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# THE CHRISTIAN TRADITION AS TO THE MAGICAL WISDOM OF SOLOMON

C. C. McCOWN  
(JERUSALEM)

THE student of history frequently has to deal with traditions whose origin and development are most puzzling. His method of treating them must be determined by knowledge of other traditions the course of whose growth is more easily followed. Few have a richer and more varied documentation than that which glorifies the wisdom of Solomon. It may well serve as an example of the manner in which the human mind works in certain fields.

## *I. ITS PRE-CHRISTIAN BASIS*

With the facts behind the tradition I am not concerned. The reputation which the great king actually deserves may be left to students of the Old Testament. The literary starting-point for the legends that have developed touching the king's wisdom is to be found in 1 Kings 3, in the story of Solomon's dream.<sup>1</sup> In this passage, as Benzinger well says, the writer has in mind the judicial wisdom of the ruler. On the contrary in ch. 5 9—14 (4 29—34) he not only thinks of "religious wisdom in practical life" but, in comparing Solomon's wisdom with that of "the children of the East," and the "wisdom of the Egyptians," he intends to imply that Solomon was master of the magical and astrological knowledge in which the ancients were supposed to excel.<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to date precisely

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<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings 3 4-14; paralleled without important changes in 2 Chr. 1 7-13, except that Solomon's superiority is promised only over other *kings*. The tradition has not yet begun to grow.

<sup>2</sup> As the book of Exodus, for example, testifies. See Benzinger's *Könige* (1899) 23 f., on 1 Kings 5 9-14.

this earliest allusion to the magical knowledge of Solomon. But the verses in question probably belong to the final redaction of the Book of Kings.<sup>1</sup> In any case, since the passage is in the Septuagint, it must have come into the Hebrew Bible two centuries or more before the beginning of our era. Thus in leading circles of Palestinian Judaism Solomon had thus early come to be accepted as a magician.

Whether the interpolator of the passage thought of him also as the author of magical books is less certain. Without doubt many readers would understand *ὠδαί* to mean, not psalms, but *carmina*, incantations, and would take discourses "of trees" (*ὑπὲρ τῶν ξύλων*) to include their medical, or what then amounted to the same thing, their magical uses.<sup>2</sup> These verses are an excellent example of "how much wood is kindled by how small a fire," for they are the excuse for the ascription to Solomon of a whole library of books on almost every conceivable subject.

How shall we explain the development of the relatively simple story of the dream of Solomon into the much more complicated and detailed claims of this passage? It seems to me most natural to suppose that already in his lifetime Solomon had enjoyed a reputation for proverbial wisdom and that by the time these verses were written collections of proverbs and verses dealing with some of the subjects enumerated were already in circulation. This must remain, however, only an assumption, for no decisive proof is at hand.<sup>3</sup>

Indeed Wisdom 7 17—22, the next reference to Solomon's magical knowledge, makes no allusion to writings. But the context does not call for it and the passage plainly involves a claim for the author of knowledge of astrology, of the nature of beasts and spirits, as well as of men, of the *ἐνέργεια στοιχείων*, the *διαφοραὶ φυνῶν*, the *δυνάμεις ῥήδων* and of "all things that are either secret or manifest." Thus a

<sup>1</sup> So Benzinger, *loc. cit.* Kautzsch, *Heil. Schr. des AT*, seems to imply that the passage belongs to the earlier sources of Kings. Stade and Schwally in Haupt's polychrome Hebrew Bible color it as a "non-Deuteronomic addition of unknown origin." Steuernagel, *Ein. AT* 356 and *ZATW* 1910, 70, favors a very late date.

<sup>2</sup> So Christian writers; see below p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> For an analysis of 1 Kings 5 9-14 (4 29-34) see Salzberger, Georg, *Die Salomonsage in der semitischen Literatur: ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Sagenkunde*. I. Teil. Diss. Heidelberg. Berlin 1907, pp. 9—12, 94—97, 99.

thoroughly educated and highly cultured Jew of the Dispersion interprets the language of the Septuagint. To him such wisdom as the Book of Kings claimed for Solomon necessarily implied a knowledge of all the "science" of his day, and that included astrology, magic, medicine, and sorcery.<sup>1</sup>

An allusion to Solomon's authority over the demons is found in a work of a very different sort, the *Citharismus regis David contra daemonum Saulis*, which Dr. James, the editor, assigns to the first century of our era. David is represented as singing to the demon which has possessed Saul: "Later times will demonstrate from what race I was born, for hereafter there will be born from me one who will control you."<sup>2</sup> Dr. James says: "In this last sentence it seems at first sight as though we had a prophecy of Messiah and possibly a Christian touch. But a little consideration will show, I think, that the 'vanquisher of demons' who is to spring from David is not Messiah, but Solomon the king of the Genies, the wizard" of Josephus and the Testament of Solomon.<sup>3</sup>

Josephus contributes the cornerstone of the Jewish foundation upon which the Christian tradition regarding Solomon rests. Without his explicit statements one might even be inclined to doubt the foregoing interpretation of earlier writers. After repeating with some embellishments the scriptural statements regarding Solomon's wisdom and writings he adds: "God also gave him to know the art that is used against the demons for help and healing to men. He composed incantations by which diseases are rebuked and left kinds of exorcisms by which demons are bound and driven away never to return. And this treatment is most successful among us up to the present time." And Josephus proceeds to relate how a certain fellow-countryman of his, Eleazar, in the presence of Vespasian and his court, expelled a demon from a man by "holding under the nostrils of the demoniac his ring, which had under the seal one of the roots indicated by Solomon," and by "mentioning Solomon and repeating the incantations which he composed." "By this

<sup>1</sup> I have followed the translation of Siegfried in Kautzsch, *Apokr. u. Pseudep. des AT* I 490, and Holmes in Charles, *Apocr. and Pseudep. of the OT* I 546.

<sup>2</sup> *Arguent autem tempora noua unde natus sum; de quo nascitur post tempus de lateribus meis qui uos domauit.*

<sup>3</sup> *Texts and Studies* II, 3 (1893); *Apocrypha Anecdota* p. 183 and 184.

event," he says, "the power and wisdom of Solomon are clearly established."<sup>1</sup>

Josephus thus gives evidence of a living, popular tradition as to Solomon magus. He also tells us that books were in circulation giving his recipes. His very slight alteration of the biblical account of the writings of Solomon is most instructive. It bespeaks a knowledge of what was actually in circulation. Solomon, he says, "also composed books of odes and songs, five besides the thousand and three thousand books of parables and comparisons, for he spoke a proverb upon every kind of tree, from the hyssop to the cedar, and in the same manner also concerning beasts and all the terrestrial animals and the aquatic and the aerial, for he was not ignorant of the nature of any of them neither did he pass over any without consideration, but philosophized on all and showed his knowledge of their peculiar characteristics to be of the highest."<sup>2</sup>

It is possible that in speaking of "parables and comparisons" (*παραβολῶν καὶ εἰκόνων*) Josephus is merely rhetorically tautological and means nothing more than proverbs. But the word *εἰκών*, which means "parable, comparison," as well as "image," was later used as the title of works on the medicinal, or magical, virtues of plants, such as the *εἰκόνες κατὰ στοιχείων* of Pamphilus. It seems very likely then that Albrecht Dieterich was right in supposing that Josephus knew of works under such a title ascribed to Solomon.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Παρέσχε δὲ αὐτῷ μαθεῖν ὁ θεὸς καὶ τὴν κατὰ τῶν δαιμόνων τέχνην εἰς ὠφέλειαν καὶ θεραπείαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. ἐπ' ὧδ' αὖτε συνταξάμενος αἰς παρηγορεῖται τὰ νοσήματα, τρόπους ἐξορκώσεων κατέλιπεν, οἷς ἐνδούμενα (Naber: οἱ ἐνδοούμενοι Niese) τὰ δαιμόνια ὡς μηκέτ' ἐπανελθεῖν ἐκδιώκουσι. καὶ αὕτη μέχρι νῦν παρ' ἡμῶν ἡ θεραπεία πλεῖστον ἰσχύει· ἰστόρησα γάρ τινα Ἐλεάζαρον τῶν ὁμοφύλων, Οὐεσπασιανοῦ παρόντος καὶ τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ χιλιάρχων καὶ ἄλλων στρατιωτικῶν πλήθους, τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμονίων λαμβανομένους ἀπολύοντα τούτων. ὁ δὲ τῆς θεραπείας τρόπος τοιοῦτος ἦν. προσφέρων ταῖς ῥίσι τοῦ δαιμονιζομένου τὸν δακτύλιον, ἔχοντα ὑπὸ τῇ σφραγίδι ῥίζαν ἐξ ὧν ὑπέδειξε Σολομών, ἔπειτ' ἐξείλκεν ὀσφρουμένῳ διὰ τῶν μυκτῆρων τὸ δαιμόνιον, καὶ πεσόντος εὐθὺς τὸν ἀνθρώπου μηκέτ' εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπανήκεν ὥρκου, Σολομώνος τε μεμνημένος καὶ τὰς ἐπ' ὧδ' αὖτε συνέθηκεν ἐκεῖνος, ἐπιλέγων . . . γινόμενου δὲ τούτου σαφὴς ἡ Σολομώνος καθίστατο δυνεῖς καὶ σοφία. *Ant.* viii 2, 5 (45—49).

<sup>2</sup> Συνετάξατο δὲ καὶ βιβλία περὶ ψδῶν καὶ μελῶν πέντε πρὸς τοῖς χιλίοις, καὶ παραβολῶν καὶ εἰκόνων βίβλους τρισχίλιας· καθ' ἕκαστον γὰρ εἶδος δένδρου παραβολὴν εἶπεν, ἀφ' ὕσσου ἕως κέδρου, τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ περὶ κτηνῶν καὶ τῶν τ' ἐπιγείων ἀπάντων ζῴων καὶ τῶν νηκτῶν καὶ τῶν ἀερίων· οὐδεμίαν γὰρ τούτων φύσιν ἡγήνησεν οὐδὲ παρήλθεν ἀνεξέταστον, ἀλλ' ἐν πάσαις ἐφιλοσόφησε καὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς ἰδιωμάτων ἀκραν ἐπέδειξατο. *Ant.* viii 2, 5 (44).

<sup>3</sup> *Abrazas* 142f., *Leid. Pap.* 780 ff.

## II. THE SEMITIC TRADITION

An instructive difference develops in the course of time between the Jewish and Arabic tradition on the one hand and that of Christendom on the other. In all alike Solomon is celebrated as a magician. Targum Sheni Esther, for example, says that "Solomon ruled over the wild beasts, over the birds of the heaven, and over the creeping beasts of the earth, as well as over the devils, the spirits of the night; and he understood the language of all these according as it is written, 'and he talked with the trees.'" <sup>1</sup> This substitution of talking *with* the trees for the *of* which is found in 1 Kings 5 13 (4 33) and of *ruled over* for the *spake of* in the following verse is an interesting example of the development of legend. Both the Quran and the Arabian Nights have made the legends of Solomon's rulership over the jinn, his use of them in building the temple, and his sealing the rebellious in bottles common property in both the East and the West.<sup>2</sup> In *Abt Vogler* Browning speaks of the time  
 "when Solomon willed

Armies of angels that soar, legions of demons that lurk,  
 Man, brute, reptile, fly,—alien of end and of aim,  
 Adverse, each from the other heaven-high, hell-deep removed,—  
 Should rush into sight at once as he named the ineffable Name,  
 And pile him a palace straight, to pleasure the princess he loved."

Equally a commonplace of folklore and literature is the might of the ring of Solomon and its magic seal. Josephus' account of Eleazar's performance before Vespasian implies a Solomonic ring as part of the known tradition, but it is a root under the seal and not the seal which is powerful.<sup>3</sup> In the great Paris magic papyrus is an often quoted passage, which the heathen magician no doubt copied from Jewish sources. One of the incantations runs, "I adjure thee by the seal which Solomon laid upon the tongue of Jeremiah and he spoke."<sup>4</sup> The meaning of the lines is as yet an unsolved riddle. I am inclined to the opinion that behind it lies a legend of Solomon's

<sup>1</sup> Salzberger, *Salomosage* 93 f., from f. 440, ed. David p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Quran, Sura 38: 35 ff., *SBE* IX (II) 179 (cf. Sale, *ad loc.*), 27: 7, *SBE* IX (II) 101. *Nights* 566 f., ed. Lane-Poole III 110 f., ed. Burton VI 84 f.

<sup>3</sup> See note above, p. 3 (note 3).

<sup>4</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. grec. no. 574, 11, 3039 f.: ὁρκίζω σε κατὰ τῆς σφραγίδος ἧς ἔθετο Σολομῶν ἐπὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν τοῦ Ἱερημίου καὶ ἐλάλησεν.



dealing with some demon who refused to speak until the ring was laid upon his tongue, and whose name has been corrupted in the papyrus.<sup>1</sup> In any case we have here a very early reference to the magic ring. The papyrus was written in the third or fourth century of our era. Albrecht Dieterich is surely right in saying that the passage is not earlier than the time of Eupolemos.<sup>2</sup> It is of course much earlier than the time of its use by the heathen magician who copied the papyrus, doubtless from a Jewish source in this section. Scores of amulets and incantations from all ages witness to a living faith in Solomon as a great magician who had power over demons and disease. The seal of Solomon and the jinn of Solomon are mentioned in Aramaic incantation texts.<sup>3</sup> Museums have many amulets, and mediaeval manuscripts reproduce many charms in Syriac, Arabic, and Hebrew, as well as in Greek, Latin, and modern European languages, which demonstrate his popularity.<sup>4</sup> Dr. Canaan has shown that his name is still one to conjure with among the peoples of Palestine.<sup>5</sup>

In doing honor to Solomon the magician, the West and the East, Christian, Moslem, and Jew agree. It is in the use of Solomonian books of magic that they part company. Jews and Moslems know little or nothing of the kind. According to the Talmud Hezekiah "suppressed the book of recipes,"<sup>6</sup> and this according to Maimonides and Rashi means a book which Solomon wrote. Maimonides held that it was a book of magic,<sup>7</sup> Rashi that, though it was only a book

<sup>1</sup> Professor Deissmann (*Licht vom Osten* p. 187, n. 15, *Light from the Ancient East* p. 257, n. 10) thinks the passage may allude to some legend connected with the Septuagint of Jer. 16-10. As a possible allusion to such a legend as I have in mind I may quote an equally enigmatic line from an amulet given in a manuscript of the Bologna University, No. 3632, f. 360a and a Vienna manuscript, Phil.-Graec. No. 108, f. 361a, as follows: ἰδοὺ Σολομὼν υἱὸς Δαβὶδ δράκοντος γλῶσσαι ἐχων βασιλέως ἐγκέφαλον.

<sup>2</sup> *Abraxas* p. 142 ff., *Leid. Pap.* 780 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur*, 80, 170, 173, 232, 248.

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, Sachau, *Katalog d. Syr. HSS. Berlin*, I 367, No. 10 n, f. 54b; Sorlin Dorigny, "Salomo als Reiter," in *Rev. des Études Grecs* IV (1891) 217-296; Schlumberger, *ibid.* V (1892) 84; Heim, "Incant. magica," *Jahrb. für class. Philol. Sup.* XIX (1893) pp. 463-576, Nos. 56 = 169, 61, 62, 236, 237.

<sup>5</sup> *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel*, p. 27, 100, 113, 121.

<sup>6</sup> ננו ספר רפואות, *Berakoth* 10a, *Pesachim* 56a (Goldschmidt I 35, II 520; cf. Jer. 30 13. See A. Wunsch, *ZDMG* LXVI (1912) 414.

<sup>7</sup> Surenhusius, *Mishna* II 149, *de Paschali* iv 9.

of medical recipes, it was evil because it led men not to pray to God.<sup>1</sup> It would appear that this sort of tradition was avoided in official Judaism, for elsewhere rabbinic literature does not, to the best of my knowledge, refer to such works. Indeed Moses becomes the representative wise man in Jewish literature and folklore, as Solomon does for Christians, and magical books of various kinds are written in his name.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Gaster has edited the *Sword of Moses*, an Aramaic collection of incantations coming from early in the Christian era.<sup>3</sup> Professor Albrecht Dieterich and before him Leemans edited a Leiden Papyrus in Greek of magical contents called the "Eighth Book of Moses."<sup>4</sup> If this papyrus book, written in the third or fourth century, really goes back to the second, as Dieterich maintained, we have here early evidence for the acceptance of Moses as a magician in Jewish circles, for Christian influence upon the heathen compiler of the work could not be expected at that date.

When we reach the Middle Ages, Solomon reappears in Jewish literature as the wise man and magician. Writers of the twelfth and following centuries regard him as the source of all wisdom, including medicine, magic, and astrology.<sup>5</sup> Since this tradition seems to have disappeared from Judaism for a time, it is natural to assume that it reappears under the influence of Moslem and Christian folklore and literature. Shemtob ben Isaac of Tortosa (1260) gives a "description of the wisdom of Solomon, especially in natural science," in his paraphrase of Zahravi's *Tasrif* (xi cent.), called ספר השמות. In Zahravi he found mention of a "covenant" (ברית) of Solomon which "was engraved on a tablet of white marble upon the wall of his palace, as well as various recipes (נוסחאות ופוקדות) which were explained by the moderns (האחרונים); Shemtob had learned more about the matter from Christians 'here in Marseilles' than he found

<sup>1</sup> Grünbaum, *ZDMG* XXXI 200.

<sup>2</sup> Kohler in *JE* IV 518. So already Eupolemos; cf. Eusebius *Praep. Ev.* ix 26.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1896, also separate.

<sup>4</sup> Leiden Pap. W.; Leemans, *Papyri Graeci Musei Publici Lugd. Bat. Lugd. Bat.* 1885, vol. II, pp. 77—198; A. Dieterich, *Abrazas*. Leipzig 1891, pp. 154—166, 169—205. The title as given in the papyrus is Βιβλος ἑπτά επικαλουμένη μόνὰς ἢ ὀγδόη Μωϋσεως περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ ἀγίου.

<sup>5</sup> Citations in Steinschneider, *Hebräische Übersetzungen des Mittelalters* p. 936, Nos. 225, 226, p. 849 f.

in Zahravi.<sup>1</sup> The "covenant" and the "engravings" are both well known to Christian writers, as we shall see later.

In the seventeenth century that strange collection of astrology, demonology, and magic called the "Key of Solomon" appears in Hebrew. Dr. H. Gollancz, who has edited it,<sup>2</sup> thinks it may well have been written originally in Hebrew and brought from the East by the followers of the Pseudo-Messiah Sabbatai Zevi, though the manuscript, which is in an Italian hand, has obvious later additions.<sup>3</sup> Jewish cabbalistic works early began to appear in European languages, and many, like *Sepher Raziel* and the *Grimorium Verum* were ascribed to Solomon by their translators or compilers, but I do not know that this was done by Jewish cabbalists.

Among Moslem writers the official tradition amounts to a complete denial to Solomon of any kind of magical writing. As a passage in the Quran and the comments upon it demonstrate, magical writings ascribed to Solomon were in circulation. Sura 2 95 ff. reads, "And when there came unto them a prophet from God confirming that *scripture* which was with them, some of these to whom the scriptures were given cast the book of God behind their backs as if they knew it not: and they follow *the device* which the devils devised against the kingdom of Solomon; and Solomon was not an unbeliever, but the devils believed not, they taught men sorcery." Yahya and Jallalo'ddin record a tradition that the devils wrote books of sorcery and hid them under Solomon's throne. After his death they discovered them and spread them abroad among the people as his in an attempt to blacken his character, pretending that it was thus he had obtained his power and wisdom.<sup>4</sup> This official condemnation of Solomonic magical writings proves their existence among the Arabs of Mohammed's time and also probably in the time of the commentators who record the tradition, and makes their use among Jews in the East more than likely.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 740—743. Zahravi is variously called Açararius, Azaravi, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Clavicula Salomonis*. London 1903.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16 ff. But see pp. 19 and 34. It seems to me as likely that the work is a translation from the Latin or Greek of some Christian; this better explains the protestation of the author regarding the cross.

<sup>4</sup> So Sale, *ad. loc.* Palmer's note, *SBE* VI (Quran II) 14, does not so well explain the passage, as it is concerned solely with books. Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud.* V. T. Hamburg. 1713, I 1050, has a slightly different version of the tradition.

### III. THE CHRISTIAN TRADITION

I have given so much attention to the Jewish and Arab traditions regarding Solomon in order to throw light on the Christian transmission of the body of legends, partly by way of comparison, partly by way of contrast. In Christendom there is no hesitation in ascribing books of magic to Solomon and the literary and the living tradition, if I may so distinguish them, that which depends upon quotation from previous writers and that which reflects the actual use of Solomonic magic, are equally full.

#### 1. THE LITERARY TRADITION

One element of the Christian literary tradition depends upon Josephus, and his statements as to the use of incantations composed by Solomon. It is a question whether Origen's reference is based upon personal knowledge or is adapted from Josephus. He says: "It is customary to adjure demons with adjurations written by Solomon. But they themselves who use these adjurations sometimes use books not properly constituted; indeed they even adjure demons with some books taken from Hebrew."<sup>1</sup> Apparently the first to quote Josephus expressly is Georgios Monachos. He sharply abbreviates his source, merely saying, "And indeed Josephus mentions many of these works as having been reduced to writing, how that Solomon composed incantations against demons and exorcisms," and giving a brief account of Eleazar's cure of the demoniac.<sup>2</sup> Kedrenos in one place quotes Josephus quite in full, in another the summary of Georgios Monachos.<sup>3</sup> Zonaras makes his own abbreviation of Josephus, or else of Kedrenos, giving a rather better summary than Georgios Monachos.<sup>4</sup> Glykas quotes Josephus as summarized by Georgios Monachos and then adds Wisdom 7 20, which speaks of

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<sup>1</sup> A Salomone scriptis adjurationibus solent daemones adjurari. Sed ipsi qui utuntur adjurationibus illis, aliquoties nec idoneis constitutis libris utuntur: quibusdam autem et de Hebraeo acceptis adjurant daemonia. *In Mattheum comm. ser.* (tract. 33) 110, Migne, *Patr. Graec.* 13, 1757, to Mt. 26 63.

<sup>2</sup> Georgios Monachos, or Hamartolos, *Chron.* ii, 42, 4, Migne, *Patr. Graec.* 110 249, c. 850.

<sup>3</sup> Migne, *op. cit.* 121, 156B and 196D, c. 1100.

<sup>4</sup> *Annal.* ii 8, Migne, *op. cit.* 134, 168, c. 1150.

Solomon's knowledge of plants and animals.<sup>1</sup> All these chronographers add other materials also, as we shall see.

Another element in the Christian tradition takes its rise directly from the Old Testament account of Solomon's superior wisdom. In the tenth of his *Quaestiones* on 1 Kings Theodoret explains that Solomon's wisdom was greater than that of all the ancients and of the Egyptians, because it was given him of God.<sup>2</sup> In Question 18 he goes on to claim that the knowledge of medicine was entirely derived from Solomon. As the passage is decisive as to the meaning which was ordinarily put upon the Old Testament account of Solomon's wisdom, and as it also is quite illuminating as to the character of ancient medicine, I will quote parts of it. Theodoret asks, "What is to be understood by the expression, 'He spake concerning the trees...?'" and answers, "It means that he described the natures and powers both of plants and trees and indeed of the irrational animals also; whence I think also the medical books that have been written have their source for the most part.... telling for what disease this part of this animal is an antidote, as the gall of the hyena, the fat of the lion, the blood of the bull, or the flesh of lizards. For the wise among the physicians have written concerning these things, taking the starting point of their first works from the writings of Solomon."<sup>3</sup>

Prokopios of Gaza, without acknowledging his debt, quotes the answer to Question 10 of Theodoret word for word and that to Question 18 as far as "for the most part" (πάμπολλα).<sup>4</sup> Anastasios Sinaites repeats Question 18 and its answer almost word for word.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Migne, *op. cit.* 158, 349, after 1150.

<sup>2</sup> *Quaestiones in III Reg.*, Qu. x, Migne, *op. cit.* 80, 676.

<sup>3</sup> Πῶς νοητέον τὸ "Ἐλάλησε περὶ τῶν ξύλων..."; Καὶ τὰς φύσεις καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ τῶν βοτάνων καὶ τῶν δένδρων καὶ μέντοι καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων περυσιολογηκέναι αὐτὸν εἴρηκεν· ἐντεῦθεν οἶμαι καὶ τὰς ἱατρικὰς βιβλους συγγραφότας ἐρανίσασθαι πάμπολλα... καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ ζώου τότε τὸ μύριον τίνος πάθους ἀλεξιφάρμακον· οἶον ἡ ὑάλνης χολή, ἥ τὸ λεόντειον στέαρ, ἡ τὸ ταύρειον αἷμα, ἡ τῶν ἐχιδνῶν αἱ σάρκες. περὶ τούτων γὰρ οἱ σοφοὶ τῶν ἱατρῶν συγγεγράψαν, ἐκ τῶν Σολομώντι συγγεγραμμένων εὐληφότες τῶν πρώτων τὰς ἀφορμὰς. *In III Reg. Quaest.* xviii, Migne, *op. cit.* 80. Jerome perhaps has the same idea. See his *Quaest. Hebr. in libr. III Reg.* (Migne. *Patr. Lat.* 23, 1365 f.): Disputavit enim de naturis lignorum, jumentorum, reptilium, et piscium, de vi videlicet et naturis illorum...

<sup>4</sup> *Com. ad III Reg.* 2 35 and 4 33; Migne, *op. cit.* 87 1, 1152, 11.

<sup>5</sup> *Quaest.* xli, Migne, *op. cit.* 89, 589 f.

Georgios Monachos and Kedrenos make use of Question 10,<sup>1</sup> and they unite with Glykas in passing on the claim that the origin of all medical books was to be found in the writings of Solomon.<sup>2</sup>

A third item in Christian tradition regarding Solomon is the account of the suppression of a part of the books he had written by Hezekiah. Speculation was natural as to what had become of all the books which Solomon had written, the three thousand proverbs and the one thousand and five songs, not to mention his medical, magical, and other scientific works. So far as our sources are preserved, the first to answer this question was Hippolytos in his commentary on Canticles, parts of which are preserved in Armenian, Syriac, Slavic, and Georgian.<sup>3</sup> The *Quaestiones* of Anastasios Sinaites give a quotation or summary of a discussion found in the Georgian translation. In Question 41 Anastasios collects several ancient references to the wisdom and the writings of Solomon. To the quotation from Theodoret which we have already mentioned he adds Sap. 7 16—21 and 1 Kgs. 5 9ff., and then continues: "From the writing of Hippolytos on the Song of Songs. And where is all this rich knowledge? Where are these mysteries? Where are the books? For there have been handed down only the Proverbs (and Wisdom) and Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs. What then? Do the Scriptures lie? God forbid! But a certain considerable portion of the writings had become mere ballast, as the expression 'song of songs' shows, for it signifies that whatever the five thousand odes contained has been included in the one. But in the days of Hezekiah some of the books were chosen and some were rejected..."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Migne, *op. cit.* 110, 249; 121, 197D f.

<sup>2</sup> These are the writings which were suppressed by Hezekiah. See Migne, *op. cit.* 110, 249; 121, 224; 158, 248.

<sup>3</sup> See Bonwetsch, *Hippolyts Kom. z. Hohelied in Texte u. Unters.* NF VIII (23, H. 2, 22f.) and the Kirchenvater Kommission, ed. I 343ff.

<sup>4</sup> Ἰππολύτου ἐκ τοῦ εἰς τὸ ᾄσμα τῶν ᾠσμάτων. Καὶ ποῦ πᾶσα ἡ πλουσία αὐτῇ γνώσις; ποῦ δὲ τὰ μυστήρια ταῦτα; καὶ ποῦ αἱ βίβλοι; ἀναφέρονται γὰρ μόναι αἱ παροιμίαι [καὶ ἡ σοφία] καὶ ὁ ἐκκλησιαστής καὶ τὸ ᾄσμα τῶν ᾠσμάτων. τί οὖν; ψεῦδεται ἡ γραφή; μὴ γένοιτο· ἀλλὰ πολλὴ μὲν τις ὕλη γεγένηται τῶν γραμμάτων, ὥς δηλοῖ τὸ λέγειν ᾄσμα ᾠσμάτων· σημαίνει γὰρ ὅτι ὅσα περιέχον αἱ πεντακισχίλια ψᾶλα ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ διηγῆσατο. ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἐζεκιᾶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐξελέγησαν, τὰ δὲ καὶ περιώφθησαν... Migne, *op. cit.* 89, 589f. The *Quaestiones* in their present form are not original but that does not affect the foregoing discussion since the material is quoted. See Krumbacher, *Geschichte byz. Lit.* 64ff.

It is evidently the same tradition which Jérôme has in mind when he speaks of certain "writings of Solomon which were antiquated and did not continue in memory."<sup>1</sup>

When we come to the end of Question 41 of Anastasios we make the interesting discovery that he ascribes to the "archaeological history of Eusebios Pamphilos" an account of a drastic revision of Solomon's writings by Hezekiah. "The books of Solomon", he says, "written by him concerning the parables and odes, in which he discoursed concerning the nature of plants and all kinds of animals, land, winged, and aquatic, and cures of every disease, Hezekiah suppressed because the people secured the treatments for their diseases there and failed to ask and look away to God for their cures".<sup>2</sup> Is this appeal to the authority of Eusebios misleading? We do not know the date or authorship of the *Quaestiones* in their present form, but whoever the writer of Question 41 was, he quotes accurately from Theodoret and from a lost work of Hippolytos. The presumption is that he may be trusted also in his quotation from Eusebios, who may well have known what was evidently the official Jewish opinion regarding the revision of Solomon's works by Hezekiah, referred to in the Talmud and explained by Rashi as here. It is worth while adding that there seems to be a Slavic "Archaeology of Eusebios Pamphilos" which strangely enough begins with a reference to Solomon.<sup>3</sup>

Succeeding Christian writers combine the tradition given by Hippolytos with that of Eusebios, or, sometimes, report them separately. The encyclopaedia of Josephos Christianos called the *Hypomnestikon* mentions the revision of the Proverbs in chapter 120 and the suppression of the magical writings in chapter 74.<sup>4</sup> Georgios Monachos

<sup>1</sup> Aiunt Hebraei cum inter cetera scripta Salomonis quae antiquata sunt, nec in memoria duraverunt, et hic liber (Eccl.) oblitterandus videretur . . . ex hoc capitulo meruisse auctoritatem. *Com. in Eccl.* 12 13f.

<sup>2</sup> Εὐσεβίου Παμφίλου ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἱστορίας. Τὰς δὲ βίβλους τοῦ Σολομῶντος, τὰς περὶ τῶν παραβολῶν καὶ ψδῶν, ἐν αἷς περὶ φυτῶν καὶ παντοίων ζῴων φυσιολογήσας (ἰ. ἐφυσιολόγησα) χειρῶν, πετεινῶν τε καὶ νηκτῶν, καὶ λαμάτων πάθους παντός, γραφείσας αὐτῷ, ἀφανεῖς ἐποίησεν Ἐζεκίας διὰ τὸ τὰς θεραπέας τῶν νοσημάτων ἔνθεν κομίζεσθαι τὸν λαόν, καὶ περιορᾶν αἰτεῖν καὶ παρορᾶν ἐντεύθεν παρὰ θεῷ τὰς λύσεις. Migne, *op. cit.* 89, 592D f. Cf. Mai-monides and Rashi, above p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Bonwetsch, in Harnack, *Altchr. Lit.* I ii, 900.

<sup>4</sup> Migne, *op. cit.*, 106, 124, and 89 C. Unfortunately there is room for difference of opinion as to the date of the work. Schürer, *Gesch. des jüd. Volkes*<sup>4</sup> III 420, seems to incline to 800 or earlier.

combines part of the quotation from Eusebios mentioning its source.<sup>1</sup> Kedrenos quotes Monachos with an additional clause borrowed from Synkellos or Suidas.<sup>2</sup> Glykas presents a somewhat independent account of Solomon's glory and wisdom, but his account of Hezekiah's revision is so confused as to seem to make it fall after Ezra. As authorities he appeals to "the most wise Psellos," in which he is mistaken, and to Eusebios.<sup>3</sup> These three so introduce a clause from Anastasios Sinaites as to make it appear that the books which Hezekiah suppressed were those from which all the medical wisdom of antiquity was derived.<sup>4</sup>

A fourth and independent *motif*, like that which Shemtob found in Zahravi and among the Christians of Marseilles, is introduced by Georgios Synkellos and Suidas. The former, when describing Solomon's reign, contents himself with writing most concisely of his wisdom and his fall. In his account of Hezekiah's reign, after expanding 2 Kings 184, he adds, "And there was a certain writing of Solomon engraved on the gate of the temple containing a cure for every disease, and the people, turning to this and thinking to have their cures from it, despised God. Wherefore also Hezekiah chiseled it away in order that the sick might turn to God."<sup>5</sup> Suidas shortens the account and puts βιβλος ἱαμάτων for γραφή.<sup>6</sup> Kedrenos seems to have some idea of this tradition for he speaks of a "book of healing of Solomon for every disease which was engraved," where, he does not say, and he makes Hezekiah "burn and destroy" it.<sup>7</sup>

The story of Hezekiah's destruction of Solomon's magical writings crops out in a most interesting way in the latest recension of the *Testament of Solomon*,<sup>8</sup> and what is still more remarkable it is

<sup>1</sup> Migne, *op. cit.* 110, 149, 273.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 121, 200 B, 224 C. See below.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 158, 348 f. For Psellos see *ibid.* 122, 537, 540.

<sup>4</sup> For example Glykas says: τὰς τοῦ Σολομῶντος βιβλους, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ οἱ τῶν ἱατρῶν παῖδες τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἔλαβον. . . . παρὰ δὲ Ἐζεκίου κακαῦσθαι φησιν ὁ πολυμαθὴς καὶ πολυτίτῳρ Εὐσέβιος. Migne, *op. cit.* 158, 348 D.

<sup>5</sup> ἦν δὲ καὶ Σολομῶντος γραφή τις ἐγκεκολλημένη τῇ πύλῃ τοῦ ναοῦ παντὸς νοσήματος ἄκως περιέχουσα, ἣ προσέχων ὁ λαὸς καὶ τὰς θεραπείας, νομίζοντες ἔχειν κατεφρόνει τοῦ θεοῦ. διὸ καὶ ταύτην Ἐζεκίας ἐξεκόλασεν ἵνα πάσχοντες τῷ θεῷ προσέχωσιν.

<sup>6</sup> *Lexicon* s. v. Ἐζεκίας.

<sup>7</sup> βιβλίον Σολομῶντος ἱαματήριον παντὸς πάθους ἐγκεκολλημένον ἐξέκασε καὶ ἠφάνισε. Migne, *op. cit.* 121, 200 B, 224 C.

<sup>8</sup> See below p. 17.



implicitly combined with the idea of a contract between the demons and Solomon engraved on stone, exactly the same collocation of ideas that Shemtob took from Zahravi and the Christians of Marseilles.<sup>1</sup> Aside from a "Prologue" and a few verses at the beginning, Recension C of the *Testament of Solomon* runs very much like the earlier ones until near the end of chapter 9. From this point on an entirely different set of demons and of ideas is introduced. In chapter 13, then, the attempt is made to authenticate this "new testament" in a unique fashion. Solomon's chief familiar, here named Paltiel Tzamal, requests him to promise that this, the real testament, shall be left to his sons only, and that, after his death, (sic) he shall make for Hezekiah another testament for the world at large, while this, the true one, shall be hidden and not open to the common herd, "for," he adds, "Hezekiah, O king, will burn many books handed down from the fathers and many others he will hide, and he will establish the world and the superfluous he will cut off." Solomon then secures the name of the angel which truly frustrates all the demons — it is *agla* — and makes an agreement with the demon that Hezekiah shall burn all but one copy of this true testament, which is to be engraved on stone, but shall spread abroad in the world the other testament which the demons shall give him as a joke and delusion.<sup>2</sup> It is, I think, quite evident that the author of this recension has gone out from the two ideas which Shemtob brings together, of a contract between Solomon and the demons which along with medical recipes was engraved on white marble and the added idea, common both to Christian and Jewish tradition, that Hezekiah was to destroy or at least lessen the number of Solomon's magical writings.<sup>3</sup>

An interesting aspect of the literary tradition regarding Solomon magus is to be found in the anti-Jewish polemics of Christian writers. The earliest reference of this kind I know is to be found in the *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila*, which dates probably from the

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<sup>1</sup> See above p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> This recension is found in MS No. 3632 of the Bologna University Library, ff. 475 ff., and No. 2419, Anc. fonds grecs, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ff. 266 ff. See the forthcoming edition by the writer, to be published by Hinrichs in Professor Hans Windisch's *Untersuchungen zum NT*.

<sup>3</sup> Glykas uses the word *ἀλλογράφειν*. See above p. 13.

first half of the fifth century. The Christian is arguing the messiahship of Jesus and applies to him the second Psalm. The Jew replies that this psalm referred to Solomon, not to the messiah. To meet this statement the Christian attacks the reputation of Solomon, quoting parts of the speech of Ahijah to Jeroboam,<sup>1</sup> and concluding with an appeal to the story of Solomon's fall as "written in his Testament," the Jewish-Christian work of the third century.<sup>2</sup> Aside from the light it throws on anti-Jewish polemics, this passage is interesting mainly because it shows the earliest and most important of the pseudo-Solomonic magical works fully accepted and highly honored among the Christians of the fifth century. The writer of the *Dialogue* claims a greater trustworthiness for the *Testament* than for the Book of Kings. "On this I take my stand with confidence, because this is not revealed at the hand of the historian but is known from the mouth of Solomon himself."<sup>3</sup>

Jewish polemics did more than apply many passages which the Christians regarded as messianic to Solomon. They also claimed that Solomon had subdued the demonic hosts, thus undermining the Christian argument that Jesus was the messiah because he had overthrown the kingdom of Beelzebul. The *Testament of Solomon* seems on the whole to be entirely unaware of this conflict of claims. All that distinctly appears in what can be confidently claimed as its original form as a Christian document is that Christ, or Immanuel, or the cross are the accepted means for frustrating the evil machinations of the demons. The fact that Solomon fell is not allowed to weaken faith in the charms he has discovered, on the contrary it is turned to account by making a demon foretell it and by that very means convince him, and the reader also, of course, that all that he had learned from the demons is true.<sup>4</sup> Christ is represented merely as the one who will eventually rule the demons, as in a sense a greater successor to Solomon.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings 11 31-36.

<sup>2</sup> See below p. 17. The *Dialogue* is published by F. C. Conybeare, in *Anecdota Oxon.* Classical ser. VIII; see p. 70.

<sup>3</sup> ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ ἔστην πιστοποιῶν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν χειρὶ ἱστοριογράφου ἐφανερώθη τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σολομώντος ἐγνώθη τοῦτο. *Loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> Ch. 15 8-14.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. 15 11. This is found only in the manuscripts of Recension B and may be secondary, Paris, Anc. fonds grecs 38, Jerus., S. Sab. 422.

Christian writers who have been more thoroughly indoctrinated take a different tone. Leontios of Constantinople in his sermon *In mediam Pentecostem*, while discussing the cure of the man with a legion of demons, suddenly begins an anti-Solomonic polemic. "To whom," he says, "did the legion of demons say, 'If you cast us out, allow us to enter the herd of swine'? To Solomon who built Jerusalem, or to the Lord Christ who holds all things in his hand? But the demon-loving Jews will say at once, "What then? Did not Solomon master the demons? Did he not shut them up one and all? Do they not fear him to this day?" But, O demon-deceived Jews, you appeal to these arguments in vain. For the Lord Christ alone bound the strong one with might and plundered his goods. For Solomon not only did not royally master the demons but even was mastered and destroyed by them at the end. For, loving the lust of polygamy, seduced by the procurement of the devil, . . . he defiled the marriage-bed of divine knowledge . . . How then is the servant of demons master of demons?"<sup>1</sup>

The same argument appears in the *Disputation* wrongly ascribed to Gregentius of Taphar. Herban, the Jew, claims that Solomon had ruled all the demons. The archbishop is made to reply, "Solomon humbled demons? You do not know what you are maintaining. For a time he did secure them in his vessels and sealed and buried them. But look with me at the time that he was completely defeated by the demons themselves and, being overthrown, was in danger of losing his salvation, in that he offered incense to the abominations of deceit."<sup>2</sup> Where there were no arguments with Jews, and that includes the greater part of Christendom, this conflict of claims did not arise and Solomon was viewed as a great magician whom God had endowed with wisdom for "help and healing to men."

## 2. THE LIVING TRADITION

Turning now from the literary tradition, that handed down by quotation from earlier sources, to the living tradition, that which

<sup>1</sup> See Migne, *I. c.* 86, 1980. According to Krumbacher, *Gesch. d. byz. Lit.* 55 and 191, this homily is to be ascribed to a Constantinopolitan presbyter, Leontios, and not to any one of the better known fathers of that name. His date is uncertain.

<sup>2</sup> Migne, *I. c.*

gives contemporary evidence of an actual faith in Solomon's magical powers and wisdom, we find our earliest document in the *Testament of Solomon*, already mentioned. Josephus and the magical papyri are witnesses to a living faith among Jews and to a certain extent among the heathen. The *Testament* witnesses to faith among Jews and Christians, for it consists of Jewish material worked over and combined with heathen and Christian material by a Christian. The basis is the story, no doubt borrowed from the Jews, of Solomon's use of demons in building the temple, really an attempt to glorify the temple by representing it as the product of more than human skill.<sup>2</sup> As the work proceeds, a vampire attempts to hinder it by attacking the chief architect, a favorite slave of Solomon. To save him Michael brings the famous ring from heaven and with its help Solomon calls all the demons before him, learns their characteristics, including the diseases and ills they cause, and the angel name or charm that frustrates them, and sets them to work at various difficult tasks about the temple.

The original purpose of the writer was to collect about the name of Solomon all the magico-medical knowledge he had. Of the story which he made the framework of his "novel with a purpose" we have two late Christian recensions. A comparison of these works with the *Testament* shows how far tradition had already gone before the time of the *Testament* in collecting stories of Solomon's dealings with the demons. The writer of the *Testament* gave a mighty impulse to this development by ascribing to Solomon a large number of demonological and magical traditions that came from the most diverse sources, Babylonian, Persian, Jewish, Greek, and Egyptian. The successive recensions of the original story and of the *Testament* show this process still going on. For example, the second recension of the *Testament* and a late modern Greek recension of the story both add an account of Solomon's shutting the demons up in vessels, the latter going on to tell how the Chaldeans, when they took Jerusalem,

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<sup>1</sup> The *Testament* is, to be sure, the earliest document referring to this legend, and Jewish legend does not, I think, make so much of it as does Arabic. Yet it hardly so likely that it would develop among Christians as among Jews.

opened the seals hoping to find treasure, and thus let the demons out again to prey upon mankind.<sup>1</sup>

Next to the *Testament*, the most important magical work ascribed to Solomon is the *Clavicula*, the "key of Solomon," which all during the Middle Ages and down into modern times enjoyed a reputation which the *Testament* never had. A mass of manuscripts in Latin, French, Italian, English, and other European languages, shows what tremendous popularity it had. In occultist circles it is still thought worthy of translation and publication in these days of science.<sup>2</sup> Various recensions exist also in Greek and deserve publication for the light they throw on astrology and magic. The work is really a treatise on these subjects, as the *Testament* is a treatise in story form on medical magic. The most striking feature in the many manuscripts I have seen is the large number of "pentacles," drawings, usually circular in form, often including magical words or sentences, and intended as charms or amulets against evil spirits, diseases, or other woes to which the flesh is heir. These are sometimes said to be the seals on the ring of Solomon, sometimes the "signs" of the demons. Recension C of the *Testament* has borrowed from this literature twelve seals for the ring and a list of fifty demons and their "signs." Perhaps the most valuable element in the *Clavicula* is to be found in the numerous prayers to the planets, which seem to contain ancient material. The date of the *Clavicula* and of the *Υπομνηματα*, as it is often called in Greek manuscripts, has not been determined. It is certainly later than the *Testament*, but goes well back into the first millennium of our era.<sup>3</sup>

It is impossible even to catalogue the many works ascribed to Solomon in the Middle Ages, such as *Sepher Raziel* and *Semiphoras*.<sup>4</sup> They are a sadly confused and wearisome mass of cabbalistic and

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<sup>1</sup> See the writer's *Testament of Salomon*, already mentioned above, p. 14. The interesting modern Greek version is found in codex No. 290 of the St. Sabbas manuscripts in the library of the Greek Patriarchate in Jerusalem.

<sup>2</sup> S. L. M. Mathers, *Clavicula Salomonis*, London, 1888. For a Hebrew translation see above p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> See Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 186 f., and *The Testament of Solomon*, Introduction II 4 and VIII 3.

<sup>4</sup> See Steinschneider, *Hebr. Übers.* 937, Scheibel, *Das Kloster* III 289 ff., Horst, *Zauberbibliothek passim*, Seligsohn, art. "Solomon, Apocryphal Works," in *Jewish Enc.* (XI 447).

occultist superstitions which do neither Solomon nor their authors credit. But they testify to the high esteem in which Solomon magus was held and their number as well as the frequency of copies of the more popular ones prove that the practice of magic in Solomon's name was widespread.

Equally important evidence on this point is to be found in the lists of prohibited books. In the *Decretum Gelasianum*, the *Collectio Herovalliana*, and pseudo-Isidor, *de Muneris*, mention is made of a *Salomonis interdictio*, or *contradictio*, and of *phylacteria* which contain the names, not of angels, but of demons.<sup>1</sup> There can be little doubt that the *Clavicula* is one of the books thus forbidden. Whether the *Testament* is intended in the title *Interdictio* is questionable. In any case the prohibition proves that Solomonian books were in popular use.

Again there are allusions in mediaeval Christian writers which are not merely quoted from some older authority but come from the authors' own knowledge as to the use of Solomonian books or incantations. The *Hypomnestikon*, for example, following its reference to the suppression of Solomonian writings by Hezekiah, continues, "But those which drive demons away and cure diseases and discover thieves the 'fakirs' of the Jews guard among themselves most carefully, although the faithful of the holy church do not use these, since they have been taught by their faith in Christ to keep themselves pure."<sup>2</sup> Whoever he was and whenever he wrote—and there is no reason why the passage should not come from the fifth or sixth century—the author is not quoting any known description of Solomonian magical works, but, in all probability, telling of books he knew from personal knowledge.

At the end of the twelfth century Niketas Akominares, or Choniates, a high official in the Byzantine court, knew an interpreter, sycophant and magician at court named Aaron. He had a "Solomonian book which, when it was unrolled and gone through, collected the demons by legions and made them stand ready, answering continually for what they were to be called upon, hastening to carry out the thing

<sup>1</sup> See E. von Dobschütz, "Das Decretum Gel., etc.," in *Texte u. Unters.* (1912) 13, 11, 332—335; 84, 11, 112f.; 74, 11, 242—245, see also p. 319.

<sup>2</sup> Migne, *op. cit.* 106, 89C. See above p. 12.

enjoined, and observing zealously that commanded.”<sup>1</sup> This is an almost exact description of the *Clavicula* and of the new part of Recension C of the *Testament*. There can be little doubt that Niketas, who wrote from personal recollection, had actually seen a performance in which some such book was used.

It is equally clear that Michael Glykas knew the *Testament*. He says that Solomon “also made a book of his concerning demons, how they are brought down and in what forms they appear. He wrote also their natures and peculiarities, and how they are bound and how they are driven away from places they love to inhabit. Wherefore he enjoined upon them work of carrying burdens and forced them, as it is said, to fell timber and required them to carry that which was brought on their shoulders, and swollen bowels he cured by incantations or by binding herbs about them.”<sup>2</sup> Only the name is lacking to make the identification of this “book about demons” with the *Testament* complete, for it is throughout concerned with bringing demons down, with describing their forms, natures, and peculiarities, with telling how they are driven from their lurking-places, how they are set to work, carrying burdens and cutting wood, among other things, and how cures are wrought by means of incantations and herbs.

Turning from books to amulets and talismans, one finds an equal abundance of material. Every large museum has evidence that the books of Solomonic “pentacles” in their manuscript collections were not mere *jeux d’esprit* on the part of monks or others who had no better employment than drawing pictures. Amulet after amulet proves that Solomon’s was in truth a name “to conjure with.” It appears in many different connections, only a few examples of which can be given here. It is found, for example, on so-called Gnostic amulets. On a bronze nail in the British Museum is the inscription: (1) ABARAXAS· ASTRAEL \* (2) IAO SABAO \* \* (3) (Drawing of serpent) (4) SOLOMONO \* \*.<sup>3</sup> It is combined with heathen

<sup>1</sup> Migne, *op. cit.* 86, 641 f.

<sup>2</sup> Migne, *op. cit.* 158, 349.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. H. B. Walters, *Cat. of Bronzes in the Brit. Museum, Greek, Roman, and Etruscan*. London 1899, p. 370, No. 3192. Henzen, *Bull. d. Inst. di Corr. Arch.* 1849, p. 11, cites from a magic nail IAO SABAO SOLOMONO, and Wessely, *Ephesia Grammata* 22, 202, ιαο σολομων σαβαο from Montfaucon, *Tab.* 164. The nail given in the text is no doubt the one mentioned by Jahn, “Aberglaube des bösen Blicks,” *Ber. d. sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss.* 1855, p. 108.

deities. Another nail in the British Museum carries a long inscription beginning DOMNA ARTEMIX and concluding TER DICO TER INCANTO IN SIGNU DEI ET SIGNU SOLOMONIS ET SIGNU DOMNA ARTEMIX.<sup>1</sup>

Solomon often appears in the role of St. George, dressed as a knight in mediaeval armor riding a horse and piercing a dragon or some other enemy with his lance, for example on a hematite amulet in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. The obverse bears the legend Σολωμων, the reverse σφραγς θεου.<sup>2</sup> Schlumberger cites a similar amulet with the same legends in which the rider is spearing a seated, naked woman.<sup>3</sup> Another Schlumberger bought in the bazaar at Smyrna. In a circle around the edge of the medal was the legend, Σφραγς σολομωνός αποδιοξον παν κακον απο του φορουντο<ς>. In the field was the word φθονος, in the center an eye, above it three daggers pointing at it, on each side a rampant lion, below an ibis (or an ostrich), a serpent, and a scorpion, with the figure of a female demon at the bottom. On the other side was a figure of a rider spearing the same demon and the circular legend φευγε μεμισιμενι σολομον δε διοκι σισινιος σισιναριος. Thus Solomon is to protect from the demon of envy that works in the evil eye.<sup>4</sup>

A similar but more complicated amulet from Cyzicus bears on one side the legend, μυχαηλ, γαβριηλ, ουριηλ, ραφαηλ, διαφυλαξον τον φορουντα αγιος αγιος αγιος επιπ RPSSS, and on the other, φευγε μεμισιμενι σολομον διοκι σε (και) αγγελος αρααψ. The interpretation of details both in the legends and the figures is difficult but apparently the maker wished to combine as many powers as possible in his effort to counteract the evil eye, and Solomon was one that he could not afford to ignore.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Walters, *loc. cit.*, No. 3191, and Jahn, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> Chabouillet, *Cat. des Camées de la Bib. Imp.* p. 299, No. 2218; cf. also No. 2219.

<sup>3</sup> *Revue des Études Grecs* V (1892) 84.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 93.

<sup>5</sup> Dorigny gives this amulet in *Revue des Études Grecs* IV (1891) 287—296 under the title "Phylactère Alexandrin contre les epistaxis," basing his interpretation upon an ingenious but, I am sure, fanciful explanation of the word αρααψ, which he reads αρααφ and derives from אָרַף, "to run drop by drop." Ἄγγελος Ἀράφ is, therefore, the demon of nosebleed. It is difficult to determine whether the last letter of the word is ψ or φ. But the chief objection to this interpretation is that an etymology based upon a word written in Greek letters is altogether too uncertain unless there is other strong confirmatory evidence,



Appeal is made to the seal of Solomon for protection times without number. Aside from the occurrences already mentioned above one may take as examples another of Schlumberger's amulets which bears on the obverse the figures of an angel and a dog (or lion?) attacking a demon with the circular legend, *φευγε μεμισιμενι αρλαφ ο αγγελλος σε διοκι*, and on the reverse various signs and figures with the legend, *σφραγισ σολομονος φυλατε τον φορουντα*.<sup>1</sup> De Longpérier gives an amulet of chalcedony with the inscription *σφραγεις σαλωμ<ο>ν κυριος ΝΑΙ'Η'Τ*.<sup>2</sup>

Likewise appeal is made to the "covenant" of Solomon with the demons in a gold amulet from Italy. It was seen and copied by Amati in 1829 in the shop of an antiquity dealer in Rome. Amati gave a copy to Professor Emiliano Sorti and this was published in 1880 by Professor Gaetano Pellicioni. The copy was made in imitation of the very crabbed letters of the original. Beginning with a line of magical, or at least non-Greek letters, it exorcised all kinds of demons and magical potencies "by the great and holy name of Δψ (whoever that may be), the Lord God of Adam and Abram and Adonai and Iao and Sabaoth not to touch the woman who wears this exorcism," "remembering the covenant they made with the great Solomon and Michael the angel, that they swore the great and holy oath by the name of God and said, 'We will flee, we will not violate the oath'."<sup>3</sup> So we find a persistent, living tradition as to the "covenant" which Solomon made with the demons, references to which we have already found in the literary sources.<sup>4</sup>

Thus in Solomonic tradition as elsewhere in Greek Christian literature the two meanings of *διαθήκη* meet and cross. Were there

and such is wanting in this case. For other examples of Solomon as a knight see the collection in the Berlin Museum, Saal X, Schautisch F 2, Nos. 9932, 10640, 10641, *Ausführliches Verzeichniss* 1894, p. 297, and see Dorigny, "Salomo als Reiter," in *Rev. des Études Grecs* IV (1891) 217—296.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 93. The reading of Heim, *Incant magica* (*op. cit. supra*, p. 6), p. 481, Nos. 61 and 62, *φευγέ με, μισουμένη*, is indefensible.

<sup>2</sup> *Comptes rend. des séances de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lett.* 1880, pp. 275 ff. See the article *Σφραγίς Σολομώνος*, by Perdrizet in *Rev. des Études Grecs* 1903, 42 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *πᾶν πνεῦμα μνησθέντα τῆς διαθήκης ἥς* (so my copy, not *ἡν* or *ἥ*) *ἔθεντο ἐπὶ μεγάλου Σολομώνος καὶ Μεχέλου τοῦ ἀγγέλου ὅτι ὤμοσαν τὸν μέγαν καὶ ἅγιον ὄρκον ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ εἶπαν ὅτι φευξόμεθα, ὄρκον οὐ ψευδόμεθα.* *Atti e memorie delle R.R. deputazioni di storia patria per le provincie dell' Emilia.* Nuova Serie, vol. V, parte I (Modena 1880) 177 ff. Cf. Wessely, in *Wiener Studien* VIII (1886) 179, Schlumberger, *Rev. Ét. Gr.* V 87.

<sup>4</sup> See above pp. 7, 14 f.

originally two separate *motifs*, one of the "covenant" between Solomon and the demons, the other of the last will and "testament" which the wise king left telling all he had learned about them? Or did one of these ideas arise out of the other by misunderstanding or conscious development? So far as I have been able to discover, the *Testament* is older than any allusion to the "covenant." That may be pure accident. Yet it is easier to see how from the stories of the *Testament* the tradition of the "covenant" should arise than *vice versa*.<sup>1</sup> In Recension C the *Testament* insensibly passes over into a "covenant." On the other hand the tradition as to the "covenant" seems the more wide spread. Not only are there the allusions already adduced from Christian, Hebrew and Arabic sources, but Bezold gives "eine arabische Zauberformel gegen Epilepsie" from the margin of a Berlin manuscript which mentions the contract between Solomon and the devils.<sup>2</sup> And Vasiliev gives a Greek incantation which contains a reference to the demons' oath.<sup>3</sup>

Weighing probabilities one is inclined to conclude that the idea of a covenant between Solomon and the demons arose by natural development out of the stories of his dealings with them, and that the "testament" was independently suggested to some mind already familiar with such documents as the Testament of Abraham, the Testament of Adam, and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. To the author, then, of Recension C of the *Testament* occurred the brilliant idea of combining the two and thereby gaining added circulation for his document.

In the early Christian centuries a living tradition showed itself in a field so fertile that it is strange it was not longer cultivated. To one who is familiar with the "sacred places" of Palestine it is not astonishing to learn that the pilgrim of Bordeaux in the fourth century was shown the cave where Solomon tortured the demons,<sup>4</sup> and that St. Sylvia saw his ring in Jerusalem during the same

<sup>1</sup> It is an interesting fact that the first translator of the *Testament* rendered the title „covenant," although in the recension that lay before him the idea is not to be found. This was J. Fürst, *Der Orient*, 5. Jahrgang 1844, 7. Jahrgang 1846, *Literaturblatt*, cols. 593, 663, 714, 741, "Der Bund Salomos."

<sup>2</sup> In ZA XX 3—4 (Aug. 1907) pp. 105 ff., from Cod. (113) Sachau 199 (*Königl. Bibliothek, Berlin*), ff. 24<sup>b</sup>—27<sup>a</sup>; cf. esp. pp. 110 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Anecdota Graeco-byzantina*, p. 332.

<sup>4</sup> Tobler, *Palest. descript.* 1869, p. 3; Schürer, *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes*<sup>4</sup> III 418.

century.<sup>1</sup> It is strange some enterprising guide did not discover some of the brass vessels in which the demons were sealed.

Long as this paper is, it gives but a part of the material that comes from Christian sources and does not attempt more than to touch the Semitic. It has been confined largely, moreover, to the Greek and Latin world. Many details might be added by one who knew Coptic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Georgian, and the Slavic languages. Again the subject was restricted to the tradition regarding the magical wisdom of Solomon, thus leaving untouched a large field that has to do with his judicial and his scientific wisdom, the many books ascribed to him in this field, and the stories of his dialogues with human or semi-demonic interlocutors.

Enough, however, has been adduced to illustrate several features of the growth of tradition. Its almost insensible beginnings, gathering slowly about a historical nucleus, the gradual accretions from sources where similar *motifs* were at work, the adding of traits due sometimes merely to the *Lust zum Fabulieren*, sometimes to a patriotic motive, sometimes to literary ambition, sometimes to "scientific," medical or magical interest, the cross currents of theology and polemics which tended to hinder development in one direction, while stimulating it in another, the mutual fructification resulting from the occasional contact of the literary and the living tradition, the omnivorousness of such a tradition, once it has well grown, its ability to seize and apparently assimilate the most diverse and contradictory elements, these are some of the features, common to all folklore, which one sees in the Christian tradition regarding Solomon. Studies which include other languages and peoples and comparisons with other traditions would bring out still other characteristics of the development of folklore. Along with that of Alexander the tradition of Solomon offers one of the most fruitful fields of investigation.

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<sup>1</sup> Peregrinatio of St. Sylvia, or Ettorea, published by Gannurrini. I owe the reference to Dr. F. C. Conybeare. -

## LE TOMBEAU D'ISAÏE

F.-M. ABEL O. P.

(JERUSALEM)

LA mise à mort du prophète Isaïe par le roi Manassé est un des éléments de la tradition juive les mieux attestés. Le Talmud de Babylone y revient par deux fois, contenant les deux particularités que l'on retrouve dans le Talmud de Jérusalem: la cachette d'Isaïe dans un cèdre qui sera scié, et la référence au texte de 2 Rois 21<sup>16</sup> «Manassé répandit beaucoup de sang innocent jusqu'à en remplir Jérusalem d'un bout à l'autre». Malgré le vague du renseignement ce verset peut comprendre implicitement un fait précis qu'on a jugé bon de dissimuler et se référer à une tradition authentique. Il en va autrement du sciage d'Isaïe dans le cèdre, trait qui appartient au domaine du folklore iranien. Les rabbins ont seulement atténué le réalisme horrible du supplice tel que le décrivait le récit primitif, d'après lequel le héros réfugié dans l'arbre est coupé avec lui. Dans les récits talmudiques, on coupe le cèdre pour extraire le condamné de sa cachette, ou bien le prophète meurt au moment où la scie va l'atteindre.

«Lorsque Manassé se leva et se mit à courir après Isaïe pour le tuer, celui-ci put s'enfuir et se cacher dans un tronc de cèdre. Comme des franges de son vêtement dépassait l'arbre, on s'en aperçut, on le reconnut, et on vint en faire part au roi qui dit: Allons scier l'arbre; ce qui fut fait et l'homme fut découvert.»<sup>1</sup> Plus loin, la part du roi dans l'exécution du prophète est clairement indiquée. «N'est-il pas écrit: Manassé versa aussi beaucoup de sang etc.? Or est-il possible à un être humain de remplir Jérusalem de sang

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<sup>1</sup> *Talmud de Jérusalem, Sanhédrin, X, 2.* Cf. *T. de Babylone, Sanhédrin, 103<sup>b</sup>; Yebamoth, 103<sup>b</sup>.*

innocent d'un bout à l'autre? On veut dire par là que le roi tua Isaïe...» Une tradition relevée dans *Yebamoth*, 49<sup>b</sup> mentionne la cachette du prophète dans le cèdre, mais lorsque la scie fut arrivée à la bouche de la victime, son âme la quitta.

Que l'allusion de l'épître aux Hébreux (11 37) aux saints qui ont été sciés concerne véritablement Isaïe, c'est ce que l'on admet aujourd'hui communément avec d'autant plus de facilité que l'existence au 1<sup>er</sup> siècle d'un opuscule d'origine juive traitant du martyre de ce prophète paraît solidement établie. La tradition qu'il représente, dépouillée de la circonstance légendaire du cèdre qui se referme, était vraisemblablement reçue dans les milieux juifs avant l'ère chrétienne. Ce *Martyre* a servi de source au compilateur chrétien qui, aux environs de 150, rédigea l'*Ascension d'Isaïe*. Le fragment utilisé représente le prophète en butte à l'hostilité d'un certain Balkirâ, originaire de Samarie, sur lequel on est bien aise de rejeter l'odieux de la conduite du roi. Circonvenus par l'imposteur, Manassé et les princes de Juda se décident à faire arrêter le Voyant qui a prétendu voir le Seigneur et qui a infligé le nom infâme de Sodome à Jérusalem et traité de peuple de Gomorrhe les princes de Juda. «Ils prirent donc (ajoute le récit) Isaïe, fils d'Amos et le scièrent avec une scie de bois. Manassé, Balkirâ, les faux prophètes, les princes et le peuple, tous se tenaient debout le regardant... Et tandisqu'il était scié, Isaïe ni ne cria ni ne pleura, mais sa bouche parla à l'Esprit-Saint jusqu'à ce qu'il fut scié en deux.»<sup>1</sup> Cette narration qui jouit d'un grand succès dans la littérature ecclésiastique ne comporte aucune donnée topographique.<sup>2</sup>

Si l'œuvre originale du *Martyre* contenait quelque indication de lieu, le rédacteur de l'*Ascension d'Isaïe* l'a complètement négligée et il est nécessaire pour la retrouver de recourir au curieux document intitulé *Vies des Prophètes* dont nous possédons plusieurs recensions grecques et quelques abrégés syriaques. La plus connue de ces recensions est celle que l'on attribue à S. Epiphane. On a tenté de placer à l'origine de ces notices un opuscule hébreu ou araméen, mais les tournures sémitiques s'expliquent suffisamment par le grec aramaisant parlé en Palestine. Pour sa notice sur Isaïe, l'auteur a

<sup>1</sup> TISSERANT, *Ascension d'Isaïe*, V, 11—14, p. 131.

<sup>2</sup> Outre les allusions de Justin, Tertullien, Lactance, Hilaire, Ambroise etc., on a des mentions explicites dans Origène et Jérôme.

pu puiser ses renseignements dans des traditions locales déjà anciennes. Il semble avoir connu le *Martyre* d'Isaïe. On est incapable d'affirmer cependant qu'il y ait puisé des circonstances topographiques omises par l'*Ascension*. Sans méconnaître l'incertitude qui règne au sujet de la date des *Vies des Prophètes*, on ne risquerait pas de se tromper beaucoup en optant pour le second siècle de notre ère, époque de l'éclosion de maint apocryphe judéo-chrétien et des *Mémoires* d'Hégésippe, réserve faite d'additions postérieures manifestement chrétiennes. Le texte de la notice vaut d'être cité en entier :

1. «Le prophète Isaïe, fils d'Amos, naquit à Jérusalem de la tribu de Juda; ayant été mis à mort par Manassé, roi de Juda, scié en deux, il fut enseveli sous le chêne de Rogel, près du passage des eaux que le roi Ézéchias avait fait disparaître en les comblant. Dieu fit le miracle de Siloé en faveur du prophète, qui, pris de défaillance avant de mourir, demanda à boire de l'eau. Aussitôt il lui en fut envoyé de cette source, laquelle, pour cette raison, fut appelée Siloé qui signifie «envoyé».»

