensibly for "robberies" they had committed (Kinnear 1841: 161).

The party advanced from Akaba, and entered Wady Mousa without opposition, but without seeing a single Fellah. For several days the valley appeared to be entirely deserted, and, but for the little cultivated spaces among the ruins, as utterly desolate as if it had remained for ages unoccupied except by the vultures, which wheeled their airy circles over the ruined city. Not a night however passed during which some of the tents were not robbed, and the arms stolen, as if by some invisible hand; and even one or two soldiers, who had imprudently strayed from the encampment, were carried off, and never returned.

Fearing to penetrate the narrow and wild ravines which branch out from the valley, and finding their provisions fast decreasing, without any means of obtaining supplies, the party returned to Akaba, after losing one or two men, and a good many muskets, by an enemy whom they had never seen [Kinnear 1841:161-162].

The feud between Sheikh H̄ussein and populations north of Petra was still underway in 1840 (Morris 1842: 264). The Bedul, as an allied tribe, were also involved, and in a daring midnight attack by a northern group on an encampment near Petra, many Bedul warriors were killed and large numbers of their livestock were stolen

(Layard 1894: 3; Morris 1842: 269).

Under international pressure, the Egyptian army made a disastrous retreat from Syria through southern Jordan and the Negeb under Ibrahim Pasha in 1841 (Peake 1958: 91; Stewart 1847: 155-156, 204; Wilson 1847: 345-346). After this, the level of tribal conflict in the Petra area may have subsided. Travelers to Petra in 1842 (Stewart 1847), 1843 (Wilson 1847), 1845 (Bartlett 1848), 1847 (Martineau 1848) and 1849 (Crosby 1851) did not mention tribal conflict, and appear to have traversed the region without incident. During his stay in Petra in 1843, Wilson (1847) made two sketches of a Bedul male (Figs. 3 and 4). Writing of her visit in the winter of 1847, Harriet Martineau further provided a vivid nighttime image of the Bedul under Sheikh Suleiman encamped in the caves and tombs of Petra, noting that "Row beyond row of the caves gave out yellow gleams; and in the moonlight rose little pillars and wreaths of white smoke" (1848: 361-362).

Even so, it is apparent that between 1850 and 1870, dramatic events overtook the Bedul. The H̄uweitat Ibn Jazi wrested political control of the environs of Petra from the 'Alawin, and the Liyathnah gained armed dominance over the Bedul, events which the Egyptian decline and the growing Ottoman desire to finally establish control of southern Jordan appear to have influenced. In 1870, the Arab tribes around Petra were again at war (Palmer 1870: 433).

Liyathnah Regional Dominance After the Late 1860s

When Palmer entered the Petra Valley from the west near the base of Jabal an-Nabi Harun in the winter of 1870, he and his party "were set upon by a very unprepossessing gang of half-naked savages, who turned out to be Arabs of the Ma'azeh tribe" (Palmer 1871: 435). "Ma'azeh" was another name for the Bani 'Atiya Bedouin (بنی عطیه), one section of whom



Fig. 3. Frontal view of a fully-cloaked and armed Bedul male at Petra in 1843, as drawn by John Wilson (1857: 287).



Fig. 4. Back view of a Bedul male at Petra in 1843, as drawn by John Wilson (1857: 337). Note the waist-length hair.

were aligned with the Majali of Karak in their attempt to wrest the Sharah from the Ḥuweitāt (Gubser 1985: 17; Peake 1958: 191; Shoup 1980: 89). Since it is unlikely that the Bani 'Aṭiya would have been encamped in the Petra Valley, it seems that Palmer had actually encountered a group of al-Muwasa Bedul, but had confused the names when spoken to him.

More importantly, when Palmer proceeded into the ruins of Petra, he encountered an agitated and heavily armed group of Liyathnah (1871: 436). This is the first reference to any Liyathnah being present in the Petra Valley since Burckhardt's nervous Liyathnah guide led him to the vicinity of Jabal an-Nabi Harun in 1812 (1822: 432). Palmer's stay at Petra was actually made under the protection of the Liyathnah, and he camped above Elji. Insight into to what

had apparently happened was provided by Palmer when he spoke with an 'Amarin Sheikh.