2. «Du temps du roi Ézéchias, avant que celui-ci n'eût fait creuser les citernes et les piscines, il était sorti un peu d'eau à la prière du prophète Isaïe, le peuple étant investi par les étrangers, afin que la ville ne pérît pas de soif. Les ennemis se demandaient: D'où boivent-ils l'eau? ignorant le fait. Tout en maintenant la ville en respect, ils vinrent camper à Siloé. Quand les Juifs venaient puiser, l'eau de la source s'élevait, et ils s'approvisionnaient; les étrangers venaient-ils, ils n'en trouvaient pas, l'eau avait fui. Aussi jusqu'à ce jour, l'eau arrive subitement pour manifester ce prodige. Et parce que ceci avait eu lieu par l'intermédiaire d'Isaïe, le peuple, en souvenir, l'ensevelit avec soin et honneur près de la source pour que par ses prières on ait toujours la jouissance de cette eau. Le peuple reçut un oracle à ce sujet. Le tombeau du prophète Isaïe est à côté du tombeau des rois, derrière le tombeau des prêtres au midi. En bâtissant Jérusalem, Salomon avait fait le tombeau des rois suivant un plan tracé par David. C'est à l'orient de Sion, qui a une entrée depuis Gabaoth, à une distance de vingt stades de la ville; et il la fit tortueuse, compliquée, insoupçonnable, aussi est-elle jusqu'à ce jour inconnue du grand nombre.»

3. «Le roi Salomon avait là l'or d'Éthiopie et les aromates. Comme Ézéchias avait dévoilé le secret de David et de Salomon

aux gentils et avait profané les ossements de ses ancêtres, Dieu jura de livrer sa postérité en esclavage à ses ennemis. A partir de ce jour, Dieu le priva de descendance.»<sup>1</sup>

L'originalité de cette notice consiste à établir une relation étroite entre Isaïe et la fontaine de Siloé, quitte à embellir l'histoire d'ornements légendaires. Ce prophète, d'après la Bible, avait reproché à Ézéchiass et à ses sujets d'accorder trop de confiance aux travaux hydrauliques destinés à capter tout le débit de la source dans un nouveau réservoir placé hors de l'atteinte des ennemis. Il semble même avoir pris partie pour l'ancien canal de Siloé que le tunnel d'Ézéchiass allait rendre inutile, en se plaignant du mépris qu'on avait pour les eaux de Siloé qui coulent doucement. Is. 8 6. A l'aide de ces réminiscences une exégèse peu scrupuleuse aura vite fait honneur au Voyant de ces eaux si utiles à l'ancienne ville. Le prophète en aurait donc provoqué un premier jaillissement en petite quantité et par intermittences, afin de soulager ses concitoyens menacés de périr de soif pendant un siège. Peut-être l'auteur a-t-il pensé alors à cette invitation d'Isaïe 12 3: «Vous puiserez des eaux avec joie aux sources du salut». La seconde fois, la source aurait jailli en faveur d'Isaïe pris de défaillance au moment de son supplice. A sa prière, de l'eau lui est envoyée miraculeusement, et ainsi, suivant notre légende, s'explique le nom de Siloé qui signifie «envoyé», étymologie déjà donnée par Joh. 9 7. L'hypothèse de deux récits parallèles ne manque pas de fondement, et le doublet se poursuit à propos de la sépulture du héros.

Le premier récit (1), qui a surtout pour but d'expliquer l'étymologie du nom de Siloé, situe cette sépulture sous le chêne de Rogel près du passage des eaux obturées par Ézéchiass. Le second récit (2), qui s'attache surtout au phénomène de l'intermittence, place le tombeau d'Isaïe près de la sortie des eaux, dans la proximité du tombeau des rois et du tombeau des prêtres. Le premier fait tout graviter autour du supplice, le second autour de l'épisode du siège.

Mis en parallèle avec le chêne de Débora ou le térébinthe de Jabès sous lequel furent enfouis les os de Saül et de ses fils,

<sup>1</sup> MIGNE, P. G., XLIII, 397. SCHERMANN, *Propheten und Apostellegenden, Texte und Unters.*, XXXI, 3, p. 74ss. Sur l'interprétation de ce texte voir CL.-GANNEAU, *Acad. des Inscript . . . Comptes rendus*, 1897, p. 420ss.

l'ensevelissement d'Isaïe sous le chêne de Rogel garde une saveur plus archaïque. On serait donc autorisé à croire qu'il y eut, à une certaine époque, aux environs de Siloé, un vieil arbre qui marquait aux yeux des populations le lieu de la déposition d'Isaïe et peut-être aussi de son martyre. Nous n'essaierons pas d'établir si des rapports existent entre la légende du cèdre et celle du chêne de Rogel. Il est plus facile de constater que la mention de *Rogel* ou du «Foulon» a pu être inspirée par le fait de la rencontre d'Achaz et du *nabî* vers «l'extrémité de l'aqueduc de l'étang supérieur, sur le chemin du champ du Foulon», Is. 73. L'équivalence de פִּיגְם employé ici et de רִגְלָא a été reconnue par le targum de Jonathan et les versions syriaque et arabe, qui les rendent par le même terme: קַצְרִיָא. A noter pourtant le cas de Josué 157, où l'Arabe substitue à 'ain Rogel l'identification très nette de 'ain Ayoub, et la paraphrase non moins intéressante d'Isaïe 73, dans le targum: «sur le chemin du champ de l'étendage des Foulons» קַצְרִיָא מִשְׁמַח קַצְרִיָא. Ce champ où les blanchisseurs étendaient leur lessive au soleil se localise aisément entre les piscines de Siloé et le *bîr Ayoub*. Un chemin sortant de la ville ancienne par une issue méridionale et se dirigeant vers 'ain Rogel, après avoir passé à proximité de la bouche de l'aqueduc de Siloé qui précéda le tunnel d'Ézéchias serait fort bien en situation pour représenter le chemin du champ du Foulon.

La notice des *Vies des Prophètes* concorde pleinement avec ce point de vue, le chêne de Rogel, ainsi appelé sans doute en raison de sa situation sur le chemin qui mène à la source de ce nom, était planté ἐχόμενα τῆς διαβάσεως τῶν ὑδάτων, ὣν ἀπώλεσεν Ἐζεκίας ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐρά, «près du passage des eaux que le roi Ézéchias avait fait disparaître en les comblant». Le terme διαβάσις que nous traduisons par «passage» ne signifie ni un canal, ni un aqueduc, ni un cours d'eau quelconque. C'est le terme consacré pour indiquer l'endroit où l'on passe un fleuve, où l'on franchit un cours d'eau, de préférence un gué. Aussi bien le texte rapporte-t-il l'obstruction opérée par Ézéchias aux eaux et non au passage (διαβάσις). Le point le plus évident où l'on passait l'ancien canal qui amenait les eaux de la piscine supérieure du Gihon (*Oumm ed-Daradj*) à la piscine inférieure que représente aujourd'hui le *birket el-Hamra*, se trouvait à son issue du rocher, un peu avant l'endroit où il se déversait dans ce dernier bassin. A l'époque de la rédaction des *Vies*, un sentier venant,



comme de nos jours, de la vallée du Tyropoeon coupait l'antique aqueduc de Siloé vers son extrémité sud-ouest avant de gagner le terrain plat avoisinant le *bîr Ayoub*.

L'ensemble de ces indications aboutit à localiser le chêne de Rogel vers la pointe sud de la colline dite d'Ophel (*ed-Dehourah*), aux abords du *birket el-Hamra*. Il est assez probable, d'après l'*Onomasticon* d'Eusèbe et de S. Jérôme,<sup>1</sup> qu'aux temps byzantins et peut-être déjà auparavant, ce *birkeh* ait porté le nom de piscine du Foulon — ἡ κολυμβήθρα τοῦ κναφέως, *piscina Fullonis* — à cause de son utilisation par les blanchisseurs du temps, utilisation clairement attestée pour le Moyen âge. «De cele aigue, tanoit l'on les cuirs de la cité. *Et si en lavoit l'on les dras etc.*»<sup>2</sup> Mais ceci, n'infirmant en rien l'identification de 'aïn Rogel avec le *bîr Ayoub*, montre que le domaine de Rogel ou du Foulon avait alors pris une extension qu'il n'avait pas à l'origine.

Le second mode de sépulture enregistré par la notice (2) revient à l'érection d'un monument commémoratif vers les eaux de Siloé. Ce terme s'appliquant strictement, à l'origine, à l'aqueduc creusé à flanc de coteau était lui aussi devenu d'une compréhension plus vaste, jusqu'à désigner les piscines pratiquées dans le creux du Tyropoeon et l'issue même du canal souterrain d'Ézéchias. Quoi qu'il en soit, ce tombeau qui présentait en quelque sorte Isaïe comme le génie tutélaire de la source n'était pas éloigné de l'arbre sacré de Rogel. Les deux traditions ont-elles coexisté ou se sont-elles succédées? Il est difficile de se prononcer à ce sujet. Il fut un temps où la sépulture d'Abraham était cherchée soit sous le Térébinthe de Mambré soit à la grotte de Macpéla. Le tombeau dit d'Isaïe, participant aux embellissements que provoqua sous Hérode la renaissance du culte des tombes ancestrales, dut prendre à cette époque un regain de notoriété, époque où les sépulcres des patriarches à Hébron étaient rehaussés d'une merveilleuse enceinte, et où le tombeau de David recevait une somptueuse entrée de marbre blanc.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> KLOSTERMANN, *Onomasticon*, p. 39, 165.

<sup>2</sup> Contin. de Guillaume de Tyr dite du ms. de Rothelin, *Rec. des Hist. des Croisades, Occid.*, II, p. 510.

<sup>3</sup> JOSÉPHE, *Antiquités* ... XVI, 7, 1; *Guerre* ... IV, 9, 7.

Ce tombeau de David et de sa lignée sert à l'auteur des *Vies des Prophètes* de point de repère pour la localisation du sépulcre d'Isaïe. Il s'agit à n'en pas douter de l'hypogée royal mentionné fréquemment par les livres des *Rois* et des *Chroniques*, hypogée qui se développa selon les besoins, car il est fait parfois allusion au sépulcre que tel prince s'était préparé, hypogée situé dans la cité de David, dans la partie méridionale, ainsi qu'il ressort de Néhémie 3 16. Si plusieurs rois ne sont pas déposés dans la sépulture davidique, aucun n'est exclu de la cité. Leurs tombeaux ne s'éloignent pas d'ailleurs de ceux de David et de Salomon. Osias est enseveli dans le champ de la sépulture des rois. Ézéchias trouve sa dernière demeure à la montée des tombeaux des fils de David. Par un privilège accordé l'excellence de sa conduite, on admit le grand-prêtre Joïada<sup>1</sup> à partager la sépulture des rois dans la cité de David. D'après les *Vies des Prophètes*, le prêtre Zacharie, tué sur l'ordre de Joas, aurait été enterré avec son père.

Notre document connaît aussi un tombeau des prêtres près duquel il situe les sépultures d'Aggée, du prophète Zacharie et d'Isaïe.<sup>1</sup> Pour ce dernier, la position est plus détaillée. Il se trouve au midi du tombeau des prêtres, à côté du tombeau des rois. On déduira donc de ces divers renseignements l'existence d'une antique nécropole dans la partie sud de la colline, dont les divers hypogées étaient réservés aux grands personnages de la cité, princes, grands-prêtres, prophètes. Les discussions postérieures entre docteurs sur la pureté lévitique de Jérusalem ne font que confirmer cette conclusion.<sup>2</sup> Lorsque l'interdiction de toute sépulture à l'intérieur des murs mise en vigueur surtout à partir d'Esdras fut considérée comme une loi antique, il ne vint jamais à l'esprit d'aucun rabbi de nier que des tombeaux illustres se trouvassent dans la ville. Il était laissé à leur ingéniosité de casuistes de donner à cette anomalie une explication plausible. De plus, quand vint l'époque où l'on se crut obligé d'enlever les sépultures situées dans les murs, certains tombeaux échappèrent à l'ostracisme dont les puritains voulaient frapper sans distinction toutes les demeures des morts.

<sup>1</sup> SCHERMANN, *op. c.*, p. 68, 70, 76.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. R. WEILL, *La Cité de David*, ch. II: *Les tombes royales dans la Cité de David*, p. 35 ss.

Parmi les prohibitions des causes d'impureté légale qu'énumère la *Tossefta* à propos de Jérusalem nous lisons ceci: «A Jérusalem on ne laisse pas les morts passer la nuit; on n'y place pas d'ossements; on n'y laisse pas de tombeau, à l'exception des tombeaux de la maison de David et du tombeau de la prophétesse Houлда, qui y étaient depuis les jours des premiers prophètes.»<sup>1</sup> L'exception devient plus générale avec cette *baraïta*: «Tous les tombeaux (à l'intérieur de la ville) doivent être enlevés, sauf le tombeau d'un roi ou celui d'un prophète.» Houлда n'était donc pas la seule entre les prophètes à jouir de ce privilège, comme le manifestent également les *Abot de R. Nathan* qui présentent sous cette forme la cinquième prohibition du traité *Negaïm*: «On ne doit pas à Jérusalem laisser de morts pendant une nuit, à l'exception du tombeau des rois de la maison de David, du tombeau d'Isaïe et de celui de Houлда.»<sup>2</sup> L'intérêt de ce texte est de s'accorder avec la notice des *Vies des Prophètes* sur la position générale du tombeau d'Isaïe.

La relation de ces hypogées avec la canalisation souterraine de l'Ophel est aussi un point sur lequel ce document s'allie avec la littérature rabbinique. Une dizaine d'années avant la destruction du temple par Titus, on aurait procédé à l'enlèvement des sépultures de la ville exigé par les Schammaïtes. Quand on chercha plus tard le motif qui avait préservé de cette mesure les tombeaux des rois et des prophètes, la présence de conduits souterrains dans la même région servit à justifier cette dérogation à la loi commune. On supposa, sans se préoccuper de leur véritable destination, qu'ils étaient des exutoires des l'impureté que dégageaient les tombeaux. «On dit qu'il y avait là une caverne qui entraînait l'impureté dans la vallée du Cédron.»<sup>3</sup> R. Aquiba avait parlé d'un canal remplissant le même office. La notice grecque sur Isaïe place son tombeau à proximité du canal de Siloé; de plus, elle fait allusion, sous une forme légendaire, au dédale qui formait l'accès du tombeau des rois et aux cachettes annexes où Ézéchiass eut l'imprudence d'introduire les envoyés du roi de Babylone. 2 Rois 20 12-19. Le fin du récit (3)

<sup>1</sup> Tr. *Negaïm*, VI, 2.

<sup>2</sup> D'après BÜCHLER, *La pureté lévitique de Jérusalem*, *Rev. des études juives*, LXII (1911), p. 203. On trouvera dans cet article un bon développement sur la question relative au maintien de ces tombeaux.

<sup>3</sup> BÜCHLER, p. 209, 210.

suppose en effet que le trésor se trouvait dans l'hypogée royal, car le conteur reproche à ce propos au roi d'avoir profané les restes de David et de Salomon. Hyrcan et Hérode, d'après Josèphe (Antiq., XVI, 7 1) se seraient livré à des opérations analogues au tombeau de David pour en ravir des richesses.

Isaïe étant représenté comme le génie tutélaire de la source, on serait tenté de chercher son monument à la sortie du tunnel d'Ézéchias, là où les colons d'Aelia élevèrent plus tard un édicule à la Fortune (au Gad-Yavan) auquel fut substituée, au 5<sup>e</sup> siècle, l'église de Siloé. Mais les indications de notre notice font obstacle à cette supposition. Les eaux de Siloé représentent avant tout le conduit antique dont l'histoire d'Isaïe fait mention, et que l'on a retrouvé sur le flanc de la colline *ed-Dehourah* parallèle au Cédron. Il serait donc plus juste de placer le tombeau du grand prophète à proximité de ce canal que de le mettre en relation avec le canal d'Ézéchias. Sa situation se précise davantage grâce au voisinage des tombes royales dont une partie a été mise à découvert par les fouilles de M. R. Weill. Mais l'étendue du «champ des tombeaux des fils de David» n'est pas encore connue, pas plus que les secrètes retraites de la nécropole primitive. D'immenses travaux sont encore nécessaires pour arracher à la vénérable colline de l'antique Sion tous ses mystères. Nous espérons que le jour où l'on reprendra des fouilles qui dénuderont le rocher entre le champ exploré par le capitaine Weill et la pointe sud de la colline, le tombeau d'Isaïe, ou ce qu'il en reste, verra de nouveau la lumière, après de longs siècles d'obscurité et d'oubli.

## JUDICIAL COURTS AMONG THE BEDOUIN OF PALESTINE

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ONE of the most interesting and important branches of Arab folklore is Bedouin law. As the subject is so wide, I have chosen for this paper only one phase of it: "Judicial Courts among the Bedouin,"<sup>1</sup> and have postponed consideration of the remaining phases: *qânûn el-diyâfah*, or regulation of hospitality; *qânûn ej-jaza*, the murder code; *qânûn el-'ard* (class. *'ird*), the code of rape; and *qânûn el-ḥuqûq*, the civil code.

A legal system was in force among the Arabs long before Islam; the names of some well-known lawyers have been preserved—Aktam ibn Šaifi,<sup>2</sup> Hâjib ibn Zirârah,<sup>3</sup> Âmir ibn ez-Zarb,<sup>4</sup> 'Abd el-Muṭṭalib al-Quraši.<sup>5</sup> Female lawyers were also known—Hind bint el-Ḥaṣṣah<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [The writer of this paper is a young Muslim gentleman, son of one of the most prominent sheikhs of southern Palestine. From boyhood he has been intimately acquainted with the customs and practises of the Fellâhîn and Bedouin, between whom in southern Palestine there is little distinction, one class gradually merging into the other. He has been collecting folkloristic and ethnographic materials for thirteen years, noting them down in special diaries and notebooks, a number of which unfortunately fell into the hands of the enemy during the war, and were destroyed. Our knowledge of the history, languages, and customs of southern Palestine will gain greatly from the intensive knowledge, and large collections which he has gathered; this, we hope, is only the first instalment (W.F.A.)] I wish to express my appreciation to Dr. W.F. Albright and Dr. T. Canaan for encouragement and help given in the preparation of this paper.

<sup>2</sup> Of the tribe Beni Tamîm, between Yemâmeh and Iḥṣâ. He died soon after the coming of the Prophet.

<sup>3</sup> Contemporary and fellow-tribesman of the former.

<sup>4</sup> Ditto.

<sup>5</sup> Of the Qureiṣ, the Prophet's grandfather.

<sup>6</sup> Daughter of the Emîr el-Ḥaṣṣah of the Beni Tamîm.

and Jum'ah bint Hâbis.<sup>1</sup> With the spread of Islam these laws and regulations were influenced and more or less modified by the laws of the new religion. It was, and still is, customary that whenever two individuals or two tribes differ on something they consent to refer the matter to a judge, who settles the dispute according to hereditary laws. These laws suit the Arabs better than any others, since they accord with their psychological state, their customs and manner of living.

These judicial principles also guide legal procedure among the peasants of Palestine, with differences which will always be noted. The inhabitants of our country are at present divided into two political parties—Qaisî and Yemenî. Both parties have judges to aid in the solution of hard problems and the settlement of disputes. There is no objection offered if one party brings the case to the judges of the other party, for the judges must never be partial, nor do they fail to search for the truth and deal with justice. Nor is the case different when a Qaisî and a Yemenî who have a dispute come to a judge who belongs to one of the factions. The judge does only what he thinks right, as he is afraid of the *majâlis ed-dâha*, i. e. of the talk which takes place in the *maḍâfah*<sup>2</sup> before noon (morning gossip).<sup>3</sup>

The right to judge belongs only to certain families, such as el-Manâsira among the Beni Nu'eim,<sup>4</sup> Abû 'Irâm in Yatṭah,<sup>5</sup> el-Maḥâmideh in es-Samû,<sup>6</sup> the Dâr 'Ureiqât in el-Wâdiyeh,<sup>7</sup> and el-'Arrâbi in Qabâtiyeh,<sup>8</sup> etc. No other families are supposed to mete out justice, and the administration of justice is thus hereditary. The father

<sup>1</sup> Daughter of a renowned warrior of the Beni Tamîm.

<sup>2</sup> The *maḍâfah* is a room for the common use of the villagers, where guests are entertained and lodged. The custom of the *maḍâfah* exists in nearly every village south of Nâblus, and among the Beni Şaib on the coast of the sea. North of Nâblus we find, instead of *maḍâfât*, *dawâwîn*, or visitors' rooms in the house of every notable. The elders of the village spend much of their time in the *maḍâfah*.

<sup>3</sup> The gossip of the elders and loungers in the *maḍâfah*, while the others are at work.

<sup>4</sup> In the Hebron district (Jebel el-Ḥalîl).

<sup>5</sup> Ditto.

<sup>6</sup> Ditto.

<sup>7</sup> El-Wâdiyeh is the district to the east and southeast of Jerusalem.

<sup>8</sup> In the district of Jenîn.

drills his brightest and cleverest son, or an uncle trains his nephew, allowing him to attend his court until he becomes acquainted with all types of cases, after which he may be permitted to judge and settle easy cases under the former's supervision. When he gets sufficient practise, and is trusted by the people, difficult cases will be referred to him, and gradually he gains the entire confidence of the villagers.<sup>1</sup>

There may be one judge or more in a family. The oldest is most respected, and if several are of the same age the richest and noblest is the most acceptable. In case they are equal in wealth and nobility, the judge is chosen whose father was a better judge than the other judge's father. It is still true at present that the judges belong to the noblest families of the district.<sup>2</sup> These judges have ample jurisdiction, and are not bound to govern their decision by any written code which fixes a maximum or minimum penalty. Their most important duty is to know the rank of different families. A murder, violation of female honour, or of the right of a noble and powerful family weigh more heavily than a murder, rape, etc., of other families. A *hamûleh* (family) in which many females have been violated or many members killed is despised and regarded as weak and dishonourable, being therefore placed on a lower level than other families.<sup>3</sup> The judges have full authority to increase or reduce a penalty, always taking into consideration the common welfare and the personal influence of both parties. Sometimes they punish a crime with half, at other times the same crime with a third, and still on other occasions the same crime is punished with more than a *diyeh*.

<sup>1</sup> Following are the names of the present judges from these families, all peasants: Hajj Hosein and 'Isâ Moḥammed from el-Manâsirah; Shâdeh of Abû 'Irâm; 'Abd er-Raḥîm Taljeh of el-Maḥâmideh; and Ḥasan Abû Mḥârib from Deir Jîr. The names of Bedouin and semi-Bedouin judges will be given below.

<sup>2</sup> The Prophet ordered that the noblest of the people should settle cases arising in his people. A *ḥadîth* warns against the danger of entrusting a post to an inefficient person.

<sup>3</sup> Proverbs alluding to this point of view are: "Cheap blood and broken honour" (*damm rḥîṣ u-'arḍ rṣîṣ*); "This family neither takes revenge nor removes disgrace" (*hal-'eleh lâ btôḥîd-et-târ walâ btinfî el-'âr*). The repeated violation of female honour is alluded to with the phrase "Olives crushed before they are stored."

and *ḡurrah*.<sup>1</sup> The judge must know the social position of the offenders and their families exactly. Minute knowledge of all these important details differs among judges, since some are cleverer than others, have had more experience, and are more accustomed to intricate cases. Sometimes a judge cannot decide a case, because it is too complicated. In this event he sends somebody secretly to reconcile the parties.<sup>2</sup> If he does not succeed, he postpones his decision until he discovers the right one with the help of some other judge who must proffer his advice.

The number of judges nowadays is decreasing, and there are none at all in northern Palestine. The Bedouin and the semi-nomadic tribes are most conservative; the closer we approach cities the more seldom are real judges found, while the people patronize the official government courts increasingly.

Judges are paid for investigating and settling cases. The payment in criminal cases is called *rizqah*,<sup>3</sup> while in property and other unimportant cases it is called *jilah*. The payment is determined according to the importance of each case: that of a murder or violation is 100 Turkish mejidis; that of an unpremeditated murder or the injury of an important organ 50 mejidis; in the case of theft or other minor crimes 10 mejidis. There is also a fee, called *bislah*, paid to judges of the religious law (*ṣerī'ah*), who are sometimes called on to decide questions. This sum, which varies between ten and a hundred mejidis, is generally estimated by the collaboration of the parties involved and the judge.<sup>4</sup> There are four different kinds of payment:—

1. *Rizqat muḡtīl*, the fine which is paid by the accused, that is, if Zeid and 'Amr quarrel, and the latter wins the case, the former pays the fine.

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<sup>1</sup> The *diyeh* is the blood-money, price of blood, wergeld. The *ḡurrah* is a girl taken from the party of the murderer and married to a man of the family which lost the victim. This girl is married without a bridal price or *mahr* (rendered „dowry”).

<sup>2</sup> The phrase for “(the judge) reconciled them” is *ūṭayyib ‘aleihum* in the case of murder or rape, and otherwise *isālīḡhum*.

<sup>3</sup> The custom of the *rizqah* (*riḡān*) is very old; cf. the story of Alqamat el-Faḡl and 'Amir ibn et-Tufail in *Risālat ibn Zeidūn*.

<sup>4</sup> If the judge prefers, he may take sheep or cloth, etc., instead of money. The payment is then called *ma'ārīḡ*.



2. *Rizqat mujrim*, the fine which is paid by the criminals.

3. *Rizqat munâsafah*, a settlement by compromise, each party paying half. This payment occurs when the case is evenly balanced, and open to suspicion, each party claiming more than is due. This payment is also known in canon law.

4. *Rizqat muntashir*, given by the party which has gained the victory, or by the accused person who has been absolved of guilt.

Before the case is taken up, it is decided which sort of *rizqah* is to be paid, and by whom. As soon as both parties have agreed with the judge upon one of these modes of payment, the case takes its regular course. As it is naturally still doubtful which side will win the case, the parties do not pay anything at first, but offer the judges security, such as a mare's bridle, a pipe, a ring, a tobacco case or bag. Though in themselves very insignificant objects, they signify that the litigating parties have pledged their honour. If one fails to pay his fine, he cannot redeem his pledge, and is very much despised.<sup>1</sup> After the decision has been made, the judge keeps the pledge of the person who is to make the payment, and the latter must not leave the assembly room (*madâfah*) until he pays his debt.<sup>2</sup> The pledge is returned to the other party at once. It happens but rarely that a house or rifle is given as a pledge. The judge is not ashamed to ask for his fee, and the people see that it is paid. If any difficulty arises, the family of the accused person compels him to do his duty.

Judges are divided into four classes: (1) *Quḍât ed-dyûf*, judges of guests; (2) *quḍât eş-sullâ*, or civil magistrates; (3) *quḍât ed-damm*, judges of blood; (4) *quḍât eş-seif*, judges of the sword. The last two are the most important and the most powerful. The *quḍât ed-damm* are divided into three categories:

<sup>1</sup> The custom of pledging is very old, and we find it as far back as in the time of the *Jâhilîyeh* (before Islam); cf. the story of Hâjib ibn Zirârah and Kisrâ (Chosroes II.) in '*Iqd ul-Farîd* (by Ibn 'Abd Rabbuh), Vol. I, p. 130.

<sup>2</sup> Nearly every *madâfah* has its care-taker, or *nâtûr* (lit. watchman), who is selected by the elders. In some places he is paid a stipend, up to a hundred mejidis a year, while in other villages he receives up to a hundred *sâ'* of wheat (the *sâ'* is 3—6 ratls, or 9—18 kg.), varying in different places. He makes the coffee, gathers the wood, keeps the guest-house clean and in order, sees that all the guests have bedding, provided by the rich inhabitants of the village. In some places he is employed to carry letters to other villages. The *nâtûr* receives a portion of the food offered to the guests.

1. *El-maḥāṭṭit* (sing. *maḥṭṭit*),<sup>1</sup> the courts of first instance. Eṭ-Ṭall of ez-Zāhirīyeh is a judge of this type.

2. *El-manāšid* (sing. *manšad*),<sup>2</sup> the courts of appeal. El-Mahāmideh of es-Samû is a judge of this court. When one appeals to this court, one says to one's opponent, '*aleik bil-manšad*'.

3. *El-manâqi'* (plur. of *manqa'*),<sup>3</sup> the courts of cassation, of final appeal. Their decisions are final. Dâr Ṭaljah represents this court.

These three courts settle blood questions alone. Cases of violation are brought to the court of honour ('*ard*') of the Beni 'Uqbah. Any case of murder may be brought directly to any of these courts, without going first to the lower ones or ones, but one may agree from the beginning to go through the three courts.

The judges of guests have no official power, and in each village there is only one, generally a popular person or a notable. If a guest arrives in a village the villagers contend for the right and honour of banqueting him. Even women may take part in this contest.

Villages may be divided into two categories with respect to their mode of showing hospitality to the guest:—

1. Villages where the terms of offering meals to guests are settled in advance.

2. Villages where the people dispute as mentioned above for the honour of preparing a meal for guests. There are four *qwâs* (bows) each formed by a stick with a string tied to both ends of it. On the threads are strung slips of paper, each bearing the name of a villager. The villagers are divided into four categories: (a) the rich, who must provide a good meal for noble visitors, the meal consisting of a sheep and the accessories; (b) those whose means will not permit of their offering more than a fowl; (c) those who prepare the meal from food always ready at home, such as cheese, olives, eggs, butter, *leben*, etc.; (d) the poorest, who bring only barley for the animals belonging to the guests. These four classes are called, respectively, *dôr kbîr*, *dôr zġîr*, *dôr nhâr*, *dôr maḥāleh* (*miḥlâ'*). If many guests arrive together, one of the *dôr el-kbîr* must feed them.

<sup>1</sup> Lit. "the chosen one."

<sup>2</sup> Lit. "the place of oath," from *našad*, "take oath."

<sup>3</sup> Lit. "the place of stagnation," i. e. where the course of justice stops.

The judge to whom authority is given announces his decision in favor of a person belonging to one of these classes, always acting according to the following rules:—

1. A companion of the guest in his journey (*rafîq et-tarîq*) has the first right to provide the meal (*lâ bitqâda walâ bithâkam*).

2. A guest of high rank is entertained by a person of his rank.

3. A well-to-do person is frequently selected to entertain the guest, since the poor cannot afford the expenditure.<sup>1</sup>

If there are two men who wish to have the same guest, one strengthens his case by saying that he has not given a meal for a long time, while the other did so only recently. In such arguments the following expressions are used: *mâ sabaq lî tnîyeh*, "I have never entertained a guest;" *tnîyeto hadra*, "his banquet is green (fresh)"; *weis tqûl bil 'ifi illi la-zâd el-dyûf mîsthî*, "what do you say of the rich man who is eager to entertain guests"; *Allâh yihayyi ed-dyûf 'a-qadar mâ darhamn el-heil u-dannaq el-bhl w-ana el-mau'ûd fâhum min zamân*, "may God greet the guests in proportion as their horses have trotted and as the miser is abashed, I promised to entertain them long ago." A longer formula is: *weis tqûl, u-'ainî tîr'âhum min mimšâhum la-malfâhum, u-hayye ed-dyûf u-hayye lhitak wi-lhâhum; u-hayye qâdi aţ'ânî-yâhum<sup>2</sup> w-ana el-mismîn el-muqdir* = "What do you say, my eye watched the guests from their starting point to their rendezvous. Welcome to the guests, welcome to your beard and to their beard;<sup>3</sup> welcome to the judge who has given them to me—I am the one who is allowed to entertain them." This custom is gradually dying out, and at present it is practised only among the Bedouin of Gaza and the vicinity, among the Beni Hasan,<sup>4</sup> Beni Sâlim,<sup>5</sup> and in the Hebron and Jerusalem<sup>6</sup> districts, especially where there is close contact with the Bedouin.

<sup>1</sup> In such a case the rich man may say, "My intestines are stronger than his bones" (*maşârînî aqua min 'izâmuk*), i. e. my resources are greater than his.

<sup>2</sup> The *fellâhîn* use *aţ'ânî* or *anţânî* instead of *aţânî*.

<sup>3</sup> Among the Arabs, the beard or mustache is the symbol of a man's honour. Since the beard is so important it is never shaved, and it is counted a disgrace to have it shaved.

<sup>4</sup> The Beni Hasan live in the villages Bittîr, Wâlahah, Mâlha, Beit Jâla, etc.

<sup>5</sup> In the villages Tayyibeh, Deir Jrîr, Kufr Mâlik and Rammûn.

<sup>6</sup> This term is here used to include the Jebel el-Quds, i. e. the villages about Jerusalem, as far as Bîreh, toward the north.

The justices of the peace are chosen from among the notables of the villages and their chiefs. When they hear of a struggle in a village, they go at once to the place, and stop the quarrel by separating the contending parties. After this they stand around the grave of the slain man. If the victim is of a good family, the man who demands his blood, the *waliy ed-damm* or blood avenger, or perhaps the notable of the family stands at the upper end of the grave. He usually takes a handful of dust, and strews it, saying "Bear witness, O angels of heaven and earth, that I have sprinkled my blood on these present, and they are more worthy than I to demand blood-revenge"<sup>1</sup> (*îshadû yâ malâ'ikt es-sama wal-arḍ innî naṭart dammî 'ala-l-ḥâḍirîn, i-hum aḥaqq minnî bi-talab it-târ*). The audience then encourages the bloodavenger, and addressing the victim, says: "You have only to sleep, but we must act" (*ente 'aleik en-nôm welma 'aleina el-qôm*).<sup>2</sup> The bystanders help the family of the victim to wreak vengeance upon the murderer or to secure its blood-money. After this brief prelude to their tedious and difficult task all leave the cemetery and proceed to the village, where they forbid the relatives of the victim to attack the house of the murderer. The judge or judges consider the case and its importance, and try to make a settlement. If unsuccessful, they try to bring about a primary armistice, *'aṭwat el-ftûḥ*,<sup>3</sup> lasting from a few days to several months. Sometimes the accusers refuse to accept the armistice as arranged by the justices of the peace. In this case a judge of blood is brought immediately, and he arranges an armistice, as will be described below. An armistice made through the judges of the peace is thus less effective than one ordered by the judges of blood, who are much more important than those of the former category. They enjoy the full confidence of the people, who acknowledge the justice and fairness of their decisions, and, therefore respect them and fear their decisions.

Owing to the spread of modern law the number of these judges has decreased, as observed above. Among the judges of blood from

<sup>1</sup> The strewing of dust represents the sprinkling of blood. All those upon whom the dust falls have the right and obligation to take vengeance for the victim.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ḥaddād, "Die Blutrache in Palästina," Z. D. P. V., 1917 (T. C.).

<sup>3</sup> Sometimes a short armistice of four days is given, called *'aṭwat kam u lamm*, "a truce of some days (*kam yôm*) for collecting (money)."

the Bedouin and the semi-nomadic tribes may be mentioned: Ḥajjāj abū-Fḥêd, of the tribe of Ḥuṭeim, whose family may be traced back to Bâhilah, to which belonged also Quṭeibah ibn-Muslim, the great general of ‘Abd el-Malik ibn-Marwân and his son el-Walid; and Moḥammed iz-Zîr of et-Ta‘âmreh.

The judges of the sword, or arbitrators act as a kind of court martial. Among these judges are Abū Ġôš,<sup>1</sup> el-Barâġte,<sup>2</sup> ej-Jayûsî,<sup>3</sup> and Dâr Jarrâr.<sup>4</sup> They are not real judges and do not act according to Bedouin law. If a dispute or conflict arises in their district, they go to the parties or send for them and decide on the ground of purely political considerations, regardless of justice. Hence they are disliked by the people, who try their best to be judged by the judges of blood, in order to make sure that the criminal is punished. The arbitrators impose a fine, from which they take their share. Frequently they take with them a man learned in Muslim law (*‘âlim*), who would follow the principles of *šarî‘ah* law in making his decision, which the arbitrators then carry into execution. When the assembly meets, the “judge of the sword” says: “Here is paradise [pointing to the *‘âlim*] and here is hellfire [pointing to himself] and here is the sword [pointing again to himself] and here is the holy Book [*el-mušḥaf*, pointing for the second time to the learned man],” in other words, “By whom do you wish to be judged, by me or by the *šarî‘ah*.<sup>5</sup> For the last two generations these arbitrators have practically ceased to exist.

Having dealt fully with the judges, let us describe the introductory procedure in a case, and then outline the process in court. If no legal steps are taken, the murderer or ravisher must die. In that event there is no way to come to terms, and hostilities will continue. The *šāḥib ed-damm* and the *ṭalīb lil-‘ard*<sup>6</sup> are very bold and have the right to slay their opponents whenever and wherever they meet them, and are not held responsible for their act. Accordingly the relatives

<sup>1</sup> From Qaryet el-‘Inab (Beni Mâlik).

<sup>2</sup> From Deir Gassâneh (Beni Zeid).

<sup>3</sup> From Kûr (Beni Saib).

<sup>4</sup> From Šânûr (Mašârîq el-Jarrâr).

<sup>5</sup> He thus ascribes the religious prerogatives to the learned man and the secular power to himself.

<sup>6</sup> Respectively “the owner of blood,” i. e. the nearest relative of the victim, and “the one who demands honour” (in rape cases).

of the murderer try their best to obtain an armistice—*'atwat el-ftûh*<sup>1</sup>—as mentioned above. The murderer pays 100 mejidis<sup>2</sup> for the privilege of an armistice, and this money is not deducted later from the blood-money or *diyyeh*. After the lapse of the first armistice, 50 or 70 mejidis are paid for a second one—*'atwat el-qbûl*<sup>3</sup>—and this amount is deducted from the blood-money. If a third or fourth armistice is given, nothing is paid for them.<sup>4</sup> The armistices may even be prolonged for years until peace is declared, but the latter never happens without the preliminary armistice. The relatives of the victim wait for an opportunity to avenge themselves, but are hindered by the armistice from carrying out their purpose. If a murder has been committed unintentionally, the fine paid for the armistices does not exceed half the sum mentioned for cases of premeditated murder or violation. When a member of a family is accused of a crime, and his family is unable to oppose the accusers, it takes refuge (*yitnibû*) with a powerful notable (*mṭannib*)<sup>5</sup> who is able to protect them, and the latter begins negotiation for peace. The family of the accused person may even be obliged to shift all its moveable property to some other place, where it is safer, since nothing stolen during the first three and a half days after the murder is deducted from the blood-money. In case the guilty man and his family are equal in position and honour to their opponents, they send for people respected by the accusers. The latter respond to the call, and begin the difficult task of making an armistice. During the armistice, the irritated spirits are calmed, and better relations may arise between the parties. The mediators compel the guilty party to pay whatever fine the judge imposes.

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<sup>1</sup> The word *futûh*, from *fâtaḥ*, "to open," refers to the "opening" of negotiations for the truce. I have never heard the expression *'atwat el-faurah*, quoted by Ḥaddād, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> A Turkish *mejidi*, or a fifth of a Turkish pound, is twenty piastres *ṣâḡ*, or about 4 1/4 francs.

<sup>3</sup> The term *qubûl*, "acceptance," is employed because the acceptance of a second truce smoothes the way to a final agreement.

<sup>4</sup> In some places, money is paid for every truce, even for the fourth, fifth, etc.

<sup>5</sup> The word *ṭunb* (*ṭunub*) means "tent-peg"; *ṭannaba* (*ṭânaba*) is "pitch a tent beside another" (become a neighbour). *Ana ṭanīb 'aleik* means "I wish you to accept me as a neighbour," i. e., as a client.

The family of the accused and its relations as far as the fifth degree<sup>1</sup> may be obliged to emigrate from the village. Those who desire to remain in their homes must pay a fine of 30—100 mejidis (*tis'at en-nôm*<sup>2</sup>) and several pieces of cloth to the family of the plaintiff. They are not safe from vengeance until this is done. This sum of money is not reckoned in the *diyeh* unless the one who pays it is a distant relation (beyond the fifth degree).

The advantages of the armistice are: it prevents the continuation of hostilities; its acceptance is a partial confession on the part of the accused person; as time elapses the bitterness over the crime disappears. The conditions are formulated by an agreement of the two parties. Among these conditions are: the murderer may not enter the village where the relatives of the victim dwell; he may not approach a fountain which is frequented by the other party. Sometimes the plaintiffs ask only that he shall not enter their quarters. After the agreement the murderer is free to go wherever he desires, aside from the places specified. If he abides by the agreement he is not subject to molestation by the other party.

The armistice is not formed until the judges have appointed a man to act as guarantor for the accusers. The judge asks the guarantor: "Do you guarantee that they [the accusers] will not trespass against the defendants nor perform any evil action, but that they will live with the accused as peacefully as the clothes line,<sup>3</sup> that they will load a camel together and draw water together in peace from the cistern?"<sup>4</sup> The man or men who act as guarantors ask the accusers: "Do you accept us as guarantors against treachery, breach of promise, injury to your enemies, and change of your mind [violation of the armistice]?"<sup>5</sup> If they answer in the affirmative, an armistice is made in the village of the victim. The guarantors who are thus appointed must be of higher rank than those whom they guarantee, and are usually selected by the defendants or by the judges. The accusers reserve the right to reject these persons—if,

<sup>1</sup> Lit. "fifth grandfather" (*jidd*).

<sup>2</sup> Lit. "the nine of sleep" i. e. security, assurance (cf. Ḥaddād, Z. D. P. V.).

<sup>3</sup> Clothes-lines hang beside one another in perfect harmony.

<sup>4</sup> Ar. *ibtikfal innhum lâ ya'dû walâ yabdû, mi'l ḥbâl el-gasîl, iṣîlû 'ala b'ir u-yiridû'ala b'ir?*

<sup>5</sup> Ar. *hal qbiltum wjâhna min el-ḥôn u-l-bôq u-l-'aṭâl u-l-baṭâl?*

for example, they are their enemies. The choice of the *wujûh* may take place in their absence. Even an *amîr* may stand security for a noble or notables. However irritating the circumstances may be, the accusers cannot break the rules of the armistice and attack their enemies. They try to rid themselves of the *wujûh* by asking the guarantor to remove his *wijh*. If he accepts they are free to do what they like. The expression '*adâhum el-lôm*'<sup>1</sup> is used of the accusers in such a case. If he does not accept they must keep the armistice peacefully until its expiration, but then they may refuse to renew it. If the plaintiffs break the armistice, the guarantor has the right to kill the offenders if he meets them during the first three and a third days. In case he does not meet them, he places them under trial.<sup>2</sup>

The rights of guarantee are greater than those of blood, since a greater number of persons is affected. They are championed not only by the guarantors, but also by the witnessing bystanders in general. If the person who has broken the rules of *el-hidneh*<sup>3</sup> refuses to appear before the judge, the latter summons him himself. If he still refuses, his life and property are forfeit to those whom he has dishonoured by the violation of the armistice, nor has he any right whatever to demand damages for what has happened. He is left without a *diyyeh* and without a *wajâha* (see below), *bilâ 'awad walâ qawad*,<sup>4</sup> i. e., "without exchange and without a sheep." The guarantor must pay compensation for whatever loss or damage the peaceful party may have incurred from the treachery of the other party, so that it may not be said: "The one who takes refuge in the guarantee of A is like the one who takes refuge (lit. covers himself) with a cloud" (*el-mitgattî bi-wijh flân mitl el-mitgattî bis-shâb*).<sup>5</sup> Owing to the extreme severity of the punishment which is meted out to the treacherous violator of the armistice, and to the dishonour which follows, it is very rare.

<sup>1</sup> Lit. "They have no blame," i. e. they are not to be blamed for what they do, since the *wijh* has withdrawn.

<sup>2</sup> Of such breakers of the truce it is said, *ṭāhû bi-l-wijh*, "They violated the guarantee."

<sup>3</sup> *Hidneh* is the ordinary Arabic term for Fellâh '*aṭwah*."

<sup>4</sup> The word *qâwad* means lit. "an animal led with a rope," i. e. a goat or a sheep.

<sup>5</sup> Another saying is: *el-mithazzim buh 'aryân*, "The one who covers himself with him is naked."



When the trial of a case has been postponed for a sufficient time to allow the excitement to quiet down, the parties come to an agreement, and select the judges. The judge may be asked to come to the village of the plaintiffs, or to a neighboring one, or they may agree to go to him or to the *beit el-muqâḍâ*, or "court-house." I know of only one such court-house at present among the peasantry, that of Mûsa Ḥdêb in Dawâimeh. There is also one among the Beni 'Uqbah of the Tayâhah tribe.

The people of the village must entertain the judges, the expenses being borne by the whole village. In case the assembly takes place in the village of the guilty party, his family must meet all expenses. The accusers walk ahead and the defendants follow, but there is no meeting. Each party stays in a different guest-house,<sup>1</sup> to which they come on the morning preceding the trial. Before entering the court, one or both sides may appoint lawyers called *ḥujjâj*. The client publicly entrusts the case to his lawyer, saying, "I have given my tongue to A to defend my case" (*innî a'tait l'sânî la-flân liydâfi* 'annî). It is, however, permissible for each party to defend itself. For good reason either party may change or dismiss its lawyers during the proceedings. The reasons for appointing a lawyer are:—

1. Inability to defend oneself owing to lack of knowledge of the law.
2. In case either party is a woman.
3. When the plaintiff and the defendant are of unequal social rank. The nobler one considers it a dishonour to face his inferior opponent.
4. When one or both parties are still in a very excited state.

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<sup>1</sup> Generally there is only one *maḍâfah* in each village, but when a village is divided into two different factions, each establishes a *maḍâfah* of its own. In case the two parties appear before the judge in a village other than their own, the inhabitants will divide at once into two sections, each providing for the entertainment of a party. The *maḍâfah* is sometimes called by other names, such as *sâhah*, *qnâq* (of Turkish origin), and *jâmî*. It is generally a large room with an Oriental oven (*ujâq*) built in the wall farthest from the door. In many *maḍâfahs* there is a hollow in the centre of the room (*nuḡrah*) in which fire is made. The coffee kettle is always to be seen on the fire, so that the guests are supplied with coffee. Each person in the village is expected to bring something with him to the *maḍâfah* when he comes for the entertainment of the guests. In front there is an open space where the horses are tied; in summer the visitors sit here in the shade. Cf. p. 38, n. 2.

5. When the crime is a base one, so that the accused person is ashamed to appear before the assembly.

6. When a party is composed of a number of persons, so that it is difficult to hear them all.

No special fee is given to the lawyers. The lawyer on each side endeavours to win the case for his client, and thereby to elevate the standard of his party. A winning lawyer is often given a new silk garment, *hidm*. There are many lawyers in all parts. They win fame through their skill in oratory, their poetic speech, and their noble phraseology. Judges are also chosen from the ranks of those who have won renown as lawyers.

When the case is opened, the judge sits by himself and the contesting parties appear before him. Each spreads part of his mantle (*'abâyeḥ*) on the ground, and says: "Here is part of my mantle for the truth" (*hai farj 'abâtî lilḥaqq*), that is, I am open to conviction. The judge then demands the *riṣqah*, and asks for two sets of guarantors, one to guarantee payment of all expenses by the guilty party (the *kufala daḡʿ*), the other to prevent the accused party from further transgression against the other (the *kufala man'*). The guarantors must be equal or superior in rank to those whom they guarantee.

To the first guarantor the judge says: *Btikfal ḥada el-qâ'id 'ala ed-diyeh u-bint ed-diyeh?* (Will you guarantee that the man who sits here will pay the blood-money and what follows it?). By the expression *bint ed-diyeh* is meant the *jâḥah* and the *wajâḥah*. If the judge and the parties come to an agreement on the matter, the judge then asks for a man to stand security for the good behaviour of the accused. When the guarantor is found, the judge asks him: *Btikfal 'ala man' ḥadôl u-tewqifhum 'ala el-ḥaqq w-ibn el-ḥaqq?* (Will you guarantee to prevent these people from further transgression, and guarantee that they abide by the truth and its consequences?). If the reply is in the affirmative, the trial commences.

During the case no talking, smoking, or coffee drinking is permitted.<sup>1</sup> All follow the course of the process silently and attentively. The accuser has the right to begin. He says: „Good evening, O judge, what do you say regarding my cousin, (or) my little brother (an illustrative case), of good blood and gentle descent, of spotless

<sup>1</sup> This stillness shows the solemnity of the occasion, for it is only during prayers in a mosque or *weli* and Koran reading that such stillness is observed.

character, generous, always victorious over his enemies, reliever of distress, sword-brandisher, welcomer of guests, protector of his female relatives, helper of the poor in his family, thirty years of age, not yet satisfied with the joys of life, who has not enjoyed his youth (to the full)? Behold, I demand justice from him, and sprinkle my blood on those present" (*Allâh ymassik bil-ḥeir yâ qâḍi, w-eiš tqûl fi-bn 'ammî au-ḥweiyî*<sup>1</sup> *ṭayyib el-aṣl*<sup>2</sup> *jeyyid el-ʿar* *tâhir ed-deil*,<sup>3</sup> *ta* "âm ez-zâd, qâhir el-a'da, mʿurrij el-krûb, nâqil es-seif, mḥayy ed-deif, sâtir er-ralm,<sup>4</sup> jâbir el-aʿzm,<sup>5</sup> ibn talâtîn mâ šibi' min zamânuh walâ firîḥ b-šibâh, fajâh flân ibn flân; u-tarann, el-barûd mâ 'alḥ fâḥil, a'tâh en-nâr fa-ṭayyaluḥ u-ardâh; w-ana tâlib ḥaqqî minnuh u-nâtir dammî<sup>6</sup> 'alḥâḍrîn).

The accused party then steps forward and says (again an illustrative case): "Good evening, O judge, what do you say when blood is boiling, minds are bewildered, and the one who does not assist his cousin in battle does not acknowledge his father. I was dazed and deprived of my senses and struck; God knows I intended no wickedness, and did not purpose evil, but now what has happened has happened, and justice is yours to dispense" (*Allâh ymassik bil-ḥeir yâ qâḍi, w-eiš tqûl w-ed-damm fâyir w-el-aql ḥâyir w-illi mâ byunṣur ibn 'ammuh fil-kôneh mâ byi'rîf abâh*,<sup>7</sup> *u-ḍâ* *ṣawâbî u-târ ḥsâbî u-ḍarabt u-yiṣhad Allâh innî mâ arîd es-šein walâ bnîyetî es-sau u-šâr mâ šâr w-il-ḥukm 'indak*).<sup>8</sup> "What do you say when there is neither truce nor trial between us, and he is the murderer of my cousin. When he met me, he did not turn aside, and the one who does not take revenge does not come of a good family (lit. has a bad uncle). I took it and took vengeance, blood for blood. My cousin is not base, and if he is not his superior he is not his inferior, and the one who comes to the place of justice will not be defeated" (*eiš tqûl u-mâ beinî u-bein flân*

<sup>1</sup> *Ḥweiyî* is the caritative diminutive of mod. Palestinian *ḥeiyî*, "my brother."

<sup>2</sup> That is, the family is highly respected, and no one normally ventures to attack its members.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. "clean of skirt (lower part of garment, coat-tails)" i. e. he was not killed for a mean action.

<sup>4</sup> Lit. "uterus, womb," but here "female relation."

<sup>5</sup> *Aʿzm*, lit. "bone," means here "poor member(s) of the family."

<sup>6</sup> The blood of my cousin is really my own blood.

<sup>7</sup> That is, he is a bastard.

<sup>8</sup> This is a preamble illustrating a case where the killing is admitted.

*lâ-‘atwah walâ qa‘wah,*<sup>1</sup> *u-hû qâtil ibn ‘ammî u-şâdafnî u-mâ tnahha w-illî mâ byâhūd et-târ bikûn radî el-hâl,*<sup>2</sup> *fa-aḥadtuh w-istaddeituh, damm b-damm, w-ibn ‘ammî mâ hû ridî, in mâ kân heir minnuh mâ hû dûnuh, w-illî yişal maḥall el ‘adl tarâh mâ yingîlib).* “What do you say—praise God, O judge—of a man who is healthy and wealthy, when ignorance is treacherous and youth is hasty, and a voice summons. I heard it, and hastened to respond to it. I helped my cousins—and I am but flesh and blood—and he who betrays his people will not protect his women. I smote with zest. By God, I have not slain his cousin, nor do I know his adversary, but God is my advocate” (*w-eiṣ tqûl — uḏkur Allâh yâ qâḏi — fi-l-‘ifi ed-difi,*<sup>3</sup> *w-ej-jahl bawwâq w-eş-şiba mizrâq,*<sup>4</sup> *w-eş-şôt jammâ’ w-ana smî’tuh fa-turt leh u-sa’adet ûlâd ‘ammî w-ana min lahm u-damm, w-illî byinkil qômoh mâ yustur rahmuh u-farrâht keffî*<sup>5</sup> *w-ayy-Allâh mâ thazzamt b-ibn ‘ammuh, walâ adrî lahu ḥaşîm w-Allâh el-wakîl).*

The foregoing is a brief outline of a typical plea in a case of blood, abbreviated to avoid tedious repetitions. In a case of rape, or violation of female honour, typical pleas are the following: „What do you say of him who is made of water and dust, and exposed to error, whom Satan has tempted as he tempted our father Adam. Every human being has a sexual appetite; love leads him and youth drives him to flirt with women. I have flirted with so and so—may God protect her—I did not intend evil, but only love and play (*eiṣ tqûl fi-illî min maye u-tîn, u-mu‘arrad lil-ḥaṭa w-aḡrâh eṣ-şitân kama aḡrâ abûna Âdam u-kull insân fîh şahveh ysûquh el-ḥubb, u-yidfâ’uh eṣ-şabâb ila-muḥâdatât en-nisa u-naġêt flâneh w-Allâh yustur ‘aleiha w-ana ma barîd minha es-sû lâkin ḥubbeh u-lu’beh).*<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> That is, nothing has taken place to compensate for my cousin’s death.

<sup>2</sup> In illustration of this conception some proverbs may be cited: “Two-thirds of a boy’s character) come from his uncle” (*tultên el-weled la-hâluh*); “Only the man who has a bad uncle will leave blood-revenge unrequired” (*mâ butruk et-târ illâ radî el-hâl*). *Hâl* means “maternal uncle.” [A relic from the days of exogamy? W. F. A.]

<sup>3</sup> Lit. “healthy and warm”; meaning a healthy and wealthy man.

<sup>4</sup> Lit. “youth is a spear.”

<sup>5</sup> Lit. “I caused my palm to rejoice,” i. e. I lost control over my hand.

<sup>6</sup> This is an illustrative case where guilt is acknowledged. Where it is denied a form like the following may be used:—“Praise (lit. pray for) the Prophet, O judge, what do you say of a man who sleeps in the night and keeps his skirts clean. (Though) I have no knowledge and am ignorant, they impute this calamity

There are many variations of the introductory defense in cases of murder and rape, specimens of which have been given. New variations are also introduced by the skill of lawyers. If we analyze the types of defence we shall find the following categories:—

- a. Full confession and apology.
- b. Admission of the act, with the explanation that the crime was the result of a feud (as in the example given above).
- c. Confession; but the crime was accidental, and unpremeditated.
- d. Denial of personal guilt. The guilt was collective. If there was a struggle, in which many took part, the accused person denies his guilt, and imputes it to one or several of the party, without being able to designate the guilty one or ones exactly.
- e. Absolute denial with proofs.

The judge listens to the case as presented by both sides, and then demands the evidence of the accusing party and the defence of the accused. But evidence is very hard to find in cases of murder and rape, whence the saying, "In the case of a murder there are no witnesses, and there is no securing proof of a rape" (*lâ damm 'alêh šhûd walâ 'êb 'alêh wrûd*). The following types of evidence bear great weight in a case:—

1. The testimony of the victim before his death that a certain person is guilty.
2. The confession of the murderer to his guilt in the presence of people who are free from hatred or covetousness with regard to the defendant (*hâlîn el-ğêz w-et-ṭama'*).<sup>1</sup>
3. When the guilty person is caught in the act.
4. Signs of the crime on the person accused.

In every case the witnesses must be honourable men.

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to me. And from the day (from the moment) I reached your sitting room I arrived at the place of justice. You see that I cannot be suspected upon the words of a malicious person (lit. evil-eyed), son of a wanderer." The Ar. is: *šallî 'a-n-nebi, yâ qâdî, w-eš tqûl fi-n-nâyim lèluh u-hâfiž ðeiluḥ, lâ bi-lam walâ bidrî u-birmû 'aleih b-hal-balîyeh, u-min yôm ilḥiq maq'adak ušilt maḥall el-inšâf tarânî mâ anthim 'ala kalâm šâyih bin râyih*.

<sup>1</sup> The common peasant and the *šakkâr* (the man who only cultivates a small piece of ground), *şayyâf* (gleaner after the reapers), etc. have no right to act as witnesses. This rule is said to have been made by Ibn is-Smeir of el-Ḥiršân (Şuhûr). It is an old rule that the *nâšif el-jild* (beardless man) and the *maqû' el-wild* (man who begets no children) have no right to testify.

If the accusations cannot be attested by competent witnesses, and proven to be absolutely true, the judge asks the defendant to give "one-ninth, an oath, and five" (*et-tis' u-yamîn u-ḥamseh*). The *tis'* (= *tusu'*) stands for one-ninth of the blood-money, or 3670 piastres, a sum which is paid at once. The *ḥamseh* refers to the oath, which is to be sworn by the defendant and one of his relations, while three others of his kindred second the oath, by swearing good faith. The person who swears with the accused, *jeyyid el-amâneh*, is appointed by the accuser, and is always the most honourable and distinguished of the family of the accused. The three others are called the *muzakkîn*, from *zakkâ*, "to justify."

The four persons who swear with the accused go to a well-known saint (*weli*) or prophet (*nebi*) to make the oath.<sup>1</sup> The judge either goes with them himself, or sends someone else to act as his representative. They take off their shoes, and enter reverently. The accused crouches (*yuqarḥis*) in the niche (*mihṛâb*), stretches forth his hand, and swears. The *jeyyid el-amâneh*, who is regarded as the most important of all, comes next. The three others follow to sanction the oath of the two. If one is absent, a rifle, held by one of the *muzakkîn*, takes his place. The oath, which must not be interrupted, runs as follows: "By the great God (repeated thrice), the creator of night and day, the only One, the victorious, who deprives children of their fathers and makes women widows, who vanquishes kings, who subdues oppressors, I have not acted, nor killed, nor seen, nor heard, nor known, nor accomplished evil, nor helped to do it" (*W-allâhi-l-'azîm*[thrice repeated], *ḥâlîq el-leil u-en-nhâr, el-wâhid, el-qahhâr, myattim el-atḥâl, mrammîl en-niswân, qâhir el-mlûk, u-mbîd ez-zâlimîn, innî mâ fa'alt, walâ qatalt, walâ arêt, walâ smî't, walâ drît, walâ qaddamt asîyeh walâ mêmāsîyeh*). The three *muzakkîn* swear: "We bear witness by God that their oath and all that they have said is true" (*niṣhad billâh inn yamînukum u-kull mâ qâlûh ṣudq*).

When the *jeyyid el-amâneh* swears, the judge sentences the defendant to only one-ninth of the blood-money (see above), or to a thousand piastres on his entrance (*daḥleh*) and another thousand on his exit (*harjeh*), or again a white camel on his entrance, and another on

<sup>1</sup> Those who swear must be ritually clean before entering the sanctuary. Generally a Friday is appointed for swearing, to make the oath more solemn.

going out.<sup>1</sup> These sums are paid when the accused person enters the house of the accuser for reconciliation, and when he leaves it.<sup>2</sup>

If the *jeyyid el-amâneh* refuses to swear, he is asked to explain the reason for his refusal, and the accused is condemned to pay the full sum of the blood-money if he has accepted the nomination of *jeyyid el-amâneh*. The defendant has the right to reject a man named by the accusers as *jeyyid el-amâneh*. This is done when they are on unfriendly terms, and the former must declare openly: "Praise the name of God, O people, for between me and so-and-so there is bad blood" (*udkurû Allâh yâ nâs u-beinî u-bein flân šall u-mall*).

The three *muzakkîn* will only decline to attest the oath of the others when no other members of their tribe are found to take this responsibility upon their shoulders. Generally none but the powerful have the right to take an oath. After the oath the accused pays one-ninth of the blood-money, and is declared free. This ceremony is called *et-tis' u-l-barâ'ah*, "one-ninth and innocence."

In cases of theft and litigation arising from business transactions witnesses are also accepted after swearing by the Koran, a *weli* or a prophet.

If a person is killed and several are suspected, the judge resorts to the ordeal by fire, *nâr et-tajribeh* (fire of trial), *nâr el-barâ'ah* (fire of innocence) or *baš'ah*. A piece of iron, or a coffee-roaster (*maḥmāseh*) is heated until it becomes red-hot, whereupon the suspects, one after the other, come forward to lick it with their tongues. This barbarous practise is under the direction of the sheikhs of the dervish order er-Rifa'iyeh, who are called *mubašši'in*. The accused person says: *ana bikâwnak 'al-baš'ah, maḥmûl, mazmûm, w-el-bašâ'ah w-el-ğrâmeh 'aleiyi* = "I challenge you to the *baš'ah*; you will be carried, all your expenses will be paid, and I will pay the fee (*bašâ'ah*) for the ordeal, as well as the other fees." Everyone who undergoes the ordeal must pay a fee of 500 piastres for the privilege; this fee is the *bašâ'ah*. Witnesses accompany the accuser and the accused. The latter licks the hot iron. He who shrinks back, cries, or shows signs of pain is considered as the culprit. Originally this custom may have been introduced to frighten people, and force them to

<sup>1</sup> This is done when the guilty family is known to be very poor.

<sup>2</sup> Other expressions for *dahleh* and *harjeh* are *têhah* and *ta'ah*.

speak the truth. Many a man who feels his guilt tries secretly to find someone to arrange the matter with the accuser before being brought to the ordeal by fire.<sup>1</sup>

Another test of the ordeal type, though far more humane, is the *bal'ah*, "swallowing," which consists in swallowing quickly and without hesitation either something hard, like dry bread, or something nauseating or disagreeable, like medicine. The one that hesitates, complains, or vomits, is accused, even though he may have a very weak stomach. Those who perform the act quickly and with nonchalance are declared innocent, even though they may be the real offenders. The sheikh frightens the accused by repeating some magic words and prayers over the articles to be swallowed, pretending that they thus attain a special potency, which has a different effect upon the guilty and the innocent.<sup>2</sup> There is no appeal from the result of the ordeal.

After the investigation has been completed, the judge inquires of the parties whether they have any additional statement to make, or any objection to present. If not, he closes the case, and pronounces judgment, saying: "I have decided \* \* \* and order the guarantors to execute the decision." The judge may postpone the decision until an oath has been administered. This may happen in the following cases: (a) to secure new evidence; (b) to give additional weight to the pleas of one party; (c) to allow time for a more careful study of the case, and its comparison with other cases of a similar nature; (d) when there is prospect of an amicable settlement. The judgment is generally pronounced at the close of the first session, as prolongation of the case may lead people to suspect or doubt the conscientiousness of the judge.

The Bedouin criminal code does not comprise articles and addenda to them, but is made up of laws governing specific cases and the penalties in each case. The principal penalties imposed by the judge belong to the following categories:—

<sup>1</sup> The most important places for the ordeal are el-'Ola, Ḥan Yûnis (in the territory of the 'Ayyâdeh tribe), Šeiḥ Mabruk (among the 'Azâzmeh) and among the Beni 'Aṭiyeh (Transjordanian).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the ordeal by means of a draught of holy water (water of jealousy), Num. 5 11-31, which becomes bitter and causes disease in the body of the unchaste woman, but does not affect the chaste one at all (W. F. A.).



1. Capital punishment (*el-qisâs*).
2. Blood-money (*ed-diyyeh*).
3. Banishment (*el-jeli*).
4. Payment of an indemnity (*el-'ein bil-'ein*).

Capital punishment is only imposed in the following cases:—

- a. When a man violates a married woman, whose husband is still alive.
- b. When a man murders a notable.

In the first case, up to forty years ago, the woman and her paramour were both put to death. Now only the adulterous female is executed, while the man is allowed to buy himself off, either by payment of a sum of money, or by giving two girls, as described below. In the second case the murderer was formerly always put to death. Now-a-days there is greater clemency, and people are satisfied with the payment of one or more blood-prices.

Banishment is ordered for a fixed term of months or years when a person is accused of rape or murder. Meanwhile the impression produced by the crime is partially effaced. If the two parties have not come to terms the culprit is liable to be killed by one of the plaintiff's party (*ġarîm*), an act which goes unpunished.

The payment of an indemnity is only prescribed by the judge in the case of damage or theft of movable property other than coins—including the kinds of property known as *'urûd*.<sup>1</sup> For example, if a sheep is stolen, a sheep must be paid as indemnity; a camel is given for a camel, an ass for an ass, and so on. The payment of the price of an article is also permissible especially in cases where the original object cannot be returned, as when a tent is burned, or a pile of wheat is destroyed. When the stolen property cannot be found itself, it is replaced by similar property, or the estimated price of it is paid to the owner. Blooded horses (*aşâyîl*)<sup>2</sup> are a case where such an estimate is difficult. As pedigreed horses are virtually never sold without *fawâyîd*,<sup>3</sup> the owner insists on receiving a horse equal

<sup>1</sup> Pl. of *'arad* (from *'arad*, "to offer"), i. e. everything offered for sale except animals, money, grains and liquids, according to § 131 of the Turkish civil code, *el-Majalleh*. The *fellâh* now includes under this head everything but money.

<sup>2</sup> Plur. of *aşîl*.

<sup>3</sup> Plur. of *fâyîdah*, "interest on capital." Whenever a well-bred mare is sold a contract is made by which two of her female colts are to be given to her first owner. These colts are called *fawâyîd*, or *matânî*.

in value to the one he lost, or its price with the addition of the *fāyīḍlah*. The penalty for the theft of a pedigreed mare is high, and the thief is under obligation to give compensation for its colts as well.

The *diyyeh*, or blood-price, is the most important penalty. It is fixed at 33000 piastres, a sum which is supposed to represent a hundred she-camels. The payment of a hundred camels for a murdered man is a very ancient pre-Islamic custom, the practise of which has continued to the present time. In the case of the Prophet's father, a hundred she-camels were paid as ransom. At present some ask for more than a hundred camels, or 33000 piastres, on the ground that they are members of a stronger tribe or a nobler party. This again is a very old custom: kings and emirs were ransomed with a sum equal to four times the ordinary *diyyeh*.

Property plundered within a period of three and a-third days after a murder, by the injured party, is not subject to return, and is not deducted from the *diyyeh*. Property pillaged after the expiration of this period is either restored in kind, or its price estimated by an impartial arbitrator, to be appointed by the joint action of both parties, and the sum fixed is remitted to the owners of the property.

A *diyyeh* must be paid under all circumstances except when the murder was accidental, in which case only half a *diyyeh* is paid. It makes no difference how the crime was committed, or why, whether in attack or defence, in a just cause or without right. The same amount of blood-money is reckoned for a man, a boy, a slave born in the house,<sup>1</sup> a freed slave,<sup>2</sup> or a free negro.<sup>3</sup> The payment for a slave who has been purchased by the present owner is half the full *diyyeh*. A freedman and a slave born in the house pay their share of the blood-money, but do not receive any compensation—i. e., do not share in a *diyyeh* received by their party. The full *diyyeh* is paid for a murdered woman among the Bedouin, and half to a full one among the peasantry. A pregnant woman is reckoned at from a full *diyyeh* to a *diyyeh* and a half, since her child is taken into consideration. The latter is not considered as a fully living being yet, being still

<sup>1</sup> 'Abd *mwallad*, a slave born from a slave father in the house of his master.

<sup>2</sup> 'Abd *ma'tûg*.

<sup>3</sup> 'Abd here means "negro."

exposed to serious perils (*taht el-jaraq w-eš-šaraq*).<sup>1</sup> If a woman kills a man, her parents, and not her husband are responsible for the blood-money. If she is killed her husband shares with the members of her family in the *diyyeh*. This distinction is illustrated by the proverb: "The good of a woman belongs to her husband, and her evil to her family (*heir el-marrah lajôzha u-šarrha 'al-ahilha*). In case a female is killed by a ravisher, from one and a half to four times the normal *diyyeh* is paid, because of the combination of disgraceful crimes. Miscarriage of a foetus less than seven months old is atoned for with half a *diyyeh*. Often a reconciliation with payment of fifty pounds or two camels takes place. One of these camels is given at the commencement of the reconciliation in the house of the accuser (*dahleh*—see above), and the other is delivered after the agreement (*harjeh*). When abortion is caused after the seventh month, a *diyyeh* is counted in case the child is a male, and half a *diyyeh* if it is a female. When the murderer is a young boy, those that are of age in his family<sup>2</sup> are responsible for the blood-money.

In a general fight, when the murderer is unknown, the whole tribe or family must pay the *diyyeh*. Such blood-money is termed *diyyeh maqlûleh*. If a man is found dead outside a village, the whole village is responsible, and his relatives may even share in making up the amount. When a man is killed in the house of another, the murderer must give the owner of the house a white camel and a black slave. The murderer cannot bring these things himself, but they are taken under the principle of *el-jâhah*. This gift is thought to restore the honour of the man in whose house the shameful deed was committed.

The following important types of murder may be distinguished:—

1. *Qatl ifrāk*, when the victim dies at once, or within a few hours.
2. *Qatl dağmeh*, a murder at dusk or in the night.
3. *Qat' intîyeh*, the murder of an unmarried youth, thus precluding the possibility of his having offspring, and effacing his name.
4. *Nazlet el-'arîl*, murder of a person who is on the point of raping a woman. In such a case no *diyyeh* is paid.

<sup>1</sup> Lit. "under (the danger of) drowning and suffocation (in the womb)."

<sup>2</sup> On the father's side. A *ḥadîṭ* says, *ed-diyeh 'ala-l-âqilah* (relations on the paternal side).

When the murderer is known, he pays one-third of the *diyyeh*, and his relatives pay the other two-thirds. The heir of the victim receives one-third of the *diyyeh* and his relatives two-thirds. The two-thirds is divided among the males of the family, both young and old. An Arabic proverb says: "He who shares in paying the *diyyeh* takes from it" (*ḥaṭṭāt fid-dīyeh aḥyād fīha*). If a person takes part in a fight, though not belonging to either of the fighting families, he must share in the payment of the *diyyeh* if he assisted the side of the murderer, but does not share in the *diyyeh* received if he was on the other side. This principle is well expressed in the following proverb: "One who enjoys (using) his hand in striking must enjoy (using) it in paying" (*man furrah kaffuh fid-darb farrahla fid-daf*). In a big struggle between two parties, in which several are slain on both sides, the excess of slain on one side or the other is not considered at the time of reconciliation, since it is said: "Burying (lit. grave-digging) and oblivion (lit. striking back) for all that is unknown and known" (*ḥafār u-dafār 'ala mā jāba u-bān*), i. e. "Let us forget all that has happened." The same is true of the spoils in such a case, for neither the judges nor anyone else can decide justly in so difficult a question.

If the murderer dies before the reconciliation, the blood-money is paid by his family and relatives.

The loss of any vital organ or limb of the body, such as an eye, an arm, or a leg, is reckoned at a quarter to half the *diyyeh*. For injury to the nose half a *diyyeh* is paid. When two organs, two eyes, a leg and an eye, etc., are injured half to a full *diyyeh* is given. For a wound in the face, leaving an ugly scar, a quarter of the *diyyeh*, and a *jāhah* and *wajāhah* to boot are paid—*hwāyet el-wijh el-mšahhar*, "The blow on the face which is visible." In the case of a slight wound, a sheep is offered as *wajāhah*, together with full compensation for the loss and expenses or damages incurred.<sup>1</sup>

The penalty in the case of rape is quite different. If a man meddles with a girl, but does not complete the act, he is required to swear that he had no bad intentions in touching her, and to

<sup>1</sup> For the loss of each first incisor tooth 500 piastres are required as indemnity; for each second incisor 250; for the canine on each side 125; for each of the two bicuspid, as well as for each of the two first molars 62½; for the last molar 31¼.

prove the truth of his oath by the testimony of five credible witnesses, know as the *dîn u-ḥamseh*, "religious (ceremony) and five." Moreover, when he enters her father's house he must pay fifty pounds (*daḥleh*), and another fifty pounds must be given on leaving it after the reconciliation (*ḥarjeh*). If the girl belonged to a low social rank a smaller amount is paid. If the girl is raped, the man is sentenced to pay double the amount of her dowry, and she will be given to him as a wife. If, however, she is of a better family, he must give two girls as an admission of his wrong-doing and an application for forgiveness. A man who abducts a girl with her consent is sentenced by the judge to give two girls and two dowries, and to bring a witness to testify that he had not touched her except after a legal agreement. Such a witness is called *mubrî*.<sup>1</sup> If he fails to provide the witness, he must pay five she-camels in addition to the payment already mentioned. A married woman who commits adultery is executed, and the offender pays one dowry to her husband and another to her people, or two girls. If a girl offers herself to a man, the latter must bring a witness to testify that he did not touch her until officially married, and must pay her dowry (i. e. her bridal price). This is the rule in Transjordan. In Palestine, she is slain by her relatives. The violation of a widow is generally punished in proportion to the importance of her family. The ravisher must pay her dowry and marry her.

If a man assaults a woman in broad daylight or near human habitations, and she calls for help,<sup>2</sup> the life of the offender is at the mercy of her relatives for three and a third days. If he escapes death, the following punishments are customary (the practise is now much less strict in this respect): his arm is cut off; he must surrender all the weapons and the horse which he had at the time to her relatives. Besides, he must place a row of camels or sheep from the place where the rape was committed or attempted to the place where the girl's cry was heard. Others then act as arbitrators, and the number of animals is gradually reduced until it comes within his

<sup>1</sup> The official ceremony of marriage must be performed in the presence of the *qâdi 'âlim* or the *ḥatîb*, but in practise it is sufficient that the man ask the girl in the presence of a third person, who must be a noble, to accept him as her husband.

<sup>2</sup> Such a woman is known as *ṣâyîḥat ed-duḥa*, "she who cries in the morning."

capacity for payment. If the offender can furnish proof that he did not touch her until after a legal union, he is allowed to marry her, and it is said of the girl, "Her garments are torn, and her pearls scattered" (*tôbha qadîd u-ḥarazha badîd*). Such a man has no right to ask for a truce (*aṭwah*), but is known as a *mšammas*, "one who stays in the sun," and remains in this condition until after the process is over.

It is well-known that Arab girls are the property of the whole family. A girl is therefore not her father's possession alone, nor her brother's. If anyone asks for her hand, the father will call all his relatives, and the marriage of the girl will depend upon their consent or dissent. The cousin, son of her father's brother (*ibn el-'amm*) has the first right to a girl, as he is the nearest of kin outside the prohibited limits. Next comes the son of her mother's brother (*ibn el-ḥâl*), followed by the others in the family and the brother of her sister's husband, each having a right of priority in proportion to the degree of his relationship.

A cousin always pays half of a normal dowry. The proverb runs: "A cousin may take (the bride) down<sup>1</sup> from her mare" (*ibn el-'amm bitayyih 'an el-faras*) and: "Follow the circular (i. e., the normal) path, even if it is long, and marry your cousin even if she is a miserable (match)" = *dûr ed-dôrah u-lû dârat u-ḥud bint el-'amm u-lu bârat*. The dowry (bridal price) is between 2000 and 4000 piastres, normally. The girl receives only a fourth of her dowry, and is deprived of a share in the legacy of her father and her husband. She knows the unfairness of this treatment, but dares not demand greater rights because of the immutability of custom. It is not clear why she is treated so unjustly in this point, and at the same time respected so highly otherwise.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> If a girl is given to a stranger, her cousin, if he chooses, has the right, even at the last moment, to take her. He then takes her down from her horse in the wedding procession, and takes her home.

<sup>2</sup> Among the Bedouin, woman shares man's struggles, accompanies the warriors, and even goes into battle with them. Whoever strikes a woman, even if he has been wounded by her, is despised. If captured, women are not retained as prisoners, but are sent home with due protection and honour. In their *ǧazu* (razzia) the Bedouin take the captured women of the enemy tribe with them, not to enslave them but to send them back to their people with due respect at the first opportunity. The song of the women during battle has a stimulating effect upon

There is no provision among Arab judges for dealing with sodomy, since the very mention of the practise is avoided. In Arabic there is no native term for the practise, which is designated by the term *lawât*, derived from the name of Lot, Abraham's brother.<sup>1</sup>

Some of the modes of punishment in the case of theft have already been mentioned, but a few others remain to be described. When cattle have been stolen, the judge sometimes orders the payment of a head of cattle for every step from the spot where the theft took place to the first halt afterwards. But, as we have seen, it is customary to reduce such exaggerated penalties by a gradual process of reduction, "for the sake of those present." Punishment for theft varies according to the relations between the two tribes involved, viz:

1. Thefts from an enemy tribe, *radd naqa* (declaration of war).

Objects stolen cannot be recovered, according to the proverb, *et-tâihah râihah*, "what strays is lost."

2. In the case of friendly tribes or families, the principle '*en bi-'ên*,'<sup>2</sup> "an eye for an eye," holds, as already described.<sup>3</sup> This is also called *bôqah*, lit. "calamity."

3. When the parties are neutral, stolen objects are returned fourfold, but an agreement must first be made between the parties, which may modify the general principle. When the understanding in regard to the fourfold payment (*tarbî'*) is

the men. They exhort the latter not to fear the enemy fire, and reproach them for cowardice, in order to sting them and compel them to stand firm. It is said that when the men of a certain tribe had a falling out, and began fighting, the women appeared, led by one of their noblest ladies, declaiming fiery words:—Shame upon you, O men! A dog barks at the door of his house, donkeys play on their dunghills and bray at their cribs, and fear panthers and wolves. And the man who does not appear small in the eyes of (does not humble himself to) his cousin does not seem great to the enemy. May death carry you off, may hatred scatter you, may the enemy capture you; see, your foes will seize us to-morrow. The Arabic runs: *Hasa 'aleikum, yâ rajâ'îl* (Fellâh pejorative diminutive of *rjâl*, "man") *el-kelb bi'awwî bâb dâruh, w-ij-jhâs bithâris 'a-mzâbilha u-bitnahhiq 'a-mdâwidha u-bitbardîn 'ind en-nmûrah w-id-diyâb w-illi mâ yisjar lâbn 'ammuh mâ yikbar 'ind 'adûwuh. Tahaddâkum el-bein, w-it'addâkum en-naya w-ithattafkum el-qôm, har'î idâkum yahudûna jadâkum*. After this tirade the men were ashamed, and stopped fighting. Later, they were reconciled.

<sup>1</sup> The death sentence would be enforced in such a case.

<sup>2</sup> '*Ein* means not only "eye," but also, as in '*ein es-šey*, "the very same thing."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ex. 21 24, Lev. 24 20, Deut. 19 21, etc. (T. C.).

reached, the following is said: *es-sirqah bënna mrabbā'ah tā-yinšaf el-bahr u-yinbit 'al-kaff' šar; šātna b-arba'ah u-ḥalālma<sup>1</sup> tarbī' u-kull mā rāḥ bënna mrabbā' = The theft between us is (compensated for) fourfold until the sea dries and hair grows in the palm of the hand. Our goats shall be (reckoned) fourfold, and our cattle fourfold, and all that has gone (i. e. been stolen) between us fourfold."*

The *hatsah* or *hajsah*,<sup>2</sup> entrance into an enclosure by night to steal, is punished by a fine of 500 piastres. 500 more must be paid at the reconciliation, called *šadrah*, "leaving (the enclosure)."

After pronouncing a decision of any kind, the judge says: "This is my judgement; if anyone is not satisfied let him appeal the case to other judges or take the advice of the Beni 'Oqbah."<sup>3</sup> The judge is exposed to the danger of criticism by those present who hear his decision and by other judges, so his honour and reputation are at stake. One mistake might lead not only to his own disgrace and dismissal, but also to loss of confidence in all the members of his family.

If both parties accept the decision pronounced by the judge, they proceed to fix the time and conditions of the execution of the judgement. If one of the parties considers himself to have been treated unjustly, he asks for a copy of the decision signed by the judge, and appeals to other judges. If the judge or judges to whom the appeal is made approve of it, execution must follow. If not, the objection is written on the copy of the decision, which is returned to the judge who gave it. The latter must interview the protesting judge and try to convince him. If he succeeds his judgement is confirmed. If not, the first judge must pay the loser in the suit the difference between his own sentence and that of the second judge. If the verdict was absolutely wrong, the judge is debarred from further practice and greatly despised. When the first judge and his opponent refuse to yield to one another, appeal is made to other judges, who are usually members of the Tayāhah, in the Beersheba district, the Ūlād 'Amr, in the Hebron district, the Masā'id, or the Fa'ūr, both in the Gôr (Jordan Valley) below Nāblus.

<sup>1</sup> The Bedouin understand by *ḥalāl* "sheep, goats, camels, horses, asses," etc.

<sup>2</sup> Fellāḥ *ḥatasa* is equivalent to classical *hatlasa* (cf. *Muḥit el-Muḥit*, II, 2182).

<sup>3</sup> The highest court of appeal, especially resorted to in cases of honour.



The first judgement and the protest against it are both submitted to these judges, and the losing party finally yields to the other (*fālah*). The winning party makes its verdict, confirmed or approved, known throughout the country. The loser (*maflūj*) must apologize, and present sheep, etc., to the judge whose decision prevails. This act is called *lafyet el-maflūj*. Both parties have the right of appeal.

In a murder case, when the final verdict is announced, a time is fixed and the people of the victim are notified. The notables of the district meet in the village or camp of the murderer. If both parties come from the same village, they meet in the quarter of the guilty one. The latter take with them the *wajāhah*, composed of rice, sheep, butter, flour, coffee, tobacco, sugar, barley, and even wood.<sup>1</sup> The *wajāhah* must go a little way before the *jāhah*, or notables, who escort the guilty person to the abode of the injured party. When the procession nears its destination, the turbans or headdresses of the criminal and his family are removed and placed around their necks, to signify humiliation and submission. The criminal hides behind the notables while entering the house of the injured party, who remain seated. The latter then arise and arrange the headdresses of the criminal and his family, after which these serve coffee to all. In the case of the murder of an obscure person, the father or other members of the immediate family of the victim are exempted from preparing the meal for the peace delegation, but it is left to the other members of the family and the more distant relatives.<sup>2</sup> In a case affecting female honour, the injured family may prepare the food. Nothing is said about the purpose of the gathering until the food is ready. Then the hosts press them to eat, while the guests refuse. While this is going on, the judge, who occupies the highest social rank among those present, says to the people of the house: "We will not eat at all unless you promise to give us what we have come for." A long argument is carried on until the promise is

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<sup>1</sup> There is also a small *wajāhah* called *lafyeh*. The guilty party goes to the house of the opponent, taking with him a sheep or two, and after making confession and apology asks for reconciliation. This is the practise only among the common people and when the crime is petty, such as cutting down olive trees and stealing produce, etc.

<sup>2</sup> When the victim belongs to a noble family, his relatives will not prepare the food, but leave it to the murderer's family.

finally made, whereupon all join in the meal. This is a good illustration of the hospitality and generosity of the hosts, who are willing to sacrifice everything in order to please their guests.

When the meal is finished and coffee has been served again, one of the notables rises and says: "We are the flesh and you are the knife" (*eḥna el-laḥm w-entû es-sikkîn*), that is, "We are in your power; you can do with us as you like." The judge takes a long stick and a piece of white muslin, which he ties to the top of the stick, making thirty-three knots, indicating that the blood-money is 33000 piastres. It is considered a great honour for a man to tie these knots; he is then spoken of as the man who knots the flag (*bi'qid er-râyeḥ*) after bloodshed and violation of female honour. Then the judge gives the stick to the murderer or ravisher, who stands and holds it up. The judge appeals to the honour, generosity and chivalry of the injured party with the question: How highly do you estimate the honour (lit. face, *wijh*) of God, of the Prophet, of Abraham, of X (giving the name of some notable, who is not necessarily present)?" In other words, the judge asks how much the injured party is willing to deduct from the total, which is beyond the means of the average person. As various names of notables are given, the original sum is reduced according to the generosity of the people concerned, and for every thousand piastres deducted a knot is untied by the judge, who continues until the amount remaining is reasonable. In case the criminal is poor, he is made to pay in instalments, the third part at once, and the other two thirds after six months and a year respectively. Before the guilty person leaves, after the settlement, one of the bystanders rises, and says: *râytak bêda yâ râ'î l-ḡurmeh*, "Your flag is white, O shepherd<sup>1</sup> of the fine."

The system of *jâhah u-wajâhah*, lit. "nobility and honour," i. e. the nobles (who come with the guilty party) and the present (of food brought by the latter), as developed among the Arabs of the desert, is the best possible mode of securing the reduction of the indemnity and the mitigation of punishment. It also demonstrates and encourages the generosity of the injured party.

When the murderer flees from his tribe or village, he cannot return unless or until a well-known person assumes the responsibility

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<sup>1</sup> That is, "owner," according to the usage in modern Arabic.

of bringing him back to the tribe as a criminal and delivering him safe to his people (*qıvarrıdruḥ ḡâlim u-yıṣıddruḥ sâlim*). The procedure is then as follows:—The judge binds the hands of the guilty one together, and escorts him to his foes, either alone, or accompanied by his people. He then addresses the injured party: "Take X, son of Y, in place of Z—the victim"—(*ḥud flân ibn flân 'awad! 'an flân*).<sup>1</sup> The nearest relative of the murdered man rises with a sword in his hand, or a knife, and asks the accused: "Do you have guaranty or security?"—"No"—"May I then kill you?" The culprit answers in the affirmative, whereupon the other cuts off his bonds and forgives him.

If the murderer is accompanied by his relatives, he does not join them, but sits by himself. When the food is served, his guarantor will not partake until assured that part of the *diyyeh* will be remitted. After this is done, the whole party joins in the meal.

The judge himself makes no attempt to reduce or to mitigate the decision he has given. On the contrary, he demands that the guarantors execute it, and the latter are required to see that it is exactly fulfilled. If for some reason or other the injured party refuses to mitigate the severity of the *diyyeh*, the criminal will be compelled by his guarantors to pay the full sum demanded; the latter receive a tenth of the sum they recover from the murderer. The accusers, however, are practically never so severe; they act honourably and yield. Thus peace is made and the bitter hearts of foes are reconciled. After a case of blood or honour is settled, and all the formalities are carried out, the two hostile tribes become friendly again, and make an alliance. The new relation is called *'umûmîyeh*.

Some severe and even intolerable punishments have been mentioned. If the criminal were not punished severely, he would continue to do mischief, and others would follow his example, until the public security would be endangered. Punishments of extreme severity, now modified, were often very useful in a more primitive society.

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<sup>1</sup> This is a very old Arabic (pre-Islamic) custom. See *Tārîḥ* Ibn el-Aṭîr, I. s. v. *ḥarb el-basûs*.

To conclude, we find that most of the civil code has its Bedouin counterpart. If we compare them, we shall find that the latter is in many respects more exacting and more equitable, as for instance in the matter of oaths, witnesses, appeal, dismissal of judges, and the like.

## UN MOT ARYEN DANS LE LIVRE DE JOB

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LE chap. 37 du livre de Job contient la fin des discours d'Élihou. Avant de céder la parole à Jahvé, Élihou décrit certains phénomènes naturels qui marquent spécialement la puissance de Dieu. Le v. 9 commence la description des vents et de leur action. Il forme une strophe avec le v. 10 et cette strophe peut se traduire ainsi:

Du sud arrive l'ouragan  
Et du septentrion le froid:  
Par son souffle Dieu produit la glace  
Et il solidifie l'étendue des eaux.

Les vv. 11-12 sont d'une interprétation plus difficile. Et en particulier le mot ברִי qui ouvre la nouvelle strophe à la suite de la particule אִף a suscité beaucoup de commentaires. Le targum ברירותא et Théodotion ἐκλεκτόν le rattachent à la racine ברר «être pur» et y voient une allusion à la pureté de l'atmosphère. C'est aussi l'opinion d'Aben-Ezra. La Vulgate traduit par *frumentum* et identifie ainsi avec בֵּר «blé», tandis que Symmaque semble avoir lu פִּרִי, ce qui lui permet de rendre par καρπῶ. Parmi les modernes l'opinion qui a prévalu consiste à décomposer ברִי en deux mots: la préposition בִּי et le substantif רִי qu'on fait venir de רוּה «être arrosé, humide». Ainsi Le Hir traduira le 1<sup>er</sup> hémist. du v. 11 par «il charge les nuages de vapeurs», Renan par «il charge la nue de vapeurs humides». Les plus hardis transforment ברִי en בָּרֵר «grêle» (*Duhm, Fried. Delitzsch*) ou en בָּרָק «éclair» (*Hontheim, Budde*). Mais il serait étrange que des mots aussi caractéristiques que ברר ou ברק eussent fait place à l'énigmatique ברִי.

Or, selon nous, c'est un nom de vent qui doit être le sujet de יטריח. En effet, le second hémistiche signifie certainement: «il pourchasse sa nuée lumineuse». Le verbe employé est יטץ qui, dans 38 24, a pour sujet קדים «le vent d'est». Les mots עב יטריח veulent dire «fatigue la nue»<sup>1</sup> et c'est le rôle du vent de fatiguer la nue. Tout le monde connaît Borée, en grec βορέας, qui est le nom du vent du Nord: l'aquilon. Ce qu'on sait moins, c'est que βορέας est un vieux mot aryen qui existe sous la forme *buriaš* chez les Cassites ou Cosséens. Le dieu *Buriaš* était précisément l'équivalent cassite du dieu ouest-sémitique Adad ou Hadad, qui est le dieu du vent, de la pluie, de l'orage.<sup>2</sup> Si nous enlevons les désinences, il reste le radical *buri*, en grec βορε. Tel est le mot que nous retrouvons dans l'hébreu ברי. La vocalisation *berî* n'a pas de quoi nous surprendre. Nous avons ici un phénomène qui n'est pas sans analogie. Le nom de la ville de Sodome était primitivement *sudum*, qui est devenu *usdum* en arabe, mais *sedom*, סְדוֹם, dans la massore. Et précisément on trouve à côté de *buriaš* la forme *ubriaš*. De même que *sudum* a fourni d'un côté *usdum*, de l'autre *sedom*, de même *buriaš* a fourni *ubriaš* et *berî* (après la chute de la désinence). Le v. 11 se traduira donc:

L'aquilon aussi fatigue la nue,  
Il pourchasse sa nuée lumineuse.<sup>3</sup>

Cette explication a le grand avantage de donner la clef du v. 12, mal partagé dans la ponctuation massorétique. Les exégètes sont d'accord pour placer l'*athnah* avant לפעלם, ce qui donne un vers complet:

Pour qu'ils exécutent tout ce que Dieu leur ordonne  
Sur la face du monde terrestre.

La difficulté gît dans les premiers mots du verset. On n'arrive pas à en former un vers. Remarquons d'abord que הוויא «et lui» du

<sup>1</sup> En hébreu moderne le verbe טרח signifie «se déranger, se donner la peine de, etc.». A l'*hif'il* «déranger, importuner, etc.».

<sup>2</sup> Voir notre conférence sur «Les Aryens avant Cyrus», p. 72 (dans les «Conférences de Saint-Etienne», 1910—1911).

<sup>3</sup> Une tradition rabbinique, dont l'écho se retrouve chez Raši, voyait dans ברי ou אֶבְרִי le nom de l'ange préposé aux nuages ou à la pluie.

début se rapporte naturellement à ברי «l'aquilon». Il est clair qu'on pourra traduire, en unissant מתהפך à מסבות :

Et lui, tournant en tourbillons.

Malheureusement il ne reste qu'un mot בתחבולתו (*kethib*) ou בתחבולתי (*gerē*) pour le 2<sup>me</sup> hémistichie. Quelque chose a disparu, à savoir le verbe dont הוא est le sujet et dont le complément est rappelé par le suffixe de לפעלם. Nous attribuons ce fait à un phénomène d'haplographie et nous proposons de restituer יעלם «il les fait monter» avant לפעלם. L'*hi'*il de עלה est précisément appliqué à l'action de «faire monter» les nuages de l'horizon (Jer. 10 13, 51 16; Ps. 135 7). La similitude des consonnes עלם de יעלם et לפעלם explique suffisamment l'omission du premier mot par erreur d'homœoteleuton. Si l'on restaure le texte on obtient pour le 2<sup>me</sup> hémist. «il les fait monter à sa guise». Ainsi le passage de Job 37 11-12 pourra être interprété de la façon suivante:

L'aquilon aussi fatigue la nue,  
Il pourchasse la nuée lumineuse  
Et, roulant en tourbillons,  
Il fait monter les nuages à sa guise,  
Pour qu'ils exécutent tout ce que Dieu leur ordonne  
Sur la face du monde terrestre.

## THE EARLIEST FORMS OF HEBREW VERSE

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THE long controversy over the exact character of Hebrew prosody is now reaching a point where the main principles may be regarded as definitely established. Though we may object to certain extravaganzas of emendation and arbitrary rearrangements, we cannot well gainsay the results attained in general by such students as Duhm and Haupt, building on the foundations laid by Budde, Ley, and Sievers. According to this view, Hebrew metre was accentual, consisting of verse-units with 2+2 beats (lyric), 3+2 beats (so-called *qinah*, though "elegiac" is really a misnomer), and 3+3 beats (epic, as in Job, didactic as in Proverbs, and liturgical). Combinations of the different measures were also known. Epic and didactic verse was divided into distichs, as has been clear since, more than a century ago, Lowth introduced the phrase, *parallelismus membrorum*. Lyric verse, being set to music, with its recurring airs, was divided into strophes or stanzas of varying length, often with a refrain.

Strange to say, there are still many scholars who look with more or less scepticism at the metrical analysis of the Old Testament, partly from a horror of novelty, and partly because of erroneous notions regarding ancient Oriental prosody. The idea that there is no regular metre in Babylonian or Egyptian verse is wide-spread, but is based upon a series of misunderstandings. It is quite true that late Babylonian and Assyrian poetry is not always characterized by exact metrical form, but this is due to the fact that many compositions are intended to be literal translations of Sumerian originals, and that the *vers libre* which resulted was often imitated. The writer is inclined to think that this secondary Assyrian poetic fashion has influenced certain of the Psalms. Yet most Assyrian poems, such



as the Creation Epic and the Descent of Istar into the Lower World, are governed by a regular system of prosody, usually falling into couplets of four hemistichs each, with a caesura, which in the best cuneiform editions is marked by a blank space in the middle of the line. The verse-units, or lines, are 2+2, as was established a generation ago by Delitzsch and Zimmern. A convenient account of late Assyrian prosody is given by Burney, in his commentary to Judges, pp. 158ff.

Until recently there was no reason to suppose that the Babylonians or Assyrians were really strict in matters of prosody. Now, however, the situation has altered completely, thanks to the publication by Zimmern and Scheil of two tablets of the magnificent poem of *Agušaya*, belonging to the reign of *Hammurabi-Amurawih* (B. C. 2124—2081). This poem follows a very elaborate strophic system, with Sumerian designations for strophes and counter-strophes, etc. Each strophe consists of a quatrain with eight hemistichs, so the verse-unit is 2+2. In other poems of the *Hammurabi* age, such as the hymn to *Bêtili* (*Bêliti-lâni*), another to *Ištar*, and an ode to *Hammurabi*, we find not only the characteristic repetition of words and phrases, but also a complicated strophic structure and a refrain. The first stanza of *Agušaya*, published by Zimmern as *Ištar and Šaltu* (the title was discovered later by Scheil) runs as follows:

*L-unâ'id šurbûta*

*bukrat Nikkal*

*Ištar šurbûta*

*bukrat Nikkal*

*in-ilî qaratta*

*dunnaša l-ullî*

*in-ilî qaratta*

*dunnaša l-uštašnî*

"I will praise the princess,

The first-born of Nikkal,

*Ištar*, the princess,

The first-born of Nikkal,

Mighty among the gods,

Her valiance I will exalt,

Mighty among the gods,

Her valiance I will recount."

The first section of the poem to *Bêtili* (*Cun. Tab. XV, 1ff.*) is composed of four couplets, each having the scheme 3: 2+2:

*Zamâr Bêtili azâmar*

*ibrû ušsirâ*

*Mama zamârašû*

*eli dišpim*

*qurâdû šimê'â*

*u-qaranim řâbu*

*tābû-(e)li dišpi u-qaranim*  
*tābû-(e)li ḥana-      nabî-ma ḥašḥûrim*  
*el(u)-ûlu ḥimêtim zakûtîm*  
*tābu eli-(so!) ḥana-      nabî-ma ḥašḥûrim*

"The song of the Lady I will sing—

O comrades, attend,	O warriors, hearken!
I sing of Mama, whose song,	
Is sweeter far	Than honey and wine,
Sweeter than honey and wine,	
Sweeter it is	Than grapes and figs,
Sweeter than pure cream,	
Sweeter it is	Than grapes and figs."

If we turn to Egyptian verse, we find that the work of Erman, Max Müller,<sup>1</sup> and now of Dévaud<sup>2</sup> and others is bringing order out of the obscurity of Egyptian metrics. The difficulty hitherto has been (1) failure to realize the elaborate structure of Egyptian poetry, and (2) ignorance of old Egyptian vocalization. The present writer is about to publish studies which will partly remove these difficulties. As generally recognized, Egyptian metre is also accentual, and the verse-units are generally 3+3 or 2+2, though short lines without a caesura are also found. Just as in Babylonia, the most perfect prosodic development is found about 2000 B. C., during the great literary revival of the Twelfth Dynasty. One of the most beautiful and formally perfect among classical Egyptian poems is the "Colloquy of a Misanthrope with his Soul." Commencing where the text is best preserved, line 86, we have three successive divisions, each with a regular strophic system of its own—A. 86—102; B. 103—130; C. 131—142. A has eight strophes, each with the same beginning and the same tripartite scheme 3: 3+3, -e. g.:

*mk b'h rny*  
*mk r-šty 'św      m-hrw šmw pt-t't*

"Behold, my name is a stench—

Behold—more than the odour of 'ś-birds

In summer days when the sky burns."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Liebespoesie der alten Aegypter*, pp. 10—12.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Recueil de Travaux*, XXXVIII, 189.

B offers a series of sixteen strophes, each similarly introduced and with the same strophic scheme 3: 2 + 2 + 2 (except last, which has 3: 2 + 2), e. g.:

*ddy nm myn*  
*ybw 'wn n-wn-yb n-sy rhntw hrf*

"To whom shall I speak today?

Hearts are evil; That man hath no heart Upon whom one relies."

C presents six stanzas, each with the same beginning and strophic structure, metrically the same as in B (the last strophe has 3: 2 + 2: 2 + 2) but resembling A's repetition of *mk* twice in each strophe with its twice-repeated *my*, e. g.:

*'w-mt m-hry myn*  
*my-šty 'ntyw my-hmšt hr-lt'w hrw t'w*

"Death stands before me today

Like the fragrance of spices, Like sitting under a sail  
 On a day of breeze."

When after a close occupation with Egyptian and Babylonian metres of the classical period, the writer reread the Song of Deborah, he was struck at once by the fact that its climactic parallelism, to employ Burney's happy phrase,<sup>1</sup> though found only very rarely and sporadically in later Biblical and Oriental poetry, is obviously derived from the poetic style fashionable in both Mesopotamia and Egypt during the first half of the second millennium. The affinities are much closer with the former, as will be seen, but the time has long since passed when sober scholars attempt to derive all cultural elements of the Syro-Palestinian milieu from a single country, especially since we now know that mutual influence of the two great ancient civilizations upon one another may be traced back into the fourth millennium. The merchants and travelers who circulated between Mesopotamia and Egypt exerted a profound influence on the land through which they passed, as archaeological research in Palestine has so vividly illustrated. Thanks to recent discoveries, elaborately presented by Langdon,<sup>2</sup> it is now certain that the phra-

<sup>1</sup> Burney, *The Book of Judges*, pp. 169 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1921, 169—192.

seology of Hebrew psalmody has been profoundly influenced by Babylonian terminology. Most striking is the fact that the ordinary Hebrew word for "song," *šîr*, is a loan from Bab. *šêru*, *šîru*, "song, strophe in a longer composition," itself etymologically identical with Arab. *šî'r*, "poem." As Langdon has pointed out Assy. *zamâr šêri* is the equivalent of Heb. *mizmôr šîr*.

If one bears the cadence of the Babylonian hymn to Bêltîlî in mind, it will be seen at once that the Song of Deborah falls without a single disturbance of the order of stichi, and with the excision of only a very few variant lines and obvious glosses, into fifteen strophes, with the scheme 3+3: 3(2+2). A few stanzas are incomplete, having only two lines 2+2. The Babylonian poem agrees further in the character of its climactic parallelism and in the style of the opening address:

"O comrades, attend,      O warriors, hearken!  
The song of the Lady I will sing."

The Song of Deborah begins its first tetrameter tristich with the lines:

"Hear, O kings,                      Give ear, O princes!  
For I to Yahweh,                  Even I will sing."

The following reconstruction follows the stichic tradition preserved in the Masoretic Bible with hardly an alteration, except that the four-foot strophes should be 2+2, in accordance with the general rule in Babylonian and Hebrew verse. In the main, the text of the Song in the Masoretic form is excellent, as attested also by LXX, but the pointing is often impossible, and the pronominal suffixes and other endings have suffered more than once from dittography. The writer owes most to Haupt<sup>1</sup> and Burney.<sup>2</sup> Haupt's reconstruction is altogether too drastic and arbitrary; it is incredible that a text in the Heptateuch should have fallen into such a state of corruption as his emendations presuppose. Yet the writer owes a great deal to the thoroughness of Haupt's analysis and the completeness of his treatment. Burney's treatment is cursory and rather superficial, and

<sup>1</sup> See his treatment in *Studien zur semitischen Philologie* \* \* Julius Wellhausen \* \* *gewidmet*, Giessen, 1914, pp. 191—226.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. laud.*, pp. 160 ff.

his emendations are sometimes singularly infelicitous. To him, however, we owe the first clear explanation of the unique poetic style of the Song, and the invention of the term "climactic parallelism," from the discovery of which it results that the text has suffered more from haplography than from dittography. His restoration of the metre suffers from the frequent occurrence of more than two unaccented syllables before the ictus; it is very improbable that a poem so perfect in structure would tolerate a metrical anomaly of this nature.<sup>1</sup>

בְּהַתְנַדְבֵּעֶם בְּרוּיָהּ( ) <sup>2</sup>	בִּפְרַע פְּרָעוֹת בִּישְׂרָאֵל	I 2
הַאֲיִנוּ רֹנִים	שִׁמְעוּ מַלְכִּים	3
אֲנִי אֲשִׁירָה	אֲנִי לִיהוָה	
אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל	אֲזַמְּרָה לִיהוָה	

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Arnold, in *Harvard Theological Review*, XIII, 188. Burney's theoretical reconstruction of the original phonetic form of the Hebrew in our poem gives us results possible in many cases for the third millennium B. C., but not for the twelfth century—to be more exact, about 1150 (see the writer's paper, *Yemē haš-šaharūt šel ha-'am ha-'ivrī*, in *Haš-Šilōah*, Jerusalem, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 28 ff. and "A Revision of Early Hebrew Chronology," *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, Vol. I, pp. 49—80). Since the publication of Bauer and Leander's *Hebräische Grammatik*, and Leander's important article on Hebrew historical phonology, in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. 74, pp. 61 ff., it is clear that the Hebrew of the twelfth century was not particularly archaic. When we bear in mind that the literary language of ancient Oriental peoples, like that of modern ones, lagged far behind the evolution of the popular speech, we will not expect a serious difference between the Hebrew of the Song, which represents the folk-speech of its time, and the literary language employed three to five centuries later. We must also remember that the Masoretic vocalization arose as a protest against an Aramaizing pronunciation of Holy Writ, and often went too far in its zeal, as in the case of the pretonic *gameš* and the vocal *šewā*.

<sup>2</sup> This liturgical phrase is doubtless to be pronounced *barḱû-yāh* or even *barḱû-yah*, just as the original יהוה הללו is shortened in the liturgies to *hallelūyah*.

<sup>3</sup> V. 9 gives us a misplaced variant to the first line of the poem, written in the margin, and later incorporated into the text along with a small group of obvious glosses in 8, 11<sup>b</sup>:

הַמְתַּנְדְּבִים בְּעַם בְּרוּיָהּ[וה]      לְבִי לִי (מ?) חֻקֵּי יִשְׂרָאֵל

My heart is with the rulers of Israel, Who enlisted with the people—praise Yah!

Here the line adopted in the text is decidedly preferable to the variant; on the other hand, the variant line v. 15<sup>b</sup>, to 16<sup>b</sup>, though inserted in the wrong place, while 16<sup>b</sup> is in the right one, is preferable to the latter. For a possible explanation of the origin of the variant in v. 9 cf. Haupt, p. 211, n. 82.

בצעדך משה אדום	יהוה בצאתך משעיר	II 4
נ־שמים נמטו <sup>1</sup> []	ארץ רעשה	
מפני יהוה <sup>3</sup> []	הרים נלו <sup>2</sup>	5
אלהי ישראל	מפני יהוה	
בימיו <sup>4</sup> חדלו ארחות	בימי שמגר כרענת	III 6
ילכו <sup>5</sup> [] עקלקלות	והלכי נתיבות	
בישראל חדלו	חדלו פרזון	7
שקמתי <sup>6</sup> ישראל <sup>7</sup>	עדישקמתי דבורה	

<sup>1</sup> In view of 𐤀 (several MSS), and Hexaplar (see Moore, *ad loc.*) *εραπάχθη* we should probably read נ־מטו instead of נ־מטו, "dripped." The heavens may pour down floods of rain when Yahweh appears in his majesty as lord of the thunder, but "drip" is an anticlimax, and here so absurd that a scribe felt impelled to add the remark נ־מ עבים נ־מטו מים, "the clouds (also) dripped water," that is, the heavens did not leak, but the clouds distilled a gentle shower.

<sup>2</sup> In view of 𐤀 *εσαλεύθησαν* and the fact that in Is. 63 19, 64 2 this verb is pointed נלו with הרים, there can be no doubt that the stem is *zll*, belonging with Ar. *zllz*, "quake, of earth," and *zll*, "slip."

<sup>3</sup> All serious scholars agree that the phrase זה סיני, "that is, Sinai," is a gloss, restricting the general statement to Mount Sinai. Ehrlich's objection to this interpretation, on the basis of later usage, is unwarranted; the use of זה in early Hebrew as here is precisely like that of Eg. *pw*, "this," and in the commentaries to the sacred texts "that is."

<sup>4</sup> The יעל in the text is naturally impossible, as there is no room for an additional name in the line, to say nothing of the serious historical objection. The י is perhaps a corruption of the original י in the בימיו we have substituted for the בימי of the Hebrew text. The על may be due to the misreading of a partially erased dittography of the first letters of עקלקלות in the line below.

<sup>5</sup> 𐤀 has here ארחות, evidently due again to vertical dittography, since the word means "caravans" in the preceding verse, while here it would have to mean "paths."

<sup>6</sup> Pronounce *šaḡ-gamtēm*. The ending תי in the second person feminine may be an archaism here, but it may also be merely historical spelling. The glosses in the Amarna Letters show that *tu* in the first person had already become *tī*, so it is more than likely that *tī* in the second feminine had become *t*. At all events, it would so be pronounced before a vowel—the *alef* in Hebrew has almost throughout lost its consonantal force.

<sup>7</sup> Between the end of this stanza and the beginning of the next there are several glosses, which have been grouped together for lack of a better place. V. 9 has been discussed in connection with v. 2. V. 8 contains three glosses. The first one, אלהים חדשים (י, hapl.) יבחרו is probably a theological explanation, "they (shall) choose new gods," for the text, "they follow crooked paths." The line מן א־יִרְאָה וְלִמָּח בְּאַרְבָּעִים אֶלֶף בִּישְׂרָאֵל "Is shield seen or lance Among

והלכּי על-דרך שִׁיחו	iv 10 רכּבי אתגות צהרות <sup>1</sup> ]
בין־משאבּים	11 בקול <sup>2</sup> מחצצים
צדקות יהוה	שם יתנו
בישראל (יתנו) <sup>3</sup> ] <sup>4</sup>	צדקת פרוזנו
עורי עורי דבר-שיר	v 12 עורי עורי דבורה
בן אבינעם	קומ <sup>5</sup> ] ( <sup>6</sup> ) שבה-שבּיך
שריד לאדירים	13 און <sup>6</sup> (ה) ירד <sup>6</sup>
(ע) לִי (גבורים) <sup>7</sup>	עם־יהוה ירד <sup>6</sup> (ה)

forty thousand in Israel?" cannot well be original, since the Israelites would hardly celebrate a great victory by boasting that they had no weapons at all. It is perhaps a comment to v. 7<sup>a</sup>, borrowed from some other poem, on the part of a scribe who was thinking of 1 Sam. 13 19-22, where it is stated that the Israelites had no swords or lances. The preceding remark **או לחם שערים** is obviously a tertiary gloss, commenting on the absence of arms by quoting Jud. 7 13, "Then was the barley bread," i. e., just as the barley bread, representing the *fellāh* host of Gideon, overwhelmed the Midianite camp, so the unarmed Israelites defeated the army of Sisera, thanks to special divine interposition.

<sup>1</sup> The phrase **ישבי על מרין**, which is in a different metre from the preceding and following hemistichs, and completely spoils their antithetic parallelism, besides being unintelligible Hebrew, is perhaps corrupt for some such phrase as **ישבי דין**, "judges," meaning that only judges, i. e. nobles, had the right to ride on red-roan (so Haupt) asses.

<sup>2</sup> **או** has **מקול**, evidently influenced by the initial **מ** of the two following nouns.

<sup>3</sup> In the repetitious style of our poem there is constant danger of haplography or haplogy. The chiasitic order follows the example of v. 7<sup>a</sup>. Chiasitic order is most characteristic of elegant literary style in Assyrian.

<sup>4</sup> The following phrase, **או ירדו לשערים עם יהוה**, is not metric, and has no connection with the preceding or the following strophe, so may belong with the group of glosses in vv. 8—9. In this case it is apparently a comment on the gloss **או לחם שערים**, which Masoretic tradition took to mean (of above for the true interpretation) "then to them were gates" (Moore says that it is difficult to imagine what is meant by the anomalous pronunciation of **לָהֶם**, but it evidently indicates a *qerē* **לָהֶם**), which our gloss explained as "then the people of Yahweh went down to the gates." **ט** has **ערים** (*πόλεις*), a valueless guess.

<sup>5</sup> The interpolation of **ברק** is wholly 'superfluous, since "son of Abinoam" makes the person addressed known. The following **י** is a secondary insertion.

<sup>6</sup> The Masoretic tradition still derives the verb from **רדה**, as shown by the pointing, so there is no objection to adding a **ה**; it must be remembered that the original text did not have *matres lectionis*, and that where they are found they are later insertions. The **י** which should be affixed to **או** was lost by haplography.

<sup>7</sup> **ייר לו בנבורים**, which is unintelligible. Haupt suggests **ייר לו בנבורים**, "went down as warriors" but on account of the parallelism with the preceding line our reading seems preferable.

אחרִיד בנימין בעממיו <sup>3</sup>	1[ ] VI 14 אפרים שר שר-בעמק <sup>2</sup>
ירדו <sup>4</sup> מחקקים	מני מקיר
בשבט ספר	( ) מזבולן משכים
9[ ] ( ) רגליו <sup>8</sup> של (י)	5[ ] עם- <sup>6</sup> דברה <sup>7</sup> בעמק

15

<sup>1</sup> Since it interferes with the metre the introductory מני is evidently vertical dittography from the next line, where the metre requires it. Quite aside from metrical considerations, the second hemistich shows that Ephraim, Benjamin's brother, is the subject.

<sup>2</sup> Virtually all scholars read בעמק instead of בעמלק, following important MSS evidence (cf. Moore). It is possible that for שרשם we should read שם שר. ש read the same consonants, though rendering differently, *ἐξέπλῳσεν*. My suggestion is in accord with the frequent repetition of verbs for poetic emphasis in our Song.

<sup>3</sup> א has בעממך, but the suffix is clearly dittography of the suffix in the preceding אחרִיד.

<sup>4</sup> To preserve consistency, I point the verbs as present or imperfect instead of perfect.

<sup>5</sup> This passage is unquestionably corrupt, and our reconstruction may be quite wrong. According to Jos. 19:13 Daberath, i. e. Deborah (see below) was on the border between Zebulun and Issachar. V. 18 of the Song shows that it was already considered a part of Zebulun. A later scribe, however, may have supposed that the missing Issachar was referred to here, and have inserted it, which would also account for the strange repetition of the name twice in the verse—an erroneous double entry in different lines. It is improbable that Issachar was originally mentioned in the Song, since it is an opprobrious term, “hireling,” applied by the Israelites in the hills to their Hebrew brethren who formed part of the dependent peasant population of the plain, under Canaanite overlordship.

<sup>6</sup> The pointing עם, “people,” instead of עם, “with,” is certainly right (see Haupt).

<sup>7</sup> One may suspect that ברק is an explanatory gloss to the first word of the fifteenth verse, reading וְשָׂרִי instead of א. The “prince” who is thus associated with Deborah would naturally be Barak. The impossibility of the present text is well put by Moore.

<sup>8</sup> The present text has שְׁלַח ברנליו, which is very queer, and cannot be connected with what precedes.

<sup>9</sup> This is a correct marginal substitution for the somewhat corrupt line now in place, v. 16<sup>b</sup>.



לשמע שרקות עדרים	VII 16 (גד) <sup>1</sup> למה ישב [] משפתים <sup>2</sup>
גדולים חקקי־לב <sup>3</sup>	בפלגות ראובן
הירדן שכן	גלעד בעבר 17
יגור אניות	ורן למה
ועל־מפרציו ישבו	VIII אשר ישב () חוף־ימים
נפשו למות	זבלו עם־חרף
על־מרומי שדה	ונפתלי 18
[ <sup>4</sup> ] נלחמו מלכי כנען	IX 19 באו מלכים נלחמו
על־מי מגדו	(נלחמו) <sup>5</sup> בתענך
(ממקלתם) <sup>7</sup>	בצע־כסף לא־לקחו <sup>6</sup>
נלחמו עם־סיסרא	מן־שמים [] (כוכבים) <sup>7</sup> 20

<sup>1</sup> The present text hangs in the air, and we do not know what tribe is intended; v. 17<sup>a</sup> shows that we may expect the name of a tribe before למה, while the metre indicates a short name. The tribe in question is Transjordanic, since it is pastoral and followed by Reuben. Accordingly it must be Gad, the absence of whom from the present text has given rise to all kinds of hypotheses, especially that Gilead in 17<sup>a</sup> takes the place of Gad. But from Num. 32<sup>34</sup> ff. it is clear that Gad originally occupied northern Moab, as stated also in the Mesha Stele, while it is expressly stated that Machir occupied Gilead.

<sup>2</sup> *א* has למה ישבת בין המשפתים. The change of tense in the verb may be erroneous but the present haphazard alternation of tenses is very strange, and imperfections seem to predominate. The word משפתים (pl. rather than dual) is a *crux interpretum*, but the only etymologically reasonable explanation is "piles of rubbish, manure," referring to the extensive *mzâbil*, which surround the Transjordanic village, especially in the Hauran. In western Palestine the *mzâbil* (sing. *mézbeleh*) are not nearly so striking a feature, since there is not so much animal husbandry. The cognate אשפת, "rubbish, manure," belongs (which has not been observed hitherto) with Ar. *táfat*, "rubbish" (note the transposition). The superfluous בין is probably a dittographic reminiscence of the בין before משאבים.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above. The marginal correction seems here to be preferable to the form in place. The variants חקקי and חקרי may indicate that the original was different; cf. Ar. *ḥqf*, "beat, of the heart" as a possible suggestion. However, *ḥqq* means properly "to pierce" (Ar. *ḥtaqqā*) and in Ar. also "to afflict," so there is no serious objection to its retention.

<sup>4</sup> *א* is a superfluous scribal insertion to make sure that the reader would not mistake the highly poetic repetition for dittography.

<sup>5</sup> A stylistic peculiarity of the Song requires the repetition of a verb with a prepositional phrase modifying it, unless the metre forbids it. Here both style and metre seem to demand it, so we may assume that it has fallen out by haplography, since the same verbal form is found twice in the preceding line. Now, since there is a superfluous נלחמו in v. 20, we may suppose that the scribe discovered his mistake in collating the text and inserted it in the margin, whence it was transferred into the wrong line later.

<sup>6</sup> This hemistich should be scanned as follows, *beša'-kēsēf lô-laqûhû*.

<sup>7</sup> Owing to the common initial מ the word ממסלחם has changed places with the following hemistich. The present order is nonsense; the stars, that is, the

נחל קדומים (ה)נחל	נחל קישון גרפם	x 21
נפשת ען(יו) <sup>2</sup>	(ב)קישון הדרכו <sup>1</sup>	
עקבי סוסם <sup>4</sup>	און(י) הלמו(ם) <sup>3</sup>	22
אביריו (הלמו)	דהרות דהרות	
ארו ארו ישביה	אורו מרון <sup>5</sup> אמר-(?) <sup>6</sup>	xi 23
לעזרת יהוה	כי-לא באו	
בנבורי(ה)ם <sup>7</sup>	לעזרת יהוה	

elements, may fight against Sisera, but the planets do not fight from their highways (𐤀 has plur.) against him, nor can their orbits be called "highways." The use of *ḥarrānu* in Babylonian astronomy is quite different. On the other hand, מסלה is evidently equivalent to Bab. *ḥarrānu, girru*, "road, campaign." In sixteenth century English "road" meant "foray, raid" (a Norse doublet of "road"), as in the A. V. of 1 Sam. 27 10, "Whither have ye made a road today?"

<sup>1</sup> 𐤀 has תדרכי. Our rendering of the second hemistich requires a passive form here (see next note). In Hebrew the *hif'il* of this verb sometimes serves as an intensive. Yellin's suggestion of the Arabic and Aramaic meaning „reach, overtake" for הדרך (*Jour. Pal. Orient. Soc.* I, p. 13f.) is very doubtful.

<sup>2</sup> 𐤀 has נפשי ען, but we should probably read עניו like אביריו at the end of the second line below. Still preferable is perhaps Haupt's reading נפשות ענויו. For the idiom cf. Assy. *napšātunu usiq ukarrî*, "I brought their life to a close and cut it off (cf. Ar. *sāqa*, "be at the point of death, said of a sick man"); *baltūsun gâtî ilšud*, "I captured them alive."

<sup>3</sup> This verb is transitive, as in v. 26, so the suffix is necessary.

<sup>4</sup> The מ belongs with the preceding word, instead of with the following, as in 𐤀.

<sup>5</sup> The מרון of 𐤀 is probably corrupt, since no town of this anomalous name is to be found in any Palestinian literature. We should probably read מרון, Meron. This Meron is hardly to be identified with either Meirôn, W. N. W. of Şâfed, or even with Marûn er-Râs, further north, nor is it clear to which Meron the Marun of Tiglathpileser III. refers. The Canaanite royal city Madon, Jos. 11 1, may perhaps be a mistake for Meron, just as Šarîd should be \*Šadôd, modern Tell Šadûd. Probably our Meron is the town mentioned Jos. 12 20 with Šimôn (text Šimrôn), modern Semûniyeh, on the edge of the Plain, ten miles due west of Debûriyeh-Deborah and north of Megiddo. A situation in the neighborhood would explain why Meron refused to take up arms for the Israelites; it was too near Harosheth, modern Tell 'Amr, and therefore dangerously exposed to Canaanite vengeance in case of an Israelite defeat.

<sup>6</sup> אמר מלאך יהוה 𐤀 is metrically impossible. It is possible to omit מלאך, which might have been introduced because of a religious scruple against the conception that Yahweh curses men himself, but more likely that "angel of Yahweh" was substituted, as apparently often, for a name of pagan origin, still employed, like the Lithuanian *Perkunas*, in maledictions even after the conversion of the Hebrews to Yahwism.

<sup>7</sup> The insertion of a ה is not grammatically necessary, but greatly improves the sense, besides improving the metre.

מנשים באהל תברך	xii 24 תברך מנשים יעל <sup>1</sup> ]
חלב נתנה	מים שאל <sup>25</sup>
הקריבה חמאה	בספל אדירים
וימינה להלמות עמלים	xiii 26 ידה ליתד תשלחנה
מחקה ראשו <sup>2</sup> ]	והלמה סיסרא
נפל שכב	בין-רגליה כרע <sup>27</sup>
נפל <sup>3</sup> ]	בין-רגליה כרע
ותיבב אם סיסרא]	xiv 28 בעד האשנב <sup>4</sup> ] נשקפה
רכבו לבוא	מדוע בשש
פעמי-מרכבותיו	מדוע אחרו
אף-היא תשיב אמריה <sup>5</sup> ]	xv 29 חכמות שרותיה תעננה
יחלקו שלל	הלא ימצאו <sup>30</sup>
לראש-גבר שלל	רחם רחמתיים
[ <sup>6</sup> צבעים רקמה <sup>7</sup> ]	צבעים לסיסרא

<sup>1</sup> The interpolation אשת חבר הקני is admitted on all sides to be a learned gloss.

<sup>2</sup> א adds the gloss וחלפה רקתו. ומחצה is inserted to explain the early Aramaic form מחקה, with orthography like אראק for ארעא=ארץ, קמר=עמר=צמר, etc., the *q* being employed to indicate the glottal catch (א) into which the *qâd* had been modified in Aramaic like *q* in the cities of modern Egypt and Palestine. The *alef* lost its original pronunciation in Aramaic and became a vowel-letter. Later the 'ayin was pronounced as a glottal catch, as it still is in parts of northern Syria, having lost its correct pronunciation as a voiced *h* with somewhat greater contraction of the glottis. Another Aramaic form found in the poem is the *pa'el* of תנה, employed like Assyr. *sunû*, "recount, relate." These Aramaic forms are not late glosses, nor are they strictly dialectic; they are rather an indication of a mixture between the Aramaic tongue originally spoken by the Hebrews and the Hebrew which they learned in the land of Canaan, and are thus on a par with such an Aramaic word as נור, "vow," which has superseded נזר, only preserved in the specialized meaning "devotee," נזיר. Bauer and Leander have recently called our attention to evidences of dialectic mixture in morphology; there are also a number of Aramaic loanwords in early Hebrew. The additional gloss "she pierced his temples" is harmonistic, designed to make the original poetic version, according to which Jael felled Sisera while he was drinking, square with the well-known prose version. The two cannot be harmonized; see Moore.

<sup>3</sup> The observation נפל כרע שם נפל, "where he stooped there he fell," is anything but poetical, and אשר is not found elsewhere in the poem. It is also harmonistic, and means that he fell dead where he crouched, without moving from his place—thanks to the "nail" which fastened his head to the ground.

<sup>4</sup> א adds, בעד החלון, is simply a gloss explaining the archaic term אשנב, on which see Haupt, *ad loc.*

<sup>5</sup> The לו is wholly superfluous, besides being metrically awkward, and is obviously susceptible of ready explanation as dittography.

<sup>6</sup> The שלל of א adds dittography of the preceding שלל, because both are followed by the same word.

<sup>7</sup> The four-beat line which follows may belong to the original; one would like to read for א, מצוארי חלל, לצוארי שלל, "from the backs (lit. necks) of the slain."

The poem may be translated as follows:

When locks were long <sup>1</sup> in Israel,	When the folk responded—praise Yah!
Hear, O kings,	Give ear, O princes,
For I to Yahweh,	Even I will sing,
I will sing to Yahweh,	Unto Israel's God.
Yahweh, when thou rosest from Seir,	When thou marchedst from Edom's land,
The earth was quaking,	The heavens shaking,
The mountains rocking	Before Yahweh's face,
Before the face of Yahweh,	Israel's God.
In the days of Shamgar ben Anath,	In his days the caravans ceased, <sup>2</sup>
And wayfaring men	Followed crooked paths;
The yeomanry ceased,	In Israel it ceased,
Till thou rosest, O Deborah,	As mother-city in Israel. <sup>3</sup>
O riders on tawny asses,	O wayfaring men, attend!
To the sound of the cymbals,	Between the drums, <sup>4</sup>
There they will recite	The triumphs of Yahweh,
The triumphs of his yeomen	In Israel they will tell.

<sup>1</sup> This rendering may now be considered practically certain; cf. Haupt, *ad loc.* Jeremias's rendering (*Das Alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients*, 3rd ed., p. 423), "When Pharaohs ruled in Israel," deserves notice solely as a curiosity.

<sup>2</sup> This rendering is quite certain; in Assy. *ḥarrānu*, "road," also means "caravan." Shamgar was chief of the Canaanite town of Beth Anath, modern Ba'nah, Talmudic Bê'anah, a little to the northeast of the Plain of Accho, as the writer has shown in the papers mentioned above. His role of robber baron is like that played by Sutatna (so) or Zatatna of Accho in the Amarna Tablets; the latter also robs the caravans.

<sup>3</sup> There can surely be no longer any doubt that Deborah was originally the town of that name at the foot of Mt. Tabor, as first suggested by Carl Niebuhr, and accepted by Haupt. For the origin of the confusion between the "mother in Israel" i. e. the metropolis, chief city (as in 2 Sam. 20 19) and the feminine figure of Hebrew legend by the same name cf. the note on the subject in the writer's article (*Journal of the Pal. Orient. Soc.*, Vol. I, p. 61). The town, whose remains lie to the north of the modern village of Debûre (so pronounced; Debûriyeh, not Debûriyeh is the literary form), is called in the O. T. elsewhere *Dbrt*, the Dabaritta of Josephus and the Dabira of the Onomasticon. The expression for "city" used in our text is not peculiar to the Hebrew of the Bible, but is also found in Phoenician. On Sidonian coins Sidon is called mother of Carthage, Hippo, Citium, and Tyre. On Laodicean coins the city is termed *בנות*, "mother in Canaan" (the reading *אש* which some have substituted is unwarranted).

<sup>4</sup> This passage has been a *crux interpretum*. Haupt renders, "At the trumpet-call from the banquet;" Burney emends with unusual recklessness, and gives us a pretty conceit, "Hark to the maidens laughing at the wells." Haupt's *מחצרים*

- v Awake, awake, O Deborah! Awake, awake, sing a song:  
 "Arise, take thy captives, Abinoam's son,  
 For then the survivor Will rule the haughty,  
 The people of Yahweh Will rule the mighty."
- vi O Ephraim storm, storm into the valley— After thee come Benjamin's clans!  
 From Machir's folk Come down the captains,  
 From Zebulon those who wield The staff of the marshal,  
 While Deborah's folk Sends footmen into the valley.
- vii Why does (Gad) dwell on dung-heaps Harking to pastoral pipings?  
 In the vales of Reuben The chiefs are faint-hearted,  
 While Gilead dwells Beyond the Jordan.  
 And why does Dan Become attached to ships?<sup>1</sup>
- viii Asher dwells on the shore of the sea And settles on his harbours—  
 But Zebulon is a people Which dared to die—  
 And Naphtali, too— On the heights of the plain.
- ix There came the kings and fought, They fought, the kings of Canaan,  
 They fought at Taanach, At Megiddo's waters;  
 No silver they won From their campaign,  
 For the stars from heaven Fought against Sisera.
- x Kishon's torrent swept them away, An impetuous torrent becoming;  
 In the Kishon were trampled His living warriors,  
 For the hoofs of their horses Struck them down,  
 Rearing, plunging, They struck down his strong m

and Burney's מַצְחָקִים both seem unnecessary, since a much more natural explanation is at hand; I would combine the word with Ar. *ḥadda*, *ḥadḥada*. "shake," *ḥāḏaḏ*, "shells," and *ḥadāḏ*, "shell necklace, fetters," etc., and render either "cymbals," like מַצְחָקִים (מַצְלִיחַ, Zech. 14 20, refers to a string of bells or small pieces of metal for the adornment of horses), or "sistra," like מוֹנַעְנִיעִים, 2 Sam. 6 5. The word מַשְׁאָבִים belongs with Ar. *mis'ab*, "leather skin," and probably means leather drums or tambourines (cf. Sachs, *Altägyptische Musikinstrumente*, Leipzig, 1920, pp. 5 ff.). The women of the Qureiš, at the battle of Oḥod, beat drums (*akbār*) and tambourines (*dufūf* and *ḡarābūl*), according to Ibn Hišām.

<sup>1</sup> We seem to have a most important chronological datum in this line. Dan's residence on the sea-coast preceded the Philistine occupation. On the other hand, our poem dates from after the career of Shamgar, who beat off—or assisted in warding off—the first Philistine irruption, presumably that of the year 1190 B. C. The date of the battle of Taanach will then fall between about 1180 and 1170 or a little later, when the successful invasion occurred, after the death of Rameses III.; see the fuller discussion in *Jour. Pal. Or. Soc.*, Vol. I., pp. 55—62.