... Selámeh Ibn 'Awwád, the sheikh of the 'Ammarín, was at first all smiles and fair promises, and began to recount to us his own troubles, telling us that Wády Músa belonged to him and to his ancestors, but that the Liyátheneh a few years back had taken it from the 'Ammarín by force of arms, and were confirmed in their possession of it, conjointly with the Haweitát, by the Turkish officials, on the recommendation of Rafá'í Bey, who was then at 'Akabah (Palmer 1871: 450-451).

In his account, the 'Amarin Sheikh conflated the traditional territorial claim of the Bedul to the Petra Valley with the legitimate claim of the 'Amarin to the territory north of the valley in the vicinity of Beida.

Regardless, it is apparent that in the late 1860s, the Liyathnah had expanded their territorial claims by force of arms into the Petra Valley and regions south of Beida. This had apparently occurred in conjunction with Huweitat support, and had been subsequently recognized by Turkish officials. However, the Huweitat involved were not the 'Alawin, but the Huweitat Ibn Jazi under Sheikh 'Arar ibn Jazi, mentioned as having control over Petra and the entire Sharah in the 1870s through the 1890s (Doughty 1936: 68; Hill 1896: 28-29, 1897: 41, 144; Kitchener 1884: 214-215). Within this relationship, the Liyathnah paid tribute or "protection money" specifically to the Huweitat Ibn Jazi (Musil 1908: 52-53, 57). Whether the winter occupation of caves before the entrance to the Siq (McKenzie 1991: 144; von Oppenheim 1943: 288) and in the area of Beida (Canaan 1929:197) by members of the al-'Alaya (العلايا) and Bani 'Aṭa (بني عطا) subtribes of the Liyathnah was a consequence of this expansion cannot be firmly established.

These changes took place during a period of Egyptian political instability and financial collapse, culminating in the British occupation of Egypt in 1882 (Wilson 1987: 55). This political and economic decline undoubtedly had a major impact on Egyptian clients in southern Jordan, particularly the 'Alawin and the allied Bedul. A further economic blow to the 'Alawin occurred with the construction of the Suez canal between 1859 and 1869, for the Egyptian Hajj was subsequently conducted primarily by sea (Musil 1926: 69). With the diversion of the Egyptian Hajj route to the Red Sea, Egyptian forts in the Hijaz were no longer important, and were ceded one by one to the Ottomans, starting in 1887 and ending in 1892, when 'Aqaba was formally ceded to them (von Oppenheim 1943: 295, 326-327; Peake 1958: 92; 137-138, n. 37).

While the Huweitat Ibn Jazi and the Liyathnah had capitalized on the decline of

the Egyptians and their allies in southern Jordan to further their own ends, direct Ottoman control of the Petra region was not long in coming. In December of 1893, 1,200 Turkish troops and officers were moved into Karak (Abu Jaber 1989: 40; Dowling 1896: 330; Gubser 1985: 19-20; Peake 1958: 92-93; Wilson 1987: 55), and a small garrison of mounted soldiers were sent south to Shobak (Hornstein 1898: 98; Libbey and Hoskins 1905: 25). The new territory of Karak remained in the province of Damascus, and included the districts of Tafila and Ma'an, the latter including Wadi Musa and Shobak (Peake 1958: 92). By the end of 1894, it is possible that the total number of Turkish troops in the southern regions of Jordan was around 4,000, as military detachments accompanied officials to the various towns of the south, establishing a regular administration (Abu Jaber 1989: 40).

This was not what Sheikh 'Arar ibn Jazi had sought, and in 1894, he led a revolt against the expansion of Turkish authority, resulting in the death of several soldiers (Musil 1926: 7). However, in March of 1895 he was forced to flee north from the Petra area along with his followers (Hill 1896: 28-29), and was subsequently captured and imprisoned at Damascus (Hill 1897: 41; Musil 1908: 52; 1926: 7). In May, 1895, the people of Shobak also rose in revolt and expelled the Turkish garrison (Hill 1897: 138; Hornstein 1898: 98-99; Libbey and Hoskins 1905: 25-26). The Turks sent 600 foot soldiers, 100 cavalry and two cannon to lay siege to the site, which capitulated after several weeks and the loss of 200 of their people and 20 Turkish soldiers.