Curse ye Meron, saith — — —	Eternally curse ye its people,
For they would not come	To the help of Yahweh,
To the help of Yahweh,	Sending their warriors.
Blest above women is Jael,	Above women in tents is she blest.
Water he asked,	She gave him milk,
In a lordly bowl	She brought him cream.
One hand she put to the tent-pin	Her right to the workman's mallet;
She struck down Sisera,	She crushed his head,
At her feet he bowed,	He fell, he lay,
At her feet he bowed,	He fell, outstretched.
Out from the window there looked	And wailed Sisera's mother:
"Why does his chariot	Tarry in coming?
Why linger the hoofs	Of his chariot-steeds?"
The wisest of her women replies —	She, too, echoes her words:
"Are they not finding	And dividing the spoil?—
A maiden or two	As spoil for each warrior,
Dyed work for Sisera	Dyed and embroidered."

In its present form, the poem is unmistakably a torso, but we should perhaps be grateful for the fact that our copy closes at so dramatic a point, sparing us, it may be, a weaker ending, an anti-climax. The present ending is formed by a very weak and awkward distich, evidently of liturgical origin:

Thus may all perish	Of Thy foes, Yahweh,
While Thy friends be as the rise	Of the sun in his strength.

It must be emphasized that the preceding arrangement of the poem has not been reached as a result of any *a priori* theory, but that it simply imposes itself upon the reader who knows what to expect in ancient verse-forms. It is highly probable that it was recited antiphonally, one chanting the hexameter, and another or a chorus singing the following tristich. This is indicated by the fact that the hexameter line always stands apart, having no direct connection with the preceding strophe, and only a loose one with the following tristich, which it introduces. Thus stanzas V, XI, and XII each contain an introduction, followed by a direct quotation. As is well known, this antiphonal chanting and singing was a very common practise in Babylonia as well as in Israel.

If there are still any doubts regarding the general correctness of our results they should be removed by a careful comparison of the Lament of David over Jonathan, the only other early Israelite poem of this type now extant. While the text of this poem is more corrupt, like the text of Samuel in general, the dominant structure is again unquestionably the tetrameter tristich, like the Song of Deborah. The introductory hexameter appears as a refrain, following the tristich instead of preceding it, but the same elements exactly are used to form the strophe, and the character of the hexameter verse is made certain by the fact that it is a refrain, and hence certainly antiphonal or choral. We have also echoes of the old climactic parallelism, now falling into disuse.

אל-תבשרו <sup>1</sup> ] באשקלון בנות פלשתים בנות הערלים	אל-תגידו בנת פן תשמחנה פן תעלזנה	20
(ושדי תרומות) <sup>3</sup> ואל-ממר עליכם <sup>4</sup> ] מן נבורים בלי-משיח בשמן	הרי הגלבע <sup>2</sup> אל-י(הי) מל כי-שם נגעל מן שאול	21
מחלב נבורים לא-נשוג אחור לא-תשוב ריקם	מדם חללים קשת יהונתן וחרב שאול	22
( ) נאהבים <sup>5</sup> ( ) נעים <sup>5</sup> ובמותם לא-נפדרו מאריות נברו	שאול ויהונתן בתייהם (חברו ?) מנשרים קלו	23

<sup>1</sup> If the  $\text{מ}$  of  $\text{בהוצות}$  is original, we must have here a line  $3+3$ ; it is then possible that the line which we have considered the second verse of the second strophe is also  $3+3$  and introduces the strophe, just as in the Song of Deborah. It is safe to say that the original structure of the poem was more complicated than it now appears to be, as well as more formally perfect.

<sup>2</sup>  $\text{מ}$  is here grammatically and logically impossible, while the substitution of a ה for the ב gives a perfectly idiomatic and exact phrase.

<sup>3</sup> The hemistich should evidently be transposed from its place in  $\text{מ}$  after the next line.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. preceding note, as well as note on the first line of the poem.

<sup>5</sup> The articles are wholly superfluous, and hurt the rhythm appreciably.

בְּנֵית יִשְׂרָאֵל	24
הַמְּלָבָשִׁים	
הַמַּעֲרָה <sup>2</sup> לְבוֹשָׁן	
אֵיךְ נָפְלוּ גִבּוֹרִים	25
עַל־בְּמוֹתֶיךָ <sup>4</sup> חָלָל	
אֶחָי יְהוֹנָתָן	
מֵאֲהַבַת נָשִׁים	
וַיֵּאבְדּוּ כָּלִי מִלְחָמָה	
צְרִי־לִי עֲלֶיךָ	26
נִעְמַת־לִי מֵאֵד <sup>5</sup>	
אֵיךְ נָפְלוּ גִבּוֹרִים	27
Tell it not in Gath	Proclaim it not in Ashkelon,
Lest they rejoice,	The Philistine maidens,
Lest they exult,	The heathen girls.
Ye hills of Gilboa,	And lofty uplands,
Let there be nor dew	Nor rain upon you,
For there was disgraced	The warrior's shield,
The shield of Saul,	With oil unanointed.
From the blood of the slain,	From the entrails of warriors,
The bow of Jonathan	Never retreated, -
Nor the sword of Saul	Returned empty.

<sup>1</sup> **א** has שְׁנֵי עִם עֲרֻנִים, "scarlet with delights," but the omission of ע gives a logical and idiomatic text.

<sup>2</sup> **א** offers מַעֲלָה, which is here impossible. After the corruption, in order to preserve an intelligible text, it became necessary to transpose the following phrase.

<sup>3</sup> The **א** יְהוֹנָתָן does not really belong in the text, but in the margin, as explanation of the expression "gazelle of Israel." Fortunately, this line was employed as a title for the poem, and hence has been preserved intact, save for an impossible article, at the beginning.

<sup>4</sup> This foot should probably be scanned 'al-bmôṭēka. In the genuine folk verse of modern Palestine (see my note to Stephan's paper in *Jour. Pal. Or. Soc.*, Vol. II) long vowels may be treated as short at any time for the sake of the metre. In Hebrew this tendency was probably not marked, but the "Aramaizing" inclination to eliminate short unaccented vowels in open syllables certainly existed; the Masoretic vocalization represents a learned reaction (cf. above).

<sup>5</sup> **א**, נִפְלְאָתָהּ אֲהַבְתָּךְ לִי, is clearly a prosaic gloss, explaining the beautiful line whose cadence it so rudely interrupts.



Saul and Jonathan,	Beloved, delightful,
In life they were comrades (?)	In death were not parted,
Swifter they than eagles,	Stronger than lions.

O maidens of Israel,	Weep ye for Saul,
Who was wont to clothe you	In elegant scarlet,
Who decked your garments	With golden adornments!
How have the warriors fallen	In the midst of the battle!

The gazelle of Israel	Is slain on thy heights (Gilboa)—
I grieve for thee,	My brother Jonathan,
Far sweeter wast thou	Than the love of women.
How have the warriors fallen	And the weapons of war been lost!

We have thus seen that the Song of Deborah and, to a lesser extent, the Lament of David over Jonathan represent what must have been once an important category of Canaanite and Israelite verse, written in the language of Canaan, and influenced by the models which had governed the writing of verse in the literary centres of the ancient Orient some centuries previously. The post-Davidic poetry of the Old Testament is influenced by late Assyrian and Babylonian models, which passed into Israel from Syria and Phoenicia, where both Phoenicians and Aramaeans were always powerfully affected by Mesopotamian cult and literature. In the Old Testament we also have fragments of a different kind, without a literary background. Of this nature is the Bedu poem known as the Song of Lamech, written in two couplets, one 2+2, the other 3+3, with a rhyme in *î* which has always been characteristic of the nomad Arabs. The triumphal song of Sihon, Num. 21 27ff., does not lend itself to successful reconstruction, but the metre is clearly 3+3, and at least four of the seven lines—perhaps five—end with *ôn*, showing again the Bedu origin of the song. The Song of the Well, Num. 21 17–18, can almost be duplicated in Moab today. But the literary poetry of Israel does not owe its beauty to Bedu models, but to the fact that it was able to clothe the formally elegant models of the ancient Orient with a spontaneous and freshly exuberant life.

# LA DERNIÈRE PÉRIODE DE L'HISTOIRE DE CAPHARNAÛM

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«CAPHARNAÛM, toi qui te dresses jusqu'au ciel tu seras abaissée jusqu'aux enfers!» Voilà le triste adieu que Jésus fit à sa seconde patrie à la veille de la quitter pour toujours. Pour ceux qui connaissent la position privilégiée qu'occupait Capharnaüm à l'avènement du N.T., ces mots de l'Evangile sont parfaitement intelligibles, quand on parcourt (à 19 siècles de distance) le vaste champ, où sont encore enterrées la plupart de ses ruines.

Ville de passage et de marché international, Capharnaüm était au centre même du mouvement des caravanes, entre la plaine d'Esdrelon, Scythopolis et Damas. Elle possédait en outre, un port qui l'enrichissait de son transit particulier. Les mariniers du lac y déchargeaient le blé du Hauran pour les exportations de Tyr, Sidon et Césarée: mouvement des plus actifs encore, puisqu'il contribuait au ravitaillement de Rome et de l'Italie. Ce ne sont pas seulement les Juifs qui viendront là pour entendre Jésus: mais des Iduméens, des Tyriens, des Sidoniens et des gens de la Transjordane, attirés par un commerce lucratif. Rien d'extraordinaire donc, si Capharnaüm était devenue, au commencement du premier siècle de notre ère, une ville opulente et riche, digne de posséder la plus belle des synagogues connues en Galilée et dont nous venons de mettre à jour les derniers vestiges.

Hélas! cette période de prospérité ne semble avoir été que de trop courte durée, puisque trente ans plus tard (66—67 après J.-C.) elle était déchue au rang d'une simple bourgade, κώμη, dans laquelle l'Historien juif se fit transporter pour recevoir les premiers soins de

ses blessures, à la suite de la bataille engagée entre lui et Sylla, commandant des troupes d'Agrippa II. (Jos. Vita, 72. ed., Dindorf.).

Ici, une première question se pose: à quoi devons-nous attribuer la décadence si rapide de Capharnaüm? L'histoire est muette à ce sujet: mais nous croyons pouvoir l'attribuer à plusieurs causes, qui y auront contribué également. Peut-être, les tremblements de terre, (phénomène assez commun dans le bassin du lac de Tibériade). L'histoire nous a conservé le souvenir des nombreux tremblements de terre, qui ont ébranlé le sol de l'Asie entre l'an 60 et 70 après J.-C.: Colosses et Laodicée furent détruites en l'an 60, sans parler de Philadelphie, qui mérita le titre de *«ville pleine de tremblements de terre»* (Strabon XIII, 10).

Un autre phénomène d'ordre social aura également privé Capharnaüm d'un bon nombre de ses citoyens adoptifs et hôtes momentanés: je veux parler du développement rapide d'une puissante rivale, Tibériade, devenue capitale de la Galilée, située elle aussi, sur une des ramifications du grand réseau de routes commerciales entre Damas, la Phénicie et l'Egypte. Rien d'in vraisemblable: d'autant plus que le roi Antipas fut très large en faveurs et en privilèges envers les nouveaux habitants de sa capitale, qu'il dut recruter principalement entre l'élément payen, puisque les bons Israelites s'interdisaient d'habiter Tibériade, et même d'y passer. (Talmud de Jérusalem, Schebuth IX, 1.)

Mais ce qui joua un rôle plus néfaste dans la décadence de Capharnaüm, ce fut la corruption des mœurs de ses habitants, alimentée par la convoitise des richesses et les abus du luxe. Jésus avait dit que Capharnaüm et ses deux voisines Bethsaïda et Corozäin s'obstinaient dans le vice plus durement que Sodome, Tyr et Sidon: et, à quelques siècles de distance, le Talmud nous confirme que chez les habitants de Capharnaüm l'immoralité était très avancée.

Le Midrash Koheleth (7,20 fol.14, 2) cite les paroles de l'Ecclésiaste VII, 26, où il est dit de la femme au cœur léger: «Celui qui est agréable à Dieu lui échappe: mais le pécheur sera pris par elle», puis il ajoute: «Cela vise les gens de Kefar-Nahum».

Plus loin, le même Midrasch (fol. 109, 4) parlant de Hanania neveu du célèbre Rabbi Jehosoua, qui habitait Capharnaüm dans la première moitié du II<sup>e</sup> siècle, dit: «Hanania, le neveu de Rabbi Jehosoua, fut un saint homme: par contre les habitants de Kefar-Nahum sont des pécheurs».

Un fait qui nous peint la profonde corruption des mœurs des habitants de Capharnaüm, est raconté par le Talmud au sujet d'un disciple de Rabbi Jonathan. Je le passe sous silence pour ne pas offenser les oreilles de mes auditeurs. (J. Lightfoot. *Disquisitio chorographica*. Apud Ugolini, *Thesaurus* V, col. 1123.)

Nous ignorons la part prise par notre Capharnaüm à la guerre juive de 70 et de 132 ap. J.-C., mais il ne serait pas téméraire d'affirmer que ses habitants se soient battus avec un héroïsme digne de leurs frères de race, de cette race belliqueuse et vaillante qui habitait alors la Galilée.<sup>1</sup>

Dans les luttes de succession à l'empire, surtout dans la seconde moitié du II<sup>e</sup> siècle, les Juifs de Palestine prirent maladroitement parti, tantôt pour l'un, tantôt pour l'autre des rivaux : aussi essayèrent-ils des chatiments très durs de la part des vainqueurs. Nous savons par l'histoire que Antonin le Pieux écrasa les Juifs révoltés. Marc-Aurèle n'a pas été plus tendre à leur égard, quand il accourut en Palestine pour dompter la révolte provoquée par Avidius Cassius. Pris de dégoût pour les Juifs révoltés, il s'écria (c'est Ammien Marcelin qui le raconte) : « O Marcomans, o Quades, o Sarmates, j'ai enfin trouvé des gens plus turbulents que vous ! »<sup>2</sup> Quant à Septime Sévère, le Sénat lui décerna le *Triomphe judaïque*, pour le succès obtenu sur les Palestiniens, qui, pendant longtemps, avaient porté les armes en faveur de Pescennius Niger.<sup>3</sup> Voilà pourquoi il nous semble très difficile d'admettre que la synagogue de Capharnaüm ait été construite dans la seconde moitié de ce siècle, grâce à la munificence impériale, ainsi que certains auteurs l'ont prétendu. Le silence du Talmud serait inexplicable à ce sujet, et les habitants de Capharnaüm, certes, n'auraient point manqué d'en perpétuer le souvenir par une inscription comme celle de *Khîrbet Keisoun*.

Mais alors, à quelle époque précise peut-on faire remonter la construction de la célèbre synagogue de Capharnaüm ? Tels qu'ils sont les restes retrouvés du monument peuvent bien être assignés à mon humble avis à deux époques différentes ; à savoir, à une époque

<sup>1</sup> Julius Capitolinus, *Ant. Pius ad Diocletianum* V ed. Nisard ap. *Hist. August.* Paris 1876, p. 331b.

<sup>2</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, *Historia Romana* LXXI, 33 et 35.

<sup>3</sup> Aelius Spartianus, *Pesc. Niger*, ad Dioclet. XVI.

ancienne, très probablement le I<sup>er</sup> siècle, et une restauration postérieure, peut-être vers la fin du II<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère.

Nous devons assigner une date approximative à la démolition systématique des figures animales, sculptées si souvent dans la décoration de la synagogue et de ses dépendances. Il est très probable que ce vandalisme ait eu lieu avant l'organisation de la première communauté chrétienne à Capharnaüm, c. à d. avant le IV<sup>e</sup> siècle. A son arrivée comme gouverneur de la Galilée, Joseph exigea des magistrats la destruction du palais construit par Antipas, parce qu'il était orné de figures d'animaux ce qui était contraire à la loi. On pourrait se demander si ce mouvement ne s'est pas étendu jusqu'à Capharnaüm? Peut-être pourrait-on songer aussi à une espèce de représaille accomplie par un clan d'orthodoxie plus authentique du voisinage (serait-ce Tibériade?) qui aura voulu donner une leçon à ses corréligionnaires de Capharnaüm beaucoup trop libéraux? Ce qui est sûr, c'est que le monument destiné à recevoir les rouleaux de la Thora, a été déplacé du Nord au Sud, après l'établissement de l'école rabbinique à Tibériade. C'est elle en effet, qui prescrit que les fidèles se tinssent la face tournée vers le Sud (vers Jérusalem) pendant qu'ils accomplissaient les actes de la liturgie synagogale.

La fondation à Capharnaüm d'une communauté chrétienne organisée ne remonte (nous-l'avons dit) qu'au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Jusqu'alors, dit S. Epiphane, nul Grec, ni Samaritain, ni chrétien n'a été toléré à vivre au milieu de ses habitants, tous Juifs. L'église a été bâtie sur l'emplacement de la maison de S. Pierre, grâce à la bienveillance très grande dont le Comte Joseph de Tibériade jouissait à la cour impériale. Le territoire ecclésiastique de Capharnaüm relevait du siège métropolitain de Scythopolis, qui englobait toute la *Palestina II*. L'histoire ne nous a conservé le nom d'aucun de ses évêques, comme elle a fait pour les sièges limitrophes.

Un document, de saveur antique, utilisé par Pierre-le-Diacre en 1137 dans son *traité sur le lieux saints* parle de cette église et de la synagogue également. La description qu'il en donne montre clairement que le visiteur vise la synagogue de Capharnaüm à

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<sup>1</sup> Il ne semble point vraisemblable que l'église eut été bâtie avant 352 ap. J.-C. c. à d. avant que Gallus eut maté d'importance les Juifs rebelles de la Galilée.

laquelle, à la différence des autres synagogues découvertes en Galilée, on accédait par des marches, ce qui nous fournit un argument très important pour l'identification de *Tell-Houm* avec Capharnaüm. Quant à l'église, le pèlerin remarque que son altarium (autel) avait été déchiqueté par les pèlerins, qui par dévotion en avaient enlevé des parcelles. Cela indiquerait que l'église datait de quelques dizaines d'années au moins.

Il n'est pas improbable que pendant la troisième révolte des Samaritains contre Justinien, Capharnaüm aussi, avant sa catastrophe finale, eut à souffrir de la part des insurgés qui ravagèrent villes et villages de la *Palestina II*<sup>a</sup>.<sup>2</sup> Aussi dût-on fortifier la ville de Tibériade, dont les remparts n'offraient plus que des monceaux de décombres.<sup>3</sup>

À l'invasion des Perses, en 614, Capharnaüm semble ne pas avoir subi les horreurs du pillage et de l'incendie: puisque sur leur passage ils trouvèrent les meilleurs alliés dans les Juifs de Tibériade et du reste de la Galilée.<sup>4</sup>

Parmi les écrivains postérieurs, seul Antonin le Martyr (570) parle de l'église ou basilique érigée sur la maison de S. Pierre, mais de la synagogue il n'est plus question.

Peut-être que dans l'Hodœporicon de Willibald (723—726) on y fait allusion en disant «*qu'à Capharnaüm il y a une maison et un grand mur*»: probablement les restes de l'église et de la synagogue. L'une et l'autre étaient donc en état de ruines au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle et probablement longtemps au paravant, sans doute à la suite des tremblements de terre, dont les indices sont indéniables.

Pendant le long règne de l'empereur Justinien (527—565) ces cataclysmes se renouvelaient presque chaque année et causaient de grands ravages dans la Syrie et la Palestine. Nous croyons cependant que Capharnaüm fut entièrement détruite, comme Tibériade, par le tremblement de terre signalé une trentaine d'années après la conquête arabe c. à. d. vers 665—667.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tout porte à croire que ce document est de S. Sylvie d'Oquitaine.

<sup>2</sup> Couret. *La Palestine sous les empereurs grecs*, p. 137.

<sup>3</sup> Idem p. 186.

<sup>4</sup> Couret op. cit. p. 241.

<sup>5</sup> Lung, *תורה דרך*, Jerusalem 1892, p. 227.

Lorsque la Syrie fut conquise par les Arabes en 636 les Juifs et les Chrétiens furent chassés de Tibériade: et rien n'empêche de croire qu'ils soient venus jusqu'à Capharnaüm pour y trouver un refuge.

Les uns y étaient attirés par les souvenirs évangéliques, les autres par les célèbres tombeaux des deux Rabbis Nahoum et Tanhoum. Entre les lampes trouvées pendant les dernières fouilles, quelques unes sont de l'époque byzantine tardive, de même que les monnaies, malheureusement trop rares. Un fragment de lampe porte l'inscription connue لله الله الله. Il est possible que la colonie des fugitifs ait été rejointe bientôt par des Musulmans, qui ont partagé avec eux la beauté du rivage et la fertilité de la campagne. Une partie des maisons, retrouvées au Sud de la synagogue, ont été surement construites avec du matériel plus ancien, tombé à la suite des tremblements de terre. Dans les murs on a mêlé pêle-mêle du matériel fruste avec des anciens montants de porte etc., en vue d'obtenir des habitations solides avec la moindre dépense.

Au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle Capharnaüm a du perdre complètement son importance, puisqu'elle n'est pas mentionnée dans le *Commematorium de casis Dei* (808): chose d'autant plus digne de remarque, que l'auteur n'a pas manqué de noter l'église de la proche *Heptapegon* et du monastère contigu, qui était habité par dix moines.

A partir du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu'aux Croisades, règne un silence parfait au sujet de Capharnaüm, soit à cause de la difficulté de voyager, soit encore à cause de l'hostilité des Musulmans de ces parages envers les Juifs et les Chrétiens. Les derniers, qui ont mentionné Capharnaüm et laissé une petite note de son état d'abandon, sont Burchard du Mont Sion O. P. (1283—1285) et Isaac Chélo (1334). Le premier nous dit que «Capharnaum, jadis glorieuse, était dans un état misérable, ayant à peine sept maison de pauvres pêcheurs».<sup>1</sup> Le pèlerin israélite nous dit que «*Kefar-Nahoum* était un village en ruines et qu'il y avait un ancien tombeau qu'on dit être celui de Nahoum-le-Vieux».<sup>2</sup>

Depuis lors l'ancienne ville de Capharnaüm ne garde plus que le nom, déformé en celui de *Tall-Houm*, évidemment la corruption de

<sup>1</sup> Burchardi de Monte Sion, *Descriptio T. S.*, ed., Canisius, t. IV, p. 35—36.

<sup>2</sup> Cormoly, *Itinéraires de T. S.*, Bruxelles 1847, p. 310.

*Tanhoun* par un phénomène phonétique très fréquent chez les Arabes. Cette étymologie nous paraît la plus acceptable, parceque, comme le Dr. Macalister en fait la remarque, le site n'est pas un *tell* (monticule) mais plutôt un *khirbet* c. à d. un amas de ruines dans un terrain plat.

Voilà, d'après les données historiques très sobres que nous possédons, un rapide aperçu de la dernière période de l'histoire de Capharnaüm, période de décadence après l'apogée de la prospérité et du bien-être. La Custodie Franciscaine de Terre-Sainte a déjà fouillée une partie assez importante des ruines de Tel-Houm, et avec les résultats les plus encourageants. Il me reste de former un vœux; c'est que le Département d'Antiquités de Palestine, ou un des savants instituts archéologiques veuille prendre sur lui la tâche de soulever quelques plis du linceul, qui est encore étendu sur Capharnaüm, qui restera toujours aussi cher aux disciples de Jésus, qu'aux enfants d'Israel.



## AIGUPTOS: A DERIVATION AND SOME SUGGESTIONS

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TO the Greeks the Valley and Delta of the Nile were known by the collective name of *Aiguptos*. This is the sense in which the word has been bequeathed to us, but there are several indications that its original scope was more restricted.

In Homer the word is generally applied to the Nile itself, the name *Neilos* appearing for the first time in Hesiod;<sup>1</sup> but the references which Homer<sup>2</sup> has occasion to make speak always of deep sea voyages, of swift sea-faring galleys, checked or urged on by fate in some expedition to the Delta creeks.

*Aiguptos* is thus synonymous with the Egyptian coast-line and this is confirmed by the important statement of Herodotus<sup>3</sup> who says that to the Ionians *Aiguptos* meant the Delta only; the rest of the Nile Valley was divided by them (incorrectly as he himself thought) into Arabia on the east and Libya on the west.

This Ionian testimony is not lightly to be dismissed, for the Ionians by the consent of most Greek writers<sup>4</sup> were descendants of the Pre-Hellenic creators of the so-called Mycenaean culture and must have had trade—or pirate—relations with Egypt for many centuries before Herodotus' time. How is it that they never heard or used the Eastern name of *Miṣraim*? This name in various forms was long familiar to Mesopotamia and Syria, and is of course retained to-day in the form of *al-Miṣr*. It must have been the name usually employed

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Theogony*, 337.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Odyssey* IV, 351 (sense indeterminate), ib. 477 and 581 (definite reference to the Nile).

<sup>3</sup> Herodotus II, 15.

<sup>4</sup> Herod. I, 145; Thucydides I, 56—58. Cf. Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, 1901, p. 95.

in the later, as in the earlier, Dynastic times: how is it that it never reached Ionian ears?

Two other problems present themselves. Why this restriction of the name *Aiguptos* to the Delta, and why this apparent ignorance of the historic kingdom which united the two banks of the Nile as far south as the first Cataract? Not only is *Aiguptos* not synonymous with *Misraim* but the very titles of Arabia and Libya ignore in the most significant manner facts which must have been familiar to descendants of the pre-Hellenic Pelasgi. The theory briefly advanced in this paper to account for the questions raised above depends primarily on a most striking equation. For some reason it does not appear to have been noticed that not only is the name *Aiguptos* preserved to-day in the abbreviated form of *Kibt* (*Kopt*) but that there existed in Egypt from pre-historic times a *nome* which bore the still obscure name of *Kefti* (*Koptos*).

The *Kopts* were originally so called because they considered themselves to be the pure original *Egyptians* who differed on certain points of Christian theology (into which we need not enter) from others who were for the most part newcomers to the country. That their name is derived from, or in some manner intimately related to, the Greek *Aiguptos* has, I think, never been questioned; what makes the equation so singular is that in using this abbreviated form they seem, as by some miracle, to have gone back *beyond* the Greek name and sounded a most remarkable echo.

For *Kopts* have nothing to do with *Koptos*, which to-day is the modern *Keft* and (curiously enough) produces some of our best archaeological workmen, all of them Moslems and none of them in the least degree interested in Christian metaphysics!

The word *Aiguptos* itself seems to demand an underlying *K* as indeed is shewn in its derivative *Kopt*. Derivations therefore such as the once popular *Het Ka Ptah* (the house of the *Ka* of *Ptah*) must be rejected. This is perhaps beside the point in the present circumstances, for it is clearly our duty to investigate the identical form *Kefti* and try to discover if there is any reason for its having drifted as a national name to the Delta.

Here we enter highly debateable ground. Nevertheless the *nome* of *Koptos* presents certain features of such peculiar significance that we cannot exclude them from our present discussion.

In the first place the geographical position of the *nome* is an immensely important one: it stands in the face of the Wadi Hammamât through which it can control the Red Sea trade or meet invaders from the east or south.

In the second place its god was the ithyphallic Min, a deity whose characteristics belong to the Aegaeon, and not to the historic Egyptian, world. Osiris, the only god who shares them, came from the Syrian coast and his affinities are with the Anatolian-Mediterranean groups of Attis and Ma, Adonis and Ishtar, the Samothracian Mysteries of the Cabeiri, and the Thracian cult of Dionysus. Figures of Min have been discovered<sup>1</sup> which belong to pre-historic (pre-Dynastic) times. In the historic period he enjoyed a certain prestige but he is the patron of an older race and his later fame rose partly from his oracle and partly, no doubt, from his resemblance to Osiris.

In the third place it is just in the neighbourhood of Koptos, at Ballas, Nagada, Diospolis, Hou, Abydos etc. that modern researches have disclosed the most abundant remains of a primitive, possibly aboriginal, race of Mediterranean type, whose art, whose pottery, and whose burial practices differ *toto coelo* from those of the historic Egyptians.<sup>2</sup> These remains, thought at first by Petrie, their original discoverer, to be those of a new race entering Egypt in the Dynastic period, are now known from one end of the country to the other and it is recognised to-day that they constitute our chief evidence for the earliest population of the Nile Valley. Their presence in the neighbourhood of Koptos, even though they were found there in the greatest profusion, is not in itself a convincing proof of that city's primary importance in primitive times; but taken together with other facts it forms an important link in our chain of argument. The legends of ancient Egypt supply another.<sup>3</sup> They tell us of an invasion from the south by certain *Mesniu* or Metal-workers who were followers of the sky-god Horus and they name the neighbourhood of Denderah<sup>4</sup> as the scene of the combat between the intruders and the native

<sup>1</sup> Breasted, *History of Egypt*, 1920, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Petrie and Quibell, *Nagada and Ballas*, 1896. Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, 1901. Randall-MacIver and Mace, *El Anrah and Abydos*, 1902.

<sup>3</sup> Budge, *History of Egypt*, 1902, I, p. 44. King, *History of Sumer and Akkad*, 1916, p. 324.

<sup>4</sup> Budge *ib.* p. 45. It was called *Khatâ-neter* "the god's slaughter."

population, and of the slaughter of the latter. It needs little imagination to infer that this invasion, if it ever occurred at all, took place by way of the Wadi Hammamât. Broadly speaking, the stone-using aborigines went down before the metal-users from the Red Sea, and these latter, who may not have been as numerous as they were superior in culture, formed a kind of bridge-head in the Thebaid and thence gradually extended their power to the north and south. This invasion has been denied on anthropological and even on archaeological grounds. Both must be briefly dealt with here.

The anthropological evidence is not decisive. If it be granted that investigations in the Thebaid by Thomson and MacIver<sup>1</sup> shew little or no change in the physical characteristics of the population, it is a fact, none the less, that Elliott Smith,<sup>2</sup> who examined similar remains in the same district as well as at Ghiza, notices a gradual intrusion of a new type of man which he calls the Ghiza type. And even if this does not represent the metal-working invaders, there seems no reason why these themselves should not have belonged to the same *race* as the aboriginal inhabitants of Egypt. Anthropology is therefore powerless to decide the question. Archaeology yields a more certain answer.<sup>3</sup> Although to-day there is a strong tendency to dismiss the invasion theory as untenable, those who do so must account for the fact that from the first Dynasty onwards we find (1) hieroglyphic writing appearing, as if by magic, in an already matured system; (2) skilled carving in ivory, sculpture, and bas-relief springing up "as if born in a moment;" (3) the introduction of the potter's wheel together with a notable decay in the old pre-historic designs; (4) the use of brick and the construction of tombs to represent chambers instead of their being as before mere pits in the ground; (5) the appearance of highly skilled *metal working* as in the tomb of Zer; and (6) an apparent alteration in popular taste as regards pottery and articles of dress.

A writer has said of the first Dynasty: "This is the life of the Egyptians and these are the true beginnings of Egyptian History."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thomson and Randall-MacIver, *The Ancient Races of the Thebaid*, 1905.

<sup>2</sup> Elliott-Smith, *The Ancient Egyptians*, 1911. Cf. Keane, *Man: Past and Present*, 1920, p. 447.

<sup>3</sup> The facts are well summarised by Thomson and Randall-MacIver op. cit. pp. 11 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> *Ancient Races of the Thebaid*, p. 13.

It hardly needs to be added that it is from this period that the pre-Dynastic practice of burial in the contracted "embryo" position gradually goes out and is replaced by the mummification of the extended corpse. What can these facts mean, when taken in conjunction with the other evidence, but that a new and superior culture (even if brought by a race of the same physical affinities) has forced its way into the Nile Valley and initiated the historical Egyptian life? Add to this two facts: (1) that the earliest Dynasties sprang up according to tradition at Thinis<sup>1</sup> (their tombs have been found at Abydos), and (2) that to Manetho<sup>2</sup> the great monarch who began the Dynastic line, Menes, is also the land's first "founder," *Mestramimus*; or, in other words, that Menes the first Dynast introduces the name Mišraim.

Now if we accept the ruling of those laws which have been laid down concerning the observed influences of geographical environment,<sup>3</sup> we shall look, in the case of such an invasion as this, for some "misery spot" at it is called, some inaccessible region of swamp, fen, mountain or desert to which the hardier and less reconcilable elements of the conquered race retire. We have no time to consider the numerous instances of this withdrawal in history; it will be sufficient to mention Brittany, which still retains the ancient tribal name and speech, or our own English fen country which long harboured refugees from the Danish and Saxon invasions. Such a place in Egypt is the Delta amongst whose lakes and marshes Amasis himself in later days found a temporary refuge. In the dawn of Egyptian history it lay under the protection of the great god Set, who is actually one of the symbols of Lower Egypt and as such "appears sometimes with (his rival) Horus, preceding the King's personal name, the two gods thus representing the north and south" and "dividing the land between them"<sup>4</sup> as the famous myth of their combat relates. Set is therefore, like Min, a pre-Mišraim god; it is in the Delta that he

<sup>1</sup> Manetho as quoted by Julius Africanus and Eusebius. Muller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. Didot, p. 539.

<sup>2</sup> Manetho Eusebii F. H. G., p. 526. Manetho Syncelli F. H. G., p. 535.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Semple, *Influences of Geographic Environment*, 1914, p. 94:—"We find the refugee folk living in pile villages built over the water, in deserts, in swamps, mangrove thickets, very high mountains, marshy deltas, and remote or barren islands."

<sup>4</sup> Breasted, *History of Ancient Egypt*, p. 38.

retains his power; and it cannot be a mere coincidence that from the Hyksos invasion onwards he becomes identified with the Anatolian Sutekh.

The Delta, with its mixed population of Libyan Neith-worshippers, Mediterranean Osiris-worshippers, pre-Miṣraim Set-worshippers (if these two last are not to be identified), persisted always as a thorn in the side of Dynastic Egypt. It was indeed long before "the sacred Uraeus of the north took its place beside the protecting Vulture of the south"<sup>1</sup> and if the Union of the two Lands was symbolised by the name *Miṣraim*, there were not lacking forces in this hostile zone to contest the title and challenge at every period the supremacy of the followers of Horus.

To sum up, it is suggested that the name *Aiguptos* was derived from the pre-Miṣraim inhabitants who called their capital *Kebti* and their land and even their river probably by the same name. The word possibly meant "black" in allusion to the darkness of the alluvial soil. The later Egyptian K-M-I (preserved in Al-chemy) bore this meaning and we have Hesychius' authority for the equation αἰγυπτῶσαι = "to make black". Be that as it may, we have historical, archaeological, ethnological, and traditional evidence for our hypothesis. A stubborn nucleus of the conquered race, retiring like the Bretons to a less accessible region, seem to have preserved their identity and cherished amongst the ruins of their past the name of their country and the hostility of their gods. That name the traders from over-seas learned in the coastal ports; may it not have been malicious design which concealed from them for so long the existence of an ancient kingdom in Upper Egypt even at a time when its glories were on the wane?

There is, at first glance, one refractory point which seems to challenge the hypothesis advanced above. It is the initial diphthong *AI*. If *Gyptos* be *Kebti*, where does this prefix find its origin? One thing we may say with certainty, it cannot have been a fundamental part of the name. The *Ḳopt*s dropped it, the *nome* of *Ḳoptos* never possessed it. It seems therefore to have qualified the *nome* in some manner, to have been an element capable of detachment from the essential root—to have been, we may even say, true of *Ai-gyptos* in

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<sup>1</sup> Breasted ib.

the Ionian sense but not true of *Ḳoptos* or the *Ḳopts*. A daringly simple solution stares us in the face; indeed it is so simple that one propounds it with every possible trepidation. It is well known how large a Semitic element is preserved in the ancient Egyptian language and, not to press this point, how loan words normally creep in. Are we dealing with one here? There is no *prima facie* objection to such a solution, for language ever rises superior to differences of race and imposes itself often through the will of a conquerer or the interchange of commerce. In this case, then, one cannot help recalling the Hebrew word which in our A. V. is translated "country" or "island" and in the R. V. more correctly "coast". This word is *Ai*, אִי. When we see the name *Ai-Kaphtor* (for example) we can hardly resist replacing the *Kaphtor* by a *Ḳebt* and studying the result:—*Ai-Ḳebt*, the coast of *Ḳebt*, the coast of the Nile mouths, the Delta, the land or river to which the ships of Menelaus came, the region which the Ionians knew and have handed down as *AI-GUPTOS*.

## THE ANCIENT CITY OF PHILOTERIA (*BETH YERAH*)

L. SUKENIK  
(JERUSALEM)

ON the western shore of the Sea of Chinnereth, at the southern end, in a striking situation, at the very mouth of the Jordan,<sup>1</sup> is found a large mound, whose extent and character point to the former existence here of an important town. The narrow pass along the lake-shore widens out into a small plain at this point. The nearness of the Lake and the Jordan, with their abundance of fish, and the fertile plain of the Jordan, which begins here, furnished

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<sup>1</sup> With regard to the mouth of the Jordan at Chinnereth, it is interesting to note the description given by the Russian pilgrim, Abbot Daniel, who visited Palestine in the year 1106 (Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, *Pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot Daniel*, p. 60): "The Jordan flows from the Sea of Tiberias in two streams, which foam along in a marvellous way; one of these is called *Jor* and the other *Dan*. Thus the Jordan flows from the Sea of Tiberias in two streams, which are three bow-shots apart, and which, after a separation of about half a verst, reunite as one river, which is called Jordan from the names of the two arms —. At the source fish abound, and there two stone bridges, very solidly built upon arches through which the Jordan flows, span the two streams." Daniel, as he was traveling northward from Beisân, seems to have seen the Jarnuk and erroneously taken it for an arm of the Jordan. The two bridges which he saw were presumably the Jisr el-Majâmi' and the Jisr es-Sidd, now ruined, near the modern Jewish colony of Betania. Since the distances do not agree at all with the facts, the good abbot evidently drew upon his imagination for details. I cannot therefore agree with Dalman, who in *Orte und Wege Jesu*<sup>2</sup>, p. 159, says that in the time of Daniel the Jordan flowed out of the lake in two streams, which encircled Khirbet Kerak. Such a unique position of the town, situated on an island, would certainly be mentioned somewhere in the literature, but of this there is no trace. What Dalman took to be the ancient bed of the northern arm of the Jordan is only an insignificant depression, through which water flows during inundations. The wall which crosses this depression has no arches, which would be necessary in case the water really flowed here in ancient times. Daniel's stone bridges were, according to his express statement, built upon arches.



opportunity for the development of a large settlement. The road from the north to Scythopolis (Beth-shan) passed by the ancient city. Accordingly, we are not surprised to find there extensive traces of an ancient city. The ruins extend for a kilometer along the lake-shore, and the remains of an ancient wall, of buildings projecting above the surface of the ground, of basalt pillars, rock-hewn tombs, the remains of an aqueduct which brought water to the city from the Wâdi Fejjâs, etc. prove conclusively that a large and important town was located here. We can hardly be wrong in asserting that this is the site of the most important ancient town on the western shore of the Sea, with the exception of Tiberias, which was founded at a later period. The Arabs call the mound Khirbet Kerak ("ruins of the fortress"); at present it is included within the territory belonging to the Jewish colony of Chinnereth.

What was the ancient town whose remains are found here? Unfortunately, the majority of Palestinian topographers have identified it with ancient Taricheae, mentioned frequently by Josephus in connection with the Jewish war against the Romans. For decades a violent dispute raged in regard to the site of Taricheae. There were many who stubbornly maintained the identification of Taricheae with Khirbet Kerak, although every impartial reader of Josephus (who is the only one to be considered, since Pliny wrote from second and third hand) sees at once from his descriptions that Taricheae must have been located north of Tiberias.<sup>1</sup> Finally Professor Dalman has given up the identification of Taricheae with Khirbet Kerak, which he had long accepted, along with most scholars.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Albright will publish in the second volume of the *Annual* of the American School an elaborate résumé of the controversy, with a defence of the Mejdél theory, which we may now regard as absolutely certain.

It is therefore possible to state positively that Khirbet Kerak was not the site of Taricheae. Let us then try to reconstruct the history of the place, and discover its ancient name from the literary sources. Neubauer was the first to identify the site with Beth Yerah, mentioned in the Talmud in connection with the Jordan Valley.<sup>3</sup> The Talmud says that the Jordan, or better, the valley of the Jordan begins

<sup>1</sup> See *Bell. Jud.* II 20, 6; 21, 3; III, 10, 1; 10, 3; 10, 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Orte und Wege Jesu*<sup>2</sup>, p. 160.

<sup>3</sup> *La géographie du Talmud*, pp. 31, 215.

south of Beth Yerah: *אין ירדן אלא מבית-ירח ולמטה* (*Beḥhôrôt* 55a). This statement and other passages of the Talmud, where Beth Yerah and Sinnabris (the Šinnabrah of the Arabic geographers, and modern Sinnabrah or Sinn en-Nābrah) are mentioned together show clearly that Khirbet Kerak is Beth Yerah.

The name Beth Yerah ("House of the moon") points to a pre-Israelite origin; it is also found in the Amarna Tablets as the name of a town near Byblos (Bit-arḥa). At the southern end of the same valley in which Beth Yerah is situated we find another Canaanite town with a name of similar import—Jericho (יריחו). During the time of the Second Temple, up until the Maccabaeen period, Beth Yerah, like the rest of Galilee, remained outside the narrow Jewish boundaries. We may assume that the population of Beth Yerah was a mixture of Aramaeans and Canaanites or Phoenicians, with a small Jewish element. The world-conqueror, Alexander of Macedon, who cherished the desire of spreading Greek culture over his wide realm, found in this region a fertile field for his activities. While the little people of the Jews showed bitter hostility toward the Hellenizing plans of the Greek kings, the influence of Greek culture spread rapidly in northern Palestine and Transjordan. At that time were laid the foundations of the Hellenistic cities which remained as thorns in the flesh of Jewry during the course of centuries. The Egyptian kingdom of the Ptolemies, to whose lot Palestine fell, exerted a great influence in the direction of Hellenizing the country. Many cities gave up their native names and took new Greek ones. The new name which Beth Yerah assumed is found in a passage of Polybius, who wrote in the second century B.C. He describes the campaign of Antiochus the Great in Palestine in 216, and mentions Philoteria in the following words (Polybius, V, 70, Shuckburgh's translation): He (Antiochus) therefore broke up his camp again and continued his march (from Sidon) towards Philoteria: ordering Diognetus, his navarch, to sail back with his ships to Tyre. Now Philoteria is situated right upon the shores of the lake into which the river Jordan discharges itself, and from which it issues out again into the plains surrounding Scythopolis. The surrender of these two cities to him encouraged him to prosecute his further designs; because the country subject to them was easily able to supply his whole army with provisions and everything necessary for the campaign in abundance.

The name "Philoteria," which is also found in Egypt, was, as it seems, given to the city in order to flatter Ptolemy Philadelphus,



Fig. 1. Head of Tyche.

whose sister was called Philoteria.<sup>1</sup> So, also, Rabbath Ammon changed its name to Philadelphia during his reign.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I do not know why Dalman (*loc. cit.*) calls Philoteria "eine mazedonische Gründung." It is much more probable that the old town, Beth Yerah, simply changed its name, adopting the new Greek name to please its Ptolemaic suzerain. Cf. Strabo, XVI, iv, 5.

<sup>2</sup> That Philadelphia remained an Aramaean town, in spite of its new Greek varnish, is shown by the Gerza Papyri; cf. Vincent, *Revue Biblique*, 1920, p. 189.

Meanwhile the small Jewish state gained in strength as a result of the national movement under the Asmonaeans, and began to extend



Fig. 2. Head of Tyche.

its boundaries in all directions. The Maccabaeian conqueror, Alexander Jannaeus, conquered Galilee in the course of his reign; among the cities which a late Byzantine compiler, George Syncellus, evidently using an ancient source, includes among his conquests is Philoteria. Jannaeus tried to strengthen Judaism by settling Jews in the Hellenistic cities, but these efforts were soon frustrated by the Roman conquest. The Romans gave autonomy to all the Hellenistic cities,



Polybius, who mentions Philoteria and Scythopolis together, while Josephus says that Vespasian passed by Sennabris on his way to Tiberias from Scythopolis.

The second passage shows that the two sister-cities Beth Yerah and Sennabris were designated as autonomous cities. Now in the Talmud the terms *אבטוניות* and *אבטליות* are always used to denote Hellenistic cities, corresponding to the Greek terms *αὐτόνομοι* and *αὐτοτελείς*.<sup>1</sup>

In other passages Beth Yerah appears as Yerah and Arīah; the environs of Arīah (*תחום אריה*) are specially mentioned, which is otherwise only the case when a town is of some importance. In the neighborhood are also mentioned such places as the Gubâtâ d'Arīah and the Hammât Arīah. Apparently the hot springs of Tiberias were mentioned in connection with Arīah before the founding of the Hellenistic Tiberias.<sup>2</sup>

The Romans fortified Beth Yerah, and the importance of the place as a fortress outlasted its significance otherwise, so the Aramaean population called it simply *Kerākh*, "fortress," (see above), whence the modern Arabic name *Kerak* is derived. That this conclusion is correct is proved by the fact that the Talmud employs *Kerākh* as a name of the place.

In connection with Sennabris the Arabic historians describe the defeat of Baldwin I in 1113. On his march to reconquer Jerusalem from the Crusaders Saladin encamped at Sennabris (Sinnabrah).

At the close of the summer of 1921 I was invited by the Commission for Educational Work among the Jewish Laborers in Palestine to deliver some lectures on the Sea of Galilee and its surroundings before the agricultural coöperative societies and the Jewish pioneers who were building the road between Semakh and Tâbghah. I arrived at Chinnereth while they were engaged in road-construction near Khirbet Kerak. Since the road grazed the edge of the tell I had an opportunity to examine the débris, and discovered pot-sherds of the Arabic, Roman-Byzantine, and earlier periods. Some of these fragments are now in the rooms of the coöperative society in Chinnereth. I also found fragments of Greek and Arabic inscriptions, and a Jewish tomb-stone of a later period. The most interesting

<sup>1</sup> Krauss, *קדמוניות התלמוד*, Vol. 1, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Klein, *Beiträge zur Geographie und Geschichte Galiläas*, p. 90.

find is a marble head of a Greek Tyche, or Fortune, of the first centuries A. D., which points again to a Hellenistic settlement here. It would be most desirable to have an archaeological society take up the task of excavating Khirbet Kerak. In this way only will it be possible to know whether the ancient Canaanite town of Chinnereth is buried under the débris of the later Beth Yerah or Philoteria.

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(Mr. Sukenik has secured several fragmentary inscriptions from Khirbet Kerak, which are appended here. First there is a very

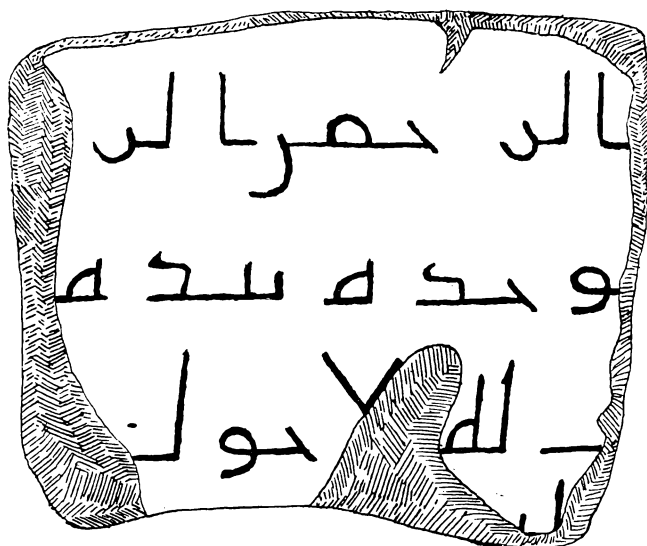


Fig. 3. Kufic inscription from Khirbet Kerak.

archaic Kufic inscription, which, as Dr. Mayer assures me, must date back to the first or second centuries of the Hijrah. The present fragment measures  $16 \times 14 \times 5$  cm., but the original text was about 40 cm. long, and at least 20 cm. wide. Unfortunately only the pious introductory formula has survived, but another fragment may turn up. The stone is marble. I have to thank my friend 'Omar Effendi for assistance in establishing the exact formula employed.

[بسم الله] الرحمن ال [رحيم]  
[الحمد لله] وحده بيده [الملك]  
[لا شريك] له لا حول ولا قوة  
[لا اله]

“In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful,  
Praise be to God, the only One, in Whose hands is the dominion;  
He has no companion; there is no might nor power  
Except in Him ...”

A fragment of a marble inscription, which probably once was inserted in an ornamental frieze above a door, runs as follows:

[. . . το]ῦ οἴκου δ[. . .]

From Beth Gan, a small Jewish colony south of Yemma, and a few miles southwest of Chinnereth, there comes this fragment of a tomb inscription, copied from a good photograph.

[	Εὐθ' ἄγε	κείται	(?)	Μαθ]	θαλό[ς . . .]
[				] ὁ	ἄρχ[ιμανδρίτης (?) ]
[				] θει	μ[ ]
[				] ἔτου[ς . . .]	

["Here lies (?)] Matthew [ ] the arch[imandrite (or archdeacon, etc.) . . .] [who lived . . .] years [ ]." — W. F. A.)



## PALESTINE IN THE EARLIEST HISTORICAL PERIOD

W. F. ALBRIGHT  
(JERUSALEM)

PALESTINE does not come into the full light of history until the Egyptian occupation, which lasted intermittently from about 1550 B. C. until 1170, when the last great conquering Pharaoh, Rameses III, died. The first generation to emerge clearly from the shadows lived in the first half of the fifteenth century, when Tuthmosis III subjugated Palestine, repeating the little-known expeditions of his grandfather, Tuthmosis I. A century later, under the Pharaohs Amenophis III and IV, a flood of illumination bursts upon us, thanks to the rich information contained in the Amarna Tablets. A little more than a century after the close of the Amarna period, probably about 1230 B. C.<sup>1</sup> the history of the Israelite people begins with the entrance into the Promised Land.

Yet we can no longer speak of the fifteen hundred years which elapsed before the rise of the Eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt as belonging to the prehistory of Palestine, since the number of references to the land and its immediate neighbours in hieroglyphic and cuneiform literature of the third millennium is slowly but steadily increasing. Moreover, the excavations of Gezer, Lachish, Taanach, Megiddo, and Jericho—now also of Beth-shan—enable us, when they are properly interpreted, to form a clear and even vivid picture of the vicissitudes of early Palestinian culture, and of the foreign conquests and influences to which it was subjected. We will, therefore, in this paper, survey the evidence at our command for the period lying between 3000 and 1600 B. C.—the morning twilight of Palestinian history,—considering first the external monumental

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<sup>1</sup> See the discussion in the *Journal*, Vol. I, pp. 62—66.

evidence, and secondly the conclusions to be drawn from the local excavations.

Since Palestine lies athwart the road of commerce and communication from Mesopotamia to Egypt, it must have been profoundly influenced by these two centres of our earliest civilization, and we should expect to find traces of this influence well back in the aeneolithic age. The time has long since passed when Egyptologists and Assyriologists could live in separate compartments, each unaffected by the work of the other. It is now certain that a profound Mesopotamian influence was exerted on Egypt in the fourth millennium, and probable that in the first centuries of the third millennium the phenomenal development of Egyptian art was echoed in Babylonia.<sup>1</sup> We should expect some explicit testimony to the relations which undoubtedly existed between the two countries during the age of the Dynasty of Akkad (c. 2950—2750). The long reigns of the first and fourth kings of this dynasty, Sargon I and Narâm-Sîn, brought about a great expansion of Mesopotamian political power, as we know now from numerous inscriptions of these monarchs, as well as documents of a later date, describing their exploits or glorifying them.

The conquests of Sargon, during the fifty-five years of his reign, extended far and wide in all directions; he claims to have conquered the West from the Silver Mountains (the Taurus) to the Cedar Forest (Mount Lebanon). However, these districts, though valuable economic assets to Babylonia, by no means represented the actual limits of his raids. In central Asia Minor, Sargon founded the Babylonian commercial colony of Ganiš or Kaniš (Kül Tepe) on the great Anatolian trade-route. His activities in connection with his conquest of Cappadocia and the foundation of the colony of merchants (*mârê tamkari*) in Ganiš are celebrated in an epic entitled "The King of Battle" (*šar tamhari*), portions of which have been found at

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<sup>1</sup> Hommel has long stressed the fact that sporadic Mesopotamian influences existed in early Egypt, but his tendency to overrate their importance, and even to derive Egyptian civilization from Babylonia created an opposition which led to the opposite extreme. Now we have, in Langdon's valuable paper in *Jour. of Eg. Arch.*, VII, 133—155, an excellent resumé of the subject, with many new contributions. After Langdon's work, it cannot be doubted that Mesopotamian influence on predynastic Egypt was very strong, and that the brilliant development of Egyptian art in the early dynastic period had a reflex in Babylonia.

Assur, as well as at Tell el-Amarna (in Hittite orthography), thus appearing to have made a tremendous impression on contemporaries. The city of Buršaḫanda, mentioned frequently in the tablet from Tell el-Amarna, appears constantly in the business documents of the colony at Ganiš from the second half of the third millennium as Buruḫhatim, the Buruḫhanda of the history of Narâm-Šin (CT XIII, 44) and the Barsuḫanta of the Hittite chronicles.<sup>1</sup> In the southwest, also, Sargon's campaigns extended beyond Mari, or northeastern Syria, and Ibla, or northwestern Syria, over Lebanon to Yarmuti, the ancient name of Philistia and Sharon.<sup>2</sup> Later traditions, preserved in the omen tablets, state that Sargon I also crossed the Western Sea (Mediterranean), but as the King Chronicle says instead that he crossed the Eastern Sea (Persian Gulf) it is unwise to stress these assertions.

The conquests of Narâm-Šin (c. 2875—2820) exceeded those of his illustrious great-grandfather in all directions. To the east they included Baḫrein,<sup>3</sup> Elam, and the Zagros, where he set up his stele on Mount Tibar. In Asia Minor he came to the rescue of the beleaguered colonists at Ganiš, and according to a Hittite text

<sup>1</sup> See Ehelolf, *Orient. Literaturz.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 121.

<sup>2</sup> In an article to appear in the *Jour. of the Am. Or. Soc.* the writer has given new evidence for this location of Yarimuta, in addition to that presented JEA VI, 92, and VII, 81. Amarna, No. 296 seems to require the location of both Gaza and Joppa in Yarimuta, under the direct authority of its prefect, Yanḫamu. Sayce's view, JEA VI, 296, that Yarimuta was in the heart of northern Syria is based upon a series of errors and misunderstandings which have been exposed in the paper to appear in JAOS. The "classical Armuthia" with which he combines Yarimuta does not even exist, but is based upon a note of Tompkins, *Trans. of the Soc. of Bib. Arch.*, Vol. IX, 242, where the latter suggests the identification of Yarimuta with the little modern village of Armuthia (properly Armûdja) an hour south of Killis. Langdon, JEA VII, 139, n. 2, states his agreement with the writer's position.

<sup>3</sup> Since Langdon still holds to his old identification of Tilmun with the coast of Persia, we may refer again to the treatment of the evidence in *Am. Jour. of Sem. Lang.*, Vol. XXXV, 182—185. Tilmun was certainly an island in the Persian Gulf, sacred from the earliest times. With this agrees the fact that Baḫrein is covered with an extraordinary number of Babylonian burial mounds. Its distance from the old mouth of the Euphrates coincides exactly with Sargon III's statement that it was thirty double-hours, or sixty sailing (not marching) hours away, which would correspond to a distance of 250—350 miles by water. Baḫrein is now about 275—300 miles from the Babylonian coast; 2600 years ago the distance was at least fifty miles greater.

recently deciphered by Forrer, defeated a coalition of seventeen Anatolian kings who had "rebelled" against him. A tangible proof of his wars in Armenia is afforded by the discovery of his stele found *in situ* near Diarbekr in southwestern Armenia. His greatest victory was gained early in his reign, after consolidating his dominions in Mesopotamia. This was the defeat, and apparently capture of Manum or Manium king of Magan. As the writer has shown in a series of papers, it is probable that Magan denotes Egypt, known then, or a little later, to the Babylonians as Siddiri, probably a corruption of the same Egyptian word from which Semitic Miṣri, later Hebrew Miṣrayim, is derived.<sup>1</sup> The writer's additional view

<sup>1</sup> The writer's position has been stated and defended JEA VI, 89—98, 295; VII, 80—86; and in a paper, "New Light on Magan and Meluḥḥa," to appear in JAOS. A number of scholars have come out in opposition, especially Sayce, JEA VI, 296; Hall, JEA VII, 40; Langdon, JEA VII, 133—155 (with significant concessions). Important new material has vastly increased the complexity of the situation, while furnishing many new arguments for the writer's position. The text published by Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*, No. 92, line 30: *120 bérē šiddu ištu miḥri nār Puratti adī pāt māt Meluḥḥa māt Mari*, must naturally be rendered "120 double-hours distance (lit. length) from the Euphrates barrage to the border of Meluḥḥa and Mari." The word *šiddu* always means "length, distance," never "coast-line," as Langdon renders, JEA VII, 143. The preceding line, which mentions the border between Sumer (Babylonia) and Mari (at this period Syria, as shown by its being equated in Schroeder, No. 183, 11 with *māt Ḥatti*), shows that the barrage in question was located in the Middle Euphrates; dams in this district are mentioned by Strabo, XVII, i, 9, and the Hindiyeḥ barrage, somewhat lower down, survives to the present day, as may be seen by reference to Willcocks' works on Mesopotamian irrigation, *passim*. The actual distance in marching hours by way of Palmyra between the Euphrates at Šāleḥiyeḥ and Raphia, for thousands of years the Egyptian boundary, is 200—250, which agrees excellently with the 240 hours given. The inscriptions of the Sargonids prove to satiety that Meluḥḥa (properly Ethiopia) then meant Egypt, which an Ethiopian dynasty then ruled; an express statement of this fact is made by Sargon III, in his Triumphal Inscription, line 102f. As Langdon grants, the term *Meluḥḥa* was employed in the Amarna Tablets as a literary designation for the more familiar *Kašī*; in the Rib-Addi correspondence *Meluḥḥa* and *Kašī* interchange, and *Ka[šī]* is once given as gloss to *Meluḥḥa* (after the oblique stroke which always indicates glosses in the Amarna Tablets). The extension of the term *Meluḥḥa* to cover Egypt in the Sargonid period naturally displaced *Magan*, which in the Esarhaddon texts therefore means Syria; when the king marches from Syria into Egypt he is said to go from Magan to Meluḥḥa. This situation is further illustrated by the text Schroeder, No. 183, line 13, which gives the early Babylonian equivalent of the Sumerian *Magan* or *Maganna* as *māt Šiddiri*, and identifies it with the late Assyrian *māt Dāmu* or *Adāmu*, Edom (including Sinai). In a letter to the

that Manum (the *m* is merely the Babylonian nominative ending, as in *Gutium*, etc.) is no other than Menes, first king of the Thinite kingdom, who seems to have fallen into the hands of a hostile army at the end of his reign, is dependent upon the relative chronology of Egypt and Babylonia, which is not yet fixed in the early period.<sup>1</sup>

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writer, dated Dec. 11, 1921, Schroeder kindly states that the reading [*mât*] *Du-û*-[ ] is certain from a new collation, and that there was nothing but *mât* before the *du*, but the oblique wedge of the *mu* appears clearly in his published copy, and it is possible that there is room for a between *mat* and *du*, since the names in this column do not all commence in the same vertical line. There can be little doubt, then, that Edom is meant. As Esarhaddon's desert march to Egypt began from Edomite territory, *Magan* seems to have the same meaning in his inscriptions also. The equation is just as inexact as the scribe's other identifications of Amurru (Syria) with Assyria, and Mari (properly a district in northeastern Syria) with Syria as a whole. Elsewhere it will be shown that *Šiddiri* is probably a corruption of the same Egyptian word from which *Mišri* is later derived, a word referring presumably to the frontier fortifications (Heb. *Šûr*, "wall").

In this connection it may be well to refute a number of the new arguments adduced by Langdon, JEA VII, 142—145 and 149—151. He states that an inscription of Narâm-Šin refers to his conquest of Tilmun, Magan, and Meluḥḥa with their seventeen kings and ninety thousand soldiers. The text in question, CT XIII (not XV), 44, mentions the conquest of Subartu, Gutium, Elam; Tilmun, Magan, and Meluḥḥa, Obv. ii, 11—17. In lines 18ff. the defeat of the seventeen kings is mentioned, but, so far from their having any connection with the preceding countries, they all ruled in Asia Minor, as proved by the new Hittite version of a text of Narâm-Šin, described by Forrer, MDOG 61, 29. According to this important text seventeen kings of Asia Minor (see above) including the kings of Ḫatte, Kaniš and Kursaura (NW of Tyana) rebelled against Narâm-Šin, but were defeated in a great battle. Langdon further quotes Nies, *Ur Dynasty Tablets* 58, iv, 133, to prove that a man from Magan bore a Sumerian name. The text simply reads *Ur-Esir (KA-DI) dumu Lù-ma-gan-na*, i. e. "Ur-Esir, son of Lumaganna." A man from Magan who immigrated into Babylonia and married a Babylonian wife would naturally give his son a Babylonian name. Another man in the Nies texts called Meluḥḥa, who doubtless had been brought from Meluḥḥa as a slave, gave his son the name Ur-Lama.

Langdon (*ibid.* p. 150) stresses the question of the *sâmtu* stone, which the vocabularies derive from Meluḥḥa. I have urged the identification of the *sâmtu* stone with malachite; Langdon's objections show that he had not looked up my discussion of the word. The word *sâmtu* belongs with *šoham*, and has nothing to do with *sâmu*, "tawny red," which has a wholly distinct ideogram. I shall show elsewhere that the *sâmtu* stone was green, and hence refers to various kinds of malachite and turquoise, as may also be seen from the vocabulary published by Scheil, RA XV, 118.

<sup>1</sup> The uncertainty of Babylonian chronology is shown by the dates for Narâm-Šin given by the latest investigators. Langdon places him 2795 B. C., Clay 2770

If the synchronism is correct, we may place the accession of Menes about 2900 B. C., and that of Narâm-Sin about 2875; the conflict between the two mighty rulers of the ancient East would fall a few years later, perhaps on Palestinian soil. Be that as it may, the monumental record of raids into Palestine begins about the opening of the third millennium, with the invasion of the Philistine plain by Sargon I, and the expedition of Menes's successor, Athothis, into Asia.<sup>1</sup> We may safely assume that some of the many Egyptian

and Weidner (revised) 2607. Weidner's low date is produced by his theory that the Second Dynasty of Babylon was entirely contemporaneous; the writer has combated it in *Rev. d'Assyriol.* XVIII, 1—12 (unfortunately, the article is full of misprints, owing to the lack of a final proof-reading), defending the dates of Kugler and Thureau-Dangin. Valuable additional proof that the Second Dynasty came to a close at the beginning of the Third is furnished by the fact that Assur 4128 writes the names Eagamil and G[an]duš in the same line, contrary to its practise, while VAT 9470 places [G]an[duš] after [Melam]mi-ku[rkurra], thus omitting Eagamil entirely. The King Chronicle should then be corrected to read "Agum son of Gandaš (or Ganduš)" instead of "son of Kaštiliaš"; the Sea Lands fell into Ulam-Buriaš's hands about 1720, whereupon the conqueror was attacked by Agum (1726—1704). While the latter seems to have been at first successful, he was finally overthrown by Kaštiliaš, brother of Ulam-Buriaš, who founded a new Kossean dynasty in Babylon. The compilers of the lists discovered somewhere, we may suppose, the statement that Gandaš and Ea-gamil were contemporaries. If our reconstruction is correct, the Second Dynasty began with the death of Hammurabi; as we know from various sources, Samsu-iluna suppressed most of the revolts which broke out after his father's death, but failed to reduce Ilmailu, founder of the Second Dynasty.

The other chronological difficulty, adduced by Langdon, who accepts Kugler's dates, is that the Fifth Dynasty of Erech can hardly have lasted over fifty years, whereas the writer's theory demands a duration of at least a century. But since the Legrain tablet, as will be pointed out elsewhere, allows for three-four kings in the dynasty, and Gudea was apparently contemporaneous with Lugal-kisalsi II, of this dynasty, a longer duration than fifty years is probable. It required some time for the peaceful conditions reflected in the inscriptions of Gudea to develop, after the long rule of foreign barbarians.

No new material bearing on Egyptian chronology has come to light. The chief problem is that of the length of time which elapsed between the Sixth and the Twelfth Dynasties, which the writer has fixed at about a century and a half. The calendaric confirmations of the low dates for the Sixth Dynasty, which have been marshalled in my former papers, are strongly supported by the genealogical and archaeological evidence. Fisher's work has led him to believe that the interval in question was very short, and the explorations of the Metropolitan Museum Expedition in Upper Egypt are even more convincing. The earliest probable date for Menes is c. 3100.

<sup>1</sup> See Borchardt, *Mitt. der Vorderas. Ges.*, 1918, pp. 342—345. The term used for the defeat of the Asiatics is *šqr Štyt*.

kings of Upper and Lower Egypt before Menes,<sup>1</sup> and of the early Sumerian kings of Kiš and Mari had raided Syria in their time, but we have no monumental evidence for our supposition.

From now on for nearly a millennium there is no direct monumental evidence for Mesopotamian contact with Palestine, but there is plenty for Babylonian relations with Syria. Gudea, a powerful ruler of the south-Babylonian city of Lagaš, in the closing days of the Fifth Dynasty of Erech (c. 2600—2475) tells us at length of his commercial relations with Syria and Egypt (Magan), mentioning a number of districts in Syria, such as Ibla and Subsalla, Mount Amanus, etc. The name of Syria—perhaps including Palestine—at that time was Tidnum, or Tidanum, written ideographically *MAR-TU<sup>KI</sup>*, afterwards pronounced *Amûru*, when the Semitic Amorites had occupied the country. In the following Ûr Dynasty we have no allusion to conquests in Syria,<sup>2</sup> but it is certain that commercial relations must have existed between Babylonia, Syria, and Egypt. The period of the Ûr Dynasty represents the most flourishing period of Babylonian commerce in Cappadocia, as well as in Babylonia itself. A tablet from the Ûr Dynasty speak of messengers being sent to various lands; among them is one sent to Egypt (Magan).<sup>3</sup>

With the close of the Ûr Dynasty we begin to note signs of racial movements in the West. Gimil-Šin, the last king of the dynasty but one, had to build a rampart to keep the incursions of the Tidnu in check; by "Tidnu" here is probably meant the Amorites, who invaded Babylonia a century and a half later and established

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<sup>1</sup> For wearers of the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt on the Cairo fragment of the Palermo Stone see Gardiner, *JEA* III, 144f., and especially Breasted, *University of Chicago Record*, Vol. VII, p. 7, who found no less than ten, during a prolonged study of the stone itself. Egyptian chronology began with the Introduction of the Calendar, B. C. 4241, but thirteen centuries is not too much to assume for the long series of prehistoric dynasties before Menes, and fifteen hundred years is little enough time for the development of government in Egypt to the highly organized bureaucratic system of the Memphite period.

<sup>2</sup> Formerly some scholars, notably Sayce, identified some of the names of conquered places mentioned in the date-formulae of the Ûr Dynasty with Syrian and Palestinian towns, but now all the places in question are known to belong east of the Tigris. Marḥaši (Par'aše) has no connection with Mar'aš, Assyrian Marqasi, nor has Humurti anything to do with Gomorrah, tempting though the association was.

<sup>3</sup> Nies, *Ur Dynasty Tablets*, No. 84, 6.

the First Dynasty of Babylon (2225—1925), called by the Babylonians the Dynasty of the Amorites (*PALA MAR-TU-KI*<sup>1</sup>). It is probable that the Amorites had previously established a powerful state in Syria, since the title "king of Amûru" is used as an honorific by the two greatest kings of the dynasty, Ḥammurabi ('Ammu-rawiḥ) and 'Ammî-ditâna.<sup>2</sup> Even Ḥammurabi, however, was politically far less powerful than Sargon and Narâm-Šin; no trace of conquests in Asia Minor or western and southern Syria are found in his inscriptions. On the other hand, the inscriptions of Šamši-Adad I of Assyria (c. 2030)<sup>3</sup> claim the conquest, not only of the Middle Euphrates country, but also of northern Syria, where in the land of Lab'an (perhaps a mistake for Labnan, Lebanon) on the shores of the Mediterranean he erected his stele. After 1950 the great dark age begins in Mesopotamia, and for five hundred years we have practically no contemporaneous inscriptions. Fortunately, however, we have many lists of kings, several chronicles, and a number of late copies of tablets from this period, as well as later allusions to rulers and events belonging to it, so it is not difficult to get a tolerably accurate idea of the course of history in Western Asia.

A tablet published some twenty-five years ago gives an account of the invasion of Babylonia by Kudur-Lagamal<sup>4</sup> of Elam with his allies the Ummân Manda, or northern hordes, whose leader seems to have been a certain Tudḥula. Since Babylonia is here called Karduniaš, there can be no question that we are dealing with the Kossean period, and as the writer has shown elsewhere, we must probably refer the episode to the first half of the seventeenth century B. C.<sup>5</sup> It is difficult to separate Kudur-Lagamal of Elam and his ally Tudḥula from the biblical Chedorlaomer of Elam with his allies Tidḡal king of the northern hordes (*gôyîm*), Ari-Aku (Arioch) king of Alsiya (?) and Amraphel king of Šangar (Ḥana), who invaded Palestine in the course of a campaign against the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Weidner, *Die Könige von Assyrien*, p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the writer's note OLZ XXIV, 18.

<sup>3</sup> It is now certain that this Šamši-Adad was the first of the name, who was a contemporary of the weak kings of the First Dynasty between Ḥammurabi and 'Ammî-ditâna. This explains why his inscriptions are entirely in the style of Ḥammurabi. Weidner's date for Šamši-Adad I is c. 1890.

<sup>4</sup> For the reading cf. the *Journal*, Vol. I, p. 71.

<sup>5</sup> See the discussion in the *Journal*, Vol. I, pp. 71—74.



West. We will take the matter up below in connection with the problem of the Hyksos.

Let us turn now from Mesopotamia to Egypt. As noted above, the first mention of an Egyptian campaign in Asia is in the reign of Athothis (c. 2900),<sup>1</sup> as recently pointed out by Borchardt.<sup>2</sup> The third successor of Athothis, Usaphais, also claimed to have defeated the *Šttyw*. An ivory carving from the tomb of a later king of the same dynasty ("Qa") portrays for us a typical Syrian (*Štty*), with an unquestionably Semitic countenance. The only geographical name known from Palestine at this period—*Yarimuta*—is susceptible of an excellent Semitic etymology, which shows, if correctly interpreted,<sup>3</sup> that the Canaanites already spoke Hebrew.<sup>4</sup> Semempses (Semerhet) of the First Dynasty occupied the copper mines of Sinai, and left his relief there, high up on the cliff, but we have no indication that he invaded Palestine, as Athothis must have done. The first king of the Fourth Dynasty, Soris, or Snefru (c. 2600),<sup>5</sup> built a fleet of Libanese cedar, and must have had close commercial, probably also political relations with Syria. Like Semempses he worked the copper mines of Sinai, which gave Egypt the prestige of being the source of copper (Magan is the mountain, i. e. foreign land of copper in Babylonian texts). Gudea of Lagaš, whose vast commercial operations we have noticed, may have flourished about half a century after Snefru, in the time of Chephren, builder of the Second Pyramid. It is safe to say that contact, both commercial and cultural, between Egypt and Babylonia in the 26<sup>th</sup> century B. C. was very close. While stones and metals were transported to Babylonia in ships, the voyage lasting a year, according to Gudea, commerce doubtless ordinarily followed the land route through Palestine, which must have been enriched considerably.

In the Fifth Dynasty we find representations of the siege of an Asiatic town called *Nd'* ("Neṭi'a"),<sup>6</sup> with brick walls and towers, defended by bearded Semites, with long cloaks, who employ the bow

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<sup>1</sup> Meyer's date is c. 3275.

<sup>2</sup> MVAG 1918, 342 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See the etymology proposed JEA VI, 92, n. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. below on the distinction between Hebrew and Amorite.

<sup>5</sup> Meyer: 2840 B. C.

<sup>6</sup> Petrie, *Deshasheh*, Pl. 4.

and sling. The nomarch of Heracleopolis, in whose tomb at Dešāšeh the mural paintings are found, must have accompanied his master, the Pharaoh, on the expedition against *Nd'*. Whether the town was in Palestine or Phoenicia is not clear; the possession of Phoenicia was highly prized, and we know that the monarchs of the Old Empire, who held the thalassocracy of the eastern Mediterranean, were quite able to send elaborate naval expeditions. Of such a character is the naval expedition portrayed on the walls of the temple of Saḥurē', which is represented as returning from Syria with captive Syrian chiefs and Syrian bears (c. 2440).<sup>1</sup> Byblos, Eg. *Kbn*, was the focus of Egyptian power in Syria under the Old Empire; the cedar forests of Lebanon were the chief objectives of the Pharaohs, and it is doubtful whether Palestine was conquered definitely until the Sixth Dynasty. Then, according to the account left us by the royal general, Weni (Una), Phiops I (Pepi), who reigned about 2275,<sup>2</sup> sent no less than five land expeditions under Weni's leadership to conquer the land of the "Sand-dwellers" (*Hryw-š'*), a contemptuous appellative for Asiatics, originally belonging to the nomads and merchants with whom the Egyptians first became acquainted. After a rebellion among the Asiatics in the land of the "Ibex-nose" (perhaps the Egyptian rendering of a Semitic place-name).<sup>3</sup> Weni conducted an expedition by sea to a point at the end of a chain of hills to the north of the "Sand-dwellers." As has been seen, he may have landed at 'Akka, north of Carmel, and invaded Mount Ephraim. Doubtless the Palestinians recovered their independence during the

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<sup>1</sup> Meyer: c. 2670.

<sup>2</sup> Meyer: c. 2520.

<sup>3</sup> The curious name "Antelope-nose," or perhaps "Ibex-nose" (the hieroglyph in question is used for "gazelle, oryx," etc.) cannot well be an Egyptian designation for central Palestine, but may be an Egyptian translation of a native Hebrew place-name. As a mere possibility, it may be suggested that we have here a popular etymology of the very ancient name "Ephraim," the oldest form of which was *\*Iprayim* or *\*Aprayim*, meaning "fruitful, fertile." The element *ap* means as a separate word "nose," and a word for "antelope," or "ibex" (wild-goat) closely resembling *ray(im)* is preserved in the place-name (Gen. 16 14) *Be'er laḥai' rō'i*, "Well of the jaw (cf. Jud. 15 19) of the *rō'i*." The latter stands for *\*ray'i*, *\*rawi'y*, which belongs with Arab. *arwīyah*, *urwīyah*, *irwīyah*, plur. *arwā*, "ibex". Babyl. *arwī'u(m)* may mean "gazelle" (cf. the discussion JAOS XL, 329; the hero Arwium is son of a gazelle), in which case *\*arwīy* or *\*rawi'y*, with the meaning "antelope," was original.

ninety-year reign of the *faineant* Phiops II (c. 2250—2160)<sup>1</sup> and it is hardly likely that they were disturbed again until the rise of the powerful kings of the Twelfth Dynasty. Though the latter must have controlled Palestine, we have no explicit record of Asiatic campaigns except for Sesostris III (1887—1849).<sup>2</sup>

Commercial and diplomatic relations with Mesopotamia and Northern Syria must have continued actively during the Sixth and Twelfth Dynasties. In the Cairo Museum there is a limestone relief from the latter part of the Old Empire, showing in its middle register a typically Egyptian scene, but in the top register, which is broken, two Mesopotamians with fringed robes, who presumably represent either merchants or ambassadors.<sup>3</sup> That envoys were sent back and forth with despatches between Egypt and Babylonia in the Twelfth Dynasty may be regarded as certain, in view of the passage mentioning messengers leaving Egypt with bricks, i. e. clay tablets, tied in their girdles.<sup>4</sup> The latest discovery of this sort is a lapis lazuli seal cylinder in the collection of the Earl of Carnarvon, with Egyptian and Old Babylonian inscriptions side by side, undoubtedly contemporaneous.<sup>5</sup> The Egyptian text reads [*nyšwt*] *byty Štp-yb-r'* [*mry*] *Hthr nbt [Kbn]* (so Newberry, very plausibly) = The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Amenemmes I (Amenemhet), [beloved] of Ḥathor lady of [Byblos].<sup>6</sup> There are two ephemeral rulers of the Thirteenth Dynasty with the same prenomen, but we may safely disregard the possibility that one of them is intended. The Babylonian text has *Ya* (Pinches *pi*, which is, of course, impossible) *-ki-in-ilu wa[rad . . .]* = Yakîn-ilu, servant of [ ]. Yakîn-ilu is a Hebrew proper-name of a very common, though somewhat archaic type,

<sup>1</sup> Meyer: c. 2485—2390.

<sup>2</sup> The dates of the Twelfth Dynasty are astronomically fixed; even Borchardt does not venture to oppose the evidence of the Sothic Cycle.

<sup>3</sup> Max Müller, *Egyptological Researches*, Vol. I, pp. 9—11.

<sup>4</sup> Müller, MVAG XVII, 8f.

<sup>5</sup> See Pinches and Newberry, JEA VII, 196—199.

<sup>6</sup> Ba'alat of Byblos was before the Middle Empire identified with Ḥathor, both in Byblos and in Egypt. When Ḥathor was merged into the all-embracing figure of Isis, Ba'alat followed suit. Traces of an Egyptian temple of Isis-Ba'alat from the Eighteenth Dynasty are described by Woolley, JEA VII, 200f. Late Phoenician syncretism became so interwoven with Egyptian influences that Phoenician theology may almost be treated as a chapter in the history of Egyptian religion.

meaning "God establishes." Yakînilu may have been the local governor of Byblos (*awîl Gubla*) like Rib-Addi in the Amarna period. Byblos was probably an Egyptian dependency under virtually every strong Pharaoh of the Old and Middle Empires, and long before Rib-Addi stresses the fact that Gubla was as Egyptian as Memphis, *Kbn* was felt to be an integral part of the Egyptian Empire by the Egyptians themselves.

A century after Amenemmes I (2000—1970) we find Sesostris III waging war in central Palestine, where he captures the city of *Skmm*, probably a dual of the Biblical name *Šekem*, i. e., Shechem, capital of Mount Ephraim. There seem to have been two ancient strongholds, one at each end of the pass on the watershed which gave the place its name. To judge from evidence brought forward by Blackman (*Jour. Eg. Arch.* II, 13f.) the Egyptians captured much cattle, which they carried with them to Egypt. We may therefore be assured that the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty controlled Palestine as well as Phoenicia. Conditions are well illustrated by the Sinuhe Romance, which certainly has some historical nucleus, like the tale of Wen-Amôn. Sinuhe (original pronunciation approximately *Senâhet*) fled from Egypt upon the death of Amenemmes I, about 1970 B. C., and traversed Sinai, Palestine, and Phoenicia, not daring to stop until he was safely outside of Egyptian territory, in *Qdm*, that is, the district termed "East" by the Byblians, the land of the Amorites beyond Lebanon. Here, in the sphere of Egyptian influence, but outside the direct authority of the Pharaoh, he is harbored and befriended by an Amorite chief, 'Ammî-anîs.<sup>1</sup> According to the generally accepted chronology, 'Ammî-šaduq was then the Amorite king of Babylonia.

We now come to that most eventful period in the history of Palestine, and of the whole Near East, the period of the Hyksos, Hittite, and Indo-Iranian irruptions. The provenance of the Hyksos and the character of their invasion have been among the most obscure problems in ancient history, but now beams of light are penetrating the gloom. After the brilliant work of Eduard Meyer there can be no doubt as to the approximate date of the Hyksos

<sup>1</sup> Lit. "My people is social;" in South Arabic we have the same name, עמיאנש, where the ש represents Ar. من. While the sibilant in Eg. *myrš* is anomalous, there can be no doubt that this explanation is nearly correct.

conquest of Egypt, which took place in the gap between the 35<sup>th</sup> and the 57<sup>th</sup> kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty, or between 1625 and 1575 B. C. The identification of Tutimaëus, in whose reign Manetho places the catastrophe, with one of the three ephemeral rulers named *Dydymś* is possible, but phonetically unlikely. The 58<sup>th</sup> name is that of Nehâsey ("the Nubian") who was a Hyksos vassal. The date of the occupation of Tanis by the Hyksos is given by the Tanite era of the king *Št-ꜣꜣꜣty Nbtꜣ*, which began about 1690;<sup>1</sup> later Hyksos kings took throne-names formed with *Rē*, but *Nbtꜣ*, who adopted the cult of Tanis, took the name of its god, *Set*. *Nbtꜣ* is perhaps to be identified with the first Hyksos king, Salitis.<sup>2</sup>

Most important light has recently been shed on the Hyksos question by Ronzevalle's discovery of two fortified enclosures in central Syria of exactly the same type as the Hyksos fort discovered by Petrie at Tell el-Yehûdiyeh near Heliopolis.<sup>3</sup> The fort at Mišrifeh, studied carefully by Ronzevalle, is located about three and a half hours northeast of Homs, the ancient Qatna. It is an immense square enclosure, more than a thousand metres long on each side, surrounded by a bank of earth about 15 metres high, on the average; the width of the base varies between 65 and 80 metres. Presumably the winter rains have reduced its height and increased its width at the base of the rampart very materially. The other fort, now called Tell Sefinet Nûh, "the Mound of Noah's Ship," is about 350—400 metres on a side, according to Ronzevalle, but remained incomplete. The

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the discussion in the *Journal* I, 64f.

<sup>2</sup> *Nbtꜣ* may be an ideographic writing in hieroglyphics of the name *Salitis*, in which case *sal* or the like meant "gold" in the Hyksos tongue. In Hittite we have similar cases of ideographic writing of proper names; e. g., the name *Muwattališ* is written *NER-GAL*, since this cuneiform group had the Babylonian reading *muttallu*, lit. "exalted." A different principle is found when *Hatte* is written with the cuneiform ideogram for "silver" because this was the meaning of *hat* in Cappadocian, or *Arinna* is written *PŪ-na*, because *arin* was the word for "well" in Cappadocian.

<sup>3</sup> See Ronzevalle, in *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale* (Beyrouth), Vol. VII, pp. 109—126. Ronzevalle pointed out the similarity of Mišrifeh to the Hyksos fortress at Tell el-Yehûdiyeh (Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*) but unfortunately concluded that Mišrifeh represented one of the camps which the Sea-peoples established in the land of Amôr (Syria) during the reign of Rameses III. This is quite impossible; the latter were Anatolians and Aegeans, to whom such "camps" were entirely foreign; moreover, they can hardly have maintained themselves in central Syria long enough to build such a colossal work.

fort studied by Petrie at Tell el-Yehûdiyeh is unquestionably Hyksos, as shown by the quantities of Hyksos scarabs (Hayan, etc.) and sherds of black incised pottery found in it. It is a great enclosure of sand, mixed in places with lumps of marl and basalt as well as scattered adobe bricks, which was held in place by an outer coat or lining of white plaster. In form it is nearly square, with sides of 450 to 475 metres. The rampart is 15 to 20 metres in height, and 40 to 60 metres wide at the base. We may consider it as practically certain that the rampart at Mišrifeh had originally the same proportions, of one to three. As Petrie has pointed out, the builders of the fort must have been archers; we may also observe that the mode of ingress by a long inclined road-way, leading over the top of the rampart, shows unmistakably that they had horses and chariots. Since fortified camps of this nature were wholly unknown to the civilized peoples of ancient Western Asia, there is no escape from the conclusion that the Hyksos came from a land of tumuli and earthen ramparts, that is, from the plains of Eurasia. With this agrees the fact that they were archers and possessed horses and wagons, which they introduced into Egypt. After the writer had reached this conclusion, he began to look for evidence from Russia or Central Asia. At this stage Mr. Phythian-Adams pointed out that Ellsworth Huntington<sup>1</sup> describes ancient square or rectangular forts, with thick and lofty earthen ramparts, in the region of Merv in Transcaspia; Kirk Tepe, for instance, is a square enclosure, over three hundred metres long and broad, with ruined earthen ramparts, which still are, however, six metres high in places.

It may thus be regarded as certain that the nucleus of the Hyksos hordes consisted of nomadic peoples from the plains of Eurasia, probably from Transcaspia, whom the Egyptian, alluding to their nomadic character, and punning, it would seem, on the Hyksos imperial title, called "Shepherd-kings." It is not necessary to suppose that the Hyksos hordes belonged to one race; it is certain that they gathered up all sorts of elements into their mass as they swept through Western Asia. For example, there were undoubtedly many Hebrew clans, especially the Benê Ya'qob, among them, as is

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<sup>1</sup> See Pumpelly, *Explorations in Turkestan, Prehistoric Civilizations of Anau*, Vol. I, pp. 219, 226 f.

proved by such names as that of 'Anat-har,<sup>1</sup> who wears the Hyksos imperial title (*hq3 h3šwt*, pronounced somewhat later approximately *hq šasôwe*) and Ya'qob-har. As has been observed elsewhere, we have here the historical nucleus of the Jacob and Joseph stories.<sup>2</sup> Other of the Hyksos names, however, are neither Hebrew nor do they belong to any familiar language of Western Asia. To this category we must refer the founders of the Hyksos monarchy, Salitis, Bnon, Apophis (pronounced at that time probably *Apapi*), Apachnan, Hayan and *Smqn*. The others often included in this series more probably belonged to one of the ephemeral local groups. Several of the names preserved by Manetho are apparently too corrupt to be of any use (Aseth, Staana, Archles); indeed when we compare the Manethonian forms of native Egyptian royal names with their originals, it appears to be at best a dubious task to attempt the determination of the linguistic affiliations of the Hyksos. The writer cannot claim to have settled the question, but will limit himself to a number of suggestions. First let us take up the question of the racial elements which entered Palestine in the first half of the second millennium. That they are not of earlier date, so far as Palestine is concerned, is clear from the fact that Palestine seems so be pure Semitic, that is, Canaanite, or Hebrew-speaking, and Amorite,<sup>3</sup> in

<sup>1</sup> 'Anat-har is probably identical with the 'Anat which appears in an abbreviated form as one of the Hyksos names on the Hyksos fragment of the Turin Papyrus.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the writer's discussion in *Jour. of Bibl. Lit.*, Vol. XXXVII, 137 ff., and *Journal I*, 65f.

<sup>3</sup> As we now know the Amorite language from numbers of Amorite proper names, mostly from the period of the First Dynasty of Babylon, as well as from the names in contracts and letters from the Middle Euphrates, it was a tongue intermediate between Hebrew and Babylonian, with strong South Arabian affiliations. Its vocalic structure is the same as that of Babylonian and almost certainly of South Arabian, differing radically from the vocalization of Hebrew, which we can trace back to the Amarna Letters (see especially Leander, ZDMG LXXIV, 61—76). Like Hebrew and Arabic it preserved the weak laryngeals, which Babylonian had lost before 3000 B.C., as shown by the earliest Akkadian inscriptions. Amorite agreed throughout with Arabic in its treatment of the sibilants, as may be seen from the following table:

Arabic	Hebrew	Aramaic	Babylonian	Assyrian	Egyptian	Amorite
t (ت)	š (ש)	t, t	š	s	š	t
š (ش)	š (ש)	s	š	s	š	š
s (س)	š (ש)	š	š	s	š	s
s (س)	s (ס)	s	s	š	š	(?)

the third millennium. Moreover, the foreign intruders who are so much in evidence during the Amarna period, and at the time of the Israelite conquest, are not able to impose their language upon the country, which remains Hebrew in speech, nor to introduce non-Semitic place-names; all the place-names in early Palestine are Semitic, and most are specifically Hebrew. The writer heartily endorses Clay's position that Palestine and Syria were Semitic lands from the earliest times—i. e. from the late Neolithic; the Troglodytes of Gezer, with their diminutive stature and tendency toward prognathism, carry us back into the early Neolithic. The legendary giants, associated by later ages with the megalithic works of the Neolithic and Aeneolithic periods belong to cosmogony rather than to history.

Among the mingled tribes whose presence in Palestine in the middle of the second millennium makes Palestine seem a veritable Babel, the Hittites easily take first place. These early Hittites are to be identified with the Ḫatte-speaking people of the Boghaz-keui tablets, whose language is preserved for us in a few passages in ritual texts, as well as a number of bilingual inscriptions (Cappadocian or Naši and Ḫatte). This tongue is entirely distinct from the language in which the vast mass of the Boghaz-keui texts are written, which is closely related to Cilician (Arzawa), Luyya or Lydian,<sup>1</sup> and Helladic,<sup>2</sup> and may therefore be termed Cappadocian, especially since

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This fact shows that Hommel was partly right in combining the Amorites with the Arabs, especially with the South Arabians, who share a great many proper names with the Amorites. On the other hand they were clearly a West-Semitic people, more closely related to the Canaanites and Aramaeans than to the Babylonians. The Amorite invasion of Palestine probably fell during the 23<sup>rd</sup> century, before their invasion of Babylonia under Sumu-abum. They drove the Canaanites out of the highland of Judaea and Samaria, which was occupied by the Amorites when the Hebrews invaded Mount Ephraim before the Amarna Period (Gen. 48 22). Apparently, as Clay has pointed out, an Amorite empire was then established in Syria and Palestine; Müller (MVAG XVII, 53f.) has made it probable that this empire made its power felt in Egypt between the Sixth and the Eleventh Dynasties (B. C. 2200—2050). The brick architecture of the period shows how thoroughly under Babylonian influence the Amorites were.

<sup>1</sup> See the remarks in the *Journal*, Vol. I, p. 193, n. 1, and the references cited there. The language of the Lydian inscriptions found at Sardes is very similar to that of the Luyyan and Naši (Cappadocian) tablets; *e. g.*, *bira* means "house" in both Lydian and Cappadocian.

<sup>2</sup> As proved incontrovertibly by the evidence of place-names in Greece and Anatolia. It is reasonable enough to suppose that Pelasgian (Philistine, *Journal* I, 57, n. 2) was a related tongue, but evidence is lacking.



the non-Semitic names on the Cappadocian tablets belong clearly to it.<sup>1</sup> Now it is most important to note (what seems to have escaped the notice of the investigators so far) that the royal names of the Hittite kings of Boghaz-keui belong to the Ḫatte language, and are not Cappadocian, though they receive the Cappadocian case-endings.<sup>2</sup> The Ḫatte are therefore intruders in Asia Minor, and since their first appearance in history falls about 1925 B. C.,<sup>3</sup> we must evidently place their irruption about 2000 B. C., just after the career of Šamši-Adad I of Assyria (cf. above), who nowhere alludes to them. It is not accidental that the Cappadocian tablets appear to reach as far as the 21<sup>st</sup> century, but no farther. It is still doubtful whether the first group of Hittite kings, Tlabarnaš (so Hrozný), Ḫattušiliš I, Muršiliš I, Ḫantiliš, Ḫuzziāš, Telibinuš, etc., comes in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries or in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, where it is hard to find a place for so great a conqueror as Muršiliš, who captured Babylon. However this may be, we find the Hittites in Hebron, according to Hebrew tradition, in the time of Abram, that is, probably about 1700 B. C.<sup>4</sup> As Hebron is said elsewhere to have been founded

<sup>1</sup> Cf. names like *Ḫištahšušar* and *Niwaḫšušar*, *Arawa* and *Arawarḫina*, whose Cappadocian (Naši) character is immediately clear.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Hittite royal name *Tabarnaš* (*Tlabarnaš*) and Ḫatte *tabarna*; *Ḫuzziyaš* and *ḫuzziya*; *Telibinuš* and *talibinu*, etc.; *Ḫantiliš* and *ḫantipšuwa*. Hrozný's efforts to etymologize Hittite royal names from Naši have so far failed completely, though it is naturally possible that some of the kings bear Cappadocian names, just as Babylonian names are found sporadically in the First and Third Babylonian Dynasties. As for the case-endings, note that Babylonian gods and heroes also receive Naši case-endings (e. g., *Enkituš*, *Ḫuwawaiš*, *Eaš*).

<sup>3</sup> When, according to the King Chronicle, the Hittites conquered Babylonia. Weidner dates this event about 1758.

<sup>4</sup> See *Journal* I, 65, 68 ff. It has long been a problem why Abram is connected by tradition so closely with Hebron, where his burial-place was shown at least as early as the ninth century B. C. The absence of the name of Hebron from the Amarna Tablets is probably due to the same cause as the absence of names from Mount Ephraim; it was in the hands of the Ḫabiri, who from Hebron as a centre raided the lands of the neighboring Jerusalem and Keilah. The name itself, which the Hebrews introduced, means "town of the confederacy," or the like. The names *Šesai*, *Aḫiman* and *Talmi* are all good Aramaean (i. e. Hebrew in the ethnic sense); *Talmi* occurs in Maacha and in the North Arabic inscriptions published by Jaussen and others, while *Aḫiman* ("Who is my brother if not god X") is specifically Aramaean in its formation. When Jud. 1 10 includes the three among the Canaanites of Hebron, it is evidently confusing the early Hebrew conquest with the non-Semitic occupation. Doubtless the Hebronites

only a few years before Tanis,<sup>1</sup> it is hard to avoid combining the Hittites of Hebron with the Hyksos who occupied Tanis, especially when we recall that the name *Ḫayan* occurs also as the name of a dynast of Šam'al<sup>2</sup> who preceded Kilammu. Like the Hyksos, the Hittites came from Central Asia, as is clear from the fact that the Hittite nobility is represented with a distinctly Mongoloid cast of features, and a typical East Asiatic queue. Their language (cf. above) is entirely different from any known tongue of Western Asia, including Sumerian, Elamite, and Chaldian, with its remarkable prefix formations, where the root is at the end of the word. While the Hittite tongue is not at all like the Turkic languages, it may be related, as Forrer points out, to the tongues spoken on the northeastern confines of Transcaucasia. Even if the Hyksos leaders were not Hittite, there can be little doubt that the Hittites were brought into Palestine as a part of the great racial movement which introduced various other non-Semitic peoples into the country.

Another Anatolian folk which now appears in Palestine is the Jebusite people of Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup> The two certain Jebusite proper names which have come down to us are both Cappadocian, i. e. Naši ("Hittite" in the former sense). The name 'Abdi(?) - *Ḫeba* is formed with the name of the Cappadocian goddess Ḫebe or Ḫeba (Ḫepa), while *Arauna*, as Sayce has pointed out, is a typical Cappadocian name, meaning "bright, pure, free" (*araun-iš* = *ellu*).

Most interesting of all the peoples who settled in Palestine in the first half of the second millennium is the Indo-Iranian element. As has long been known, the names of the reigning dynasty of Mitanni, *Šauššatar*, *Artatama*, *Artasumara*, *Tušratta*, *Šutarna*, *Šutatarra*, *Mattiwaza*, etc., are entirely different in origin from the typically Hurrian names worn by the majority of their subjects, and are unmistakably Indo-Iranian, pointing to Indo-Iranian migrations from the period before the development of the distinct Iranian branch of the race. In Palestine, according to the Amarna Tablets, we have

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had given up Hebrew (Aramaic) long since in favor of Canaanite (Hebrew).—For additional proofs of the fact that the incoming Hebrews spoke Aramaic see my article in this *Journal* II, p. 68, n. 2.

<sup>1</sup> Num. 13 22.

<sup>2</sup> Ḫayan was a native of Bit-Gabbar.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Jirqu in ZDPV XLIII, 58—61.

a whole series of these names, all with excellent Sanskrit etymologies: *Artamanya*, *Ruzmanya*, *Namyawaza*, *Biridaśwa*, *Šuyardata*, *Yašdata*, *Biryamaza*, *Biridiya*, etc. When taken together with the names of Indo-Iranian gods on the Boghaz-keui tablets, and the document from Mitanni dealing with horse-breeding, which furnishes a number of Sanskrit numerals and loan-words, there can be no doubt that there were Indo-Iranian elements in the „Hyksos” hordes which overran Palestine and Egypt. Since these Sanskrit names are not limited to any part of Palestine, but occur both in Galilee and in Judaea, one is justified in expecting some mention of the nationality of their bearers in the Old Testament. It is possible that they are referred to under the head of Perizzites, who are mentioned (*e.g.* Gen. 137) along with the Canaanites as an out standing element in Palestine. The Perizzites are properly, however, it would seem, Hurrians, to judge from the name *Pirizzi* of a Hurrian envoy of Tušratta (note the same ending also in the certainly Hurrian name *Akizzi*, of the ruler of Qatna, modern Homs, near Mišrifeh—see above). It would seem that such names as *Widia* (Ashkelon) and *Zimrida* (Lachish, Sidon) are also Hurrian (Mitannian).

The Hivites are another one of the more important of these peoples. Since the Shechemites and Gibeonites, who entered early into an alliance with the Hebrews, were Hivites, while in the Amarna Tablets Tagi, father-in-law of Milki-ilu, and Labaya appear also as allies of the Habiru, with whom they shared the central highlands of Samaria, one is tempted to regard Tagi and Labaya as Hivite names. *Labaya* appears, as *Labayan*, in the Arzawa letter from southeastern Cilicia, and the name *Tagi* has been plausibly identified with *Tô'i* (for \**Tagi*) name of a Hamathite king of the 10<sup>th</sup> century B. C.<sup>1</sup> The Hivites may then be a north-Syrian branch of the Anatolian race—though the evidence is too slight for definite results.

In two passages the LXX. has “Horites” instead of “Hivites,” an alteration which is accepted by Eduard Meyer.<sup>2</sup> It is, however, very improbable, since the Hivites are mentioned so often, while the Horites appear only in Mount Seir, south of the Dead Sea. Since the Horites appear in Gen. 36 as an “Aramaeon” people, with typical Semitic names, one must hesitate long before identifying them

<sup>1</sup> II Sam. 89.

<sup>2</sup> *Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, p. 331.

with the Anatolian Hurrians, despite the identity of name. The Egyptian name for Syria, *H̄rw*, apparently had an *l*,<sup>1</sup> and so must be regarded as also distinct. Coincidences often occur, and there must be excellent reason for identifying similarly sounding words before such a combination may be said to become probable.

As the writer has elsewhere suggested,<sup>2</sup> it is hard to escape the conviction that the episode referred to in the Fourteenth Chapter of Genesis has some connection, direct or indirect, with the Hyksos movement. We may perhaps gather our threads together here, and point to a possible solution. The name *Tidgal-Tudhul* is very hard to separate from *Tudhalia(s)*,<sup>3</sup> the original *Ḫatte* form of which, without the Naši case-ending, was *Tudhal*, or the like. The leader of the northern hordes about 1700 B. C. was thus a Hittite, presumably at the head of a mixed aggregation of peoples. It is improbable that he had any direct connection with the Hittite Empire in Cappadocia, which had been founded by another branch of the horde. On the other hand, it is difficult not to surmise that the western expedition in which Tidal accompanied Chedorlaomer of Elam, about 1700 B. C., was a prelude to the irruption into Egypt some years later. While the true course of the barbarian inundation may have been quite as complicated as that of the Germanic irruptions two thousand years later, there are some isolated facts indicating that the Hyksos invasion came from the direction of the Zagros rather than from Asia Minor.<sup>4</sup> The Indo-Iranians, who probably came at this time into Syria and Palestine, appear in the fourteenth century in Mitanni, or northern Mesopotamia; before this they seem to have exerted a strong influence on the Kosseans of the Zagros, especially in religion. The *Avvim* (*Ġawwim*) of Deut. 2 23, who seem to have been a Zagros people, and appear on the coast of the Negeb, along the Egyptian military road to Syria, at about this time,<sup>5</sup> perhaps came with the Hyksos. It may also be noted that the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Journal* I, p. 189.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal* I, 76.

<sup>3</sup> Böhl, ZATW 1916, 68, has erroneously identified Tid'al with Tudhališ II of Ḫatte, but the name was a common Hittite one, and the author of Gen. XIV would then have termed Tid'al "king of Heth."

<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, it is to be noted that a number of Anatolian peoples entered Palestine at this period.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Journal* I, 187, n. 2.

Hyksos fortified camp at Mišrifeh, ten miles in a straight line north-east of Homs, on the edge of the desert, suggests by its location a movement from the direction of the fords of the Euphrates.<sup>1</sup> Our limited knowledge precludes us from speculating with safety upon further possibilities.

With the Hyksos period we have reached the chronological limit of our study, which was to cover the period between 3000 and 1600 B. C. Let us then turn to consider the results of archaeological exploration in Palestine, in so far as it bears on this period. Beth Shemesh seems to have been founded about 1700 B. C., and yields no special information. The other mounds of the Shephelah, Tell eš-Šâfi (Libnah) and Tell el-Judeideh (Keilah?),<sup>2</sup> while older than Beth Shemesh, were only scratched. Ashkelon has so far yielded only one broken vase to attest an occupation in the period 2000—1800 B. C.; other sherds of black incised ware demonstrate that the site was occupied, as to be expected, in the Hyksos period. Jerusalem was occupied in the earliest historical period, but we have nothing tangible except potsherds to illustrate the culture of this age. On the other hand we have a rich material from Gezer, Lachish, Taanach, Megiddo, and Jericho, to which Bethshan is now being added. In Gezer, unfortunately, Macalister was unable to find a clear demarcation of strata, so the results are rather nebulous.

The excavations carried on by Petrie and Bliss at Tell el-Hesi, ancient Lachish, were of fundamental importance for the chronology of Palestinian ceramics. But since practically all Petrie had to go by was the fact that pottery of the type now called Cypriote, but by him, with equal reason, termed Phoenician, had been found in Egypt along with Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasty remains, it is not surprising that the lower strata were post-dated. It is remarkable

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<sup>1</sup> The Hyksos may have established themselves for some generations in Northern Syria before extending their raids as far as Egypt. It is even possible that the Hittite invasion of Babylonia in 1925 came from Northern Syria, instead of from Anatolia, as generally supposed. Professor Alt has pointed out that in Sinuhe, line 98, the (Amorite) "Bedouin" are represented as fighting against the *ḥqꜣw ḥꜣšwt*, which seems to mean "Hyksos kings," since the royal Hyksos title was *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣšwt*. It is true that *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣšt* meant simply "foreign prince," in which sense the term is applied to Abiṣai (Ybšꜣ), but in Sinuhe the plural of *ḥꜣšt* is used.

<sup>2</sup> For the identifications see the writer's paper in the *Annual of the American School in Jerusalem*, Vol. II.

enough that Petrie, who then placed Menes about 4777 B. C., should have put the first settlement at Lachish about 1700 B. C., more than three thousand years after the beginning of Egyptian history. The site seems to have been abandoned about the beginning of the Greek period, when the brilliant careers of Marissa and Eleutheropolis began; Petrie's date c. 450 B. C. is too early, in view of the Greek remains discovered sparingly at the summit. Some twenty feet below was the foundation of a large brick building, above the layer containing the latest "Phoenician" potsherds. Petrie's date, 850 B. C., is too late; we must go back at least to the time of Rehoboam, who is said to have fortified Lachish, and perhaps still earlier. Bilbils and ladder designs on white slip, which are not found at Ashkelon after the Philistine occupation, continue here to five feet below the foundations of this building, or into the twelfth century. They begin about ten feet lower down, or early in the Eighteenth Dynasty. Fifty feet below the summit were the foundations of brick walls belonging to a city built after a previous destruction, marked by thick layers of field-stones and ashes between 302 and 307, that is, from twelve to seventeen feet above the foundations, which naturally were much lower than the city itself. Now we know from the Amarna Tablets that Lachish was then in existence, while envoys of Lachish (*Rš-ky-šš*) are mentioned in a list from the middle of the reign of Tuthmosis III (c. 1475), published by Golenischeff (Müller, *OLZ* XVII, 202f.) so the destruction must fall considerably before. Since Bliss found objects from the Middle Egyptian Empire below the burned level, we must probably ascribe this destruction to the Hyksos hordes, at the end of the eighteenth century B. C., and place the rebuilding of the city in the seventeenth century, about 1400 years before the ultimate abandonment; the unusually rapid deposit (33 feet; 340—307) is to be explained by the use of adobe instead of stone, as at Gezer. Below the ash stratum is about twenty-four feet of débris, marking an occupation of not over a thousand years, from c. 2500 to c. 1700. Somewhere during the early or middle part of this age, were constructed the massive brick walls, twenty-eight feet thick, which underwent several reparations before their final overthrow. From other archaeological parallels in Palestine we may conclude that this brick wall was built not far from the twenty-first century B. C., in the time of the Amorite invasions.

Let us now turn to Taanach, excavated by Sellin and Schumacher. Sellin was unsupported by a trained archaeologist, so it is not surprising that his methods were superficial and scientifically unsatisfactory. Since the stratification appears to have been clear, and the mound is undoubtedly rich in ancient remains, it is greatly to be hoped that the work will be resumed by a competent archaeologist in the near future. Taanach was comparatively a recent foundation, and so little direct light came from it to illuminate the period under consideration, but a pardonable mistake of Sellin has had fateful results, leading Watzinger at Jericho to post-date an entire stratum by several centuries. In the palace of 'Aštar(?)-yašur were found twelve cuneiform letters and name-lists, which were naturally enough placed by their discoverer in the Amarna period. Since (Sellin, *Nachlese*, pp. 30—31) no potsherds of the Aegeo-Phoenician (Cypriote) type were found in this palace, Sellin concluded that this ware did not come in until the thirteenth century, whereas Ashkelon proves that it went out in the following century. A careful study of the tablets, to be given in detail elsewhere, has convinced me that both script and language, especially the latter, are more archaic than in the Amarna Tablets. Consequently, it seems necessary to place our tablets during the Asiatic Empire of Amenophis I or Tuthmosis I, probably the latter, in the sixteenth century. With this assignment the fact that Cypriote wares first become common about the fifteenth century agrees fully.

Megiddo and Jericho, while imperfectly studied, have revealed to the trained eye a beautiful stratification, which carries the beginnings of the history of these sites far back into the past, laying, when properly interpreted, a secure foundation for future work. Beth-shan, to judge from present indications, will be the touch-stone to solve the surviving mysteries in the classification of pot-sherds and cultures. Thanks to the extraordinary depth of debris in the mound of the citadel, to its compactness and its exposed situation, which has made it the victim of repeated destruction, we may expect the most brilliant results, which the sure scientific touch of Fisher will accurately classify.

Before sketching the results of the excavations at Megiddo and Jericho, it is necessary to stress the fact, already noticed by different scholars, but not sufficiently emphasized, that the earlier strata in

both are badly post-dated. In the *Anhang* to *Tell el-Mutesellim* Steuernagel saw that Schumacher had misunderstood the stratification, but in correcting the error he attempted to introduce a wholly new numeration, which has so confused scholars that few have continued their investigations in this direction. Native rock was reached in Megiddo at only one place, where it lay 6.20 metres (20 feet) below the pavement of "Hall t" in the northern castle of the third level, which extended down to before the time of Tuthmosis III, and hence may have been destroyed by him in 1478. It is obvious that 20 feet is too great a thickness of débris for two strata only, since there can be no question here of accumulation of débris from higher levels. Besides, Schumacher himself (p. 11) states that the first two strata here had a total thickness of 3.10 metres, thus leaving as much again unexplained. We therefore must assume five strata before c. 1478 B. C.; in order to leave Schumacher's numeration intact we may call the third and fourth 2A and 2B. As Steuernagel pointed out, the foundations of the third level lay immediately over the stratum to which belong grave I, containing scarabs of the Middle Empire type, and the brick city wall, so we must refer these remains to 2B (his fourth). The strata may be classified as follows:

1	Before 3000 B. C.	{ Macalister ( <i>Gezer</i> , I, 159) calculates rate of accumulation of débris at one in. in six years, which would allow a minimum estimate of 1200 years for 20 feet.
2	? 2800	
2A?	2500	
2B	c. 2100—1700	Brick city wall, Eg. scarabs of Middle Empire type.
3	c. 1700—1478	Cypriote pottery, Astarte plaques.
4	c. 1478—1100	Cypriote ware, pilgrim flasks, seal of Tuthmosis III.
5	c. 1100—725 <sup>1</sup>	"Phoenician" palace, seal of Shema, servant of Jeroboam II (?).
6	c. 700—400	Iron smithy, Neo-Babylonian seals.
7	c. 400—200	Remains of Persian and Greek period.

At Jericho Sellin and Watzinger found seven strata, the first three of which they considered pre-Israelite. The cause of this

<sup>1</sup> Megiddo was probably captured and destroyed by Shalmaneser V, in his campaign against Israel. The Assyrians laid siege to Samaria about 724.



mistake was ultimately the unfortunate brick wall of the third city, which they at once identified with the wall which collapsed before the Israelites, though inclined to a rationalistic explanation of this miraculous phenomenon. The fourth stratum, however, contained pure Canaanite ceramics of the type associated with Cypriote ware, which at Ashkelon always precedes the Philistine level (early twelfth century on), to say nothing of scarabs and jar-sealings of the Middle Empire and Hyksos type. We may date the strata approximately:

- 1 ? 3000 B. C.
- 2 ? 2500
- 3 c. 2000—1700 Brick city wall as in Megiddo 2B.
- 4 c. 1700—1230<sup>1</sup> Cypriote ware, Middle Empire-Hyksos scarabs.
- 4A c. 1230—870 Site unoccupied, Jos. 6 26; 1 Kings 16 34.
- 5 c. 870—600 Early Jewish pottery.
- 6 c. 550—200 Vase inscriptions in late Old Hebrew characters.

At Beth-shan Fisher has devoted his attention so far mainly to the top levels of the Mound of the Acropolis (Tell el-Huşn), where the first campaign brought to light Arab, Crusading, Byzantine, and Roman remains. In a vertical section on the tell scarp, he has descended fifteen metres below the Byzantine pavement; fortunately, the strata are nearly horizontal, so are *in situ*. At the very bottom he came upon a brick wall and a round construction, apparently a tower, all built of the same large sun-dried bricks which are characteristic of Megiddo 2B and Jericho 3. Above these constructions were Canaanite burials, containing wares of the late "First Semitic" (to 1800 B. C.) or early "Second Semitic." A jar-handle bore the imprint of an Egyptian seal of Middle Empire type. Potsherds of burnished black and brown ware, associated in Egypt with the late Middle Empire and Hyksos periods were also found at this level. Above this level was a broad stratum containing many fragments of white slip ware (Cypriote, with ladder designs), after which all potsherds seem to be of the monotonous red, brown and black characteristic of periods of indigenous ceramic culture, such as the Israelite and Jewish were. This section accordingly carries us back to 2000 B. C.; we may safely suppose that there are

<sup>1</sup> For the date of the Conquest see *Journal* I, 66.

still at least five metres of débris below the lowest level reached. The evidence of Megiddo, Jericho, and Beth-shan shows clearly that the first cities in Palestine arose on the edge of the fertile plains of Esdraelon and the Jordan, and that the settlements in the Shephelah are younger.

From the excavations in Palestine no cogent evidence for the race of the inhabitants of the land in the third millennium can be drawn. Yet there is nothing to contradict the view stated above, on other grounds, that Palestine became a prevaillingly Semitic country in the late Neolithic, and remained so until the beginning of the second millennium.

Owing to the fact that hardly any excavations of moment have been carried on in the strata belonging to the third millennium it is rather too early to make any confident statements regarding the culture of the people of that era. The data described in the first part of the paper indicate strongly that we ought not to jump at conclusions from our meagre archaeological materials. If Palestine was, even in the fourth millennium B. C., one of the most important commercial routes, the caravans which passed down the coast, carrying articles of use and luxury for trading purposes, must have influenced the towns along their route very greatly. A land which thus early became the trade route between the two centres of ancient civilization and one of the chief goals for the campaigns of their rulers cannot have remained in barbarism, even for a few centuries.

It is possible, however, to state definitely that Palestinian civilization made a long step forward in the last quarter of the third millennium B. C. During this period the great city walls of Gezer, Lachish, Megiddo, Jericho, and probably also of Beth-shan were constructed. The remarkable tunnel at Gezer, by means of which the inhabitants of the city were assured of a water-supply from a spring in the time of a siege, and probably similar tunnels at Jerusalem and elsewhere date from the same age. The walls of Lachish, Megiddo, Jericho, and Beth-shan were built of adobe, while at Gezer, where stone was more abundant, brick was only used for towers. As Vincent has demonstrated (*Canaan*, pp. 83ff.) the art of constructing brick walls with bastions was borrowed by the Canaanites from Mesopotamia; the difference between the Mesopotamian principles of fortification and the Egyptian is so great that there can be no

question of Egyptian influence in this phase of early Palestinian culture. Though the walls so far known seem to have been built during the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon, when the Amorites adopted the civilization of Babylonia, it is doubtful whether we can connect the two phenomena. The town of *Nd'*, probably in Phoenicia (see above), is represented with bastioned brick walls as early as the 24<sup>th</sup> century, so it is more likely that there was a gradual extension of the Mesopotamian art of fortification through Syria, toward the south, perhaps under the influence of fresh Amorite energy.

Despite the great improvement in the method of fortification Palestine fell under the control of the Pharaohs of the Twelfth Dynasty. The evidence from Egypt is fully corroborated and supplemented by the discoveries in Palestine. Scarabs and jar-sealings of the Middle Empire type have been found in large numbers in all sites of this period, especially at Gezer and Megiddo. The remarkably large number found at Gezer is not, however, due to the relative importance of this town, but to the thoroughness of Macalister's researches and the singular good fortune which fell to his lot in the discovery of rich tomb-treasure, quite intact, from this period. Among the finds were two scarabs of Sesostri I (1880—1896).<sup>1</sup> Other indications of Egyptian occupation at this time were two funeral statues (*htp dy nyswt*), with the names of *Hq3-yb* and *Ddy-Amân*.<sup>2</sup> The type of syncretism between Babylonian and Egyptian elements described above in the case of the seal of Yakîn-ilu, probably of Byblos, meets us in Taanach, where we have from the same period the seal-cylinder of Atânah-ilî, son of Habsum (*mâr Ha-ab-si-im*). The Syro-Palestinian origin of the cylinder is proved by the Egyptian hieroglyphs (*nḥ, nfr, š3*) which are carved on it, evidently for decorative or magical purposes. The name *Atânah-ilî* is not, however, Hebrew like *Yakîn-ilu*, but Akkadian; it appears often in the Cappadocian tablets from the second half of the third millennium. It is therefore likely that Atânah-ilî was a north-Syrian merchant, and not a resident of Taanach. His seal illustrates the movement of civilization from Mesopotamia into Syria and Palestine. Mesopotamian culture had two great advantages in its penetration into

<sup>1</sup> With the throne-name *Hpr-k3-R'*; *Gezer* III, Pl. 205 a, 9 and 207, 4.

<sup>2</sup> See *Gezer* II, 311—313.

Palestine. First of all, there was no real barrier of language; Akkadian shaded almost insensibly into Amorite and Hebrew. The states of Hana and Mari on the Middle Euphrates, whose speech was Amorite, were intimately associated with Babylonia, whose civilization they shared. Secondly, the Babylonians were the merchants of the ancient world, and their trading caravans traveled far and wide, disseminating Babylonian goods and ideas. For these reasons the influence of Egyptian culture on Palestine, in spite of the much more intimate political relation between the two lands, remained superficial, hardly affecting the life of the people.

Into this land, with its Egyptian allegiance and Babylonizing civilization, there poured, between the twentieth and the seventeenth centuries, a veritable inundation of strangers and barbarians, which all but transformed Palestine into a non-Semitic land. In division, however, was weakness; among the Babel of different tongues not one was strong enough to impose itself upon the others, so Hebrew, the native speech of the land, maintained itself, and gradually suffocated the foreign jargons. The old culture was, however, not strong enough to withstand the flood of Anatolian influences, so we find, from the sixteenth century, that the old Oriental ceramic art is being replaced by Anatolian (so called Cypriote).<sup>1</sup> Anatolian and Aegean influences now become increasingly important, at least in the material culture of Palestine.<sup>2</sup>

Naturally this change did not take place peacefully; the Canaanites did not yield without a struggle. The fallen brick walls of the third city of Jericho, referred erroneously by Sellin to the capture of the town by the Hebrews, are a testimony to the violence of the struggle. Megiddo 2B doubtless fell at about the same time, perhaps earlier.

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<sup>1</sup> There can be little doubt that Cypriote ceramics will be found equally characteristic of the southern coasts of Asia Minor, where so far no excavations whatever have been conducted. Cyprus was always very closely connected with Cilicia, from which it was only fifty miles distant. "Cypriote" wares of a slightly later type have been found in the excavations at Gordium, the old capital of Phrygia. "Cypriote" pottery was also characteristic of Phoenicia in the second millennium, as results from the recent excavations there (Woolley, *Syria* II, pp. 177—194; Contenau, *Syria* I, p. 122).

<sup>2</sup> The religion and mythology of Palestine was in ancient times related both to the Aegean and Anatolian and to the Mesopotamian. Egyptian influences or analogies are also present.

Palestine seems to have remained the focus of Hyksos power. Hyksos scarabs, including those of the great conqueror, Ḫayan, are common in this period. When the Egyptians finally drove the Hyksos out, they maintained themselves for some time in Philistia and southern Judah, where their principal fortress appears to have been Šilhôn.<sup>1</sup>

In the foregoing paper we have sketched our subject in broad lines, but we have every reason to hope that the picture will be filled in by the excavations of the next few decades. Palestine is a land of great archaeological potentialities.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See *Journal* I, p. 188.

<sup>2</sup> Since this paper was written, additional material of importance has become available:—

Cf. p. 116f.—Legrain, *Historical Fragments*, Nos. 3, 6, 9, has published some valuable letters of Ibi-Šin, which prove that the Amorites entered Babylonia about 2360 as mercenaries of the last king of the Ūr Dynasty, in his war against the Elamites. After his defeat by the latter, the Amorites remained in southern Babylonia, where in 2358 they founded the Dynasty of Larsa, more than a century before their seizure of northern Babylonia.

Cf. p. 117—My identification of Šangar with Ḫana is proved by Forrer's discussion in *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches*, pp. 15—17. The province of Singara (pron. Šingar), called also Rašappa after its capital, included both the Jebel Sinjâr and Suhi, Laqe, Ḫindanu, and Sirqu (= Tirqa: Forrer) on the Middle Euphrates.

Cf. pp. 119, 121—That Byblos was the Egyptian capital of Syria has been proved by the remarkable discoveries there by Montet (*Syria*, II, 333f.), of inscriptions of the Thinite and Memphite periods, including those of Mycerinus, Unas, and Phiopts I.

Cf. p. 121—It is not yet known to all that Gardiner has established the reading of "Byblos" in the Sinuhe story beyond a cavil (*Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, pp. 21—23).

## BYZANTINE CARAVAN ROUTES IN THE NEGEB

T. CANAAN

(JERUSALEM)

IF one makes a trip from Beer-Sheba southward into the peninsula of Sinai, one observes many things which do not correspond in any way to what is known in Palestine: climate, geological formation, hydrographic conditions, fauna, flora and even remains of the past differ enormously. I wish to call attention only to a few points which bear a direct relation to the subject of my paper. I shall restrict my description to that part which stretches from the southern mountains of Palestine directly southward as far as the limits of civilization, and from the 'Arabah depression in the east to the western boundaries of the 'Azâzmeh region. The greater portion of the district in question (below Bîr es-Sabi') belongs to this Bedouin tribe.

This region is divided naturally by two water-courses—running from east to west—into three zones; Wâdî es-Sabi' separates the northern from the middle zone. The latter is bounded in the south by two water-courses, one running from west to east, the Marra-Fikrî valley, and the Wâdî el-Âbyaḍ, flowing in the opposite direction. The Marra-Fikrî valley rises in the mountains of 'Abdeh, not far from the origin of Wâdî el-Abyaḍ. Up to Rudjm el-Baqarah it bears the name Marra and from here onward Fikrî. Wâdî el-Abyaḍ has a W. N. W. direction and empties into W. el-'Arish. At el-'Ôdjah it receives W. el-'Ôdjah and shortly afterwards is called W. el-Azraq.

W. es-Sabi' receives its water from three branches. From the south comes W. 'Ar'arah, which unites at Khirbet es-Sabi' with W. el-Buṭum, flowing from the east; and soon after their union they receive W. el-Khalil which comes from the north. Beyond Bîr es-Sabi' it bears

different names in different parts: W. Martabah, W. eṣ-Şînî, Sêl Shallâlêh and W. Ghazzeh.

The three zones differ enormously in soil and formation. The northern one has a very fertile soil, washed down from the mountains. The central region is composed of large fertile patches with much larger areas of sand dunes and rocky, flinty mountains, while the southern zone is barren and stony.

Hand in hand with the geological formation goes the fertility of the Negeb. All the area to the north of W. el-Buṭum-es-Sabî' is very fertile and when the winter is rainy the crops are most excellent.

The central zone is not nearly so fertile, but there are many valleys, plateaus and some plains which could well be utilized for agriculture. The most important plains of this sort are situated to the east of the mountain ridge which divides the region from north to south into two parts. This mountain ridge protects most of the eastern part of the central region from the flying sand which changes all places it reaches to inhospitable and barren deserts. The third part is a stony, flinty, sandy desert, absolutely worthless for agriculture.

Hydrographic conditions in the Negeb are very curious. With the exception of the small spring of Kurnub I do not know of any perennial spring. When the rainfall is scanty, as is very often the case, the condition is still more hopeless. Therefore in many places deep wells have been dug to reach the subterranean flow of water. Such wells are still to be found in Bir es-Sabî', Khalâṣah, Ruḥêbeh, el-'Ôdjah. The springs Qusêmeḥ, 'Ēn-Qdêrât and 'Ēn-Qâdis lie to the south of our region. These water resources are not enough, and additions are necessary. Beduins subsist on the *uḍḍî* waters for the winter and spring months, but the spring is very short. In the beginning of winter these sons of the desert dig pits three to four metres deep and situated at the base of two hills. As the deeper strata of this region are composed mostly of clay soil, the rain water which has gathered in these pits can not seep through. Abraham's servants may have dug similar pits at Beer-Sheba and have called them "wells." At present they are known by the name *hrâbeh*. In the last dry months of the summer the Beduins gather around the old Byzantine wells and around Quṣêmeḥ.

After this short discussion of the geological formation, vegetation and water supply of the land of the 'Azâzmeh, the questions arise:

How could these Byzantine colonies exist in this barren desert? Why were they built? On what did their inhabitants live? To solve them let us consider briefly the civilization of:

1. The country to the north of Beer-Sheba,
2. That between Beer-Sheba and the line el-Ôdjah-‘Abdeh  
(which corresponds to the central zone),
3. The lands south of this line,
4. The land of the ‘Arabah depression.

1. It is most striking to note how the plain south of Djebel el-Khalil is sown with ruins. In some places as, for example, the country to the west of esh-Sheri‘ah nearly every hill shows some remains of old habitation. The hill to the northeast of the Tell esh-Sheri‘ah station, just north of the bridge, shows different strata, which indicate superimposed towns. In no place of this region except in Khirbet es-Sabi‘, in Beer-Sheba, and the ruins on the coast are remains of large buildings to be seen. The enormous number of ruins in this district points to a conclusion which is very important for us, namely, that it was once densely populated and that the soil, which is naturally of an excellent quality, was well utilized and that political conditions were settled.

2. In the second zone, which is, as we have seen, sandier, drier and much less fertile, we find, to our great astonishment, many ruins of what must once have been large and important villages. The houses are built of solid, well-hewn stones and many of them are finished in an artistic style. Nearly every town had a large basilica, and nothing was spared to beautify it; some possessed even more than one. Paintings, mural decorations, etc., were still to be seen in 1915. In Şbêta it almost seemed to me as if an earthquake had taken place only a few months before, forcing the inhabitants to leave their beautiful city. Many houses were still erect, and most had several walls more or less well preserved. What expense and what human energy were necessary to build such villages in the desert! But there are remains of a much older civilization to be seen here and there. On Djebel esh-Sherqiye, for example, an old altar of roughly hewn stones is still found. Traces of un-Byzantine work may be found elsewhere also.

3. The region south of ‘Abdeh-el-Ôdjah is also desolate, devoid of buildings, barren of human traces. Some flint artifacts are to be



seen near Quşêneh. Remains of a castle are found near 'Ēn-Qderât. Bîr-Bîrên (between el-'Ôdjah and Quşêneh), though just below the line 'Abdeh-el-'Ôdjah, belonged in ancient times probably to the central region.

4. Quite different again is the Wâdî el-'Arabah region with the adjoining districts on its eastern side. Here again we find, as a look at the map will show, a great number of ruins, and history tells us that civilization once flourished here, when the names Petra and Aela had a special significance to the world.

After this survey we come to the solution of the question: How could these colonies in the Negeb exist? The answer is: They were the connecting link between the densely populated and well organised country of Palestine on the one hand and the land of the Nabateans on the other hand; they lay on the caravan road between Palestine in the north and Petra-Aela in the south. All caravans to Egypt from Petra-Aela and back had to pass by this road. The caravan road between Arabia, el-'Arabah and the ports of Palestine was also the foundation of the prosperity of Petra.

Supported by a flourishing, densely populated country, and attracted by the riches and the trade of the south, emigrants early went south from Palestine into the Negeb and established colonies. As communication between these lands increased, the necessity of establishing new stations on the caravan road arose. The further south these emigrants went, the further the nomads were pressed back into the desert; naturally these sons of nature looked with hatred at the intruders, and never rested until they triumphed over their enemies and drove them back into Palestine.

A minute study of the ruins reveals their past history and supports our theory. I shall try to describe the most important items in this connection.

The ruins followed two caravan lines, an eastern and a western one. The western line connected Bîr-es-Sabî', Khalâşah, Ruḥêbeh, Mas'ûdiyeh, el-'Ôdjah with Şbêta. The eastern road went from es-Sabî', 'Ar'ara, Byâr 'Aslûdj, near Mashrafiyeh, to Şbêta. A short-cut from this caravan road went from 'Ar'ara directly to Kurnub and leaving Mashrafiyeh, Şbêta and 'Abdeh, followed the Fikrî valley until it reached the 'Arabah. Both these roads, the eastern and the western, ran from Şbêta to 'Abdeh and on to the Marra-Fikrî

valley, following 'Ên Ḥasib (or Bîr Kharrâr), 'Ên Webbeh, 'Ên Tayyibeh, Naqb er-Rbâ'i to the 'Arabah. From Wâdî Fikrî the road went either directly past Naqb ed-Dakhl to Buṣêrah, southeast to Wâdî Mûsâ, or directly southward to Aila. This caravan road was presumably not first built by the Byzantine authorities but was repaired and fortified by them.

The caravan road connecting north with southeast was also the cause of the lack of colonies to the south of the line 'Abdeh-'Ôdjah. They would have been far too remote from their base and at the same time more exposed to the attacks of the Bedouins. This explains at the same time why no settlements were made in the beautiful plain around the large spring Quṣêmeḥ, though water, one of the most pressing needs, is found in great quantities.

Owing to these continuous conflicts between the new colonists and the Arabs, the former were obliged to use every means to protect their lives and interests, and strong fortresses were erected. The northern colonies were fortified only by well-built walls, as they did not need elaborate defenses, being situated in the rear, while the southern stations were fortified strongholds built on naturally defensible mountains, more or less isolated from the ridge to which they belong. Mashrafiyeh, 'Ôdjah, 'Abdeh are examples of such strategic positions. Doubtless the nomads of those times often tried in vain to surprise and take these castles.

But even fields, vineyards and orchards were protected against assault by square watch-towers. In W. Rakhwat, W. Imm 'Irqân, W. Abu-Khenân, near Şbêṭa, el-'Ôdjah, and Ruḥêbeh, in the plain 'Aslûdj, W. el-Wqêr, etc., remains of such towers may be yet seen.

The caravan road itself had to be well protected by fortresses, between different stations and at exposed points. Such strongholds were situated in Tell Shunnârah between Ruḥêbeh and el-'Ôdjah, on the Naqb ed-Dableh etc. The new inhabitants of the desert had besides the Beduin another enemy, perhaps more dangerous than the first: the desert itself with its lack of water, its sand storms, poor soil and hot climate. But their unbreakable will, combined with indefatigable industry, overcame these difficulties. Most settlements (Şbêṭa, Ruḥêbeh, Bîr Bîrên) had a cistern in every house; pools were constructed; deep wells were dug to reach the underground waters ('Ôdjah, Khalâṣah, Ruḥêbeh). The upper ends of many valleys

were changed into reservoirs by building a massive wall across their beds (E. of Ruḥêbeh, Kurnub). Every spot which could be utilised for agriculture was worked systematically. The walls which divided one piece of land from another are still to be seen all over this region. To keep the water of the wâdis in check during winter and thus prevent the soil of their gardens from being washed away thick walls with a triangular section were erected. The base of one of these walls which I saw near El-Ôdjah measured 23 feet. They were so well built that they have resisted the attacks of nature through all the centuries.

The solitude of the desert with its beautifully clear sky and the ever-shining stars attracted the monks to the Negeb. Thus the great basilicas with their small adjoining monasteries were built. Most of our towns had more than one basilica. In the small church of El-Ôdjah, situated inside the fortress, a tomb and a monk's skeleton with a papyrus roll were found during the war.

As long as Palestine and the land of the Nabateans flourished the colonies in the Negeb flourished also, and their inhabitants became rich, since all the trade to and from Palestine, Egypt, and Petra-Arabia passed through them. This trade was the only source of their wealth and the very basis of their existence. Agriculture and sheep-raising were carried on only on a small scale.

Finally the political importance of Palestine began to dwindle, commerce with the south and the southeast waned, and as the life of the colonies became very precarious the occupation of the oases was no longer possible, for the caravan road fell into disuse. The Beduins seized the opportunity and hastened the downfall of the intrusive culture; thus barbarians again won a victory over civilization . . .