What effect the Turkish expansion of authority had on the Liyathnah is undocumented, although Elji became the center of the Wadi Musa subdistrict created in 1908 (Peake 1958: 137, n. 46), and Liyathnah informants state that the Sheikh of the Bani

'Aṭa served as the Ottoman tax collector. The Liyathnah appear to have maintained good relations with the Turkish authorities until they joined the Arab Revolt after the capture of 'Aqaba in July, 1917 (al-Edroos 1980: 118; Lawrence 1937: 328).

These social, political and economic events of the late 1800s had left the Bedul an impoverished people, largely dominated by the Liyathnah through force of arms under their alignment with the Ḥuweīṭat Ibn Jazi and subsequent Ottoman authority. Only in the mountainous and rugged terrain surrounding Petra to the northwest, west and south were they free from interference in their activities. These regions, however, were also remote from any centers of political authority, and only through Elji could they articulate with government institutions.

Having been guided into Petra in 1895 by two Liyathnah Sheikhs, one traveler came to a Bedul encampment in caves south of the ruins which he described as "the dwelling (?) of a miserable-looking family, with hardly any clothing on" (Hornstein 1898:101). In discussing the situation of small Bedouin groups or remnants of former tribes in southern Jordan, Crawford similarly commented on the condition of the Bedul as he found them at Petra in 1907:

... a typical case is that of the Bedūd [sic.] Arabs, who thirty years ago exercised undisputed sway over the valley and ruins of Petra. So powerful were they that they made it impossible for any traveler to visit the site of the ancient city without paying them heavy toll. The fall of this robber tribe is due to several causes, not the least of which is the heavy hand of the Turkish government which ultimately controlled the whole district west of the new Hejâz Railroad. All that the traveler now sees of this once haughty tribe is a wretched handful of beggars who haunt the camp with relics to sell, and who quarrel over the

scraps and the tin cans which are thrown out from the cook's tent (Crawford 1930: 289).

This impoverished state continued through World War I. In 1918, Peake found the inhabitants of the Petra Valley to be starving, since Turkish patrols had raided the area several times and carried off stores of grain and their livestock (Jarvis 1942: 39). Upon hearing this, the Emir Faisal sent sacks of flour to Petra.

Times remained difficult for the Bedul through the 1920s and 1930s, heightened by the drought conditions which extended across much of Palestine and Jordan during this period (Canaan 1929: 199; Dann 1984: 10; Russell 1988: 69, Fig. 3). Visitors to Petra continued to note the lack of clothes among the Bedul (e.g., Dixon 1925), and Peake found many of them in 1926 to be "naked except for the skins of animals" (Jarvis 1942: 125). They were so impoverished by this point that they did not even have tents (Peake 1958: 203). In 1929, Canaan referred to the Bedul as "the poorest of all the bedouin tribes of this district of Trans-Jordan" (1929: 216), and noted that even the Liyathnah had been selling their guns to buy their daily necessities (1929: 200). Nielsen simply noted that "The members of the Bidul have neither camels nor horses, no tents nor houses, but live in the caves of the Petra mountains, tending their small flocks of black goats, their sole propriety" (1933: 207).

After WWI, the region of southern Jordan from Shobak south had been loosely included within the Kingdom of the Ḥijaz (Jarvis 1942: 63-64, 78, 119; Peake 1958: 105), although it was not until 1923 that an attempt was made to introduce a regular administration (Canaan 1929: 201; Philby 1925: 4). In that year, the Emir Abdullah camped at Petra (Kennedy 1925: v), apparently helping his father, Sherif Ḥussein, in establishing formal relations with the inhabitants of the region in preparation for taxa-

tion (see Canaan 1929: 201). It was an event which is well-remembered among the Bedul.

A large black tent was erected on a flat promontory on the north side of the Wadi Musa drainage just north of Qaşr Bint Far'un, and here the Emir Abdullah met with the Bedul Sheikhs, led by Hweimel Salem 'Eid of the al-Fuqara. Asked whether they wished their territorial claims to the Petra Valley and its environs formally recorded, and hence would necessarily pay taxes on that claim (which they could not afford), they alternatively accepted government trusteeship of the land in return for a guarantee of traditional Bedul rights of occupation and use. After the fall of the Kingdom of the Hijaz in 1925, the region was formally annexed to Transjordan (Baker 1979: 221, 228, n. 7; Canaan 1929: 201; Kennedy 1925: viii; Wilson 1987: 99-100).