# APHEK

A Study in Biblical Topography

S. TOLKOWSKY

(JAFFA)

**M**OST Bible commentators and historians have located the battles which took place near Aphek in different, widely separated regions and have presented us with the identification not of one town but of three or four different places bearing the same name. The object of the present study is to show that the most important battles which according to the Bible have taken place in the vicinity of Aphek have really been fought in one and the same region, and in the neighbourhood of one and the same town of Aphek.

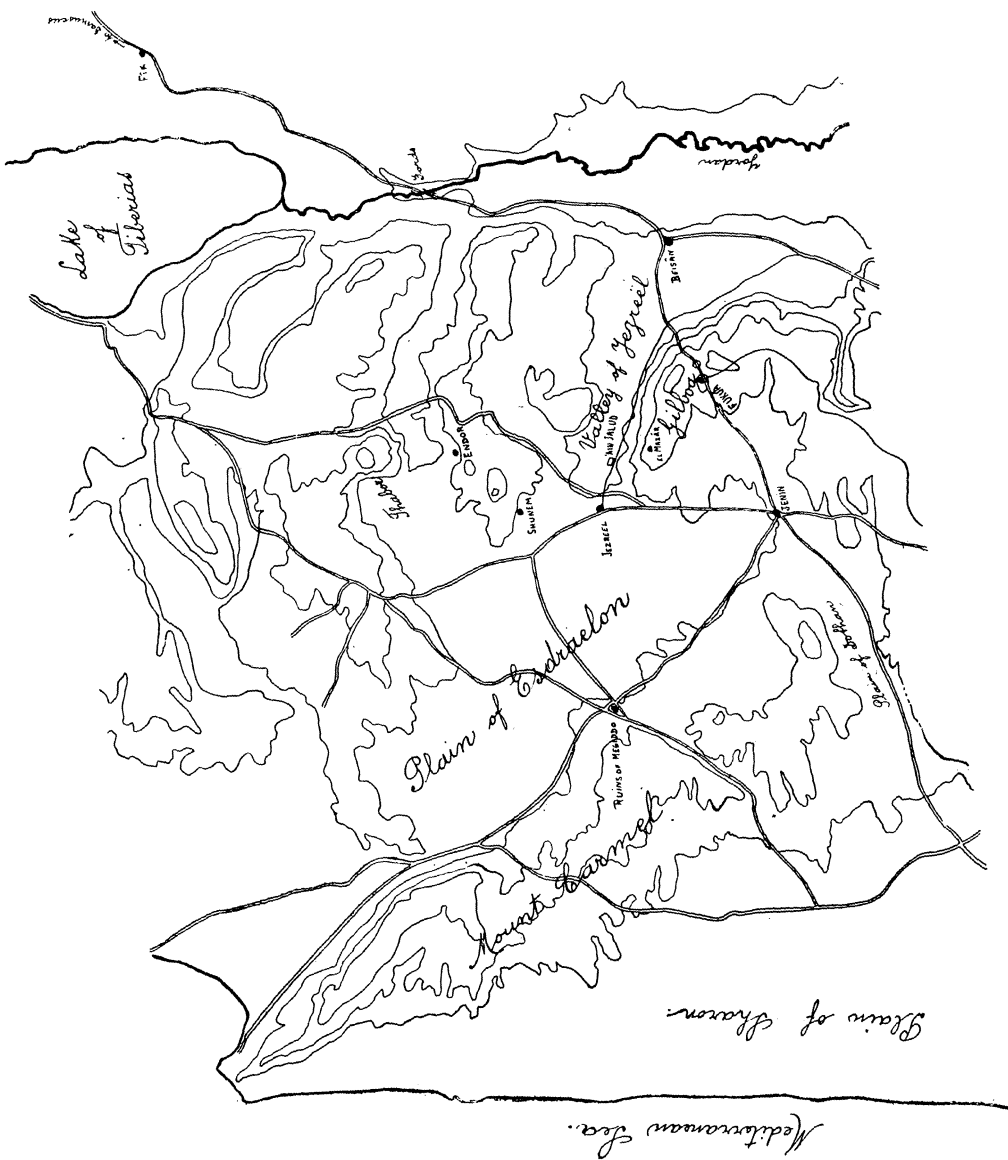
After the completion of the initial conquest, which had given the Hebrew tribes possession of the hill-countries of Central Palestine, of Galilee and of Transjordan, but had not given them control of the plains, the wars of the Hebrews may be divided roughly into two classes: wars waged for the defence of the national territory, and wars waged for the reduction of foreign enclaves within the national territory. The wars for the reduction of foreign enclaves had for their scene the Plain of Esdraelon. The Hebrews, indeed, up to the time of David and Solomon never succeeded in getting a permanent hold over the plain; they held their own only in the mountains. The plains were held by hostile nations: the Canaanites first, and later their successors the Philistines. These peoples of the plain, who were provided with chariots, cavalry and heavy infantry, had resisted all the attempts of the Hebrews to conquer the plains at the time when the latter first overran Palestine. The low-land

peoples remained in control not only of the maritime plain but also of the Plain of Esdraelon, thus driving a wedge between the Hebrews of Galilee and those of Central Palestine. It was only natural that from time to time the Hebrews should try to establish territorial connection between these two disconnected halves of their race, an object which could only be achieved by driving the Canaanite and Philistine garrisons out of the Plain of Esdraelon. The Canaanites and the Philistines on their side were bound to resist these attempts for a much more important reason than the mere possible loss of the fertile lands of the Plain of Esdraelon. By holding the Plain of Esdraelon they also held the country round Beth-Shean, (the present Beisan) and the Jordan fords which were situated near that fortress. There, as long as they held the Plain of Esdraelon, they had the means of preventing any common action between the Hebrews of Central Palestine, those of Galilee and those established to the east of the Jordan; the loss of their control over the Plain of Esdraelon would have as a direct result an active military cooperation between all these Hebrew tribes. This circumstance explains why in each and every case both parties sustained the fight until the almost complete annihilation of the vanquished.

Apart from the battle of Megiddo, as far as our records go five big battles were fought in Biblical times in the Plain of Esdraelon. The first on record is that of Deborah and Barak against the Canaanite chief Sisera; as the Hebrew host participating in this battle was composed chiefly of warriors from Galilee it was only natural that they should, with a view to remain in communication with their homes, choose their battlefield in the north-eastern part of the Plain of Esdraelon, just south of Mount Tabor.

The second battle mentioned is that fought by the tribes of the hill-country of Samaria, under the leadership of Gideon, against Midianite nomads who had crossed the Jordan near Beth-Shean and were encamped in the Valley of Jezreel leading up from Beth-Shean to the Plain of Esdraelon proper. In this case the logical position for the Hebrew army was on the northern slope of Mount Gilboa looking down into the Valley of Jezreel; the fight was not a regular battle between two organised armies, but only a surprise attack carried out under cover of night by a small band of three hundred determined peasants against a nomad camp at rest.

TOLKOWSKY: Apek



### THE BATTLE OF THE ARK

"And the word of Samuel came to all Israel. Now Israel went out against the Philistines to battle, and pitched beside Eben Ezer: and the Philistines pitched in Aphek" (1 Samuel 4 1). Historians and commentators have generally identified the Aphek mentioned in this passage with a place in the Plain of Sharon<sup>1</sup> or in the Plain of Philistia.<sup>2</sup> But this identification cannot possibly be reconciled with v. 12 of the same chapter, in which it is said that, after the loss of the battle by the Hebrews, "a man of Benjamin ran away from the battle-line and came to Shiloh on the same day," where he announced the defeat. Shiloh, as we know, was situated in Samaria, that is to say, north of Benjamin and a few miles away from the chief high-road connecting Benjamin with the Plain of Esdraelon. If the battle had been fought to the west of Benjamin, there would have been no reason why the man from Benjamin, on his way from the battlefield to his home, should pass by Shiloh. It is not logical to argue that the man was sent as a messenger from the field of battle to the High-Priest Eli; because in the first place if a messenger was required, probably an inhabitant of Shiloh or of the surrounding country would have been chosen; moreover, the text clearly shows that the man's destination was not Shiloh, for it is said that he ran away from the battle-line "and came to Shiloh." It is indeed much more logical to suppose that the man was really returning to his home, and that on his way home he had to pass near Shiloh, where he arrived on the same day, at or near sunset, and turned in for the night. That would imply that Shiloh lay along the main direct road leading from the battlefield to Benjamin; in other words, that the battlefield was situated to the north of Shiloh. The man arrived at Shiloh on the very day of the battle which ended in the defeat of the Hebrews. It is clear from the text that the presence of the Ark in the midst of the Hebrews had inspired them

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<sup>1</sup> C. Hauser, in *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1895, p. 279. G. A. Smith, in *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1895, p. 252. Wellhausen: *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 1914, p. 50. R. Kittel: *A History of the Hebrews* (English Translation), 1896, Vol. II, p. 104. Charles Foster Kent: *A History of the Hebrew People*, Vol. I, p. 85. Charles Foster Kent: *Biblical Geography and History*, p. 140.

<sup>2</sup> George Armstrong: *Names and Places*, 1908.

with new energy, which is also obvious from the fact that the Philistines were in the beginning rather depressed by the news of the Ark's presence amongst their enemies. As, nevertheless, the Philistines ended by being the victors, it may be inferred that the battle was fought with great determination by both sides and that it lasted long; so that it is hardly to be supposed that the Benjamite fugitive, who actually saw the defeat of the Hebrews and the capture of the Ark by the Philistines, left the field of battle before nine or ten o'clock in the morning. Since he still arrived on the same day, that is to say, before sunset, at Shiloh, at an hour when there was still sufficient daylight for the old High-Priest to remain seated by the way-side waiting for news from the Army, he can have had hardly more than about eight hours for his journey. The distance which a light-armed warrior would be able to cover in these eight hours may be estimated roughly at about 30 miles; but 30 miles is just the distance which separates Shiloh from the southern end of the Plain of Esdraelon. For a battle in the southern corner of the Plain of Esdraelon, between an army occupying that plain and another holding the mountains of Samaria, the logical positions for their camps would be respectively the rocky defile south of Jenin for the latter, and the south-western slopes of Mount Gilboa just below the village of Fukû'a for the former. It is this village of Fukû'a which I believe to be the Aphek of the Bible. For Eben-Ezer I am not yet able to suggest a meaning or a definition; it may be that this name was applied to some conspicuous rock near the entrance to the defile south of Jenin which to an army in danger would offer a safe shelter and way of retreat.

### *THE BATTLE OF GILBOA*

The ambition of Saul, when he had driven the Philistines out of Benjamin, was to unite the Hebrew tribes in one state. A series of successful expeditions directed by him against the Moabites in defence of Reuben and against the Ammonites in defence of Gad, increased both the national consciousness of the Hebrew tribes beyond the Jordan and the prestige which Saul and his Benjamites enjoyed amongst them. A similar successful expedition against the Amalekite Bedouin in the south, who had been periodically laying waste the



southern portion of the territory of Judah, led also the latter tribe to acknowledge Saul's kingship. The battle of the Valley of Elah and the subsequent expeditions against the Philistines along the western boundary of his kingdom kept these traditional enemies of the Hebrews so busy that they lost more and more their hold over the Plain of Esdraelon and the Jordan fords near Beisan, thus enabling Saul to establish his rule in Galilee and beyond the Jordan, a development evidenced by his edict against necromancers (1 Samuel 28 9), his promise not to punish the witch of Endor (do. v. 10), and his recognition by the men of Jabesh-Gilead as their lord (2 Samuel 2 5 and 7). Thus also it became possible for members of the northern and eastern tribes to settle in some of the towns of the Plain of Esdraelon. But as Saul grew old and his energy became relaxed under the influence of the recurrent insanity to which he was a prey<sup>1</sup> and which was gradually taking a more and more acute form, the Philistines at last saw the opportunity of making an attempt to reconquer their lost position in the Plain of Esdraelon and on the Jordan fords, and thus to destroy the territorial unity of the Hebrew State. They collected their forces and marched in full strength into the Plain of Esdraelon, where they established their camp on the southern slopes of the hill called to-day Jebel Dahy, just below Shunem (the present Solam) and close to the main road leading from Samaria to Galilee. The Hebrews from Galilee and Transjordan, who had settled in the cities of the Plain, abandoned these and withdrew into the hills of Lower Galilee and beyond the Jordan, there to await events; and the Philistines reoccupied all these cities, including their old fortress of Beth-Shean. Thus at the outset they cut off Saul from any possibility of military collaboration with the northern and eastern tribes. For the Hebrew king there were only two alternatives left: either to abandon the Plain of Esdraelon to the Philistines, which would mean to submit voluntarily to the disruption of his kingdom, the building up of which had been the object of his whole reign; or to accept battle, notwithstanding the fact that for a fight on the plain the enemy was incomparably better equipped and trained than his own mountaineers. The king took up the challenge and encamped opposite to the

<sup>1</sup> Dr. E. W. G. Mastermann: "Hygiene and Disease in Palestine in Modern and in Biblical Times" (*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1918, p. 168).

Philistine army on the northwestern end of Mount Gilboa just above the old fountain of Gideon (the present 'Ain Jalûd). These are the positions of the two armies indicated in 1 Samuel 28 4. But looking from his elevated position upon the huge Philistine army, encamped in full strength on the other side of the narrow valley of Jezreel, and realising his meagre chances of overcoming them in a battle on the plain, the heart of Saul became dismayed (1 Samuel 28 5). He consulted the oracles and the prophets, but he received no answer to his queries (v. 6). Thereupon, in his anxiety, and notwithstanding his own severe edict against those "who had familiar spirits," one dark night he secretly crossed the valley, and, avoiding the Philistine sentinels, went to consult the witch who lived in Endor; but from this last attempt to consult fate he came back without any hope of success. A general of a less heroic stamp than the Benjamite would perhaps have withdrawn into his mountains and given up the hopeless adventure; not so Saul, who made up his mind to await the Philistines on Gilboa and to accept an honourable death rather than retreat. The steep northern slope of Gilboa made it difficult for the Philistines to attack him from across the Valley of Jezreel, to the north of which they were still encamped. A glance at the map will show that the northernmost end of Mount Gilboa occupies almost exactly the centre of a triangle, the three sides of which are constituted respectively by the Valley of Jezreel, the Jezreel-Jenin road, and the Jenin-Beth-Shean road. By ordering their detachments stationed near the fortress of Beth-Shean to move up the latter road and to occupy Aphek (1 Samuel 29 1), and by moving their main army from Shunem southwards to the town of Jezreel, the present Zerîn (v. 11), the Philistines, thanks to their chariots, could sweep these two roads; from Jezreel, which lies comparatively high and from which the view extends down the whole length of the Valley of Jezreel as far as Beth-Shean, they could at the same time control this valley, the third side of the triangle. It was a regular siege of Mount Gilboa. Saul's communications with the rear were cut, so that, should he come down the southwestern slopes of Gilboa in an attempt to cross the southern corner of the Plain towards Jenin in order to escape by the central mountain road starting from the defile situated to the south of this town, the Philistine chariots from Jezreel and from Aphek would be able, by moving upon Jenin, to forestall him and

to bar his route. But Saul had no mind to retreat, or to escape towards the north; he had already made his choice, and that was to die. Seeing that he did not move from his positions, the Philistines, leaving their chariots to guard the plain and the two roads, ordered their heavy infantry, composed of archers and slingers, to advance from Jezreel up the gentle southwestern slopes of Gilboa, and from Aphek northward along the ridge of the mountain. Saul's men put up a desperate defence; but they were no match for the superior archers and slingers of the Philistines. They were compelled to fall back and many of them were slain (1 Sam. 31 1), until at last Saul had only a handful of men remaining around him. But the proud king of Benjamin was not minded to give his life-long enemies the right to pride themselves on having killed him in battle. When he felt that the end was imminent, Saul at last threw himself upon his sword (v. 4). The tragedy was completed. Night fell upon the field of battle.

When the morning came the Philistines dispersed themselves over the battlefield in order to despoil the dead; and when they found the bodies of Saul and his three sons, they cut off the king's head and took his armour, and sent them to the Philistine cities as trophies; but his body they hung up on the walls of their fortress of Beth-Shean.

The whole course of the battle clearly shows that the chief strategic point around the capture of which turned the whole battle plan of the Philistines, was the town of Aphek situated in the rear of the Hebrew army, and that the Biblical text closely follows the chronological order of the various stages of the fight; whereas by locating Aphek in the plain of Sharon, as various commentators<sup>1</sup> have done, they have been led to emendations of the text, emendations which are not only unwarranted but unnecessary, as I think I have shown above.

### *THE BATTLE OF APHEK BETWEEN AHAB OF ISRAEL AND BEN-HADAD OF ARAM*

Ben-Hadad, king of Aram, had besieged Samaria, the capital of Israel, and had been beaten off with the complete loss of his camp

<sup>1</sup> Charles Foster Kent: *A History of the Hebrew People*, Vol. I, p. 130. G. A. Smith, in *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1895, p. 252. C. R. Conder, in the *Survey of Western Palestine*, Vol. II, p. 84, says: "It is possible that Aphek, where the Philistines encamped before attacking Saul on Mount Gilboa, may be the present Fuku'a."

and a large number of casualties; amongst the spoil captured by the Israelites was a large number of war chariots and horses, with which the king of Israel formed a corps of charioteers for his own army. But the King of Aram, although heavily beaten, did not give up his intention to conquer the Israelite Kingdom and began at once preparing for the renewal of hostilities in the following spring. This time his counsellors advised him not to venture again into the mountains of Israel. The reason was, of course, that the Aramean armies, accustomed only to warfare on the plains or on the plateaux of the East-Jordan country, where their chariots, horses and heavy infantry could manoeuvre freely, must naturally find it difficult to fight among the hills of Israel, where, on the contrary, the light-armed infantry of Ahab were at home and found the best conditions for the sort of guerilla warfare in which they were past masters.

Naturally for the Aramaeans to admit before their king that they were not prepared to meet the Israelites on the latter's own ground was rather unpalatable; and so the reason they gave him for avoiding battle within the mountains of Israel was that the god of the Israelites was a god of the hills and that therefore at Samaria the Israelites had been stronger than the Arameans; but that if the battle was to take place in the plains, surely the Aramaeans would be the victors (1 Kings 20 23). Moreover, as they attributed the defeat of the previous year partly to the lack of discipline shown by the thirty-two allied kings who accompanied Ben-Hadad to the siege of Samaria, each in command of his own troops, the Aramaean king's counsellors now urged him to assume sole command himself by "taking the kings away, every man out of his place, and putting captains in their room" (v. 24). Lastly, they recommended that he should reconstitute his army and make it similar in size to the army destroyed the previous year, by replacing "horse for horse and chariot for chariot" (v. 25). The king listened to the advice of his counsellors and acted accordingly; and when the spring had come round again and with it the season in which troops used to take the field, Ben-Hadad mustered his army and "went up to Aphek" to fight against Israel (v. 26). The king of Israel, Ahab, had also not been idle. Foreseeing that sooner or later the Aramaeans would come back, he had spent the winter in preparing his army, and in organising

his corps of charioteers so as to be able, should he be forced to do so, to accept battle in the plains.

So, when the news arrived that the Aramaean army was encamped at Aphek, no doubt spoiling the surrounding country and terrorising its inhabitants, Ahab mustered and victualled his army and took the road in the direction of the Aramaean hosts: "and the children of Israel encamped before them like two little flocks of kids; but the Aramaeans filled the country" (v. 27). Now, where was the site of Aphek, near which the Aramaeans were encamped, and opposite which the Israelite army had taken up its position? The Biblical text (1 Kings 20 23) uses for the "plain" in which Ben-Hadad's counsellors advised him to await the Israelites, the term מִישׁוֹר. Now, apparently in view of the fact that מִישׁוֹר, apart from the passage with which we are now dealing, is used only for regions situated to the east of Jordan, some commentators<sup>1</sup> have concluded that Aphek must also be situated to the east of Jordan and have searched on the road from Damascus to Samaria for a place which, being situated in open country and bearing to-day an Arabic name similar to the name of Aphek, would satisfy the conditions which they imagined the text demands, and have fixed their choice upon the village of Fik, situated about four miles east of the Sea of Galilee. Skinner places Aphek in the Plain of Sharon,<sup>2</sup> Kittel locates it in the Kishon Valley,<sup>3</sup> and Conder "on the way from Mizpah to Philistia."<sup>4</sup>

In reality matters are quite different and the text itself provides us with a most definite and unambiguous answer. The Targum has in place of Hebrew מִישׁוֹר, Aramaic מִישְׁרָא, and if we compare other passages in which the Targum uses the same word, we shall find that the word מִישְׁרָא is really nothing more than the exact Aramaean equivalent of the Hebrew word עֵמֶק (= plain). Now, הָעֵמֶק, "the" Plain *par excellence*, is the ordinary Hebrew name used in the

<sup>1</sup> George Adam Smith: *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, 17<sup>th</sup> Edition, pages 427, 459, 580. Charles Foster Kent: *Biblical Geography and History*, pp. 170—171. Charles Foster Kent: *A History of the Hebrew People*, vol. II, pp. 40—41. Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* (1910). H. B. Tristram: *The Land of Israel; a Journal of Travels in Palestine*, 1866, p. 437. G. Armstrong: *Names and Places* (1908).

<sup>2</sup> Skinner (*Century Bible*) places Aphek in the Plain of Sharon.

<sup>3</sup> R. Kittel: *A History of the Hebrews* (English Translation, 1896), vol. II, p. 271.

<sup>4</sup> C. R. Conder in *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1883, p. 180.

Bible for the Plain of Esdraelon. The whole difficulty which commentators have found in the word מִישׁוֹר simply comes from the fact that the Biblical narrative reproduces the advice given to Ben-Hadad by his counsellors, in Hebrew translation, with the exception of the geographical term מִישׁוֹר, which has been left in the Aramaic original.

Now, if we realise that the burden of the advice given to Ben-Hadad was not to enter the mountains of Israel but to await the Israelites in the plain, it seems obvious that the plain in which the Aramaeans were to await the Israelites could not have been any other plain than that situated immediately in front of the mountains of Israel, that is to say the Plain of Esdraelon, and especially the southern corner of the plain, which is situated immediately north of the present town of Jenîn and which is enclosed on the south by the mountains of Israel, on the west by the slopes of Mount Carmel, and on the east by the gentle slopes leading up to Mount Gilboa. As the Aramaean camp must of necessity have been placed on this westward slope of Mount Gilboa, the town of Aphek, which was their base, must have been situated higher up on Mount Gilboa, on the road leading from Jenîn to Damascus. The only place which fits into these conditions is the present village of Fukû'a, the same we have met in the two battles previously described. Now as to the position of the Israelites, it is obvious that although Ahab now possessed a corps of charioteers, prudence would not allow him to venture too far away from the shelter of his mountains; therefore, the natural position for his army was on the slopes of the mountains overlooking the Plain of Jenîn from the southwest. Moreover, he had to keep open his communications with the interior of the country. As there were two roads available, (1) the chief high road striking from Jenîn south-southwest almost straight to Shechem (Nablus) and (2) the road starting also from Jenîn but going nearly west through the Plain of Dothan to the Plain of Sharon, there to turn to the southeast towards the town of Samaria, the logical thing for Ahab was to divide his army into two parts and to occupy the entrances to both the roads just mentioned. Both these entrances were narrow defiles. This is the reason why, according to the Bible text, the Israelites looked "like two little flocks of kids." No other battlefield than that at the foot of Gilboa would necessitate such a disposition of the Hebrew troops.

There is, however, a further argument against locating Aphek to the east of the Jordan Valley. It is said in v. 26 that Ben-Hadad "went up to Aphek." Now, Damascus is situated on a height of 2340 feet above the Mediterranean, whilst Fik is situated only at about 1250 feet; as Fik therefore is situated about 1100 feet lower than Damascus, the identification of Fik with Aphek does not fit the text just referred to. If however, we accept the location of Aphek on Mount Gilboa, then Ben-Hadad's army had to descend from Damascus into the Jordan Valley, to cross the latter, and then "to go up to Aphek."

We thus see that a close study of the three important battles in which the place of Aphek is mentioned leads us to the conclusion that in all three cases we have to deal with one and the same place, situated on Mount Gilboa; and that it must be situated close to a road practicable for war chariots. These requirements are met by no other place than the present village of Fukû'a, and I do not hesitate to identify this village with Aphek. But if any doubt remains as to the correctness of this identification, it seems to me that the Bible itself will dispose of these doubts. In Joshua 13 4, in the list of districts which had not yet been conquered by the Hebrews, after they had occupied the whole hill-country of Judaea and Samaria, the as yet unconquered country in the north is described as follows: *מִמִּיָּמֶן כָּל-אֶרֶץ הַכְּנָעָנִי, וּמִעֶרְהָ אֲשֶׁר לְצִדְרָיִם עַד-אַפְקָה*, *עַד גְּבוּל הָאֲמֹרִי*, which is ordinarily translated: "from the south all the land of the Canaanites and Mearah that belonged to the Sidonians, and to Aphek, to the borders of the Amorites." In this passage Aphek, according to the *Century Bible*, is to be identified with Afka, at the mouth of the river Nahr Ibrahim. This identification is not satisfactory, as Afka is situated much too far away,<sup>1</sup> to the north of Beirut. The text clearly shows that Aphek is situated on the frontier of the country of the Amorites. Now, in Deuteronomy 1 7, *הַר הָאֲמֹרִי*, "the mountain of the Amorites," serves to designate the hill-country of Judaea and Samaria. Therefore since the northernmost end of this hill-country is represented by Mount Gilboa, it follows that Aphek, if it lay on the frontier, must have been situated on Gilboa. We have, besides, the testimony of

<sup>1</sup> As rightly pointed out by C. F. Burney: *The Book of Judges* (1908), p. 29.

Robinson,<sup>1</sup> who says that "the inhabitants of Jenîn now call this range Jebel Fukû'a" from the adjacent village, whilst Conder<sup>2</sup> writes of Fukû'a: "... a large village on top of a spur. It gives its name to the Gilboa range, which is often called Jebel Fukû'a. It is surrounded by olive gardens, and supplied by cisterns east and west of the village." The passage in Joshua, of which we have just spoken, throws some further light upon the position of Aphek. Verse 3, which starts the list of unconquered countries, describes the great maritime plain of Palestine; v. 5 describes the country of Lebanon; the intermediate v. 4 refers to the country lying between the Lebanon and the hill-country of Central Palestine. In this verse the word *מַעְרָה* has been kept in some translations as the name of a place, in others it has been translated "a cavern." Both these explanations are wrong. In Isaiah 19 7, the word *עֵרִית*, plural of *עֵרָה*, is generally translated "paper reeds," but it may just as well mean not only the paper reeds themselves but the stretch of land covered by them, or better still some town or village situated in a district rich in paper reeds and therefore named after them. Such a place may well have been situated in the marshes north of Lake Huleh, in the district of Laish, which was later on conquered by the tribe of Dan, when they drove out the Sidonians to whom it originally belonged. In my opinion the first four words of Joshua 13 4, in reality belong to the preceding v. 3; indeed, the first half of verse 3 explains that the Philistine and Avvite regions described in the second half of the same verse are contiguous on their northern frontier with the country of the Canaanites; and in my opinion the words *מִתִּימָן כָּל-אֶרֶץ הַכְּנַעֲנִי* meaning "to the south of the whole country of the Canaanites" belong to the end of v. 3 and are simply a repetition of the idea already explained in the first half of this verse. Verse 4 in that case would read: "And from Arah belonging to the Sidonians unto Aphek, (that is) to the border of the Amorites;" Aphek is thus indicated simultaneously as the southern limit of the Sidonian territory and the northern limit of the Amorite country. It seems to me that this definition of Aphek settles any doubts that might still exist as to the location of the place.

<sup>1</sup> E. Robinson: *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai and Arabia Petraea*, 1841, Vol. III, p. 158.

<sup>2</sup> C. R. Conder: *The Survey of Western Palestine*, Vol. II, p. 84.



That there may have been more than one Aphek in Palestine, is quite possible, and even probable. A priori, the word *Aphek* (אֲפֶק), meaning a fortress, may have been applied to different places. The Aphek mentioned in Joshua 12 18, 15 53, 19 30, and in 2 Kings 13 17, as well as the Aphik (אֲפִיק) of Judges 1 31 are difficult to locate, but they do not seem to refer to the same place as the Aphek of the battles I have described; except for the Aphek of 2 Kings 13 17, which being probably situated on the road from Samaria to Damascus, may be the one on Mount Gilboa. Dr. Albright has called my attention to the following extra-Biblical Apheks, namely the *I-pw-q-n* (= Efeqôn) of the great Asiatic list Thutmosis III, the *Apqu* mentioned by Esarhaddon in his account of his march Tyre to Egypt (Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*, p. 53), the Aphek of Josephus (Bell. II, 513), and the Afîq (commonly called Fîq) of the Arab writer Yaqut's geographical dictionary (I, 332). I am not prepared at this stage, to make any definite suggestion as to the location of these four places.

But as far as the three above-mentioned great battles of the Bible are concerned, I have no doubt that the Apheks appearing in their various accounts are really one and the same place, namely Fukû'a on Mount Gilboa.

### EDITORIAL NOTE

The present number of the *Journal* should have included also the article by Mr. Hanna Stephan, "Modern Palestinian Parallels to the Song of Songs." But owing to the complicated character of the material and the difficulty in preparing the MS for the press, its inclusion would have delayed the issue of the present number still longer. It has therefore been decided to issue this number in its present attenuated form and print Mr. Stephan's article as a separate number.

The Editorial Committee take this opportunity of informing Members that the pages of the *Journal* are open to literary contributions on topics coming within the scope of the Society by scholars who are not resident in Palestine.

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elements are inextricably entwined, either may pass for the other.

The Christian names of the twelve months are of Syriac origin, as the Eastern Church, especially the Orthodox, has the Julian Calendar. The months appear in their usual order. The same calendar underlies the reckoning of the late Turkish fiscal year, with the difference, that the latter has substituted the names *Mart* and *Ağostos* for *Adâr* and *Âb*, and that the former month is the first month of the fiscal year. Consequently, the leap year in such a reckoning must necessarily fall on the preceding one, e. g., the fiscal year 1915, instead of 1916 as usual, was a leap year.

The agricultural year begins in the autumn (Genesis 23 16 and 34 22), thus following the Syriac year, which begins in October. Although

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# THE DIVISION OF THE YEAR IN PALESTINE

ST. H. STEPHAN  
(JERUSALEM)

THE ordinary Palestinian is nowadays far advanced beyond those Robinson Crusoe times when one counted the days, according to the pleasant tale of the Arabian Nights, by deducting every evening one pea from a numbered amount of peas, thus keeping pace with the hurrying time. At present we have a rather well regulated calendar.

As far as the adherents of both religions are concerned, there exists at the same time an economic year on the one hand, and a religious and agricultural one on the other. The first one is solar, whilst the latter is a sort of *Mittelding*, a solaro-lunar year.

The most common division of the year is that into twelve months. The Christians use their month-names for their calendar, which is identical, to a certain extent, with the fiscal year. Generally speaking, the Mohammedans also follow this reckoning of time in fixing their agricultural and (partly also) their religious year. And as these two elements are inextricably entwined, either may pass for the other.

The Christian names of the twelve months are of Syriac origin, as the Eastern Church, especially the Orthodox, has the Julian Calendar. The months appear in their usual order. The same calendar underlies the reckoning of the late Turkish fiscal year, with the difference, that the latter has substituted the names *Mart* and *Agostos* for *Adâr* and *Âb*, and that the former month is the first month of the fiscal year. Consequently, the leap year in such a reckoning must necessarily fall on the preceding one, e. g., the fiscal year 1915, instead of 1916 as usual, was a leap year.

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we consider it as solar, yet the names of the months are sometimes taken from the lunar year. Generally it agrees with the Julian calendar. The different names of the Mohammedan lunar months are merely of local character.

Both in town and village the lunar and solar years consist of twelve months. But there seems to be an exception to this rule in Transjordan, where a sort of pre-Islamic *kalammas*, a special local "astronomer", so to speak, acts as a "judge" [*qâḍī*] and determines the beginning of the year for the herdsmen and shepherds. This year has only eleven months one time and twelve next. It is said that one year a month is added<sup>1</sup> and that one is deducted from the following year.<sup>2</sup>

Aside from this exception the solar system is throughout the basis for all fixing of the days. Only the Julian calendar comes into question. The Gregorian is of recent date, and, although in use with the authorities, not known widely to the people at large. Thus when we mention a certain event as having happened, say, at the feast of the Elevation of the Holy Cross, we naturally follow the Julian Calendar, unless otherwise stated. And this is the usual way of counting and fixing dates both with the Christians and Mohammedans. This fact can be easily accounted for. Since the Orthodox Church is the oldest and also numerically the largest of the different Christian confessions, its calendar has been widely adopted because of its exactitude compared with the lunar system.

The meaning of the Mohammedan names of the months are as follows:—*Moh̄arram* is the "holy month," apparently because it is the beginning of the year. Is this a trace of an ancient Semitic belief, according to which the first things were holy? All wars and tribal quarrels had to cease during this period. It is colloquially called *šahr awwal is-sene*, the month of the beginning of the year. According to *Al-Buḥārī* its original name was "*šāfar awwal*." In *Šāfar* the towns and encampments become empty *taṣfàrr wa-taṣīr ḥālīya*) because people continue waging war against each other. *Rabī* means the time of springing forth, where men and animals

<sup>1</sup> *Šahr biḥill u šahr bizill*.

<sup>2</sup> The usual Beduin months are:—*el-àjrad*, *el-asūmm*, *šbāt*, *adār*, *ḥamās* (the fifth month), *jumāda*, three *qād*, which never fall in the winter season, and finally three *šāfar* months.

enjoy themselves. *Jumâda* was originally the period of the year in which the water froze and the air became cold. *Rajab* (*al-ašamm*) means the deaf one, because no clash of arms was heard then. They feared this month (as is shown by the classical expression *rajjiba-š-šai'a*, i. e., he fears the thing). Another appellation was given to this month in calling it the sacred one (*šahr il-ḥarâm*). *Šubân* was the time when the tribes went on the war path to secure water for their animals. In *Ramaḍân* the heat became almost unbearable, as in our "dog days." Then there is a tradition that *Ramaḍân* is also one of God's holy names, so that its correct name would be "the month of *Ramaḍân*." *Al-Mas'ûdî* in his *Murûj-id-dâhab* says that the camels used to flap or whisk their tails (*tušâwwil*) during *Sawwâl*, which was a bad omen to the Arabs, who detested the solemnizing of marriages during this month. During the month of *Du-l-qîde* they used to sit at home, abandoning war. The name of *Du-l-ḥijje* is derived from the yearly pilgrimages, *ḥajj*, which then took place.

The Beduin calendar knows three *šûfar*, three *qêd* and two *kanûn* months, followed by *šbât* (February in the Julian calendar), *adâr* and *ḥamîs*, which is always identical with April, and *jumâda*. The word *al-âjrad* for January means the bleak or barren month. According to another division of the year, which follows the seasons, we have only summer and winter (Genesis 8 22). The two other seasons, although mentioned in the Bible, are less known to the people as a whole. "Spring" (February, March, and April), or the equivalent word in Arabic (*rabî'*) means "pasture" as well as the time of grazing; besides, it may be used for all luxuriant green vegetation. "Autumn," the "little summertime" (*iš-šêfiyye -z-zġîre*) (September, October and November), is less known, with its name *ḥarîf* which means *colchicum autumnale* or *urginea maritima* (L. BAUER).

The division of the year into two roughly equal halves has again its subdivisions. The winter is fully described, as it varies constantly and its rains are essential to the growth of the different crops. On the other hand summer with its monotonous sunshine has not given rise to much terminology. Most proverbs and common sayings therefore refer to the winter.

The agricultural year begins with the first rain, which brings new hopes for the following year. And as Palestine has been from times immemorial, in spite of her partly barren soil, an agricultural land,

the agricultural calendar is predominant, especially with *fellâhîn*. If the rainfall happens to occur before the feast of the Elevation of the Holy Cross (November 3), the rainy season is an "early one" (*môsam bâdrî*), if a fortnight afterwards it is termed a "late season" (*môsam wâhrî*). As the two *kanûn* months are the most rainy ones, an adage warns against travelling.<sup>1</sup> The month of February seems to be an unaccountable fellow, and as great interest is attached to such a month, it has a special gift in store for us. On, or two days before or after the 7<sup>th</sup>, we have for one or two days a very brief period, called *jâmrit il-hâwa* (the live or burning coal of the air), which is supposed to warm the air. A week later, about the 14<sup>th</sup>, we have a second "burning coal," in order to warm the water, (*jâmrit il-mayy*). And the third and last "live coal" which is bestowed upon us on or about the 21<sup>st</sup> is the *jâmrit il-ard*, which is thought to warm the face of the earth.<sup>2</sup> So far *šbât* seems to be "good humoured." But finally he gives us three "borrowed days" (*al-mustagraḍât*), (which are followed by another four days of March) in order to make "good." During this week the rain pours, the storm blows, and the cold tries to make itself felt. March comes in with storms and showers.<sup>3</sup> And as one expects the last rain in April, the following saying will show the high value assigned to it—*in-nuḡta fî nisân, b-tiswa -s-sikke w-il-fedḍân*.<sup>4</sup> This should be the end of the rainy season.

<sup>1</sup> The period between Christmas and Epiphany is called the *tnâšariyye* (the twelve day period). It is feared because of its rains. Sail-boats in Jaffa are always brought into safety some days before.

<sup>2</sup> I owe this to the courtesy of Dr. Cana'an.

<sup>3</sup> The verse runs as follows:—

*adâr, abu -z-zalâzil w-il-amîâr,  
bitbîd il-'anga u bidâkhi -š-šinnâr,  
binbûll irrâ'i u biddâffa bâla nâr . . .  
u binâdi:—"yâ m'allîmti, kâbbri -r-ruḡfân,  
qisir il-lêl u tûwil in-nhâr . . ."*

March, month of earthquakes and showers . . .

(In it) the phoenix lays eggs and the partridge builds its nest.

The shepherd becomes wet and warms himself without fire.

He cries:—"Oh, my lady, make the loaves bigger,

For the night becomes shorter and the day is lengthening!"

The boat-men at Jaffa fear the thunderstorm of March ninth (*nâwrit toḡḡûz mârt*), which is known under its *Turkish* name. The sea is said to rage then.

<sup>4</sup> I. e., One drop in April is worth the plough and the yoke of oxen. Or again, *in-nuḡta fî nisân btiswa kull sêlin sâl* (One drop of rain in April is worth all the streams of rain which have come down).

The summer begins with May. The fellah thinks then already of harvest.<sup>1</sup> The "dog days" at the end of July and in the first two-thirds of August are characterized in the following way:—*fî tammûz b-tigli -l-màyye fi-l-kûz* (in July the water boils in the jug) or this one:—*âb lahhâb* (August flames). But this heat brings a pleasant variety of fruits which refresh and delight in taste and aroma, especially grapes.<sup>2</sup> September is the time when the olives grow.<sup>3</sup> In October the grape and fig season comes to an end.<sup>4</sup> This is the time of the olive crop, when the days become shorter and shorter, and the *fellâh* says that they are only as long as a length of thread.<sup>5</sup> Summer begins with Easter and comes to an end at the feast of the Elevation of the Holy Cross. The Christian peasant gives the advice to live outdoors between these two days.<sup>6</sup>

There are of course other less important *mawâsim* (seasons), such as that of the apricots, which falls about the first fortnight of May only, that of the melons, from the second half of July till the end of September, and last, but not least, the orange season from the second half of November to the end of April. The prickly pear ripens in July and lasts for about three months.

All these periods are commonly used by the *fellâhîn* to indicate a certain date. Thus it may be stated that a certain event took

<sup>1</sup> *Fî ayyâr îhmil mânjalak u gâr* (in May take your sickle and cut with might). In June and early July is the third time when goats kid. These kids are called *sêfî* (summer born ones), those born in March are *rbî'i* or *lablûbî* (Bauer), alluding metaphorically to the fresh green herbage and the tender grass. The kids born during the autumn are called *zêtûnî*, because the olive crop then takes place.

<sup>2</sup> *Fî tammûz ûgtuf il-kûz*, sc. *kûz is-şabr*. (in July pluck the prickly pear); *fî âb kul 'inab wâlâ tahâb* (eat the grapes in August and fear not); *môsam it-tîn fîš 'ajîn* (There is no bread [needed] during the fig period); *môsam il battîh fîš tabîh* (There is no prepared meal [needed] during the melon season).

<sup>3</sup> *Fî êlûl bitîh iz-zêt fi-z-zetûn* (in September the oil flows through the olives). [From Dr. Cana'an.]

<sup>4</sup> *Fî tâsrîn bigâbbir il- 'inab w-it-tîn*. In October the grapes and figs fade away [Dr. Cana'an]. The Jaffa people call the sea in October and November (*îmtâsrîn* i. e. "it is in *tâsrîn*," and mean by that expression that the sea is calm, "as calm as oil," because the scirocco is then blowing.

<sup>5</sup> *Ayyâm iz-zêt tûl il-hêp*. [From Dr. Cana'an.]

<sup>6</sup> *'Ayyid w-îlâ şallîb w-idhul* [Dr. Cana'an], "celebrate the Easter feast and live outdoors, celebrate the feast of the Elevation of the Holy Cross and live indoors." Also: *mâta şallabat hârrabat*, "after the feast of the Holy Cross it (the rain) destroys." The *fellâh* then does not leave a crop on the threshing floor, fearing the coming rain.



place at the beginning, in the middle or at the end of the harvest or another season.

From the religious point of view our calendar is mostly Julian, as used by the Orthodox Church. The feasts of the Elevation of the Elevation of the Holy Cross, *ʿîd eṣ-ṣalīb* (September 14), *Mâr Eliâs* (July 20), of *Lüdd* (November 3) and the Greek Easter are fixed points for the determination of any date. Bearing this fact in mind, it is not strange to note that practically all proverbs, adages, weather rules, and household words dealing with feasts of a somewhat fixed date are of Christian origin. The reason for it is clear; since the lunar year is usually about eleven days shorter than the solar, it shifts gradually through a cycle of 33 years, so that Mohammedans may celebrate *Ramaḡân* in different years on Christmas or Easter or Pentecost. This disadvantage of the lunar year compels the Mohammedans to make use of the solar chronology when fixing certain dates and local feasts, as already stated.

Thus the feast of *en-Nēbi Mûsa* falls invariably on the week preceeding the Greek Passion.<sup>1</sup> Eight days after *en-Nēbi Mûsa*, which falls always on Friday, the feast of *en-Nēbi Sâleh* is celebrated by the people of the coast, who gather at his tomb in *Ramleh*. The *Nēbi Rubîn* feast takes place in September (during the melon season) and that of the *Weli ʿAlî bin (I)lâyyim* at the end of it.

A striking and most interesting fact is the division of the year into seven periods of about fifty days each.<sup>2</sup> This reckoning begins with Easter and the first period lasts until Pentecost; being dependent upon the Easter fast itself.<sup>2</sup> During this first period comes the harvest and threshing of lentils and *kirsenne* (vicia). It lasts exactly fifty days. The second one, in which the harvest and threshing of barley and wheat takes place, ends with the feast of *Mâr Eliâs* (July 20), the time when watchmen begin to watch in the vineyards.<sup>3</sup> The third

<sup>1</sup> It was instituted by the Sultan *Ṣalâh ed-Dîn el Ayyûbî*, the Fatimid, to counterbalance the large number of Christian pilgrims in the Holy City at that time.

<sup>2</sup> An account of this appeared for the first time in Dr. Canaan's "Kalender des palaestinishen Fellachen," ZDPV 1916. *Min il-ʿîd la-l-ʾanṣâr ḡamsîn yôm mḡâddara* (Fifty days are fixed for the period between the "(Easter) Feast" and Pentecost). The expression *ḡamsîn yôm mḡâddara* is repeated after every period.

<sup>3</sup> *Min il-ʾanṣara la-l-munṭara* (from Pentecost to the time of watching sc. the vineyards).

period practically covers the grape and fig season (54 days), and ends on September 14.<sup>1</sup> The fourth period extends to the feast of *Lüdd*<sup>2</sup> (November 3) thus having exactly 50 days. During it the olive harvest and the preparing of oil take place. In taking the fifth period into consideration we have again two fixed dates, between which there are 52 days.<sup>3</sup> This is the time of ploughing, sowing and the first part of the early rain. The real winter is considered to lie between Christmas and Lent, thus making up the sixth period,<sup>4</sup> the last one being Lent itself.<sup>5</sup> This division of the year gives a feast to every period.

Another incomplete division is that which gives two periods of forty and fifty days each to both summer and winter. They are called *mirb'aniyyât* (*mirb'aniyyât*) and *hâmsiniyyât*. (Quadragesima and Quinquagesima.) The winter quadragesima *mirb'aniyyet eš-šita* begins with the 10<sup>th</sup> of December and ends on January 19<sup>th</sup>, followed directly by the *hâmsiniyyet eš-šita*.<sup>6</sup> The *mirb'aniyyet eš-šef* begins with the 10<sup>th</sup> of July and ends on August 19<sup>th</sup> followed also by the *hâmsiniyyet eš-šef*. The two *mirb'aniyyât* have the greatest cold and greatest heat respectively.

The week consists of seven days,<sup>7</sup> named by the Arabic ordinals from Sunday until Thursday. Friday, *yôm ij-jûm'a*, means the day

<sup>1</sup> *Min il-muntara la-l-mušara* (from the time of watching the vineyards to that of pressing the grapes).

<sup>2</sup> *Min il-mušara la 'id Lüdd* (from the time of pressing the grapes to the feast of *Lüdd*, Nov. 3).

<sup>3</sup> *Min 'id Lüdd la-l-milâdi* (from the feast of *Lüdd* till Christmas).

<sup>4</sup> *Min il-milâd la-š-siâm* (from Christmas to Lent).

<sup>5</sup> *Min iš-šîâm la-l-'id* (from Lent till Easter).

<sup>6</sup> The *Marb'aniyyet eš-šita* begins with the feast of St. Spiridon and ends on St. Aftimos Day. In Jaffa the *janrit il-hawa* falls a fortnight before that of Jerusalem.

<sup>7</sup> There are weeks with special names, such as the *jûm'it l-(i)mnadâ* the week of "calling," where people gather for the pilgrimage to the *Nebi Mûsa* shrine, the Friday a fortnight before Good Friday. *Jûm'it in-nâzle*, the Friday of the Descent, falls a week before Good Friday. Eight days later is the *Jûm'it el-(i)lûgyim*, Friday of the little banner. It falls together with the "hot Friday" (*ij-jûm'a -l-hâmye*), the feast of the *Nebi Šâleh*, whose *maqâm* is the "white tower" of a crusader church in Ramleh. The same day has also the name of *jûm'it ir-rağâyib*, Friday of the "good wishes," or, alluding to the tomb of *en-Nebi Šâleh*, *jûm'it ij-jâmi' il-abyađ*, Friday of the "white mosque." It is also called *jûm'it in-nabât*, Friday of the "plants" (sc. flowers, when maidens pluck all sorts of flowers; dry them in the moonlight, and make essences and scents

of assembly and the name of *yôm is-sabt* (Sabbath) is traceable to the ancient Babylonian *šabattu*, which was taken over by the Syrians and Jews.<sup>1</sup> [This is not certain; cf. Rev. d'Assyr. W. F. A.]

A calendaric day, *dies naturalis*, is a *yôm*. The French word *journée* covers the Arabic *nhâr*, *dies civilis*. In the Mohammedan calendar the day begins at sunset.<sup>2</sup> It has five divisions: morning, noon, afternoon, sunset, and late evening, at which five times the prayers are to be performed. The division of the day according to the Arabic calendar into 24 hours, *horae temporales* or *horae inequales*<sup>3</sup> beginning after sunset with one o'clock, is still in use with the Mohammedans, but generally it is loosing ground in the towns and the Roman *horae aequinoctiales* (*sâ'ât mu'tâdile* or *sâ'ât mustâwiye*)

with them. Bauer has as first Thursday in *šahr el-ḥamîs* or April, *ḥamîs en-nabât*; as the second the *ḥamîs el-amwât* or *ḥamîs el-bêd* "Thursday of the Dead," or "Thursday of the eggs." It answers among Mohammedans to the Christian "All Souls Day." A week after the *jûm'it en-nèbi Šâleh* Mohammedans celebrate at Gaza the '*id il-muntâr*, a popular etymology of the arabicized Greek word Metropolitan, *mutrân*, Porphyry, who destroyed the Venus temple in the fourth century, and who is buried in the Orthodox church at Gaza.

<sup>1</sup> Days of bad omen are Wednesdays falling on the 4<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup>, 24<sup>th</sup> or the fourth but last day of the month. The number "thirteen" is, by the way, replaced by "eleven" for superstitious porpoises.

<sup>2</sup> See Genesis 1.5.—"The day is reckoned, in principle, by the Church in her ecclesiastical feasts from one disappearance of the sun to the next" (Hastings, Dictionary of the Bible, Art. "time").

<sup>3</sup> The hours of the *night* are called as follows:—

*The first hour.* *Dôrt-is-srâj* (going about with the candle) begins about half an hour after sunset, and is closely followed by *ḡaww-is-srâj* (the burning or lighting of the candle).

*One hour and a half* after sunset is *el-'iša*, the last time for prayer, the late evening.

*Between three and four hours* after sunset is the '*âša* (in Transjordan), where they place it after "having served supper for men" (*gâttet 'âša-r-rjâl*). The reason of this rather late hour of having supper is that the herd is kept mostly over one hour's walk from the encampment. A man goes there and returns with a sheep to the waiting guest, for whom he prepares the meal. When supper is ready it is about four hours after sunset.

*The fourth hour* is known as the "crow of the angry wife," whose husband is supposed to be still absent from home (*ḡêhit dîk il-hardâne*).

*The fifth hour* has in Transjordan the name *bâ'd il-'âša b-'âšayên* (two suppers after the supper) or better '*uḡb 'âšayên*, i. e. after the time it takes to

are coming more and more into general use. The division of the night according to St. Mark. 13<sup>35</sup> is still in force.

The hour and its subdivisions are also employed. Another meaning of the "hour" (*sâ'a*) is an instant or moment.<sup>1</sup> As an inexact fraction of an hour may be mentioned the time it takes to smoke a cigarette (*šurbit sigâra*).

Finally I will give some proverbial sayings relating to time in general. If somebody has cramp or fits,<sup>2</sup> he is said to have "his hour" (*âjat sâ'to*). If strange happenings take place the year may

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prepare two suppers. Has it anything to do with the biblical expression "between the two evenings?"—Exodus 12 6. It is also called the "first cock's crow" (*šêht-id-dîk-il-awwal*).

*The sixth hour* is midnight. It has also the name of *dôrt-il-harâmi* (the time of the "roaming about of the thief") which may be extended even to *the seventh hour*.

*The eighth hour* is that of *is-šûr* the "breakfasting" (especially in the month of Ramaḍân). Then comes in

*the ninth hour* the "cock crow" or his "bidding," *šêht id-dîk* or *adân id-dîk*. In months other than *Ramaḍân* the *šûr* period may include the time until the *stella matutina*, *nijmet eš-šubh*, shines, about

*the tenth hour*. In the "dark morning" (*šubh il-îtime*) about the first dawning of the day *awwal il-fâjr* when one can "tell a wolf from a dog" (*thigg il-kalb min id-dîb*, Transjordan) is the time when women begin grinding the wheat, giving fodder to the cows, milking the goats, etc.

*At the eleventh hour* the "lights" (*maṣalîḥ*) of the firmament grow paler and paler. It is also called *dûḡse*, "the peep of day(?)" (*daḡalis in-nhâr*).—*sâ'a qabl iš-šâms*, *qabl iš-šâms b-sâ'a* (one hour before sunrise) is the "roaming" or "spreading of sheep" (to pasture) *nâšrit id-dûbaš* (Transjordan). Sunrise is the

*twelfth hour*.

The twelve hours of the *day* (Joh. 11 9) are divided thus:—*sârhit el ġanam* takes place about the first hour (the driving out of the sheep), just after or about *îâl'it iš-šâms*, sunrise. The time from *two to four o'clock* in the morning is the "forenoon," *id-dâḡa*. From *five to nine* the shepherds have their siesta (*tagyîlt -ir-rûyân*). *The sixth hour* is the *hômât il-(i)ġrâb* (hovering round of the raven), the *seventh* the "turning-point of the shade" or "of the sun" (*dôrt iš-ḡill*, *dôrt iš-šâms*). After *nine* is the afternoon (*el-âšr*), followed by *el-âšriyye*, vesper, at *ten o'clock*. Shortly after the *eleventh hour* is the "little afternoon" (*il-i'sêr*). Then comes at *twelve il-miġrib* or *ġêbt iš-šâms*, sunset, half an hour before which is the time of returning sheep and goats (*tarwiḥt il-ġanam* or *tarwiḥt is-surrâḥ*) the "coming home of the sheep."

<sup>1</sup> The word for "hour" admits also the meaning of "a while" (*sâ'it zamân*, *sâ'a*); cf. Daniel 4 19.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Mark. 9 22 and Matth. 17 15.

be called after them.<sup>1</sup> *Sittîn sène sab'in yôm* (sixty years and seventy days) is said regarding carelessness. "Forty days" is the old Semitic expression for a long period<sup>2</sup> (cf. Moses, Elijah, Jesus, and Mohammed). *Bissène mâr-ra*<sup>3</sup> (once a year) is used to denote a rare happening. *Sène u šahrên*<sup>4</sup> (a year and two months) is used in poetry for a rather long time of separation; *šeh mtās'in* (an old man of ninety years) is the symbol of frailty. *Ad calendas graecas* is represented in Arabic either by the term *fî sant il-fûl*<sup>5</sup> or better:—*bûkra fi-l-mišmiš* ("in the year of beans," i. e. never, or "to-morrow, in the apricot season"). A *jum'a mišmšiyye*<sup>6</sup> means the "happy days of yore, which passed so swiftly," or also a rare opportunity. The grieving man is consoled by telling him, that "one day is against him and another one in his favour"—*yôm ilak u yôm 'alêk*. A lazy, tiresome person is described as one "whose day equals a year" (*yômo bsène*). And if somebody is worried by a bore, he keeps smiling at the thought that everything must come at last to an end, or, as we put it, à la 'OMAR HAYYÂM, "It is only one night, O driver." (*hî lële, yâ mkâri*).

I wish to express my thanks to DR. W. F. ALBRIGHT, Director of the American School of Archaeology in Jerusalem and DR. med. T. CANA'AN, for their kind advice and assistance.

<sup>1</sup> The latest year with such a name is 1920, the "snow year" (*sent it-talj*) owing to the heavy snowfall. (Lev. 124.)

<sup>2</sup> Is it not a vestige of an ancient belief, which did not allow the husband to exercise his connubial rights for a period of forty days after the confinement of his wife, which may have made a deep impression on the ancient Semites? Besides, "forty" (and also "hundred" and "thousand") is an expression for an uncertain number as with the forty martyrs. An expression with the same meaning is that a period is "longer than Lent" (*šôm el-arb'in*, fast of forty days) among the Christians, or *šôm Ramaḍân* (fast of *Ramaḍân*) among the Mohammedans; *mîn 'âsar il-qôm arb'in yôm šâr minhum* (he who lives with people for forty days becomes one of them). [Stephan's suggestion is identical with the theory recently proposed by Roscher to explain the origin of the forty day period. There is much in its favor.—W. F. A.]

<sup>3</sup> It is just the opposite of the expression *kull yôm*, "daily."

<sup>4</sup> Opposite to the word *sā'a*.

<sup>5</sup> Another expression which deals with the past is: *mîn sênit anâstum birâbbikum* (a misinterpretation of the Koran verse *alâstu birâbbikum?*), which denotes now, "immemorial times," or "the days of auld lang syne."

<sup>6</sup> The apricot season is very short, and lasts only one fortnight or three weeks in May.

## THE SOLAR MONTHS

Colloquial Syriac (Märdîn)	Classical Syriac <sup>1</sup>	Classical Arabic	The Turkish fiscal year
		<i>kanûn t̃anî</i>	
		<i>šbât</i>	
		<i>adâr</i>	<i>mart</i>
		<i>nisân</i>	<i>nisân</i>
		<i>ayyâr</i>	<i>ayyâr</i>
		<i>ḥazirân</i>	<i>ḥazirân</i>
		<i>tammûz</i>	<i>tammûz</i>
		<i>âb</i>	<i>ağustos</i>
		<i>elûl</i>	<i>elûl</i>
<i>tišrîn qadmôyo</i>	<i>tišrîn qadmâyâ</i>	<i>tišrîn àwwal</i>	<i>tišrîn àwwal</i>
<i>tišrîn trayôno</i>	<i>tišrîn trayânâ</i>	<i>tišrîn t̃anî</i>	<i>tišrîn t̃anî (s̃anî)</i>
<i>kônun qadmôyo</i>	<i>kânôn qadmâyâ</i>	<i>kanûn àwwal</i>	<i>kanûn àwwal</i>
<i>kônun trayôno</i>	<i>kânôn trayânâ</i>		<i>kanûn t̃anî (s̃anî)</i>
<i>šbôt</i>	<i>šbât</i>		<i>šbât</i>
<i>òdar</i>	<i>âdâr</i>		
<i>nìson</i>	<i>nîsân</i>		
<i>ìyyar</i>	<i>ìyyâr</i>		
<i>ḥizerân</i>	<i>ḥîzirân</i>		
<i>tàmüz</i>	<i>tâmûz</i>		
<i>ṭùbbalḥ</i>	<i>âb</i>		
<i>êlûn</i>	<i>êlûl</i>		

<sup>1</sup> The Eastern dialect of Syriac, the so called *Chaldean*, has the following names of month: — *tišrîn qadmâyâ*, *tišrîn aḥrâyâ*, *kânûn qadmâyâ*, and *kânûn aḥrâyâ*, ... *šebât* ... *âb*. The months corresponding are shown in the same line.

## THE LUNAR MONTHS

Classical	I	II	III	IV
<i>muḥàrram</i>	<i>mḥàrram</i>	<i>(i)wēšri</i>	<i>ʿāšūr(a)</i>	<i>šàfar àwwal</i>
<i>šàfar</i>	<i>šàfar</i>	<i>àgrad</i>	<i>šàfar el-her</i> <sup>4</sup>	<i>šàfar tâni</i>
<i>rabî' àwwal</i>	<i>šàfar àwwal</i>	<i>kanûn àwwal</i>	<i>rabî' àwwal</i>	<i>šàfar tâlît</i>
<i>rabî' tâni</i>	<i>šàfar tâni</i>	<i>kanûn ašamm</i>	<i>rabî' tâni</i>	<i>qed àwwal</i>
<i>jumâda àwwal</i>	<i>jamâda àwwal</i>	<i>šbât</i>	<i>jamâda àwwal</i>	<i>qed tâni</i>
<i>jumâda tâni</i>	<i>jamâda tâni</i>	<i>adâr</i>	<i>jamâda tâni</i>	<i>qed tâlît</i>
<i>rajab</i>	<i>ràjab</i>	<i>ḥamîs</i>	<i>ràjab</i>	<i>kanûn àwwal</i>
<i>ša'bân'</i>	<i>ša'bân</i>	<i>šahr il-là'qa</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>ša'bân</i>	<i>kanûn tâni</i> ( <i>ašamm</i> )
<i>ramadân</i>	<i>šahr ramadân</i>	<i>šahr ramadân</i>	<i>šahr ramadân</i>	<i>šbât</i>
<i>šawwâl</i>	<i>šuwwâl</i>	<i>šahr is-sitt- iyyâm</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>fîṭr àwwal</i> <sup>5</sup>	<i>ḥamîs</i>
<i>du-l-qî'da</i>	<i>zu-lqî'de</i>	<i>šahr bēn l(i)-yâd</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>fîṭr tâni</i>	<i>jamâda</i>
<i>du-l-ḥijja</i>	<i>zu-l-ḥijje</i>	<i>šahr il-'îd</i>	<i>idḥa</i>	

<sup>1</sup> In the third month list *šahr il-là'qa* "the month of the licking(?)" is called thus, because it is considered as a meal, i. e., it passes away before one realises it. The proverb says:—*b-tîl'ago, ma btilḥago*, "You lick it, but you cannot hold it fast," as if it were composed only of joyous days.

<sup>2</sup> The *sitt -iyyâm* (six days) in the month of the same name are alternative days for keeping fasts, instead of doing so in *Ramadân*(?).

<sup>3</sup> The *šahr bēn l(i)-yâd* derives its name from the sacrificial feast (*'îd in-nûḥr*) and that of the starting of the *ḥajj* (pilgrimage to Mecca) on the tenth day of *du-l-ḥijje*.

<sup>4</sup> In the fourth month list *šàfar* has the attribute *el-ḥēr*, the "fortunate" month.

<sup>5</sup> The feast of *fîṭr àwwal* is the first day of *šuwwâl*.



## NOTE ON A SCENE IN TOMB 85 AT THEBES

E. J. A. MACKAY

(HAIFA)

**T**HERE is an unusual scene painted on the architrave which surmounts the four square pillars along the axis of the outer chamber of Tomb 85 at Thebes, Egypt.

Owing to its position and on account of bad lighting this scene has been noticed by few, but it has been published by Rosellini who has, however, made no remarks on it. It is somewhat roughly painted, in parts unfinished, and has suffered a certain amount of damage both from the hand of man and the attentions of the mason wasp.

As will be seen from the illustration, there is on the left hand side of the picture the figure of a man, presumably the person for whom the tomb was made, Amenemhab, "Lieutenant-Commander of the soldiers," who held this office some time during the period Tuthmosis III—Amenophis II.

Amenemhab met with many adventures during his military career, but the scene being described appears to represent an episode of especial interest and for this reason he has given it special prominence, though in a badly lighted portion of his tomb.

He tells us that he was an intimate friend of the King (Tuthmosis III) and that he accompanied that king on his Syrian campaigns.



when he was repeatedly rewarded for acts of valour. He fought with the King against the King of *Kadesh* and travelled as far as *Karkemish*; he speaks also of having visited the land of *Wan* to the west of Aleppo. In the land of *Niy*,<sup>1</sup> in company with the King he hunted 120 elephants for their ivory, and one of the largest having attacked the king, Amenemhab went to the rescue and cut off its trunk.<sup>2</sup> Again in a battle against the King of *Kadesh*, the latter endeavoured to drive a mare amongst the Egyptian stallions with the idea of causing a commotion amongst their ranks. Amenemhab, again to the fore, slew the mare, cut off its tail and presented it to the king, for which act he was specially commended.

Amenemhab is attired in his picture in a long transparent tunic with short sleeves and tied around the neck with strings, underneath which he is wearing a loin-cloth of thicker material. These were the usual articles of apparel in the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. He holds a spear in his right hand and in the left a stick with a forked end (throwing-stick) which he is brandishing before a large animal painted a medium grey shading to a darker colour along the back. This animal, obviously a female, the writer would identify by both form and colouring as a wolf, an animal still to be met with in the west of Asia and up to a short time ago in Palestine.<sup>3</sup> The stripes which are faintly shown in the illustration are curious as the wolf of the Old World is not marked in this way, though similar markings are said to occur on wolves in North America.<sup>4</sup>

The animal in this painted scene is nearly as tall as Amenemhab himself, doubtless an exaggeration to emphasize Amenemhab's prowess. The height at the shoulder of the normal wolf is rather under three feet.

It is, however, the smaller objects of the scene which are the most interesting. The ground colour is light-grey and on it are painted

<sup>1</sup> Euphrates, in the region of Aleppo.

<sup>2</sup> Literally translated, "its hand."

<sup>3</sup> Canon Tristram when on a natural history tour in the wilderness of Judea some 57 years ago came across a wolf which he describes as larger than a European wolf and of a much lighter colour. "A Journal of Travels in Palestine" by H. B. Tristram, p. 367.

<sup>4</sup> That the animal shown is clearly a wolf and not a hyaena is proved by the form and colouring and especially by the tail being bushy. I cannot call to mind a single example, with this exception, of a wolf being portrayed in a Theban tomb, though the hyaena is frequently depicted in hunting scenes.

various plant and animal forms, the most noticeable of which are a number of hemispherical objects dependent from each of which are three filaments or tentacles. These forms occur in groups of three with their filaments intertwined. They are painted blue with three rows of white spots and the tentacles are coloured red.

I would suggest that these objects are crude representations of jelly-fish for they are shown as free-swimming and not attached to anything but each other. The fact that they are shown in groups of three is difficult to explain, but it must be remembered that the Egyptians were but superficially acquainted with the habits of the jelly-fish which is purely a marine animal and only travels a short distance up the mouths of rivers.

Jelly-fish frequently have little areas of a brighter colour around the margin of the head or umbrella, but these never occur in more than one row. The three trailing appendages may be a convention, incorrect as to number, for the bundle of filaments which hang below the head. Blue is, of course, a common colour in jelly-fish.

It is certain that these jelly-fish were drawn from memory owing to the impossibility of transporting the animals from their native habitat and this would account for obvious mistakes in drawing. The artist may even have never seen the animal himself but have relied on a description.

In interpreting the scene in question we are met with an obvious difficulty. The usual method of representing water in Egyptian scenes was by a series of chevron lines in dark-blue on a light-blue ground. These are entirely absent from our picture which has a plain grey ground. A sandy beach, however, would be well represented by grey.

The plant forms shown are also of especial interest. There are four groups each of three, with red undulating stems terminating in white buds. The buds might at first glance be confused with those of the lotus, but the leaves at the base are totally unlike those of the *Nymphaeae*. The undulating stems are also quite unlike any others in the tomb paintings of Thebes and are unique. They label the plants as being aquatic, whether fresh water or marine. There is another plant-form in the scene with red stems and green leaves, but it is not peculiar in any way.

A probable explanation of this scene is that it depicts an adventure of Amenemhab during one of his expeditions with his King in Palestine or further north. During such an expedition he was attacked by a she-wolf, doubtless defending her whelps, and the scene of the adventure was probably the sea-shore, if the other objects in the scene are correctly interpreted as jelly-fish and marine plants.

## LE CULTE DE JONAS EN PALESTINE

F.-M. ABEL O. P.

(JERUSALEM)

APRÈS Élie, il n'est peut-être pas de prophète qui ait en Orient un culte aussi répandu que Jonas. Les étranges péripéties de sa mission, le symbolisme qu'ont su en retirer l'art et la liturgie ainsi que les réminiscences que nous en trouvons dans l'Évangile<sup>1</sup> et le Coran<sup>2</sup> ont certainement contribué à cette popularité que plusieurs savants cherchent à expliquer par la simple évolution du culte de la colombe sacrée si répandu jadis sur le rivage syro-phénicien. On sait en effet que le nom de Jonas (יֹנָתָן) signifie en hébreu «colombe», étymologie admise par les *Onomastica sacra* à côté de certaines autres moins plausibles.<sup>3</sup> Ce n'est pas sous ce rapport que nous voulons envisager cette question, notre dessein étant de rechercher comment il se fait que le fils d'Amittai ait actuellement trois centres de culte en Palestine, le premier en Galilée, le second en Judée, et le troisième en Idumée. Aussi bien laissons-nous de côté le *Néby Younès* qui s'élève (et pour cause) sur les ruines de Ninive, face à Mossoul, de même que le *Khân-Younès*, à 23 kilomètres environ au sud de Gaza, dont le vocable n'est peut-être que le nom de l'intendant du sultan Barqouq, fondateur de la belle mosquée que l'on y voit.<sup>4</sup> En tout cas la genèse de ce dernier lieu saint comme

<sup>1</sup> Matth. 12 39; 16 4; Luc. 11 29 ss.

<sup>2</sup> Sourates XXI et XXXII.

<sup>3</sup> FR. WUTZ, *Onomastica sacra*, p. 131: 'Ιωνᾶς περιστερά. Jona columba vel dolens (יֹנָתָן). 'Ιεὺ πόντος... S. JÉRÔME, *Prolog. in Jonam* (PL., XXV, 1117): *Si enim Jonas interpretatur columba, columba autem refertur ad Spiritum sanctum*. Cf. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Études d'archéologie orientale*, II, p. 7ss. SCHMIDT, *Jona*.

<sup>4</sup> La 'Ιηρὺς d'Hérodote III, 5, est cherchée par les géographes plus au sud, à el-'Ariš de préférence.

celle du *Khân en-Néby Younès* que l'on raconte entre Sidon et Beyrouth non loin du *râs Dâmour* demeure obscure.

## I

Le village de *Mešhed* situé à cinq kilomètres environ à l'est de Sepphoris possède une petite mosquée où l'on montre un tombeau qui prétend renfermer la dépouille du prophète Jonas. C'est même à la prépondérance de ce souvenir que cette localité doit son nom arabe de *Mešhed*, équivalent de *martyrium* ou de n'importe quel sanctuaire dédié à un saint personnage.<sup>1</sup> Il est admis que ce nom a supplanté l'appellation antique de *Gath-Hepher*, par laquelle la Bible désigne le pays d'origine d'un prophète Jonas, fils d'Amittai, qui avait annoncé l'extension du royaume d'Israël accomplie par Jéroboam II., et que l'on identifie généralement avec l'envoyé de Dieu mis en scène dans le livre de Jonas.<sup>2</sup> On ne voit nulle part que ce personnage ait terminé ses jours dans son village ni qu'il y ait été enseveli, mais, suivant ce qu'il arrive d'ordinaire en pareille matière, sa mémoire (fût-ce la mémoire de sa naissance) s'est concrétisée sous la forme d'un tombeau. Telle était déjà la situation constatée par S. Jérôme en 395, quand il signale à deux milles de Sepphoris dans la direction de Tibériade, le hameau de Geth où l'on montre le sépulcre de Jonas.<sup>3</sup> Bien que l'évaluation de deux milles se trouve un peu au dessous de la véritable distance, il n'y a pas lieu de douter que nous ayons affaire ici au moderne *Mešhed*.

Peu importe que les Juifs du Moyen âge offrent quelques variantes dans la tradition en indiquant ce tombeau soit sur une colline proche de Sepphoris, soit à Kafr Kennâ.<sup>4</sup> Ces nouveautés dues à des vénération locales ou à des intérêts particuliers gravitaient de fort

<sup>1</sup> Cf. la bonne description de GUÉRIN dans *Galilée*, I, p. 165s.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Reg. 14 25: יְהִנָּה בֶן־אֲמִתַּי הַנָּבִיא אֲשֶׁר מָנָה הַחֹפֶר. — Jon. 1 1; Josue 19 13; *Berešith rabba*, ch. 98; Talmud de Jérusalem, *Šebi'ith*, VI, 1. Cf. RELAND, *Palaestina* . . . p. 718 et NEUBAUER, *Géographie du Talmud*, p. 200s; VAN HOONACKER, *Les Douze Petits Prophètes*, p. 312.

<sup>3</sup> *Prolog. in Jonam* (PL., XXV, 1118s): *Geth in secundo Saphorim milliario, quæ hodie appellatur Diocesaræa euntibus Tyberiadem haud grandis est viculus, ubi et sepulcrum ejus ostenditur.*

<sup>4</sup> BENJAMIN DE TUDELE, *Jew. Quart. Rev.*, 1905, p. 297. CARMOLY, *Itinéraires* . . . p. 211, 256s. Le tombeau de Kafr Kennâ est aussi mentionné par des voyageurs arabes des XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles. Cf. GUY LE STRANGE, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 469.

près autour de *Mešhed*, auquel d'ailleurs personne alors ne contestait l'honneur d'avoir donné le jour au fameux prophète; elles n'ont pas réussi, du reste, à faire dévier le cours de la tradition originelle puisque l'état de choses actuel répond exactement à celui du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle qui doit remonter beaucoup plus haut. Il n'est pas téméraire, en effet, d'assigner à ce culte galiléen une origine juive assez antique fondée sur le texte biblique lui-même de 2 Rois 14 25.

## II

La *Šephelah* ou partie basse de la Judée honore le souvenir de Jonas dans un *ouély* qui s'élève sur un monticule sablonneux dominant la mer vers l'embouchure du *nahr Soukrêr*. Ce *Néby Younès*, situé à six kilomètres au nord de *Mînet-el-Qala'a* qui représente le port d'Ašdod ou l'Azote maritime, évoque tout naturellement le début de la notice que les «Vies des Prophètes» consacrent à Jonas. Celui-ci, d'après la recension dite de saint Épiphanes, était «de la terre de *Kariathmaoum*, près d'Azote, ville des Grecs sur la mer».<sup>1</sup> Quoique la finale *maoum* puisse être considérée comme une déformation du terme *maïouma* qui désignait les marines des villes de la plaine, nous accordons la préférence à la leçon du Pseudo-Dorothee (III<sup>e</sup>—IV<sup>e</sup> siècles) dont le *Kariathmaous* peut s'expliquer beaucoup plus normalement.<sup>2</sup> L'Araméen possède un mot, emprunté à des langues plus anciennes, qui signifie un centre de commerce, un grand marché et aussi un port, mot qui présente, en somme, les diverses acceptions du grec *emporion*; c'est le terme *maḥoz* ou *maḥouz* que nous trouvons précisément employé pour dénommer certaines marines du littoral palestinien.<sup>3</sup> Les auteurs arabes connaissent encore *Mâhouz-Yebnâ* et *Mâhouz-Azdoud*, l'un répondant au Ἰαμνιτῶν λιμὴν de Ptolémée, l'autre à l'Ἀζωτος παράλιος des notices byzantines, mentionné en ces termes au I<sup>er</sup> siècle par Pomponius Mela (I, 10): «(Arabia) portum admittit Azotum, suarum mercium emporium.» Ce port d'Azote est clairement indiqué par la «Vie de Pierre l'Ibère» en des termes analogues à ceux d'Épiphanes.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> SCHERMANN, *Propheten und Apostellegenden, Texte und Unters. zur Gesch. der Altchristl. Literatur*, XXXI, 3, p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> Pag. 56: Ἰωνᾶς ἦν ἐκ γῆς Καραθμαοῦς πλησίον Ἀζώτου πόλεως Ἑλλήνων κατὰ θάλασσαν.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. S. KRAUSS, *Revue des Études Juives*, LVI, (1908), p. 33.

<sup>4</sup> RAABE, *Petrus der Iberer*, p. 121 ss. Cf. GUY LE STRANGE, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 24, 498.

En définitive «le territoire de Kariathmaous près d'Azote, ville des Grecs sur la mer» équivaut aux environs de *Mâhouz-Azdoud*, aujourd'hui *Minet-el-Qala'a*, qui pouvait fort bien s'appeler au temps de la composition des «Vies des Prophètes» *Qiriath-Mâhouz*.<sup>1</sup> L'indication de la proximité d'Azote s'imposait pour couper court à toute confusion, *mâhouz* étant un nom commun. Nous avons donc tout lieu de croire qu'à la base du *Néby Younès* du littoral asdodien se trouve la croyance que Jonas était originaire de ce lieu.

Cette croyance s'harmonise difficilement, il est vrai, avec l'opinion légendaire rapportée également par les «Vies des Prophètes», que Jonas était le fils de la veuve de Sarepta qu'Élie avait ressuscité. Au fait de ce trait bizarre issu d'un jeu de mot sur אֱמִתָּי (vérité) et אִמִּיתָי (Amittai, père de Jonas), saint Jérôme lui attribue, et à bon droit, une origine juive.<sup>2</sup> Pour donner de la cohésion à ces éléments disparates nous devrions faire émigrer de Judée en Phénicie la veuve de Sarepta, ou bien ne regarder Kariathmaous que comme la patrie adoptive de Jonas et de sa mère, ainsi que paraît l'insinuer la notice du Pseudo-Dorothee.<sup>3</sup> Mais il demeure très probable que les deux renseignements accolés dans les «Vies des Prophètes» n'avaient à l'origine aucun point de contact. Constatons seulement ici une tendance des Judéens à tirer à soi des prérogatives galiléennes suivant une prétention que saint Jean explicite en ces termes (VII, 52): «Examinez et vous verrez que de la Galilée il ne sort point de prophète.»

C'est en vertu de la même tendance que les Juifs proposèrent d'identifier *Gath-Heopher* avec l'une des *Gath* que l'on pensait retrouver aux environs de Lydda-Diospolis ou sur la voie d'Éleuthéropolis.

<sup>1</sup> La chute de la gutturale dans le grec est un phénomène connu: מחור est devenu *Maoûs* comme יָמִין a donné lieu à *Ἰωάννης*. L'identification de cette localité avec *Hamâmeh* près d'Ascalon qu'ont proposée Sepp d'après Guérin, *Julée*, II, p. 129 s., et Clermont-Ganneau, *Études d'archéol. orient.*, II, p. 7 s., se soutient difficilement.

<sup>2</sup> SCHERMANN, op. l., p. 56: *καὶ θανόντα τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς Ἰωνᾶν ἀνέστησεν ὁ Θεὸς διὰ τοῦ Ἑλᾶ . . . .* S. JÉRÔME, *Prolog. in Jonam: Tradunt autem Hebraei hunc esse filium viduae Sareptanae, quem Elias propheta mortuum suscitavit, matre postea dicente ad eum: Nunc cognovi quia vir Dei es tu: et verbum Dei in ore tuo est veritas; et ob hanc causam etiam ipsum puerum sic vocatum. Amathi enim in nostra lingua veritatem sonat: et ex eo quod verum Elias locutus est, ille qui suscitatus est, filius esse dicitur veritatis.* Cf. 1 Reg. 17 24.

<sup>3</sup> SCHERMANN, p. 57: *καὶ ἀναστὰς Ἰωνᾶς μετὰ τὴν λημὸν ἦλθεν ἐν γῇ Ἰουδα.*

Après avoir signalé la tradition de Galilée à laquelle il se range, saint Jérôme ajoute: «Certains pourtant veulent que Jonas soit né et enseveli près de Diospolis, c'est-à-dire de Lydda, ne comprenant pas que l'addition *Opher* est pour marquer une distinction d'avec les autres villes de Geth que l'on montre aussi aujourd'hui soit près d'Éleuthéropolis, soit près de Diospolis.»<sup>1</sup> Nous devons mentionner à ce propos la variante de Salomon de Bassorah qui fait Jonas originaire «de Gath-Hepher, de *Qouriath-Adamos*, proche d'Ascalon et de Gaza, et du rivage de la mer».<sup>2</sup> Qouriath-Adamos se présente évidemment comme une altération de *Καριαθμαοῦς*, mais la proximité d'Ascalon et de Gaza paraît avoir été postulée par l'existence d'une Gath dans ces parages. Or, entre ces deux villes se trouve *el-Djiyeh*, l'une des *Djîtein* des géographes arabes, la Γεθείμ que l'Onomasticon rappelle au sujet de Gath.<sup>3</sup> Il est possible que cette localité ait revendiqué en vertu de son nom le privilège si disputé d'avoir donné le jour au prophète, fils d'Amittaï.

Ainsi, dans certains milieux, ce fut le nom de Gath (Geth) qui fit naître le souvenir de Jonas. Un exemple caractéristique en dehors de la Palestine nous est fourni par la proximité d'un *Néby Younès* et d'un village d'*el-Djiyeh* entre Sidon et Beyrouth. *El-Djiyeh* correspond sans doute à une ancienne Geth. Mais comme il eût été par trop invraisemblable d'y situer la naissance d'un prophète palestinien, on se borna d'y marquer le lieu où Jonas aurait été vomi par le monstre marin. «Nous arrivâmes, écrit d'Arvieux en 1660, au village appelé Romeyle, et suivant notre route dans des roches et des sables, nous trouvâmes auprès d'un autre Village appelé Gié une petite Mosquée blanche. qui selon la tradition du Païs marque le lieu où la baleine vomit le Prophète Jonas. Les Turcs ne manquent jamais de saluer profondément cet endroit, et de demander

<sup>1</sup> *Prolog. in Jonam: Quamquam alii juxta Diospolim, id est, Liddam, eum et natum et conditum velint: non intelligentes hoc quod additur, Opher, ad distinctionem aliarum Geth urbium pertinere, quae juxta Eleutheropolim, sive Diospolim, hodie quoque monstrantur.*

<sup>2</sup> *The Book of the Bee*, ed. Budge, ch. XXXII, p. 70. La leçon *Καριαθμαρμ* des Synaxaires grecs, de la seconde recension d'Épiphanes et de Michel le Syrien (Chabot, I, p. 76) sent trop l'adaptation pour prévaloir contre celle qui a été admise plus haut.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Archaeol. Researches*, II, p. 196, note 1.



permission au Prophète de passer devant chez lui.»<sup>1</sup> Ce sanctuaire existe encore au point indiqué par les cartes *Khân en-Néby Younès*.

Nous ne sommes pas en mesure d'affirmer que la position occupée par l'ouély du *nahr Soukreïr* fût celle d'une Geth de jadis. Peut-être faut-il simplement assigner l'échouage de Jonas comme origine à ce lieu saint, car nous n'avons pas à dissimuler l'importance que prend dans la question le voisinage plus ou moins immédiat de Jaffa (Yapho, Joppé), port d'embarquement du prophète décidé à fuir vers Tharsis.<sup>2</sup> En nous rapprochant de Jaffa nous trouvons à 6 kilom. 1/2 au sud de cette ville<sup>3</sup> un tertre qui domine la côte sablonneuse d'environ 200 pieds et auquel on n'a pas jusqu'ici prêté grande attention. C'est à Schick que revient le mérite d'avoir signalé ce point topographique omis jusqu'ici dans les cartes de Palestine et dont le nom est *Tell-Younès*.<sup>4</sup> Malgré l'ensablement, les ruines couronnant ce sommet offrent un plan général assez reconnaissable. Au milieu d'une plate-forme entourée de murs se dessine un édifice mesurant 45 pieds en longueur d'ouest en est, et 40 pieds du nord au sud et présentant une répartition en trois nefs, ce qui ferait penser aux restes d'une petite basilique. Ce *Tell-Younès*, à notre avis, répond exactement à la situation que la carte de Mâdabâ, dans le fragment subsistant de la tribu de Dan, donne au sanctuaire accompagné de la légende ΤΟ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΙΩΝΑ «le (temple) de Saint-Jonas».<sup>5</sup> Il se trouve à la hauteur de Diospolis du côté de la mer en face de cette Geth ou Gitta à laquelle fait allusion saint Jérôme et qui est à placer non loin de Ramleh.

### III

Le village d'Halhoul à six kilomètres au nord d'Hébron prétend posséder le tombeau de Jonas dans une mosquée qui attire de loin

<sup>1</sup> *Memoires*, II (1735), p. 329. Voir note précédente.

<sup>2</sup> *Jonas*, I, 3. Le prophète se lève pour fuir à Tharsis et descend à Jaffa (יָפֹ, *eis* Ἰόππην). Jeté par dessus bord et englouti par le cétacé, Jonas est finalement rejeté à terre (אֶל-יָבֵשָׁה, *ἐπὶ τὴν ξηράν*) au bout de trois jours (II, 11).

<sup>3</sup> Et par conséquent à 21 kilomètres au nord du *Néby Younès* situé à l'embouchure du *nahr Soukreïr*, dans l'ambiance de l'ancien port d'Azote.

<sup>4</sup> *PE Fund, Quart. Statement*, 1888, p. 7 s.

<sup>5</sup> Voir *R.B.*, 1897, esquisse après la page 164; *La Carte mosaïque de Madaba* (Bonne Presse, 1897) fotogr. n° 3; Palmer et Guthe. Les commentateurs de la Carte, méconnaissant l'existence du *Tell Younès*, ont généralement identifié ce sanctuaire avec le *Néby Younès* du port d'Azote.

le regard et que l'on désigne sous le nom de *Djâmi'a Nêby Younès*.<sup>1</sup> Depuis 'Aly d'Hérat (1173) les auteurs arabes s'accordent à préconiser cette tradition qui trouve un écho dans un ouvrage latin de 1320. «Au deuxième mille d'Hébron dans la direction de Bethléem est le lieu où le prophète Jonas demeurait, quand il fut revenu de Ninive. Il y mourut et y fut enseveli.»<sup>2</sup> En dépit de l'inexactitude touchant la distance, Odoric de Frioul, dont nous tenons ce renseignement, doit sans doute avoir en vue Ḥalḥoul dans laquelle, au dire d'Aly d'Hérat, se trouve le tombeau de Younès fils de Mattâ. Au sujet du sanctuaire, Moudjir ed-Dîn écrit: «Ce tombeau se trouve dans un bourg situé près de la ville de notre seigneur el Khalîl (Hébron). Ce bourg se nomme Ḥalḥoul et est sur la route de Jérusalem. Au dessus du tombeau, il a été construit un masdjed et un minaret. Le minaret fut élevé par les ordres d'el Mâlek el-Mo'addam 'Ysa, sous l'administration de l'émir Rachîd ed-Dîn Faradj . . . dans le mois de radjab de l'année 623 (juin-juillet 1226). Le tombeau de Jonas jouit d'une grande célébrité et l'on s'y rend en pèlerinage. Mattâ (Amittai) est enterré tout près, en un village appelé Beit Oummar. C'était un juste de la famille des prophètes.»<sup>3</sup>

Beit Oummar situé à cinq kilomètres au nord d'Ḥalḥoul montre encore aujourd'hui le tombeau de Nêby Matta et il est fort possible que ce lieu saint soit celui que Willibald visita vers 725 et auquel il donne le nom de Saint-Matthias.<sup>4</sup> Mais rien ne s'oppose à ce que le véritable souvenir vénéré en cet endroit au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle soit celui d'Amittai, père de Jonas. On s'est demandé ce que venait faire Jonas en cette région et l'on croit communément que son culte en Idumée provient des Arabes. Les Juifs récents qui tiennent pour la localisation galiléenne de Gath-Héfer, ont substitué à Ḥalḥoul le tombeau du prophète Gad à celui de Jonas,<sup>5</sup> mais leur opinion ne saurait prévaloir contre celle des Arabes dont nous retrouvons le fondement à une

<sup>1</sup> GUERIN, *Judée*, III, p. 284 ss.; MADER, *Altchristliche Basiliken und Lokaltraditionen in Südjüdäa*, p. 35 ss.

<sup>2</sup> LAURENT, *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor*, p. 154.

<sup>3</sup> SAUVAIRE, *Hist. de Jérusalem et d'Hébron*, p. 32. GUY LE STRANGE, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 447.

<sup>4</sup> *Hodoeporicon*, cap. XXIV.

<sup>5</sup> CARMOLY, *Itinéraires de la Terre Sainte . . . traduits de l'hébreu*, p. 128, 242, 388, 435.

époque aussi reculée que l'époque où nous avons constaté ailleurs l'éclosion du culte de Jonas.

C'est encore aux «Vies des Prophètes» que nous devons recourir pour ce nouvel aspect de la question et relever la fin de la notice sur Jonas négligée jusqu'ici par les critiques. Nous lisons en effet dans la recension d'Épiphrane: «Les Ninivites se convertirent à Dieu et obtinrent miséricorde. Jonas s'en étant affligé revint mais ne demeura pas en son pays; il adopta le pays de Sour, terre des étrangers, en se faisant ce raisonnement: Ainsi je me laverai du reproche de m'être trompé en prophétisant contre Ninive. Ayant donc habité la terre de Saar, il y mourut et fut enseveli dans la caverne du fils de Qenaz, juge.»<sup>1</sup>

Le fils de Qenaz «juge d'une tribu aux jours de l'anarchie» comme s'exprime le Pseudo-Dorothee, n'est autre qu'Othoniel, le frère cadet de Caleb, dont l'activité s'exerça sur les confins de la tribu de Juda, en territoire édomite.<sup>2</sup> Les entités topographiques de Σούρ et de Σαάρ contenues dans la notice nous reportent dans le voisinage d'Ḥalḥoul. Entre Beit-Oummar et Ḥalḥoul (à 1500 mètres de cette dernière localité) se trouvent les ruines de la célèbre forteresse de Beit Sour; de plus, à trois kilomètres au nord-est d'Ḥalḥoul existe encore de nos jours le village de Sa'ir, où l'on montre le tombeau d'Esau. Ḥalḥoul appartient donc excellemment à la région de Sour et de Saar où Jonas aurait vécu ses dernières années et où il serait mort et enseveli, partageant la grotte funéraire du juge Othoniel. Consacré d'abord par le souvenir du fils de Qenaz, le sanctuaire y associa celui de Jonas qui finit par prévaloir et par éclipser toute autre mémoire en ce lieu. Le texte d'Odoric rappelé plus haut s'inspire, selon nous, de la tradition des «Vies des Prophètes»: «*Secundo miliario versus Betlehem ab Ebron est locus, ubi Jonas propheta manebat, postquam venit de Ninive. Et ibi mortuus est et sepultus.*»<sup>3</sup> C'est ainsi que l'Idumée en fixant sur son territoire les derniers jours du prophète réussit à posséder de son côté un Nēby Younès qui obtint chez les Arabes une vogue beaucoup plus grande que les autres sanctuaires palestiniens dédiés à Jonas.

<sup>1</sup> SCHERMANN, *op. l.*, p. 56: παραλαβὼν τὴν Σούρ χώραν τῶν ἀλλοφύλων . . . Καὶ κατοικήσας ἐν γῇ Σαὰρ ἐκεῖ ἀπέθανε καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ τοῦ Κενεζίου κριτοῦ.

<sup>2</sup> *Juges*, III, 7—11. La correction d'Aram en *Édom* s'impose dans ce passage. Cf. I, 13. LAGRANGE, *Le Livre des Juges*, p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> LAURENT, *Peregrinatores* . . ., p. 154.

Que la diffusion du culte de Jonas soit due à la simple évolution de la vénération de la colombe et du poisson des mythes syro-phéniciens, c'est une supposition qui attend encore des preuves solides. Comme de nombreux ouéllys de l'Orient, les sanctuaires de Jonas ont leur origine dans un essai d'interprétation du récit biblique. Les uns évoluent autour de certaines localités tenues pour Gath-Hepher; les autres naissent sur la côte dans une relation plus ou moins étroite avec Jaffa, en raison de l'embarquement et de l'échouage du missionnaire. Seule la légende iduméenne présente des origines moins faciles à saisir. Mais on ne saurait douter qu'elle remonte au moins au début de l'ère chrétienne.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> En récapitulant nous obtenons donc la série suivante: 1° *Khân N. Younès* entre Beyrouth et Sidon; 2° *Tell Younès* à une heure au Sud de Jaffa; 3° *Néby Younès* du nahr Soukreir; 4° *Khân N. Younès* à 23 kilom. au sud de Gaza; 5° à Mešhed et aux environs; 6° à Halhoul. Conder en signalant un ouély de Jonas à Sarafand-Sarepta paraît confondre avec l'ouély de *Mâr Elyâs*. *QS.*, 1888, p. 8.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS

### ONE APHEK OR FOUR?

In his interesting paper on "Apek" (*Journal*, Vol. II, pp. 145—158) Mr. Tolkowsky has skilfully defended the theory that the three or four Apeks mentioned in the Old Testament are in reality identical. While he admits that other Apeks may have existed, the admission becomes of no historical significance, because all the occurrences of the name in a narrative context are referred to a single hypothetical Apek, localized by Tolkowsky, following Conder and others, at Fuqû' on the summit of Mount Gilboa. It seems to the writer that this position is hardly tenable, and that we must, instead, distinguish between no less than five Apeks in Palestine and southern Syria, two of which are mentioned in the historical sections. Before proceeding to argue against his position, let us summarize our knowledge from extra-biblical sources. Egyptian sources mention one Apek, cuneiform one or two, Greek three, and Arabic two.

Of these Apeks the best known is the Apek situated at the northern end of the famous Pass of Fîq, eight miles in a straight line northeast of Semah. Eusebius mentions it in his *Onomasticon* as a large village (κώμη μεγάλη) near Hippos, called Αφεκα. Eight hundred years after Eusebius, Yâqût speaks of the place, describing its location accurately and tracing the references to it in Arabic literature from the seventh century on. His account commences with the following words: "Afîq—is a town of the Haurân, on the road of the Ghôr, at the beginning of the pass known as the Pass of Afîq, and generally called Fîq, a pass about two miles long down which one descends into the Ghôr, that is, the Jordan (Valley)." This Fîq is usually identified with one of the biblical Apeks. The name *Afîq* is Hebrew, meaning "strong, fortified" (cf. Assyr. *epêqu*,

"be strong, firm, solid"), and accordingly there can be no doubt that an Aphek existed here in early Israelite days, before Aramaic became the tongue of the land. Its position, commanding the important pass of Aphek, on the road from Damascus to Beth-shan and the Plain of Esdraelon, was so strong that it could not have been neglected in the strategy of the wars between Damascus and Israel.

The second Aphek lay near the headwaters of the Nahr el-'Aujâ; Josephus (*Wars*, II, 513) says that Cestius and his army occupied Antipatris, while the Jews gathered in a certain fortress called Aphek (ἐν τινι πύργῳ Αφεκου καλουμένῳ). For a long time the site of Antipatris was in doubt. Šanda (MVAG 1902, 51—60) in his discussion of the Aphek problem tried to identify Antipatris with Mejdél Yâbâ and Aphek with Qal'at Râs el-'Ein. In 1911 Guthe attacked the question, also in connection with Aphek (MNDPV 1911, 33—44), and showed conclusively that Antipatris lay at Râs el-'Ein, a view which is now the common property of scholars, and that Aphek must have been Mejdél Yâbâ, two miles southeast of Râs el-'Ein, on a very striking site, high above the plain, at the opening of the Wâdi Deir Ballût, which leads up toward Bethel and Shiloh. The name Mejdél Yâbâ may be traced back to the Middle Ages (Yâqût, etc.), as pointed out by Hartmann (MNDPV 1912, 57—58), but this fact does not affect its identification with the older Aphek, which has been adopted by Dalman (PJB 1912, 21—22, and 1914, 31) and others. The antiquity of the name at this spot is proved by the Tuthmosis list, No. 66. As was observed long ago, the names of the towns in this part of the list follow the route of the king in his march up the Philistine Plain to Yaḥam, from which he turned off to cross the hills to Megiddo; the best discussion of the campaign is given by Alt (PJB 1914, 53—99). Of importance for us are Nos. 64—68 in the list of Palestinian towns which submitted to Tuthmosis III:

64. *Rw-t-n*, i. e. Luddôn, Hebrew Lodd, Arab. Ludd. It must be noted that there is no *l* or *d* in Egyptian. The endings *ô* and *ôn* interchange constantly, and are frequently lost or added.
65. *Îw-in-îw*, i. e. Ônô (*îw* was pronounced *ô*), Heb. Ônô. Ono probably lay at El-Yehûdiyeh, a mile and a half northeast of Kefr 'Ânâ, "the village of Ono," and six miles north of Ludd.
66. *Îpw-q-n*, i. e. Efeqôn, Heb. Afeq, probably Mejdél Yâbâ, five miles northeast of El-Yehûdiyeh.

67. *S3-w-k3*, i. e. Sauka(o), Heb. שוכה, modern Šuweikeh, eighteen miles north-northeast of Mejd el Yâbâ. The three biblical Socohs are all represented by modern Šuweikeh, properly the diminutive of Šokeh, "thorn." See Alt, PJB X, 69, n. 1.
68. *I'-h-m*, i. e. Yaḥam, which Alt has convincingly identified with Tell el-Asâwir, ten miles north of Šuweikeh.

While one might place Aphek, in accordance with the list, further north, the fact that the Jews tried by occupying it to bar Cestius's advance from Caesarea to Jerusalem shows that this is out of the question. That it was in Sharon is shown by Jos. 12 18.

The Apqu of Esarhaddon's campaign against Egypt (Winckler, *Textbuch*, pp. 53 ff.) lay on the direct road from Tyre to Raphia, and so must be identical with either the Aphek just mentioned, or the Aphek of Asher, mentioned Jos. 19 30 between Accho (read עכו = עמה) and Rehob (Tell Berweh?). Fortunately, Esarhaddon gives the distance as 30 double-hours (*bêru*); the actual distance by road from Accho to Raphia is about 150 miles, or 60 hours for a large army with a baggage-train, so we must decide in favor of the northern Aphek. To be sure, if we follow Delitzsch and Langdon in maintaining that the Assyrians preferred a shorter *bêru*, of only an hour, we obtain a distance agreeing exactly with the distance of sixty miles in a straight line (or about 75 by road) between Mejd el Yâbâ and Raphia. However, their position is almost certainly wrong.

The most famous of all the Apheks in Syria is the Greek Aphaca (*Αφακα*) modern Afqâ, east-southeast of Byblos, at the source of the river Adonis (Nahr Ibrâhîm), where one of the most ancient temples of Tammuz was located. It is quite possible that this Aphek is the *Apiqa*<sup>ki</sup> of the list of towns of the Assyrian Empire in Schroeder, KAVI, No. 90, Rev. 13. The same form of the name is found in a fifth Aphek (אפקה) in southern Judah (Jos. 15 53); the form in question is probably derived from an \**Apîqat*, which evidently interchanged with \**Apîqôn*, the Egyptian *Efeqôn*. The ordinary form of the name in Hebrew is *Afîq* or *Afêq*, for \**Afîq*. The various vocalic alterations point to a very great antiquity of the name, whose original meaning was early forgotten.

We have thus five certainly distinct Apheks in Palestine and southern Syria—must we add a sixth, to be identified with modern Fuqû' on the top of Gilboa? Tolkowsky prudently gives up Conder's

original argument—the phonetic similarity—and substitutes a series of strategic considerations. It is true that the Arabic form, meaning “mushrooms” is doubtless a popular etymology, but *Fuqû'* may easily represent a Hebrew *\*Paqqû'ah*, or the like, meaning “colocynth” (i. e. place of colocynths), and the combination with *Afeq* defies all philological law. Let us then consider briefly the arguments presented by Tolkowsky.

The best treatment of the Battle of Ebenezer is that by Guthe, already referred to, but his argument may easily be made even stronger. We must remember that Judah, as appears from the story of Samson, was already tributary to the Philistines, and that their attack was therefore directed against the northern tribes, Israel proper. The Philistines naturally gathered on the border between them and the Israelites, that is, at a point southwest of Israel. The best route by which to invade Israel was the Wâdî 'Azzûn, leading up from a point a few miles north of Râs el-'Ein to Shechem, the focus of the Israelite confederation. Directly east of Râs el-'Ein is the mouth of the Wâdî Deir Ballût, leading up toward Bethel and Shiloh (see above). Here was water in abundance for the horses and footmen, and a fortified town (Aphêk = Mejdêl Yâbâ) to which to retreat in case of defeat. No argument can be deduced from the tribal affinity of the messenger who bore the evil tidings to Shiloh, since the latter was quite as sacred to Benjamites as to Ephraimites, and swift runners were not likely to outdistance the rest merely in order to get home first, when they might be the first to bring news to the capital.

All critical exegetes agree that we have in 1 Sam. 28—31 one of the displacements of the text found in this book; ch. 28 3-25 belongs between 29 and 31 (30 is an episode from David's career). With this rearrangement everything falls into place. The Philistine forces are marshalled at Râs el-'Ein, just north of their own land, in the tributary region. When the contingent from Gath ('Arâq el-Menšiyeh!) comes on the scene, David is found with Achish, and a protest against the presence of so suspicious a person is immediately made; of course, this occurs before the march into the hostile land begins. Ch. 29 11 shows that Jezreel was the goal of the Philistine march, which accordingly followed the Dothan route to Jenîn and Zer'in. It is clear that, as Tolkowsky remarks, the Philistines were endeavoring



to occupy the Plain of Jezreel, the richest part of Saul's domain, thereby cutting his kingdom into two parts. The Philistines evidently had cavalry, which prevented Saul from attacking them on the plain, so the latter took up his position on the western slopes of Gilboa, where the Philistines finally attacked him, not being able to coax him down. The elaborate twentieth century tactics assumed by Tolkowsky are out of place here, where the most reliable parallels forbid our supposing armies of over five thousand men.

The Aphek of the Philistine wars cannot be identified with the Aphek of the Syrian wars, since 1 Kings 20 26-30 shows that the latter was the Syrian base, in Syrian territory, or at all events on the border. In the time of Benhadad II we know that nearly all Transjordan, excepting only Gilead proper, was under Syrian control, so Aphek must have been situated just north of Gilead, on the road from Damascus to Samaria. These conditions are fulfilled admirably by (A)fiq, southeast of Chinnereth, commanding the pass on the road from Damascus to the Jordan Valley, as attested by Yâqût. The term "go up" (עלה) used of marching from Damascus to Aphek is no argument for the location of the latter on Mount Gilboa, since this expression is employed whenever a hill is ascended; Fiq is on a hill. Naturally the Hebrews had no aneroids, so we cannot take such idioms too literally.

In conclusion it may be observed that in a visit to Fuqû' April 25, 1920, I was unable to find any traces of ancient occupation; Aphek was a walled town (1 Kings 20 30) and so like all walled towns must have had a *tell*. In Fuqû' the native rock crops out everywhere, and there is no *tell* within miles.

Additional note:—In Forrer's remarkable work, *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches* (Leipzig, 1921), pp. 14—18, he shows that there was also an Assyrian Apqu west of the Tigris, in northeastern Mesopotamia. It is possible that Apiqa is identical with this Apqu. In his map Forrer identifies the Apqu of Esarhaddon's text with Aphek near Antipatris. In view of the fact that the journey from Apqu to Raphia was partly through the desert, Esarhaddon may have made a circuitous trip through the Negeb, in order to enlist the support of the Arabs, which he says he obtained. In this case the distance actually covered may have been twice that in a

straight line from Apqu to Raphia. It may be observed that the length of the standard *bêru*, or double-hour, according to Thureau-Dangin, the greatest authority on Babylonian metrology, was 10,7 km., or nearly seven miles (*Revue d'Assyriol.*, 1921, p. 41). In marching with a large army over difficult country the *bêru* would naturally be much smaller, just as in the case of the parasang.

W. F. ALBRIGHT.

## BOOK REVIEWS

BOYLAN, PATRICK, *Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt*. Pp. VIII + 215 (8 vo.).  
Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, etc., 1922.

With the advance of the Berlin Dictionary of Egyptian and the appearance of the long-awaited *Aegyptisches Handwörterbuch*, by Erman and Grapow, Egyptian philology may be said to have reached firm ground. Much detail work in lexicon, phonology, and syntax remains to be done, but Egyptian can be read, and read correctly. The time has evidently come when the involved problems of Egyptian religion may be attacked with some hope of success. It is not yet possible to treat the subject systematically; we are still in need of much painstaking preliminary work. Grapow has begun the task of preparing critical comparative editions of the most important chapters in the Book of the Dead, tracing the development of each formula separately, from the earliest time to the Ptolemaic period. In this way only will it become possible to correct the mistakes of later scribes, and analyze the various layers of glosses and accretions. Blackman, Moret, and others have begun to study the religious rites and practices, carefully gathering the graphic and literary evidence, and drawing for suggestions and commentary upon the vast stores of ethnographic materials which are now available for study, thanks largely to Frazer. A third, in some respects even more necessary task is the collection of all the material bearing on individual gods and cults. The masters of two generations have gathered much, but their work is now for the most part hopelessly antiquated, and we must therefore start afresh.

The book before us is the very first monograph devoted exclusively to a single Egyptian deity which has appeared for many years. Every page shows the thoroughness of the training received by the author

under Erman and Junker, the great Austrian Egyptologist, who read the proofs and saw the book through the press in Vienna. To the fact that Junker is the unrivaled master of the difficult and enigmatic texts of the Ptolemaic period is due the extended use of these documents. There can be no doubt that the religious texts of the Ptolemaic period, with characteristic Egyptian conservatism, have saved to us myths and conceptions of all kinds, otherwise unrecorded. At present they form an almost virgin field of research, not the less interesting because it lies between early Egypt on the one side, and Plutarch and the Hermetic books on the other, and will thus provide us eventually with data for evaluating the influence of Hellenic philosophy on Graeco-Egyptian syncretism.

We are only beginning to estimate properly the extent of Egyptian influence on the religion of Palestine and especially of Phoenicia. The mass of Egyptian amulets and images of the gods discovered in Gezer and elsewhere in Palestine should teach us that the religion of Canaan was profoundly affected by Egypt. Palestine remained in the sphere of Egyptian influence throughout its history, and every strong king and powerful dynasty, from the Thinite age down to the time of the Ptolemies, regarded it as part of the Egyptian Empire. This was even truer of Phoenicia than of Palestine, since the rich stores of timber in the hinterland of the Phoenician coast were always an object of Egyptian cupidity. Egyptian relations with Phoenicia are mentioned repeatedly in the Old Empire, from the time of Soris (Snofru) on, while Byblos appears already in the Pyramid Texts. The remarkable discoveries of Montet in Byblos are accordingly no surprise, though it cannot but stir the pulses of the most phlegmatic to read of monuments from the Thinite and Memphite periods being found in an Egyptian temple in Byblos! As we shall see Phoenician religion was deeply influenced by Egyptian, and the former was not slow to borrow gods outright, though clothing them in garments of its own choice. It so happens that Thoth was one of the gods which it borrowed, a fact which immediately enlists our interest, as students of Syro-Palestinian antiquity. Since this is not yet generally known, it may be proved before we proceed to discuss the book itself.

Philo of Byblos (Fr. ii, 11) says that in the cosmogony of Phoenicia a pair of brothers was created, named respectively *Μισωρ* and *Συδνκ*,

i. e. Heb. *mêšār(im)*—not *mîšôr*, which would become in Phoenician \**Mîšûr*—and *šēdeg*, “uprightness” and “justice”, corresponding to Assyr. *Mêšaru* and *Kittu*, the two attendants of *Šamaš*. From *Mîšôr* *Taauros*, the inventor of writing, sprang; Sydyk begot the *Kabeiroi*. Philo goes on to say that *Taaut* is the Phoenician pronunciation of the name of the same god called by the (Upper) Egyptians  $\Theta\omega\omega\theta$ , by the Alexandrians  $\Theta\omega\theta$ , i. e. Thoth. It is very remarkable that the Phoenician form of the name preserves an older vocalization, *Tahût*, which prevailed during the Eighteenth Dynasty, when the worship of Thoth was at its flood in Egypt, and spread to Phoenicia, as we now see. The association between *Mîšôr* and *Taaut* reflects that between *Mê’e* (older \**Mû’e*, from *Mûš’et*), the personification of truth and justice, and Thoth.

While the identity of *Taaut* with Thoth has, of course, with sundry curious exceptions, been recognized, the antiquity of *Taaut*’s naturalization in Phoenicia has not. And now comes a much more important combination, which, as I see from Baudissin, *Adonis und Esmun*, p. 209, n. 6, was partly anticipated by Maspero, *Études de mythologie et d’archéologie égyptiennes*, Vol. II, p. 258: *Ešmûn*, the Phoenician form of *Asclepius*, is also a thinly disguised Thoth. The explanation of the name as standing for \**Ešmân*, from *ešm*, “name,” given by Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, Vol. III, pp. 260—265 (independently five years later in *AJSL*, XXXVI, 273, n. 4) is accordingly wrong. Damascius (cf. Baudissin, *op. cit.*, p. 208) states expressly that the name  $\Theta\sigma\mu\omega\nu\omega\varsigma$  meant  $\delta\gamma\delta\omega\varsigma$  “ogdoad.” There is no reason to doubt the statement of Damascius, who has proved himself singularly well-informed concerning Babylonian religious ideas. By a curious coincidence the Egyptian and Phoenician pronunciations of the common Semitic word for “eight” in the first millennium B. C. were practically identical: Old Egyptian *ḥmnw* became *šmûn* (Coptic  $\text{ⲥⲙⲟⲛ}$ ) and Old Hebrew *šmônê* had to become \**šmûnê* in Phoenician, or rather, since double consonants at the beginning of a word were not tolerated, \**ešmûn(ê)*. The association of *Ešmûn* with the Ogdoad shows that *Ešmûn* is a reflection of the Egyptian Thoth, the lord of the Ogdoad, *nḥ ḥmnw*, and lord of the City of Eight, *nḥ ḥmnw* (Hermopolis Magna), modern *Ešmûnein*, whence he was himself named *ḥmnw*, later *šmûn*. The Ogdoad was composed of the eight cynocephali (baboons) of *ḥmnw*, who were worshipped with Thoth,

the baboon god, and sometimes identified with him. The eight sacred baboons were the demiurges who assisted Rê in his creation of the world. All this we find with slight alterations in the mythology of Phoenicia, especially at Berytus, the centre of Ešmûn worship. Ešmûn is intimately associated with his cousins, the seven *kabeiroi*, with whom the sacred eight is built up. Like Thoth and his cynocephali Ešmûn and his *kabeiroi* were the patrons of wisdom and especially of medicine; Ešmûn was identified with Asclepius-Aesculapius, who borrowed his serpent-staff, henceforth the symbol of the healing art. In Ptolemaic times the Thoth of Pnubs received, in token of his identity with Ešmûn-Asclepius, the serpent-staff of the latter. In a somewhat similar way Isis-Ba'alat of Byblos returned to Egypt as Ḥathôr, lady of Byblos.

Thoth always remained god of the moon, a fact which the Egyptians never forgot. We should therefore expect traces of a lunar origin also in Ešmûn, nor are we doomed to search in vain. The standing Phoenician appellation of Ešmûn was מֵאֲרַח (Gr. *Mēpph*), which may be simply equivalent to Heb. יָרֵחַ, "moon," but more probably represents a \**Me'arreh*, for \**meyarreh*, which may correspond to Arabic *mu'arrih*, for \**muwarrih* (\**warh*, "moon"; *arraḥa* is denominative) "recorder of chronicles," i. e. the one who determines dates and events by lunar chronology (cf. our "annalist"). So also Thoth, as moon-god, is the reckoner of time (*ḥšb 'l'*) and the reckoner of years (*ḥšb rnpwt*), etc. (see Boylan, *op. laud.*, p. 193). The importance of the reckoner of time, of interest on money, and the recorder of documents among a commercial people was so great that we cannot be surprised to find them venerating Ešmûn in this capacity, just as the Egyptian scribe considered Thoth, the inventor of writing (like Tautos) and the reckoner of time, as his special patron. Hence a figure of the ape-god was set up in the office of the scribes (*ibid.*, p. 100). Through the philosopher Xenocrates, who borrowed extensively from Phoenicia, we can further prove that the association between the moon and the Ogdoad was recognized in Phoenicia as well as Egypt. Cicero, *De natura deorum*, I, 13, 34, says that Xenocrates increased the number of planetary gods from seven to eight, the eighth being the moon, while Clemens of Alexandria states that the philosopher made the eighth planetary god (i. e., the moon) τὸν ἐκ πάντων αὐτῶν συνεστῶτα κόσμον, that is, the universe which consisted of them all, the Ogdoad, Thoth-*Hmnw*-Ešmûn (*Cohort.* V, 58).

To the gods already known which Phoenicia borrowed from the older civilization of the Nile, Isis-Hathôr (= Ba'alat), Môt (later Mût, the mother-goddess; the archaic form of the name points to the Eighteenth Dynasty), and Taaut, we may now add Ešmûn, a form of the latter. Taaut-Ešmûn may also appear as the demiurge Chûsôr (*Χουσωρ*), whose name we may then emend to *Chonsor* (*Χονσωρ*), and derive from *Hons-Hôr*, i. e. Moon-Horus, an appellative of Thoth (Boylan, *op. laud.*, p. 194). Thoth was also worshipped in ancient Canaan, to judge from the numerous ape figurines discovered, especially at Gezer.

To return to the work before us! Thanks to the excellence of Viennese publishers and the lowness of the Austrian exchange, it has been possible to print the work, despite the fact that every page bristles with hieroglyphs, at a very low cost, as well as very accurately. There are relatively very few misprints, even in the English. Besides the corrigenda given on p. VIII we may note the following (disregarding the errors in English spelling, which every reader can correct automatically):

Pag. 83, l. 9 from below, insert "living" before "ruler."

Pag. 92, n. 1. Read *mukîn nindabê*, "he that establishes the offerings." The author's extensive and effective use of Assyrian parallels is very commendable, and points to a very profitable interchange between Egyptologists and Assyriologists in the future. The Assyrian quotations are not always pointed and accented quite correctly.

Pag. 92, n. 2, and 93, n. 2. Read תרפים in place of טרפים, a peculiar form which is quoted from Eisler's *Kenite* work without verification. In this connection it was particularly rash to quote Eisler; while "טרפים" might be derived (phonetically!) from Eg. *drf*, "hieroglyphic script"(!), תרפים cannot be so derived. The less said about this particular series of speculations of Eisler's the better. The Orientalist has unfortunately come to regard the effusions of the Munich School with suspicion, though their suggestive value is often very great.

Pag. 193. Read *lṛ wd̄st* and *lṛ bqf* instead of *g wd̄st* and *g bqf*.

The author devotes the first chapter of his book to the form and significance of the name Thoth, which he traces back to a \**Dehowti*,

supposed to mean "He of the city *Dhwt*." Since the city in question is otherwise wholly unknown, this explanation is very precarious. Moreover, it is possible to find a much better etymology of the name, as I have shown in an article still unpublished, to appear in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*. The oldest form of the name was approximately \**Šaḥaṭtî*, which became \**Ĝ(D)ahawtey*, and \**Tehowt* (after the thirteenth century, as will be shown elsewhere). The stem of \**Šaḥaṭtî* is \**šhw*, Semitic *ḏḥw* "shine, be bright," which appears in Ar. *ḏāḥā*, "expose to sun" (denominative), Ethiopic *Ḍahāi* (ዐሓይ) "sun," and Ar. *ḏāḥā*, "morning." From the same root *ḏḥ* come the closely related words, Ar. *ḏaḥḥ*, "sun," and *wāḏaḥ*, "moon" (the bright one, like Heb. *lebanāḥ*). It is probable enough that the association between Thoth and the ibis originated, as so often, in a paronomasia, though the word *tīḥi* (ἧ) in Bohairic means "crane." There should be no difficulty about the *nisbe* form in *Dhwt*, properly "bright," which is like *mṣ'ty*, "just," from *mṣ't*, "truth, justice."

The "outflow of Osiris" (*rdw Osîr*), which the author discusses on p. 17, referred primarily, not to the spewing forth of the waters of the Nile, but to their being poured forth from his male organ, as the generative semen which fecundated the earth every autumn. Evidence from the Pyramid Texts for this explanation of the efflux from the body of Osiris—which in later times was unquestionably replaced by the other—has been presented JAOS XL, 325, n. 39, but an even clearer passage is Pyr. 265—266: Behold this king Neferkerê, whose feet are kissed by the pure waters which came into being through the agency of Atûm, which the phallus of Šû creates, and the vagina of Tefênet brings into existence (*mky Nfr-k3-R' pn, isnty rdwyf in mw w'bw wnnw l'r Tm, ir hnn Šw šḥpr k3t Tfnt*). The waters are created in the seminal glands of Šû (= Osiris) and come forth from the womb of the earth-mother, a conception found also in Babylonia and elsewhere (JAOS XXXIX, 70). As pointed out in the latter paper, the Sumerians thought that the water of the Two Rivers was created by the moon and born from the vagina of Mother Earth. This same idea is stated explicitly in a Sumerian text not then considered (cf. tentatively Pinches, JRAS 1919, 195, Rev. lines 6, 8: Let the water (in Sumerian the same word means both semen and water) of the moon-god, the pure water, be in my womb—let my water, like the water of my king, go to the earth



(a <sup>a</sup>Zuen-na a-laġ-laġ-ga šà-ma ni-gál — a-mu a-lugal-mu-gim ki-šù ġê-im-ma-gin). There are a large number of passages which point to the originally lunar nature of Osiris, who seems to have been primarily a vegetation god with lunar associations, like Tammuz and Ešmûn. The king became Osiris primarily because Osiris as the moon was the *kš* of Rê', with whom the living king was identified (cf. Van der Leeuw, JEA V, 64, who shows that the moon was considered the *kš* of the sun, and for Osiris and the moon JAOS XXXIX, 88f., as well as XL, 333f.).

On p. 27 the author comes very near solving the question of the origin of Thoth, according to one of the most ancient Egyptian myths. The purport of the passages referring to his birth is clear enough. One text says that Thoth in his name *wpt* (skull) sprang from the skull of the *!m-mty*; since the latter word is written with the ideograms for vulva and phallus it clearly means "hermaphrodite." We are reminded of the birth of another lunar deity, Athene, from the head of Zeus. Another conception is that he was created by a paederastic union of Horus and Set. The text from the Book of the Dead, 134, 9, quoted by Boylan, says that Thoth was son of a stone, sprung from two stones (*s3 inr pr m inrty*), which simply means that Thoth was engendered either by onanism, or by paederasty. This means that the moon is self-created, engendering and bearing itself monthly without the assistance of a second principle. The onanistic conceptions of Oriental mythology are discussed JAOS XL, 324ff.

Pag. 37. The enmity between Set and Horus has a very complicated origin. In the case of Bitis and Anubis it would seem that we have the familiar Semitic motive of the hostile brothers, as with Samemrumus and Usous, or Jacob and Esau; Bitis corresponds directly to Tammuz, Anubis indirectly to Nergal, also lord of the underworld. The conflict of Horus and Set, however, while derived from the same dualistic conflict of the power of death and destruction with that of life and fertility, is somewhat different. Horus corresponds rather to Nâbû than to Tammuz, who is Horus's father Osiris. On the other hand Set is a figure closely related to Tammuz; both are connected closely with the swine, while Set's emasculation is like that of the Babylonian god of fertility, imitated by

the eunuch priests of his retinue. Set is himself a god of fertility worshipped extensively in northern Egypt, who owes his later Typhonian reputation to the fact that his followers were worsted in their conflicts with the servants of Horus, who substituted him for Anubis, or some other deity hostile to Osiris and Horus.

Pag. 91. Sin is also the great artificer of heaven, *Lamga-gal-anna-gè*.

Pag. 104. The legend that *Hw* and *Ši3* sprang from a drop of "blood" which issued from the phallus of *Rê* is not merely "a crass form of a myth which represented Understanding and Utterance" (properly Utterance and Intelligence) "as the first potencies which sprang from Re," but obviously meant originally that these faculties came into existence as soon as *Rê* attained puberty, called by the Hebrews the age of discerning between good and evil.

Pag. 140. The *qbhw* are not the gates of heaven, but the lakes or pools, originally at the first cataract, where the king was purified for the apotheosis; cf. especially Chassinat, *Recueil de Travaux*, XXXVIII, 33—60, and *AJSL* XXXV, 187 ff.

Pag. 190. The word *mrht* does not mean "balance," but "plumb-level." The latter was one of the principal instruments of the ancient architect, to whom the spirit-level was naturally unknown. Thoth is the great architect.

Pag. 196, line 1. *Šnwy n R* means "second to *Rê*," not "a second Re."

Pag. 199, 7 from below. Render "He who gives breath to Osiris Onnophris" (*rdy nfw n Wnn-nfrw*).

It is a pity that the author does not discuss in more detail the after-history of Thoth-Hermes, who as Hermes-Poemandres enjoyed a great vogue in the Roman and even in the Christian East. The Hermetic writings were translated from Greek into Syriac, and later into Arabic. No one seems to have observed that the Arabic Idris is really a conflation of Thoth and Enoch, but this is absolutely certain, and is certainly not without interest for the student of ancient survivals in Islam. For this reason we may devote a final paragraph to the proof of our statement. The present situation may be seen from Wensinck's article on Idris in the *Encyclopaedia of*

*Islam* (1919). Nöldeke pointed out many years ago (ZA XVII, 84f.) that the name *Idrîs* was probably a corruption of *Andreas*, which he thought might be the name of the apostle Andrew, though he could not find a connecting link. R. Hartmann (ZA XXIV, 314; cf. also ZDMG LXVII, 743, n. 1) then suggested that the immortal Idrîs was originally Andreas, the cook of Alexander, who dived into the fountain of life, obtaining immortality by his plunge. The name *Idrîs* is indeed derived from a Greek *andrîs*—the final element in *Pîmandrîs* (Ποιμάνδρης), an abbreviation by no means unparalleled in Arabic literature. Abû'l-Fâraj says in his *Ta'rîh mul'taşar ed-dîwal* (ed. Şâlihânî, p. 11) that Enoch (Ĥanûḥ) is identical with Hermes Trismegistus (i. e. Poemandres), while the Arabs call him Idrîs. The historian goes on to distinguish three Hermes (هرامسة)—that is three Thoths—: Hermes who lived in Upper Egypt, who first taught the arts and sciences, inscribing them in the Pyramids in order to save them from destruction in the Deluge, which he foresaw (note the Xisuthrus motive!); the Babylonian Hermes, who lived in Kalwâḍah and built Babylon after Nimrod's death; Hermes Trismegistus, who composed the Hermetic writings. The first Hermes is naturally Thoth-Hermes, the third is Thoth-Hermes-Poemandres, who was erroneously distinguished from the former. I have no idea who is meant by the Babylonian Hermes, who cannot here be Oannes. It is curious enough to find the old Egyptian moon-god still revered as Nébi Idrîs in the modern Orient.

W. F. A.

## I. MODERN PALESTINIAN PARALLELS TO THE SONG OF SONGS<sup>1</sup>

ST. H. STEPHAN  
(JERUSALEM)

WE may safely assume that the beautiful love ditties of the Song of Songs circulated among the people, who sang them on different occasions, as is still the case with our folksongs. We may hear the same songs on weddings as well as on other occasions, whenever opportunity offers. A comparison of these early Palestinian songs with those which are in use to-day, some 2500 years later, shows a striking resemblance between the old and the new, both in the expression of ideas and in the grouping of words. The freshness and vigour of their imagery as well as the gloom of their passions in the nuptial and erotic pieces are delightful.<sup>2</sup>

From the semasiological standpoint it is worth while comparing the ancient and the modern modes of describing the beauty of the man and the woman. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that the beauty of the man is a subject almost neglected in our folksongs.

In the following paper I shall let each word speak with its own force, unchained and unchanged, since I am not defending any theory.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I wish to render hearty thanks to Dr. W. F. Albright, without whose kind help and assistance I should never have completed this work, and to whose interest and encouragement I owe very much. Furthermore, he has had the kindness to go through the whole article and to give me valuable advice.

<sup>2</sup> I hope that no one will be offended by the breadth of treatment in this paper.

<sup>3</sup> Copies of the Bible used:—a) *Biblia Sacra Vulgatae editionis Sixti V et Clementi VIII*; b) *Holy Bible transl. from the Latin Vulgate and diligently compared with other editions* . . . (Douay 1609 and Rheims 1582) published as revised and annotated by authority (R. & T. Washbourne, London); c) the Authorised and the Revised English Bibles; d) *Dr. Martin Luther's Bibel, durchgesehene Ausgabe*; e) Arabic Translation of the RR. PP. de S. J., Beyrouth; and f) those of the American Missions with and without annotations.

There is no doubt whatever about the general idea of these poems, which is the same as that treated of in Canticles—the mutual love of the sexes. In monologues and dialogues are described the reciprocal love and longing of the male and female for each other.<sup>1</sup>

To him “she” is altogether a charming and beautiful maiden. She is of *good family* (7 2)<sup>2</sup> for he calls her the *prince's daughter*. Her *stature* (7 7; 2 14)<sup>3</sup> is like a *palm tree*. She is *beautiful, sweet* and yet *terrible*<sup>4</sup> (6 3), *fair as the moon*,<sup>5</sup> *bright as the sun* (6 9).<sup>6</sup> Her *feet* (7 1) are beautiful.<sup>7</sup> Her *face* (2 14)<sup>8</sup> is comely, “pars pro toto.” Her *speech*<sup>9</sup> and *voice* (2 14; 4 3)<sup>10</sup> are sweet. Her *odours* (3 16; 4 10, 12–14)<sup>11</sup> are aromatic, full of the fragrance of all spices and sundry powders of the perfumer. Although her *complexion* (1 5)<sup>12</sup> has been bronzed by the sun, which has burnt her *face* (1 6), she is none the less fair, attractive and beautiful. Our contemporary songster is so much absorbed by her charms that he calls her *his life*.<sup>13</sup> The ravenblack *hair*<sup>14</sup> with its attractive *curls* and *locks* (4 3; 6 6) is coloured with henna<sup>15</sup> for the wedding night and appears to him like purple (7 5; 6 4).

The *hair* and the dark *eyes*,<sup>16</sup> with which she has ravished his heart (4 9), so that he cannot but cry out, calling her the *fairest amongst women* (1 8; 4 9; 5 9 and 17; 6 4),<sup>17</sup> are her most striking features. Both Canticles and the folksongs praise her *dove-like eyes*

<sup>1</sup> See Professor Haupt's “Canticles,” JAOS 1902.

<sup>2</sup> See note to Text, Cant. 7 2.

<sup>3</sup> See note to Text, Cant. 7 8 and song no. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Stanza 1 of song No. 3 and song no. 28.

<sup>5</sup> and <sup>6</sup> See note to Text, Cant. 6 10 and song no. 9.

<sup>7</sup> See note to Text, Cant. 7 1.

<sup>8</sup> See note to Text, Cant. 1 13 and 6 10.

<sup>9</sup> See song no. 28.

<sup>10</sup> See song no. 34.

<sup>11</sup> See note to Cant. 4 10 and song no. 9.

<sup>12</sup> and <sup>13</sup> See note to Cant. 1 4 and 5, and song no. 4, stanza 1. *šā'irha mitl il-lēl* (her hair is like the night = شعرها مثل الليل) or *tāl l(i)hbāl* = طول الحبال “as long as (tent) ropes.”

<sup>14</sup> A *maru'āl* sings . . . *u šā'rik mitl 'ēnik mitl hūzzi, kahīlyn fi kahīlyn, fi kahīlyn* =

و شعرك مثل عينك مثل حظي كحيلي في كحيلي في كحيلي

“And your hair is like your eye and like my hard luck: dark, dark, dark.”

<sup>15</sup> See song no. 5, stanza 5.

<sup>16</sup> and <sup>17</sup> See Cant. 4 7 and 9; cf. song no. 3, line 2.

(41; 115b); yet we in our turn go a little farther, and ascribe to her doe-like or gazelle-like eyes.<sup>1</sup>

Her lovely *cheeks*<sup>2</sup> seemed to the old bard to be a slice of pomegranate (43; 66), yet we consider them nowadays like apples,<sup>3</sup> white and red, or like roses.<sup>4</sup>

When Canticles compares her *teeth* (66) to a flock of white sheep coming up from the washing, our present songsters are inclined to liken them to hail-stones or to silver.<sup>5</sup> Her *lips* are considered nowadays not so much as a thread of scarlet (43), but more as delightful roses in full blossom, as sweet as honey or sugar (411).<sup>6</sup> Her *mouth* is like the best wine (79);<sup>7</sup> and her *throat*<sup>8</sup> has the same attribute of beauty, though it may be compared now and then to amber.<sup>9</sup>

Her *breasts*, seemingly the most attractive part of her graceful person, are to the old singer like wine (12; 410), even far better (410; 12). We consider them as pomegranates and rarely as clusters of grapes (78).<sup>10</sup> But in common parlance "the groom may take one breast for a cushion and the other as an eider-down quilt." . . . .  
 11. يا عريسي لا تخاف: بز مخدّه وبز لحاف His love for her inspires him to describe her with a variety of pretty appellatives, common to both periods, such as *dove* (214),<sup>12</sup> *roe* (36)<sup>13</sup> an *enclosed garden*,<sup>14</sup> a *spring shut up*,<sup>15</sup> a *fountain sealed*<sup>16</sup> (412); a *garden fountain*, a *well of living water* (415).<sup>17</sup> He is captured by her beauty; first he considers her

<sup>1</sup> Song no. 6, line 14, and song no. 25.

<sup>2-4</sup> See song no. 36. Her cheek is like the apple (red), *hadda zayy it-tuffâha* (خدها زي التفاحة); or like the leaf, *zayy ir-rîf* (زي الرغيف); also *zayy il-wârd* (زي الورد) like roses; and *zayy il-hêtaliyye* (زي الهيطلية) like starch with milk; or like fresh prepared cheese, *zayy ij-jÿbne -t-tariyye* (زي الجبنة الطرية). Cf. the note to song no. 9. *wilward fâttaḥ 'ala haddo*, "the roses have budded on his cheek" (الورد فتح على خده).

<sup>5</sup> Note to Song no. 16. We say also *snânha zayy il-fuḍḍa* = سنانها زي الفضة, her teeth are like silver.

<sup>6</sup> *Zayy il-'aqq* = زي العقيق; *zayy il-murjân* = زي المرجان, like ruby and like corals.

<sup>7-9</sup> See song no. 8, stanza 7, and notes to Cant. 410.

<sup>10</sup> But a woman between "trente et quarante" in her "dangerous age" is considered to be only *tâli-l'anqûd* تالي العنقود the rest of the grape cluster.

<sup>11</sup> This is from Dr. T. Cana'an's unpublished collection of Palestinian proverbs.

<sup>12</sup> See note to text on Cant. 214 and note 62.

<sup>13</sup> Song no. 17.