The Bedul and Tourism: 1920s-Present

The economic importance of tourism in Bedul livelihood has grown since the 1920s, although under conditions of competition with the Liyathnah (Shoup 1985). Around 1925, Thomas Cook and Sons established a seasonal tourist camp at Petra (Colonial Office 1937; Jarvis 1942: 140). This camp employed several Bedul and Liyathnah as help, and was run by an individual named Jamil 'Asrawi. He is said to have been a Druz, and has left his name engraved next to the doorway of a Nabataean tomb near the northwestern edge of the site (جميل عسراوي سنة ١٩٢٦) "Jamil 'Asrawi *sanat* 1926". He is well-remembered as a friend of the Bedul, and after dying suddenly during the night, he was buried by them in a Nabataean tomb in Petra. This original tourist camp was located in a wadi on the west side of the Petra Valley, approximately 50 meters north of the present Petra Forum restaurant/Department of Antiquities offices. Between 1928 and 1938, a steady trickle

of tourists passed through the site during the winter months (Jarvis 1942: 141). The Thomas Cook camp was later moved next to Qaşr al-Bint in the early 1930s, and prior to 1937, it had been sold to a Palestinian hosteler family, the Nazzals (Colonial Office 1937; Shoup 1985: 281).

Most Bedul families continued to pursue their traditional pastoral and agricultural subsistence activities, the latter only when rainfall conditions were sufficient. However, the nature and extent of Bedul habitation within the immediate ruins of central Petra intensified in the late 1920s and 1930s as a result of tourism and periodic employment in archaeological excavations. The archaeologist Margaret Murray provided a vivid description of their occupation of the caves of Petra as she observed them in 1937.

The Bdul live, like the foxes, in holes in the rock; in other words, in caves. Here in Petra there are any number of caves to choose from, both natural caves and those cut out by the ancient inhabitants. As a rule the Nabataean rock dwellings and tombs are on too large a scale for comfort. The icy blasts whistle in them too violently in the winter, and the sun pours in too fiercely in the summer; a small natural rock cave is therefore more suitable. A low wall of loose stones is laid across the mouth of the cave to prevent a toddling child from falling over the precipice on which the front of the cave opens. The inside of this habitation is as primitive and simple as the dwelling itself. The hearth is more or less in the centre, the fire being fed with brushwood collected by the house-mother. The acrid wood-smoke escapes by the mouth of the cave. The household equipment consists of an iron cooking pot, a bread-iron, a paraffin tin for carrying water, a sack of flour, a flat basin which serves both for kneading bread (if made in large quantities), and for stews when

there is any meat; in some cases there is a box for extra garments. The wealth of the family is carried on the person of the house-mother in the form of necklaces, bracelets and head ornaments, often pitifully cheap and poor.

The sleeping arrangements are excessively simple. A few stones of varying sizes are placed in a rough circle round the fire, and the family sleep with their heads on the stones and their feet towards the dying embers. When I hear of the "simple life" as practised in England I am inclined to laugh, having seen the really simple life of the Bdul [Murray 1939: 23].

Frequent conflicts between the Bedul and Liyathnah, coupled with a concern for tourists, led to the posting of police at Petra in the late 1920s and 1930s (Canaan 1929: 201; Colonial Office 1937). The Police "station" was in a cave next to and just south of the present Petra Museum on al-Ḥabis (Murray 1939: 27). On the southern wall of this cave is an inscription made by one of the policemen stationed there (١٩٣٨-١٩٣٥//خليل سعد عميش) — "Khalil Sa'ad 'Amish//1935-1938". During her archaeological excavations in 1937, Margaret Murray described the rationale of her employment practices under the advice of the police as follows:

... there is so much jealousy between Eljy and Petra that had we employed more Bdul than Eljyites, the Eljyites would have lain in wait for the Bdul workers and murdered them, on the ground that the Bdul were taking the bread out of the Eljyite's mouths. As Eljy is the most murderous village in Transjordan the authorities were rightly taking no risks. Then as the Bdul are all desperately poor and their numbers limited, it was essential that any wage-money that happened to be going should be divided as much as possible among the different families; this could only be done if

we had a new set of workers every week. We were also advised, but this was not a regulation, to keep Bdul and Eljyites apart, otherwise we might have free fights and possible loss of life [Murray 1939: 187].

Generally tense relations between the Bedul and the Liyathnah continued in subsequent years as tourism increased.

In 1956/57, the Nazzals built a small hotel to replace the earlier camp. Unfortunately, after the 1920s and early 1930s, tourist facilities at Petra tended not to hire Bedul except for boys employed as kitchen help, preferring instead to bring in their staff from Egypt (Shoup 1985: 281). In the early 1960s, USAID helped the Jordanian government build a rest house for tourists below Elji near the entrance to the site, and funded the construction of a better road to the village of Wadi Musa (USAID 1988: 40, 41). While these developments further enhanced economic opportunities for the Liyathnah within the growing tourist trade, the options available to the Bedul were more limited (Shoup 1985: 281-282).

Initially, the Liyathnah enjoyed the advantage of proximity to the main entrance to the site. Equally important, however, was that years of better educational facilities in the village of Wadi Musa had produced individuals well-versed in English and knowledgeable about the western world. The village has one of the highest percentages (40%) of any group of students passing the *tawjihi* (national exam) in all of Jordan (Shoup 1985: 291). By contrast, only a single, two-room schoolhouse operated in Petra to provide elementary education for Bedul children through the sixth grade. For further education, Bedul children had to attend the schools in Wadi Musa, and parents seldom bothered to enroll them there (Shoup 1985: 291, n. 3).

As a result of these circumstances, several Liyathnah obtained jobs at the government rest house when it was opened, while

others were contracted to provide horses to transport tourists into Petra itself (sparking a thriving horse industry in Wadi Musa), and some obtained official concessions to sell post cards, tour books, stamps, and souvenirs (Shoup 1985: 281). When the Jordan Express Transport and Transportation Company (JETT) added a daily bus service to Petra in 1980, it contracted with a Liyathnah to act as its agent (Shoup 1985: 282).

The Layathna have enriched themselves from the tourist trade and have suffered less of the trauma experienced by the Bidul. The location of their village has given them access to tourists on their own ground. That is, the Layathna have easy access to jobs created by tourism, but they can control the circumstances ... Their high level of education and ability to speak English gives them a good understanding of the West, better than Westerners have of the Middle East. A number of Layathna have attained positions in local and national government offices and have an input into the development of their district. For example, the regional antiquities inspector is a Layathna as is the chief of the local tourist police. They are in charge of any important guests sent to Petra by the Jordanian government [Shoup 1985: 286].

Generally excluded from the formal development of tourism at Petra, many Bedul pursued informal avenues of deriving an income from the tourist trade. These included selling real and fake antiquities to tourists, providing animal transport into the site, and serving as guides, although in these latter activities, the Liyathnah had held an advantage since the late 1920s (Canaan 1929;

199; Jarvis 1942: 125). In the 1960s, enterprising Bedul also began to set up small, informal refreshment and souvenir stands within Petra near areas of tourist concentration (Shoup 1985: 282; USAID 1968: 11). In addition, members of the Bedul were often paid to provide traditional Bedouin feasts and to perform traditional dances for the entertainment of tourists. Their occupation of central Petra intensified, with the new influx of money allowing for the construction of the formal residential complexes in the caves and tombs of Petra which became the focus of extensive research in recent years (Bienkowski 1985; 1989; Bienkowski and Chlebig 1991). However, consistent with the USAID development plan for Petra National Park, which noted that while the Bedul held traditional rights of use of park lands, they should be resettled elsewhere (1968: 12, 23-24), the Bedul no longer live in the caves of Petra.

The establishment of government-built housing at Umm Şaiḥun to the north of the site in 1985 and 1986, providing electricity, running water, and better educational facilities, has brought a final end to traditional Bedul lifeways for most families. Flocks of goats are still herded within the region, and agricultural plots are still cultivated, but only a handful of individual households continue to exploit the full extent of traditional Bedul territories. Many of those old enough to still remember the distant past through their childhoods or the stories told by their fathers and grandfathers will soon pass away. But the Bedouin named for changing are changing once more, and remain today as a people with a rich cultural heritage.

K. W. Russell

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ADAJ XXVII (1993)

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