<sup>14-17</sup> It is quite possible, owing to the scarcity and importance of water, to use these appellative names for the girl, but still they would be exceptional. See the notes to the text of Canticles.

fair,<sup>1</sup> and then as spotless (4 7).<sup>2</sup> Yes, to him she is at the same time a *rose in a flower garden* (2 1)<sup>3</sup> and a *proud horse* (1 9).<sup>4</sup>

It is not usual to enumerate the attractions and charms of the man. So we have in our contemporary songs comparatively few ditties which deal comprehensively with the beauty of the male.<sup>5</sup>

The bride describes him as "white and ruddy, chosen out of thousands"<sup>6</sup> (5 10). His *form*<sup>7</sup> and *countenance* are excellent (5 15) and therefore the virgins love him (1 2).<sup>8</sup> His flowing *locks*<sup>9</sup> are bushy and black as a raven (5 11).<sup>10</sup> His *cheeks* are as a bed of spices (5 13). His *mouth* is very sweet, altogether lovely (5 16). His *hands* are gold rings set with beryls (5 14).<sup>11</sup> And last, but not least, his *stature* is like the cedars—nowadays like a palm tree (5 15)<sup>12</sup>—and his *belly* is like ivory overlaid or set with sapphires (5 14).<sup>13</sup> Such is her friend and her beloved (5 16),<sup>14</sup> a handsome youth,<sup>15</sup> who is sure of the sincere love of maidens (1 2). To him she said in olden times: "Draw me and I will run after thee" (1 4). She may hear today just the same words from his lips.<sup>16</sup>

He calls her *sister*, *bride* (4 9)<sup>17</sup> and *friend* (2 10). She in her turn calls him her *beloved* (5 4; 1 7; 2 3; 5 8), and her *friend* (5 1; 2 9). The words "friend, beloved, graceful, fair" and half a dozen synonyms

<sup>1</sup> and <sup>2</sup> See Psalm 45 3 and stanza 2 of song No. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Song 13, stanza 6, and note to Cant. 2 1.

<sup>4</sup> In a song the Bedawi addresses his love thus:—*w-inti-l-mühra w-ana hayyâlik* = وانت المهره وأنا خيالك, and you are the filly and I am your rider.

<sup>5</sup> See songs nos. 26, 2, 18, 22 (first stanza), 27, and note to Cant. 5 10.

<sup>6</sup> See note to Cant. 5 10.

<sup>7</sup> Notes to Cant. 7 8.

<sup>8</sup> Song no. 27.

<sup>9</sup> "Barhum" song no. 2.

<sup>10</sup> See note no. 15 above.

<sup>11</sup> See note to Cant. 7 3—6.

<sup>12</sup> See Cant. 7 8 (note to text).

<sup>13</sup> See Cant. 7 3—5.

<sup>14</sup> See note to Cant. 3 1.

<sup>15</sup> A despised lover rejoices in the hope that he will colour his beard and hair and become "a smart lad, loved by all girls," *w-â'lib šabb (y)hlêwa kull il-banât ti'šâ'ni*... واقلب شب حليوى كل البنات تعشقني.

<sup>16</sup> *jurrîni w-ana banjârr šilîni wâna banšâl* وأنا بنجر شيليني وانا بنشال. Draw me and I shall be drawn, carry me and I shall be carried.

<sup>17</sup> This expression is nowadays used only in Egypt.

are used equally for both sexes. All these expressions are taken over into the mystical and spiritual terminology of the Šûfis.

While in the Canticles the man is compared to a deer or a hart,<sup>1</sup> in our days it is the wife to whom these attributes are solely applied. The palm tree and the bird are common to both parties.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cant. 8 14 and 29.

<sup>2</sup> Although *nomina propria* do not come exactly under the head of songs, yet they cast a light of their own, which elucidates some ideas of ours concerning this matter. I give in the following a collection of Arabic female names, not pretending to give the exact Latin, Keltic, Hebrew or Greek semantic equivalent.

a) Abstracta. *Šarîfeh* شريفه Ethel, Eugenia, Patricia; — *Farîdeh* فريده and *Wahîdeh* وحيدة, the unique one; — *Sâlîhah* صالحة (diminutive *šûllah* صُلّاح Pia; — *‘Alyah* عليه Augusta; — *Hâkmeh* حاكمه Martha; — *Ġâlbeh* غالبه Victoria; — *Fauziyyeh* فوزيه Eunice; — *‘Âyseh* عايشه, *‘Êseh* عيشه, (*Y*) *‘wêšeh* عوديشه, *‘Awwâš* عَواش, *Ayyûš* عَيّوش, Vivian; — *Maḥbûbeh* مكبوبة Mabel; — *Ĥamda* حمدا (dim. *Ĥamdiyyeh* حمدية) Antonia, Antoinette; — *Sâ‘da* سعدا, *Maš‘udeh* مسعودة, *Su‘âd* سعاد, Faustine, Beatrice, Felicia; — *Salma* سلمى Salome; — *Salîmeh* سليمة Frederica, Irene; — *Faḥriyyeh* فتخريه Alberta; — *Šafî‘ah* شفيقة Clementine; — *Râḍyeh* راضيه Lois; — *Wadâd* وداد Amy; — *‘Atiyyeh* عطيه Dorothy, Theodora; — *Asma* اسما Augusta; — *Amîneh* امينه Fidelia; — *‘Anneh* آمنه Salva; — *Labîbeh* لبية Sophronia; — *Najîbeh* نجيبه Adeline.

b) Names derived from Adjectives. *Ḥyḷwah* حلوة Dulce; — *Šubḥah* صباكه Clara; — *Zarîfeh* ظريفه Grace; — *Jamûleh* جميله Belle; — *‘Adîleh* ‘Adleh عادله Dinah; — *Hûsna* حسنا Bertha, Ruth; — *Majîdeh* منجيدة Honoria, Nora; — *Ḥabîbeh* حبيبہ Mabel, Amy; — *Faḍiyyeh* فضيه Cordelia (?); — *Dalîleh* دليله Delilah; — *Zahîyyeh* زهيه Florence; — *MLîḥah* مليكة Agatha; — *Bahiyya* بهيه Claribel; — *‘Afîfeh* عفيفه Agnes; — *Syrrîyyeh* سرية concubine; — *Ĥûriyyeh* حورية houri (from Paradise); — *Farḥah* فرحه Edna; — *Šadî‘a* صديقه Aimee; — *Sayydeh* سيدة, *Amîreh* اميره Adeline, Adelaide, Alice (*Almira* = amira); — *Sultaneh* سلطانه Augusta; — *Mâlakeh* ملكه Regina; — *Laṭîfeh* لطيفه Anne; — *Yûsra* يسره Phyllis; — *Badî‘ah* بديعه Clara.

c) *Nûr* نور Eleanor; — *Munîrah* منيره Lucinda and Lucrecia; — *Bûdrah* بدره and *‘Amrah* قمره (diminutive *‘Ammurah* قموره) Helen; — *Saniyyeh* سنيه Augusta; — *Šâ‘la* شعلا Phoebe; — *Zuhra* زهراء Venus; — *Turayyah* ثريا Pleiades; — *Nijmeh* نجمه with its diminutives *Njêmeh* نكيمه, and *Najjûm* نجم Esther, Stella; — *Zênab* زينب Zenobia; — *Nasîmeh* نسيمه Zephyr; — *Nâda* ندى dew.

d) Names borrowed from plants. *Fullah* فلة Nycanthem zambac; — *Ḥaḍra* خضرا (dim. *Ḥaḍraj* خضرج) the (ever) green; — *Zaḥrah* زهرة and its plural form *Zhûr* زهور Flora; — *Zâneh* زانه teak; — *Ĥêzarân* خيزران Spanish reed (*Arundo Donax* L.); — *Wardeh* وردة Rhoda, Rosa; — *Za‘farân* زعفران safflower, saffron thistle (*Carthamus*); — (*U*) *ġšûn* غصون Phyllis (the Arabic word is plural); — *Zulailah* زليخة (the classical form being *sûlîḥah* سولخة) and a similar name *Zâlḥa* زلخه Cassia; — *Sârwe* سرو cypress; — *Yasmin* ياسمين Jasminum



The *erotic motives* in all songs, old and new, are numerous. We shall dwell on them only enough to show the common ideas of both periods. The *tattooing*<sup>1</sup> of hands and arms is common to both sexes. But the fairer sex, especially the *fellahât* and *badawiyât* permit themselves to be tattooed even on their belly (514b) as far as the mons. There are two colours, red and blue, used expressly for this purpose. The use of the *mandrake* (713) as an *aphrosidiac*<sup>2</sup> is still known in Palestine, but it serves more for that purpose in Upper Mesopotamia.<sup>3</sup> The nuptial couch (116) is often mentioned in our songs.

She pretends to be love-sick during his absence:<sup>4</sup> neither of them can sleep for longing to be with the other.<sup>5</sup> Yet he asks her acquaintances not to wake her up before she wishes (27).<sup>6</sup> What is said in Cant. 86, that love is fire, is in full agreement with our ideas.<sup>7</sup>

officinale;—*Zahwe* زهوة Florence;—*Rwêdah* رويضة (little flower) garden. Cf. also the name '*Asaliyyeh* عسلية the honey-like one.

e) Names borrowed from animals. *Gazâleh* غزاله gazelle, Dorcas;—*Hamâmeh* حمامه dove;—*Aşfûr* عصفور, *Têrah* طيرة bird;—*Zağlâleh* زغلولة little pigeon;—*Šunnârah* شنارہ partridge;—*Andalîb* عندليب nightingale; *Šahîndeh* شاهنده falconet;—*Harûfeh* خروفه ewe (unusual form for *na'jah* نعجه);—*Nimrah* نمرة tigress;—*Fahdeh* فهدة leopard;—*Dîbeh* ديبه Adolpha; *Lûlu* لولو Lulu, Margaret;—*Murjâneh* مرجانه coral.

f) Names derived from minerals, etc. *Šûm'ah* شمعة candle;—*Zabâd* زياد cibeth;—*Almâsah* الماسه diamond;—*Zumûrrud* زمرد emerald;—*Ya'ût* ياقوت Ruby;—*Ferûzah* فيروزه with the diminutive *Frêz* فريز and *Frôssu* فروسو turquoise;—*Jôharah* جوهرة pearl.

<sup>1</sup> See note to Cant. 514 and song no. 4, stanza 3.

<sup>2</sup> See note to Cant. 713.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Genesis 3014.

<sup>4</sup> Song 42, stanza 7.

<sup>5</sup> Song 41.

<sup>6</sup> *hûlli -lhîlwa tîşba' nôm . . .* خلي الحلوة تشبع نوم . . . let the sweet one be satisfied with sleeping. A proverb says:

*nôm is-sarâri la-d-dûha l-âli* نوم السراي للضحى العالي

*nôm is-şabâya la-d-dhâya* نوم الصبايا للضحايا

The sleep of the odalisques lasts to the late fore-noon

And the sleep of (other) maidens (only) to the forenoon.

Vide Song No. 38.

<sup>7</sup> *nâri yâ nâri, nâri 'alêhum . . .* O the fire of me, for them . . . (i. e. of my love for them).

*Nature*, with her unrivalled beauty, has made a deep impression on our poets. The moonlit *night*, the *stars*, *flower gardens* and *orchards*, *wells* and *springs*, *flora* and *fauna*, and even *minerals* have their place in our folk-songs. The beloved girl is likely to be compared with them all: the proud *horse*, the graceful *doe* or *gazelle*, the lovely *dove* or *birds* in general. Even the *sun*, the *full moon*, *Orion* with the *Pleiades* are not as strange metaphors as they would seem at first sight. *Flora's daughters* are almost all numbered among the similes applied to the female charms. The *mountains* and the *valleys* have their rôles; nor are even the *earth* and the *stones* forgotten. *Wind* and *weather*, as well as the *seasons*, must do their utmost to please the beloved one. And *Nature* as a loving mother will surely deign to help her on all occasions required . . .

Such is our idea of the charms of Nature. We love her in our own way; now and then we fear her; but all her beauty we ascribe to our own sweethearts.

## II. NOTES TO THE CANTICLES

### CHAPTER I

#### Verse 3.

*Ašûf miš'al râyil 'a-t-ṭahûne* أشوف مشعل رايح الطاحونه  
*ya mḥabbîṭ miš'al b-il-'ât(i)r madhûne* يا محبة مشعل بالعطر مدهونه  
 (I see Miš'al going to the mill—

O, the love of Miš'al is anointed with fragrance.)

#### Verses 4—5.

*Yâ âsmar is-sûmri yâ ma 'ayyarûni fîk* يا اسمر السمر يا ما عيروني فيك  
*wa ki'llama 'ayyarûni zâd ġurâmî fîk* و كلما عيروني زاد غرامي فيك  
 O darkest one, how often was I blamed for (loving) you!

But the more they blamed me, the more my passion for you increased.

In another stanza from a love ditty the girl says:

*baḥribbo, baḥribbo u bamût alêh* بحبه بحبه و بموت عليه

I love him, I love him, and would die with (longing for) him.

#### Verse 7.

The shepherds have siesta from the fourth to the ninth hour of the day (*hora aequinoctialis*), a period termed *tagyîlt ir-ry'yân* (تقييلة). Vide the classical term *qailûle* (قيلولة).

## Verse 8.

*yâ bôhod sitt il- banât, yâ ... 'â-n-niswân*

(Either I get the queen of girls or I'll not care a fig for women.)

يا باخذ ست البنات ... يا عالنسون

Thus a fair woman may still be termed *sitt il- banât* or *sitt in-niswân* ست البنات, ست النسون.

From a description of a symposium with hetaerae (?).

## Verse 9.

The word *ḥabîbi*, my darling, is still in use. It also answers to the English "Good gracious." Sarcastically used, it may be rendered by "fiddlesticks."

## Verse 10.

Prof. Haupt suggests that these chains may have been coins. Cf. the *šatwe* (شطوة) of the fellahât, a row of silver (or gold) coins which are attached on a "mutch" a round the forehead, and are usually worn at weddings and other festivities.

## Verses 10—11.

*yâ nâs la tlûmûni 'ala mḥabbîtha* يا ناس لا تلوموني على محبتها  
*hiy ḥabbâtîni wâna ḥabbêtha* هي حبتني وأنا حببتها  
*ya rêtni 'uqd jôhar fî raqbîtha* يا ريتني عقد جواهر في رقبتها  
*tîfna l- a'âdi wâla tîfna maḥabbîtha.* تفنى الاعادي ولا تفنى محبتها.

O people, do not blame me for loving her;

She loved me and I loved her (also in present tense).

O that I were a pearl necklace round her neck . . .

May our enemies perish, but not her love.

## Verse 11.

"The diamond set suits you, oh my eye," *bilbâ lak šâkl il-almaz*,  
 âh ya 'ênî. بيلبق لك شكل الالمزاه يا عيني.

## Verse 12.

In the mountainous part of northern Mesopotamia (Miafârqin and neighbourhood) the bridegroom is still called "king" (*sultân*) and acts during the feast as such, exercising a limited power.

## Verse 13.

An 'Atâba verse from Gaza says:

*šabâḥ il-ḥêr kûllo ilik ya šabḥah*

*tîswi mît wâḥde mni-l-ḥêl w-il-bâgar šabḥah*

*niyyâl min nâm fi ḥêḏenik wàḏḥa*  
*uṭâfa nâr gâlbo har-l-miš'ila... ba.*

صباح الخير كله يا صبحه  
 تسوي مية واحدة من الخيل والبقر صبحي  
 نيال من نام في حضينك واضحي  
 وطفى نار قلبه هالمشعله... با

Good morning all of it to you, O Ṣabḥa!  
 You are worth a hundred horses or cows.

Happy, who sleeps in your bosom till morning,  
 Thus extinguishing the burning flame of his heart.

Fuad. N. S.

The ḥenna flower (ثمر حناء) is very much liked.

الله يعزها	شفتها بنمشي ويتزها
ساعه والله	مأحلى النومه على بزها
قلبي حبها	شفتها بتنقي حبها
ساعه والله	مأحلى النومه بعبها
<i>šufṭha bīmši u bithizza</i>	<i>alla i(y)izza</i>
<i>māḥla n-nōme 'āla bizza</i>	<i>sā'a wālla</i>
<i>šufṭa bitnā'i ḥābba</i>	<i>'ālbi ḥābba</i>
<i>māḥla n-nōme bi'ubba</i>	<i>sā'a wālla.</i>

I saw her walking and swaying—

May God honour her!

How sweet is sleep on her breast even for an hour.

(Cf. Daniel 4 16!)

I saw her cleaning her corn;

My heart loved her,—

How sweet is sleep in the flap (of her garment)

Even for an hour!

Verse 15.

*Il-bint iṣ-šalabiyye (i)'yūna lōziyye*, البنت الشلبيه عيونها لوزيه,  
 'The fair girl has almond-like eyes', begins an almost forgotten love ditty.

Verse 16.

The word "green" (*aḥḍar*) means also in Arabic, vigorous, young, freshly made or cut. Cf. St. Luke 23 31 (*ḥaṭab aḥḍar, 'ūd aḥḍar*). An old man desirous of marrying again may be pointed out as having a "green soul" *nāfso ḥādra*, نفسه خضرا.

## CHAPTER II

## Verse 1.

*Hur'uṣi lâbi' yâ wâr(i)d 'âbi'* (Dance nicely, O well-scented rose).  
 ارقصي لابق يا ورد عابق. The attribute of being like a rose (*zei il-wârde*,  
 زى الورد) is applied to a fair girl.

A striking similarity shows the following Kurdish ditty, which I heard from the *Kedkân* Kurds between *Jerâblus* (the ancient Carchemish on the Euphrates) and *Mimbij* (the ancient Bamyce).

'addûle tēja jwêda                      gôl u sūsân gî pêda . . .

O 'Addûle, you come along there, all scented with roses and tulips.

## Verse 5.

A proverbial saying runs as follows:—  
 التفاح ما يشبع بس بيسلّي                      *it-tuffâḥ mâ biṣṣâbbi', bâss bisallî*, Apples do not satisfy the hunger;  
 they only console one (occupy one). Var. التفاح بس ييقعد النفس                      *it-tuffâḥ bass bi'a'id in-nafs*, Apples only stimulate the appetite.

[Dr. Canaan.]

In a *fellâḥ* verse which I heard at a wedding, the bridegroom is supposed to tell the bride that he will have everybody bring her figs to eat.

وما بك علة تشكي الطب ولكن المليح اله دلال . . .  
*u mâ bič 'illatin tišči-t-ṭibb u lâč'in l-imlîḥ ile dalâl.*

And there is nothing which ails you—however, the fair one is pampered.

## Verse 7.

It is still usual to adjure people in order to make them act according to one's wishes, or to "force" them to answer one's question or the like; *e. g.*,

"I adjure you by God, the prophet, and everything dear to you,"

*bahâlfak (ḥallaftak) bâllah u bi-n-nâbi u bkûll šî gâli 'alêk*

بحلفك [حلفتك] بالله وبالنبي وبكل شي غالي عليك.

*ḥâlli l-ḥijlwa tîšba' nôm.* Let the sweet one be satisfied by sleeping the "beauty sleep,"  
 خلي الحلوة تشبع نوم.

## Verse 9.

Nowadays she is likened to a gazelle, and he to a lion.

شوفوا حبي يا عيوني واقف برا والى عمال يتمايل اصل الغرة

šûfu ḥùbbi yâ (i)yûni wâ'if bârra . . .

w-illi 'ammâl yitmâyal àšl il ġirra . . .

Look, O my eyes, my beloved is standing outside,  
And his shock of hair is waving . . .

Verses 11—13.

ya mâḥḍ il- bîḍ, ḥâšḥys bi-d-ḍâhab ḥâšḥys

(i)šbur 'al-l-bîḍ ḥâtta (y)wàrrig il-mišmiš

(i)šbur 'a-l-bîḍ ḥâtta tyḥmârr ḥaddēhyn

w-i(y)bân (y)hlâl il-gâmar myn bēn 'ynēhyn.

يا ماخذ البيض خشخش بالذهب خشخش

اصبر عالببيض حتى يورق المشمش

اصبر عالببيض حتى تكمر خديهن

وبيان هلال القمر من بين عينيهن

O, you, who are marrying the white ones, chink, chink your gold coins!  
Wait for the white ones till the apricot is green (spring season);  
Wait for the white ones till their cheeks grow ruddy;  
And the crescent of the moon (*i. e.* their faces) appears from between  
their eyes . . .

NOTE. The advice to delay the marriage till the apricot is in leaf (April) is in agreement with the common saying, that he who marries in December-January will lick the pots (*illi bitjàwraz fî kanûn biyḥas l-i-qdâr*, القدر بيلمحس كانون), since he will have insufficient food, whereas if he marries in April, as is in vogue with the *fellaḥîn*, he will have meat, eggs, milk, and all sorts of vegetables in abundance.

Verse 12.

فتح ورد الجنان

yâ ḥabîbi ya nâyim

يا حبيبي يا ناييم

fâttaḥ wârd ij-janâyin.

Oh my beloved, who are asleep,

the roses, in the flower-garden have budded.

Verse 13.

We still say *it-tîn 'à''ad*, التين عتقد, denoting the gradual advance of spring.

Verse 14.

(h)ḥšir ya ḥâḍa jibna ḥamâmtak

jibna bint 'ammak jibna qarâbtak.

ابشر يا هذا جينا حمامتك  
جينا بنت عمك جينا قرابتك

Cheer up, you, we have brought your dove,

We have brought your cousin, we have brought your kinswoman.

Husband and wife may call each other "cousin," using the feminine or masculine form in addressing or speaking to and of each other; *bint'ammī*, بنت عمي; *ibn 'ammī*, ابن عمي correspond to German "Base," French "cousine," German "Vetter," French "cousin."

طلعت عراس الجبل ادور على طيري  
ṭlīt 'a-rās ij-jābal adāuvir 'āla ṭēri . . .  
I went up the hill in search of my bird.

### CHAPTER III

#### Verse 1.

A lover may justly complain with the poor victim of the *barġūt* [flea] *ṭūl il-lēl w-àna sahrān* . . . I was awake the whole night, طول الليل وأنا سهران.

*Ya ḥabībi, ya ḥabīb 'ālbi, ya ḥabib 'ēni*, "O my beloved, O beloved of my soul, O beloved of my eye" are still very common appellatives: يا حبيبي, يا حبيب قلبي, يا حبيب عيني.

بقيت نايم على فراشي متهنئي اجي خيالك على بالي وجنتني  
*baqēt nāyim 'āla frāši mithānni āja ḥayālak 'āla bālī u jannānni*

I was enjoying sleep in my bed

when your form came to my mind and deranged me.

For the first stanza cf. the note to 4 9.

#### Verse 4.

بيت امي . بيت ابوي

*Bēt ummi* (*ummak, ummo*), the house of my (your, his) mother, is sometimes used instead of *bēt abūy* (*abūk, abūh*). Cf. John 14 2.

#### Verse 5.

An Egyptian ditty begins: It is lawful, O daughters of Alexandria, to fall in love with you, *yā banāt Iskandarīyya 'iṣ'ikum ḥalāl* (يا بنات اسكندريه عشقكم حلال).

#### Verse 6.

This merchant is our contemporary *'attār* عطار (German "Gewürzhändler," French "épicier"). Nearly every big Oriental town has a *sūq il-'attārīn* (سوق العطارين).

## Verse 9.

As the Hebrew word *appiryôn* is of Greek origin, so the colloquial Arabic word *tàht(a)rawân* (تختروان) is a Persian loanword.

## Verse 10.

"For the sake of the daughters of Jerusalem" (Vulgate), *i. e.*, out of love for them. In one of the best known Arabic wedding songs (*Thàttari yâ zêna*) after the enumeration of everything the bridegroom has done, the bride is reminded that he has performed "all this for your sake, O fair one," *U kullo 'ala šânik yâ šalabiyya* (على وكله... شانك يا شلبية).

## CHAPTER IV

## Verse 4.

A *Beirût Zağrâta* runs as follows:— (Y. H.)

شو هالنشب الطويل مزينه طوله  
اله تم خاتم دهب محبوك بلولو  
*šu haššûb it-tawîl (mzeino tûlo)*  
*ilo tumm hâtim dâhab mahbûk bilûlu...*

What a slim young man, (and his slimness fits him)—  
He has a mouth (like) a gold ring, set with pearls...

## Verse 5.

*tôm* (توأم) twins are considered as the symbol of symmetry.  
*sidrik 'amârah billâjar wiblâdina*, Your breast is a stone house  
and our home land (صدرك عماره بالحجر وبلادنا).

## Verse 6.

Daybreak, *tâl'it is-šûb(u)li* (طلعة الصبح).

## Verse 7.

*Yâ-hti ḥalâutik wâla fîš kîda abadâna* (Egyptian), O my sister,  
there is nothing like your beauty (يا اختي حلاوتك ولا فش كدا ابدًا [ابدن]).

## Verse 9.

وقفت قبالي واخذت لي بالي  
مثل الثريا في السما العالي  
*wî'fîr (h)î'bâli w-aḥdîtlî bâli...*  
*mîtl it-turâyya fi-s-sâma l-'âlî...*

She stood opposite me and deprived me of reason—  
She is like the Pleiades in the sky on high...



عينيك السود قتلتني وانا اغني  
 حواجبينك رمت عرق الحيا مني  
*‘inēki s-sûd qatlâtni wâna ġànni (for aġànni)*  
*ḥawâjbînik râmat ‘âraq il-ḥàya minni*

Your dark eyes slew me while I was singing (i. e. being without care),  
 And your eyebrows drove shame from me . . .

For the second hemistich cf. note to 3 1.

*w-il-‘ên kâhla, w-il-ḥawâjib âhla*, The eye is painted with kohl and  
 the eyebrows are “sweeter” (والعين كحلا والحواجب احلى).

<i>Habîbi ĵâni mit‘anni</i>	حبيبى جاني متعني
<i>lâbis il bâdle -l-bînni</i>	لابس البدله البنى
<i>sawâd i’yûno jamnânni</i>	سواد عيونه جنتي
<i>kîmil usâfo bilmarra</i>	كامل اوصافه بالمره

My beloved came to me (troubled?), smartly (clad)

And wearing his coffee-brown suit.

The darkness of his eyes distracted me—

All his good points are complete. (Cfr. Cant. 4 7.)

<i>Ya lâbise l-lemûni</i>	يا لابسہ الليموني
<i>ya nûr i’yûni</i>	يا نور عيوني
<i>sûd i’yûnik dabahûni</i>	سود عيونك دبحوني
<i>dummîni šwayy</i>	ضميني شوي

O one clad in citron (yellow garments),

O light of my eyes!

The darkness of your eyes have slain (lit. slaughtered) me,

Embrace me a little.

Another verse of a similar song is the following:

*ya lâbiset il ‘îrmiz ‘îš’ik bilîriz* يا لابسۃ القرمز عشقك بليزر  
*w-i’yûnik sûd u btîgmiz, ‘âtîl wâlla* وعيونك سود وبتغمز والله  
 O one clad in purple clothes, it is worth while falling in love with you,  
 For your eyes are black and sparkle, and have slain (me) indeed.

Verse 8b.

There are no more lions in Palestine and Syria; although leopards  
 are said to have their dens in the neighbourhood of the three great  
 rivers, in deserted and pathless regions, they are very rare.

Verse 10.

I smell the odour of *ḥandaqôq*—

The one above has deprived me of my senses.

شامم ربحة حندقوق احدث عقلي هلي فوق  
*šâmin rihet handa'o' aḥdit 'âli hâlli fô'.*

This is a quotation from a camel driver's song (*ḥida*).

يا لابسة الشنبر لا يتغبر  
 وربحتك مسك وعنبر  
*ya lâbisit iṣ-šambar lâ yitgâbbar*  
*u riḥtik mîsk u 'âmbar qummîni šwâi . . .*

O you with the gauze mantle, let it not become dusty,  
 For your fragrance is musk and ambergris.—Embrace me a little.

لا بيع هدمي عشان بوسه من خدك الحلو الملبن  
 يا حلوه زي البسبوسة ومهلبيه وكمان احسن  
*l-abî hudûmi 'ašân bôsaḥ min ḥaddiki l-ḥîlu l-mâlban*  
*yâ ḥ(y)lwaḥ zâyî il basbûsaḥ w(y)mhallabiyye u kamân aḥsan.*

I'll sell my garments for a single kiss  
 From your *mâlban*-like transparent cheek,  
 O you who are sweet as *basbûsaḥ*  
 And *mhallabiyye* and even sweeter . . .

*Malban* ملبن is prepared and dried grape syrup, which looks like leather. *Basbûsaḥ* is a sweetmeat prepared from butter, sugar and flour. *Basbûsa* بسبوسة is better known under the name of *bsise* بسيسه. *Mhallabiyye* is thick rice pudding. زيدة حلاوه احلى من السكر على البقلاوة احمر حدا الابيض *zîdo ḥalâwah, aḥla min is-sîkkar 'âla l-ba'lâwah, aḥmar ḥida l-âbiad.*

The red and white (colour) adds to its sweetness, more than that of sugar strewn on *ba'lâwah* . . .

(*Ba'lâwah* is a sort of puff paste very sugary and 'much liked.)

قومي العبي تا سوسه يا جينة المكبوسه  
 قومي العبي يا ساره يا علبة العطاره  
*'ûmi-l'âbi ya Sûseh yâ jîbnit il-makbûseh*  
*'ûmi-l'âbi ya Šârah ya 'ilbit il-'attârah*

Stand up and play (dance) O little Susannah,  
 You cured cheese.  
 Stand up and play (dance) O Sarah,  
 You box of the perfumer.

اقلت ست البنات ريقها سكر نبات  
*hâ'balat sitt il-banâti rî'uḥa sîkkar nabâti*

There comes the queen of girls;

Her saliva is like crystal sugar (or, sugar candy).

يا مألحى مَصَّ شِفَائِفِهَا      اَحْلَى مِنَ السُّكَّرِ وَالْعَسَلِ  
*ya mālha māsṣi šafāifha      āhla mni-s-sùkkar w-il-ʿasali*

O, how sweet is the sucking of her lips, sweeter than sugar or honey.

(This verse and the following are of Egyptian origin.)

بستان جمالك في حسنه      ازهى واجمل من بستان  
*bistān jamālak fi ḥusno      āzha wa-ājmal min bistān*

The garden of your beauty in its bloom is fairer and more resplendent than a flower garden.

Verses 12—15.

بَرِّكْ يَا هَذَا مِثْلَ حَبَّةِ الرِّمَانِ  
وَعَيْنُكَ سَبْتَنَا بِحَقِّ اللَّهِ وَالرَّحْمَنِ  
خَدَّكَ مَبْقِجٌ كَأَنَّهُ مِنْ تَفَاحِ الشَّامِ  
مَأْلَحَى جَنَاهُ الصَّبْحِ وَنَفْتَحَ الْبِسْتَانَ  
*bizzak ya hāda miṭil ḥabbt ir-rummān  
u ʿinēk sabātna bḥaqq ʾallah u-ir-raḥmān  
ḥāddak mbāqij kinno min tuffāḥ iṣ-šām  
mālha janāḥ iṣ-ṣubḥ u niftaḥ il-bistān...*

(Continued under chap. 7 3—5.)

Your breast, O you, is like a pomegranate fruit,

And your eyes have captured us, by God, and (by) the Merciful One.

Your cheek shines as if it were a Damascene apple;

How sweet to pluck it in the morning and to open the garden

(i. e. to enjoy with you connubial bliss!) (See also verse 16.)

Verse 12. •

In opposition to the “garden enclosed,” a girl deprived of her virginity is colloquially termed “opened,” *maftūḥa* (مفتوحة). See above note.

Verse 13.

The following ditty, addressing the bride, comes from Nazareth (Miss Marie N.):

<i>urugṣi ya ḥābaga</i>	ارقصي يا حبيبه
<i>wūburmi ʿa-wāraga</i>	وابرمي عورقه
<i>kull ḥyṣlitin fiki</i>	كل خصلة فيك
<i>biddha ḥāraze zārga.</i>	بدها خرزة زرقه

Dance, O basil-shrub, and turn on a leaf, [ocimum Basilicum]  
Every lock of you needs a blue glass pearl . . .

(in order to divert the spell of the evil eye).

*Huṣle* stands also here for stalk (of the basil herb).

## CHAPTER V

### Verse 1.

The following is a quotation from a song describing a symposium with hetaerae:

هيا بنا حتى نسكر في جنيئة خود وهات  
نقطف الورد عن امه والعوائل نايما  
*hàyya bîna ḥàtta nîskar fî jinênit ḥôd û hât*  
*nûṭuf il-wârdi 'an immo w-il-'awâzil nâyimât.*

Well then, let us be drunk in the garden of caressing (lit. take and give);  
Let us pluck the roses "from her mother" while the critical are asleep.

There is an Egyptian verse which runs as follows:—

نزلت انا بستانكم قطفت انا رمانكم . . .  
*(i)nzilt àna bistânikum 'atâft àna rummânikum . . .*

I entered your garden and plucked your pomegranates . . .

### Verse 2.

وحياة رب العالي      فكرك ما يروح من بالي  
*w-(i)ḥyât rabb il-'âli      fûkrîk mâ yrahî min bâli*  
By the life of God, the Almighty,  
Your memory does not leave my mind.

### Verse 4.

This quotation and the following are from a song addressed to a hetaera:

وحياة ربي وربك      قلبي من جوا حبك  
*w-(i)ḥyât rabbi u rabbak      'âlbi min jûwwa ḥabbak . . .*  
By the life of my Lord and yours,  
My heart from within loved you.

### Verse 2.

The dew is believed to be harmful to the eyes; cf. also Dan. 4 22, 30; 5 21.

### Verse 6.

The rendition of the colloquial Arabic expressions is nearly exact:  
*rûḥi (rôḥi) ṭîl'it* (or *zûhza'at*), "my soul went out," or "was near to"  
(روحي طلعت (زهزقت).

## Verse 7.

An old *ḥaddâwîyye* from Jaffa makes the girl say:

عالسرايا سكبوني	مني ومنه قام الغوش
ضربوني على كعابي	الف عصايه ضربوني
يا بوسه بلا عضه ...	وكعابي حلق فضه
<i>Minni u minno 'âm il gôš</i>	<i>'aš-sarâya sâḥabûni</i>
<i>Âlf 'ašâya ḍarabûni</i>	<i>ḍarabûni 'âla k'âbi</i>
<i>w-ik'âbi ḥâla fâḍdah</i>	<i>yâ bôseh bâla 'adḍa.</i>

The quarrel rose between me and him:

They dragged me to the *sarai*;

They beat me a thousand strokes;

They beat me on my ankles.

And my ankles are (better than?) silver ear rings —

O, for a hearty kiss (lit. without a bite)!

## Verse 10.

The girl is supposed to tell her mother her wishes:—

ما بريد غير شتّ حلو وكويس القامه
طوله كطول الرمح واخذ حوريّه
<i>mâ brîd ġer šabbin ḥîlu u kwâyîs il-'âmi</i>
<i>ṭûlo kaṭûl ir-rûm(u)ḥ w-il-ḥadd ḥûrîyya</i>

I only want a handsome young man of good stature

As slim as a lance, with a houri cheek.

## Verse 12.

There is a parallel in a “kinderlied”:

من هالبركه لي هالعين	حمامتين تمشين
<i>ḥamâmatên itmâššên</i>	<i>min hà-l-bîrke la-hâl-'ên</i>

Two doves went out strolling from this pool to that spring.

## Verse 16.

Cf. the parallel in our conventional phrases “you are all beauty, you are beauty itself.”

## CHAPTER VI

## Verse 4.

We may nowadays (especially in Syria) term a town beautiful (*ḥaylwe*, حلوه) but we cannot make a direct comparison between a girl and a town.

## Verse 6.

There is a striking classical Arabic parallel to this verse:

بَيْضٌ صِغَارٌ كَنَعَايٍ جُمٍّ يَضْحَكُنَّ عَنْ كَالْبَرَدِ الْمُنْجَمِ

(The teeth are) white, small, like many ewes;  
They laugh like "pouring" hail pellets.

However the comparison seems to stand alone.

## Verse 8.

I heard the following from a lady of Nazareth:

عريس يا عريس لا تندم على المال  
على عروستك حواجب خط الميال [الاقلام]  
على عروستك حواجب جوز محمييه  
تسوى بنات حارتك اول على ثاني

*'arîs ya 'arîs lâ tîndam 'ala -l-mâli*

*'ala 'arûstak ḥawâjib ḥaṭṭ il imyâli* (Original: *il-(i)glâmi*)

*'ala 'arûstak ḥawâjib jôz malimîyya*

*tiswa banât ḥârtak âwwal 'ala tâni.*

O bridegroom, O bridegroom, do not regret the wealth

(sc. which you have spent in obtaining the bride)!

Your bride has eyebrows coloured with Kohl pencils;

Your bride has eyebrows arched and well guarded . . .

She is worth all the girls of your quarter, both first and last.

## Verse 10.

الله يزيده نور	وجحك زي القمر
ورده في بَنُور	وشفتك يا حبيبي
<i>wiṣṣak zài il-'amar</i>	<i>allah i(y)zîdo nûr</i>
<i>u ṣiftak ya ḥabîbi</i>	<i>wârde fi bannûr</i>

Your face is like the moon—May God increase its shining—

And your lip, O my beloved, is like a rose in (a) crystal (vase).

والشمس اختك يا قمر	والبدر خالك
<i>u-il-bàdri ḥâlak</i>	<i>u-iṣṣamsi ûhtak ya 'amar</i>

O moon, the sun is your sister, and the full moon is your uncle.

In Arabic the sun is female and the moon male. The last part of this stanza refers to the proverb *tultên il-wâlad la-ḥâlo*, ثلثين الولد لخاله. Two thirds of the boy take after his uncle (i. e., his mother's brother).

يا ميمتي طلع الخبر      اني بحبه ل هالقمر  
*inni balḡybbo la ha-l-'amar*      *ya mēmati ṭil' il-ḥābar*

O mother the news has been spread that I have fallen in love with  
 this moon.

وانت القمر بالسما \* وانا النجم حاويك  
*wāna n-nijim ḥāuik*      *w-īnte -l-'amar bi-s-sāma*

And you are the moon in the sky and I am the constellation about you.

انا وحببي في العتمه      زي القمر والنجمه  
*ana u ḥabibi fi l-'itmeh*      *zaī il-'amar wi-n-nijmeh*

I and my beloved in the dark are like the moon and the constellation.

"Like the moon," *zei il-'amar* (زي القمر) is nowadays still a very common attribute of a fair girl.

#### Verse 12.

ما بعرفش كيف تى, انا (مىش) داري (عارف) كيف تى, مانيشى عارف كيف...  
*ma ba'rāfš kîf ta..., ana (myš) dāri ('ārif) kîf ta..., manîš 'ārif kîf...*  
 etc. = "I do not know how" with all its variations is a very convenient phrase in and out of season to help us where we cannot account for a thing.

### CHAPTER VII

The description of the female body is comprehensively dealt with in the "Arabian Nights". The face shines like the full moon. Although the form is slim, yet the body is plump, likened to a silver bar or ivory, as soft as the tail of a sheep. The eyes fascinate and captivate like those of the gazelle, and are painted with stibium (*koḥl*). The lashes are long and so are the eyebrows. Like a bouquet of flowers are the cheeks—rosy apples, with a freckle, which enhances their beauty. The teeth gleam like pearls, the lips are as sweet as honey or sugar. The breasts are budding; they are well rounded, like pomegranates, seductive, and as white as ivory. The navel may hold an ounce of oil, and is like the bottom of a tiny coffee cup. The legs are round columns of choice marble, the thighs are cushions stuffed with feathers, and the nates are full and as heavy as a heap of sand.

Although the comparison is not consistently carried out, one may grasp that the chief object of the narrator is to impress on his hearers that "she" is in every respect a very fine woman.





## Verses 1—5.

The usual description of the beauty would be summed up in some such a way:—Her head is like a dove's head, *râsha râs il-ḥamâme* راسها رأس الحمامة; (*i*)*yûnha* (*i*)*yûn il-ḡuzlân* عيونها عيون الغزلان she has gazelle-like eyes; *il-ḥadd mḡânbyz* الخد مقنبرز the cheek is chubby; *dinêha dnên il-aṣâyil* دنيها دنين الاصيل her ears are like the ears of noble horses; and her eyelashes fill her eye [ملا] عينيها *hûd(u)bha mâla inêha*; her fingers are silver pencils *qlam faḍḍa* قلام فضة; her back is straight like a lance *ḍahrha mitl ir-rumḥ* ظهرها مثل الرمح; *sidrha balât mârmar* صدرها بلاط مرمر her breast is a marble flag, and the breasts are like well-rounded cups [حمام] طواسي *tawâsi ḥammâm*, or like honey-filled pots, *mitl (y)jrâr* (sc. *il-âsal*) مثل شلايل حبر; her belly is like bundles of silk, *ṣalâyil ḥarîr* جراب حرير; the navel is a tiny (coffee) cup *ṣurriṯha mitl il-finjân* صرتها مثل الفنجان and the abdomen is like a young dove filled (stuffed) and prepared, *mitl iz-zaḡlûl il-mâḥṣi* مثل الزغلول المحشي; her stature is like a pot of oil (جرة الزيت) *tûlha tûl il-jarra* (jart *iz-zêt*), or like a sack of wheat (فردة القمح) *mitl il-farde* (fardet *il-am(y)h*). Both these metaphors are also applicable to the belly.

ونهودك عليه ناطور  
قلت انا عليه بنور  
زيال آل عليها بيدو.  
بالليل ما فيه نور

صدرك بلاط رخام  
والبطن ابيض وناعم  
والصره من عاج  
يا فرحة الاعزب

*ṣîdrik balât (i)rḥâm*  
*wil-bâṭn âbyaḍ u nâ'im*  
*wiṣ-ṣurra min 'âj*  
*ya fârḥyt il-â'zab*

*winhûdik 'alêh nâtûr*  
*ḡilt ana 'alêh bannûr*  
*niyyâl il-'alêha budûr*  
*bîl-lêl mâ fih nûr.*

Your breast is a marble flag,  
And your breasts (bosom) are (is) its watchman.  
And the belly is white and soft—  
I called it crystal.  
And the navel is of ivory;  
Happy he who turns on it.  
How great is the joy of the bachelor  
In the dark night . . . . .

*badâri bymḥabbtkum badâri* بداري بمحبتكم بداري  
*‘âla -mm ynhûd wi-š’ûryn badâri* على ام نهود وشعور بداري  
*niiyyâlak ya tôb tytfârrraj badâli* نياالك يا ثوب تتفرج بدالي  
*‘âla-mm ynhûd wiš’ûr lalyk’âba* على ام نهود وشعور للكعابا

I try to agree well with your love

On behalf of her with the breasts and the hair.

Happy are you, O garment, who instead of me gaze at

Her, with the breasts and the hair . . . right down to the ankles.

Verse 6.

*Kull il-hâna fiha* كل ألحنا فيها (first verse of عالروزنه) all happiness  
 is in her, so as to make the bride a “foyer de vrai bonheur.”

Verse 7.

*Mârḥaba wâhla* مرحبا واهلا  
*bi’uênt il-kâhla* بعوينة الكحلا  
*ya nâhle ṭawile* يا نخله طويله  
*tiftaḥ bâb limdîne* تفتح باب المدينه

A hearty welcome

to the Kohl-painted eye.

To the slim palm tree

which opens (even) the gate of the city.

Some forty years ago, the gates of Jerusalem used to be closed during the night. The gate-keeper used then to cry aloud bidding those who wished to leave the city to hasten, as otherwise they would be compelled to spend the night within the walls. [Yusif D.]

A man of fine stature is likened to a palm tree (*ṭûlo ṭûl in-nâhle* طول النخلة).

Verse 8.

يا رايعين ع حلب حبي معاكم راح  
 يا محملين العنب فوق العنب تفاح  
*ya râyilîn ‘a-ḥâlab ḥubbi ma’âkum râḥ*  
*ya mḥammilîn il-‘inab fô’ il-‘inab tuffâḥ*

O you, who are going to Aleppo, my beloved has gone with you;

O you, who have loaded the grapes (sc. breasts), above the grapes  
 there are apples (sc. cheeks).

*maddêt îdi ‘âla r-rummân* مديت ايدي على الرمان  
*‘âl li l-ḥûlu ṣâḥbo mḥârrj* قال لي الحلو صاحبه محرج

I stretched out my hands for the pomegranates,  
But their fair owner told me:—It is forbidden.

Verse 9.

*rî'uha sîkkar nabâti*

her palate is crystal sugar. Cf. note to 4 10.

Verse 12.

*rummân ibzâzha 'âtfo şublîyye* صبحیه (In the morning one plucks the pomegranates of her breasts). This belongs to a song about the fair girl (*il-bint iş-şelbiyye*), which circulated about 1903.

Verse 13.

It is not impossible that the term „apple” (Hebrew *tappû(a)h*) denotes the golden apples of the mandrake, Haupt, *Canticles*, Note 5 on No. 7.

The *mandragora officinalis* is called *banj* بنج or *tuffâh il-bâjan* تفاح المجن (المجل) *tuffâh il-majann*, *mâjal* (المجل) تفاح المجن or *tuffâh il-majânîn* تفاح المجانين. The proverb says (Gaza) *tuffâh il-mâjal bijîb il-lâbal* تفاح المجل بيحب الحبل. Mandragora is thought to promote pregnancy (cf. Gen. 30 14). The leaves green cut and mixed with other vegetables, cooked in a pie, and given to a woman are said, however, to be a sure way to make her sterile. This is one of the secret recipes said to be used by women against each other.

## CHAPTER VIII

Verse 1.

Children of different families, who have (for some reason) sucked the same breasts (Milchbrüder) are called *xyue bi-r-rdâ'a*, اخوة بالرضاعه, lit. brothers in suckling. They are considered in social life as brothers and sisters and are not allowed to marry each other.

Give him the breast *addî l-bîzz* ادّيه (اعطيه) البزّ is said ironically to a boy (or grown-up man) who behaves childishly, in order to remind him that he has passed that period definitely.

Verse 2.

In Persia syrup or must is still extracted from pomegranates for culinary purposes, where it plays the role of mayonnaise in the French cuisine.

## Verse 6.

Amulets are fastened on the arm, the hand, or they hang loose on the neck. Sometimes they are sewn to the clothes, especially to the *ṭarbûš* طربوش etc. They are mostly Koran verses written on paper wrapped in leather and sometimes put in a specially prepared tin tube or etui. Silver is also used to make these boxes.

## Verse 7.

An adage reminds us, that love is dearer than everything and is sometimes ascribed to a divine or demoniacal source.

مآدري المحبة من الله      والا كتبه وسكوره  
mâdri l-mahabbe min Alla      willa citbe wi-shûra

I do not know whether love comes from God, or whether from  
amulets and charms.

انا كلي (مالي وحلاي) قدامك      àna kùlli (mâli u ḥalâli) 'uddâmak  
I am (with all my goods and my possessions) before you

تحت امرك . على كيسك . على حسابك  
taht àmrak . 'ala kîsak . 'ala ḥsâbak

(i. e. at your disposal) are still some of our fine conversational phrases which have not lost entirely their original meaning. We may hear these phrases from shore to shore, wherever the Arabic language is spoken, in town as well as in tent. We express also our consent to something, or our willingness to help materially without any mental reservations.

## III. PREFATORY NOTE TO THE ARABIC FOLKSONGS

I have used Professor Dalman's excellent *Palästinischer Diwan* only so far as to avoid repeating songs already in his book. Professor Haupt's work on the Song of Songs has been of great help to me in selecting the pieces. The songs, being primarily collected for poetical purposes, cannot be used as material for phonetic researches, as in most cases they are sung differently by different persons, though perhaps with only slight alterations. Nor is it a strange thing to hear three or even more versions of one and the same song in the same town, village or district. I have selected the following poems from my collection because of their bearing on my theme, although they are not always of interest as literature. "But there remains a residuum of true folk-poetry, which is of the greatest interest," since, even in the "words of these partly rustic songs there are many charming passages."

As to the origin of these songs and ditties, some of them show clearly the influence of Egyptian poetry, if not an Egyptian origin. Syrian influence is also strong. Strictly speaking, no songs of the towns are really autochthonous, as seems to be the case with the Canticles. [The relative lack of independence in the lyric literature of modern Palestine when compared with that of ancient Israel is naturally due to the fact that it now has the same language and culture as the surrounding lands, while ancient Palestine was cut off by differences of language from regular interchange of songs with its neighbours. On the other hand, we must not exaggerate this independence, after the discovery of a catalogue of Assyrian erotic lyrics showing a close similarity in metaphors and expressions to the songs of Canticles (cf. Langdon, JRS 1921, 169—192), especially since Meek (AJSL 39, 1—14) has demonstrated that Canticles contains many quotations from lyrics belonging to the cult of Tammuz. W.F.A.].

Songs No. 14 and 17 are of Egyptian origin; Nos. 6 and 10 are influenced by Egyptian models. Whereas No. 13 is a true Syrian song, Nos. 1 and 31 are of doubtful origin, but the Syrian element prevails. These songs are sung throughout Palestine and I know them all from persons who sing them frequently, most of them not having been outside Jerusalem.

As there is a (sometime wide) difference between the *rhythm* as sung and as recited, in almost every case I have tried to give the accentuation of the Arabic text as it would be recited. As to the *metre* I do not hesitate to state that the bard has generally no rule, but composes empirically. The *tune* is an important factor in the construction of stanzas, at least more important than the metre. In a later article I hope to deal with the metre and music of the Arabic folk-songs in Syria and Palestine. Generally spoken, vernacular poetry is (with the exception of the Egyptian songs) independent from classical, so that it is often next to impossible to scan the stanzas according to fixed classical rules.

As to the different types of songs, I have tried to select at random, though a different choice might have given a better anthology. Purposely I have not included many *zajārât* زغاريت, although forty of them would have been sufficient to prove the similarity between Canticles and our contemporary songs.

*Ġanāni* غنائي (sing. *ḡunnāwīyye* غناويه) are Nos. 1, 2, 3, 8, 10, 12, 15, 17, 20, 21, 27, 30 and 32. These are all sung in the towns, No. 9, also by *fellāḥīn*.

*ʿAtāba* عتابه verses are Nos. 50—53. They have been collected from the Ṭul-karm district and from the northern borders of ancient Judaea. They are known in the towns but sung mostly by *fellāḥīn*.

*Mawāwīl* مواويل (sing. *marwāl* موال) are 18 and 24-26. Nos. 33-36, 38 and 39 are from Nazareth and the neighbourhood.

The *ḥaddāwīyye* حداويه No. 37 comes from the *fellāḥīn* north of Ramallah. No. 23, 28 and 29 represent the so-called *dabʿe* (Beduin). Another Beduin ditty is No. 16.

*Sāḥje* سحجه are Nos. 19, 22 and 23 from Samaria.

All have to a certain extent undergone, *nolens volens*, a linguistic modification, as the dialect in which I render them is a compromise between *fellāḥī* and town vernacular, but more of the latter, as they are known in towns in this form. All in all, the Canticles as well as our contemporary poetry “in its natural sense is so full of purpose and meaning, so apt in sentiment, and so perfect in imagery,” that the real sense cannot be easily mistaken.

## I

- 1 *yā rabb ya-l-ʾāli*,<sup>1</sup> *šlōn*<sup>2</sup> ʿabdak      *zālāmto lē*<sup>3</sup> *ḡālʾi kasārto*?<sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup>  
2 *mārru*<sup>7</sup> ʿalāyya<sup>8</sup> *tnén*, ʿāṭaʿu *šalāṭi*<sup>9</sup> *wāḥid ḥabīb ir-rôḥ*, *wāḥid ḥayāti*.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *vide* Psalm 91 1.

<sup>2</sup> *šlon*?: (how?) in the Aleppo dialect. *Šlon kēfak*, *šlōnak* (*šlōmak*)? How are you? The word stands for *ēš laun(ak)*. Cf. also the Hebrew *mā šlōm-ḥa*?—How do you do?

<sup>3</sup> *lē*? is Egyptian colloquial for *lēš*? [لاي شي] = ليش.

<sup>4</sup> Another rendering is *zālāmto laḡlʾl*, *kasārto* . . . , a bare statement.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. also Psalm 22 1 and 14; 69 30.

<sup>6</sup> This verse is the refrain.

<sup>7</sup> Also: *mārrum* etc. The ending of the third pers. plur. in all tenses is influenced by Egyptian forms with affixed *m*. This applies, however, only to songs.

<sup>8</sup> Usually *māra* ʿanni (and not ʿalāyya): *mārag ʿanni bitlūffat ḥawālêḥ* (No. 46).

<sup>9</sup> Mohammedans pray at fixed times indoors and out. (Matth. 6 5.)

<sup>10</sup> Cant. 1 17. Another versions runs: *wāṭte ḥayāti* . . . and you are my life).  
وانت حياتي.

- 3 sàllam 'alàyya<sup>1</sup> u-râḥ mitl il-ġarîbe<sup>2</sup> ya dàm'atyn bi-l'ên kûni sakibe<sup>2 3</sup>  
 4 sàllam 'alàyya u râḥ râkyb (y)ḥşâno yislam ḥabîb ir-rôḥ yislâmlî šâno<sup>4</sup>  
 5 sàllam 'alàyya u râḥ râkyb ḥanţûro yislam ḥabîb ir-rôḥ yislâmlî tûlo  
 6 mališ ġaraḍ bi-s-sû'<sup>5</sup> marrêt taşûfak ili santên myštâ' mâ rwit myn šôfak<sup>6</sup>  
 7 râḥu<sup>7</sup> 'âla l-ḥammâm<sup>8</sup> ḥallu šâ'irhum<sup>9</sup> küll il-banât (y)nĵum ḥubbi'amârhum<sup>10</sup>

- 1 O Lord, Almighty, (look) how Thy servant is doing:  
 Thou hast maltreated him, why?—and broken my ribs.  
 2 There passed two by me and made me break off my prayer;  
 One (of them) is the beloved of my soul, one is my life.  
 3 He saluted me, as if I were a stranger, and went on his way—  
 O, flow, tears from my eyes . . .  
 4 He saluted me and went away, riding his 'horse;  
 May he be safe—the beloved of my soul—and may his affairs prosper.

<sup>1</sup> This is equivalent to *Sallam 'alàyya mitl il-ġarîbe u râḥ* . . . سلم علي مثل الغريبه وراح.

<sup>2</sup> Coll. fem. *e* changes in singing into *a*.

<sup>3</sup> Variant: *kûni adîba*, be discreet, كوني اديبه.

<sup>4</sup> Literally: May his prestige always be intact.

<sup>5</sup> The market; cf. Matth. 11 16, 20 3, 23 7; Mark. 7 4; Luke 7 12, 11 43.— Cf. also Song II, note to line 4.

<sup>6</sup> Variant: 'ādli santên 'aṣṣân mâ rwit min šôfak عاد لي سنتين عطشان ما رويت من شوفك. (These two years I am thirsty from longing for you . . .) Long period—cf. Cant. 2 11 and No. 22, stanza 4.

<sup>7</sup> See pag. 225 note 7.

<sup>8</sup> Ezekiel 23 40.

<sup>9</sup> Also *šâ'irhun šâ'irhon*. Another variant is *šî'irhum* for *šî'ûrhum* شعورهم their hairs (collective).

<sup>10</sup> Also 'amârhum or 'amârhon. Cant. 6 10.

The singer is thought to be a girl, the last verse being sung by "him." The song is known all over Palestine and Syria, also in Egypt and Mesopotamia, where I heard it early in 1914 (Baghdad). The rhyme is good. The metre differs slightly when sung, as is the case with the majority of the folksongs. The underlying metre is:—

a) sung: verse 3

|| ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || — ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ — ||| — — ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ — —

b) recited: verse 3

|| ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ — ||| ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘

5 He saluted me and went away in his phaeton;  
 May he be safe—the beloved of my soul—and so may his tall stature.

6 I have nothing to do in the market, I only passed by to see you.  
 These two years I long to see you and yet I am not sated with looking.

7 They went to the bath, loosening their hair.  
 All girls are stars, my beloved is their moon . . .

## II

1 Barhûm<sup>1</sup> ya Barhûm,                      ġamàzni b-‘êno,<sup>3</sup> b-îdo tiškile.<sup>4 5</sup>  
yà-bu-l-jidîle<sup>2</sup>

2 Barhûm -ṣ-ṣ’atûḥ<sup>6</sup> w-išša’(i)r        w-il-’âl(i)b majrûḥ<sup>3</sup> jürḥ is-sikkîne.<sup>8</sup>  
   bilûḥ<sup>7</sup>

3 Barhûm bi-l-ḥammâm w-il-kâff        ûtḭub w-itmànna<sup>3</sup> til’a -l-ġanîme.<sup>11</sup>  
   mḥanna<sup>9 10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Barhûm* is the diminutive form of *Ibrâhîm*.

<sup>2</sup> Cant. 5 11.

<sup>3</sup> *ya yìmma*, O mother, or *ê w-alla*, yes, by God, are sung before the next to the last word in every stanza.

<sup>4</sup> *Teškîle* stands for *šàkle*, bouquet.

<sup>5</sup> Variant: *îdo tawîle*, his hand is long, which is an attribute of beauty.

<sup>6</sup> Flat roof: see 2 Sam. 11 2; 1 Sam. 9 25; Matth. 24 7; Mark. 13 15, etc. The *s* (*sad*) for *s* (*sîn*) is partial assimilation to the *t* (*tâ*). So *sât(y)h*; *stûh* roof, roofs.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. as a parallel: الاشقر عم بيلوح *ya binti yallī aṣṣayṭūh*  
O girl, O you on the roofs,  
With your brown hair waving, *w-išša'ir l-aš'ar 'am bylūh*  
from the song *dondürma* [Jaffa, 1903].

<sup>8</sup> Otherwise usually *ḥanjar*: *sāḥab il-ḥanjar darāʾni bāyyan nḥūdo ḥabībī*...  
or = *šibriyye* = *سحب الخنجر ضربني بين نهوده حبيبي* he drew the  
dagger and slew me and shewed his breasts my beloved.

<sup>9</sup> Cant. 5 14.

<sup>10</sup> This shows a striking resemblance to the stanza from *miš'al*:—

*ašûf mîš'al yâ hilli bašûfo, mdàhhn-il-qîrra w-imhànni kfûft*

اشوف مشعل يا خلى بشوفه مدهن الغره ومحنى كفوفه

This is at least five years older than the song *Barhûm*.

<sup>11</sup> Cant. 7 14<sup>b</sup>.



- 4 Barhûm b-il-ĥâra<sup>1</sup> bišrab sigâra<sup>2</sup> dâhlik ya Sâra<sup>3</sup> (i)l-lêle ftaĥîlo.<sup>4</sup>
- 5 w-alla ma-ftaĥlak ta-šâwir âhlak fi âwwal jâhlak<sup>3</sup> ĥâyif tirmîna.<sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup>
- 1 Barhum, O Barhum, O you with the curled locks!  
He winked at me, with a bouquet of flowers in his hand . . .
- 2 Barhum is on the roof and his hair is waving—  
O, my heart is wounded as by a dagger.
- 3 Barhum is in the bath and his hand is dyed with henna—  
Ask and wish—you'll find a prize.
- 4 Barhum is in the streets smoking cigarettes—  
Please, O Sara, open the door for him to-night!
- 5 "By God, I'll not open the door for you without consulting your people;  
In your teens I fear you'll get us into trouble . . ."

<sup>1</sup> *Ĥâra* is a quarter in a city or village as well as an open place, street or market. See note 5, pag. 226.

<sup>2</sup> Smoking seems to be an attribute of men only. This shows him in a dandified attitude.

<sup>3</sup> See pag. 227 note 3.

<sup>4</sup> Cant. 5 2. See also Song 17 line 3.

<sup>5</sup> Sâra sings this stanza.

<sup>6</sup> This ought to be read:—*ĥâyife tirmîna* خايفه ترمينا, as she is expressing her anxiety. These stanzas come from a lengthy poem with a story from real life in the background. This song, from which a number of unimportant verses are omitted, is originally a lamentation of a sister for her brother. He was said to have returned from America to his father's house in the evening during the temporary absence of his sister. His parents accepted him as a guest, and, not knowing his relation to them, killed him that night in order to get his money. Next morning the sister awoke and recognised him. She is said to have made this lamentation. (Judges 11 40.)

The metre is generally thus:—[verse = *barhûm* 'aṣ-ṣṭûḥ . . .]

a) when recited:—

[ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ]

b) when sung:—

[ ˘ ˘ — — ˘ || *barhûm* 'aṣ-ṣṭûḥ

˘ ˘ — — ˘ || *w-iš-šâ'(i)r bilûḥ*

˘ — ˘ ˘ — || — ˘ ˘ or ˘ ˘ ˘ || *w-il-'âl(i)b majrûḥ* || *yâ yumma*

— ˘ ˘ — || ] *jûrḥ is-sikkîne.*

˘ ˘ — || — ˘ ˘ — || *ê w-allah* || *jûrḥ-is-sikkîne.*

## III

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1 1'addika <sup>2</sup> l-mayyâs ya 'umri<br>anta àhla -n-nâs <sup>4</sup> fi nâzari | ya gūṣen il-bân ka-l-yūsari <sup>3</sup><br>ṣàwwarak wa našâk <sup>5</sup> ya 'umri. <sup>6</sup> |
| 2 dà" il-bâb fataḥtillo <sup>7</sup> .<br>kâs il-mudâm sakabtillo <sup>9</sup>       | ya àhla u sàhla 'ultillo <sup>8</sup><br>'ultillo tfaḍḍal yâ 'umri.                               |
| 3 da" il-bâb <sup>7</sup> (i)b-laṭâfe<br>jibtillo ṣaḥn (i)knâfe <sup>10</sup>        | fataḥtillo b-zarâfe<br>w-il-mâza <sup>11</sup> min wâr(i)d ḥaddo.                                 |
| 4 mâr'at 'anni l-ġandûra<br>ya rābbi yislāmli ṭūla <sup>13</sup>                     | 'a-rāsha šâkle u manṭûra <sup>12</sup><br>hû ḥubbi w-âna ḥubbo. <sup>14</sup>                     |
| 5 âna u ḥabibi bi-l-(i)jnêna <sup>15</sup><br>ṭalābt il-bôse mni-jbîna <sup>15</sup> | w-il-wârd(i) ḥayyam 'alêna <sup>15</sup><br>ya rābbi tustur 'alêna. <sup>16</sup>                 |

<sup>1</sup> Verse 1, 4, 6 are recited by the lover, who addresses his beloved using in verse 1 the masculine gender. See also text of songs nos. 7, 14, 17, 20, 37. Both classical and vernacular Arab poetry know this usage. Verses 2 and 3 are from the girl's standpoint.

<sup>2</sup> Cant. 2 14.

<sup>3</sup> Cant. 7 8 *yūsar* يسر palm branch.

<sup>4</sup> *àhla -n-nâs* احلى الناس Cant. 5 9 and 10, and Cant. 1 5; 6 1.

<sup>5</sup> *ṣàwwarak wa-našâk* صورك ونشاك sc. *subḥân illi ṣaḥwarak wa-našâk* سبحان الى صورك ونشاك Praise to Him, who has formed and created you.

<sup>6</sup> A version: *ġalla man saḥwâk* جل من سواك. May he be revered, who made you.

<sup>7</sup> Cant. 5 2.

<sup>8</sup> Cant. 5 6 and 8 2.

<sup>9</sup> Cant. 8 2 and 5 1<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> (Y)*knâfe* كنافه is a sort of pastry with almonds, nuts (or pine kernels).

<sup>11</sup> *mâza* مازة is the Arabic form of the Turkish *meze* مزه which seems to be derived from the Latin (Italian) *mensa*. Another form of the same root is the Turkish word *mâşşâ* ماصه (also used in colloquial Arabic in Mesopotamia). *Mâza* مازة reminds one of the *mensas consumere* of the Romans, with their flat bread cakes and fruits. Nowadays we understand by this term all sort of fruits taken in small bits while sitting and taking a drink of spirits, especially 'araq عرق (Turkish *râqi*). Bread in small pieces is simultaneously served. But salty or sweet pistachio nuts, almonds, hazel nuts or other dried fruits, as well as any sort of salads and sardines, come under the same head. This word can also stand for the Latin *mensa secunda*.

<sup>12</sup> Or *šâklet manṭûra*, a bunch of shrubby stock — *mathiola incana*.

<sup>13</sup> *Vide* the first song, line 4.

<sup>14</sup> Cant. 2 16; 6 2; 7 10.

<sup>15</sup> Cant. 5 1; 2 3<sup>b</sup>; 2 16<sup>b</sup> — note the gender — حببي masc. and جبينها fem.

<sup>16</sup> Cant. 8 1<sup>b</sup>.

- 6 *āna u ḥabībī bi-l-karrōsa*<sup>1</sup>                      *wi-ʿ(ī)yūno sūd u maḥrūsā*<sup>2</sup>  
*ya rābbī tislāmli bōsa*<sup>3</sup>                      “*ya ḥōš geldī, ṣafā geldī*” . . .<sup>4 5</sup>

- 1 Your swaying stature, O my life,  
 O willow bough, is like a palm branch.  
     You are the most beautiful one to me!  
     (May) your creator and maker (be exalted), O my life!
- 2 He knocked at the door and I opened to him  
 And welcomed him.  
     I poured him a glass of sweet wine,  
     Saying: “Please take it, O my life.”
- 3 He knocked at the door with grace;  
 I opened it for him gently,  
     •       And served him a dish with “*knāfe*,”  
     The dessert being from his rosy cheek.
- 4 The coquette passed by me,  
 On her head a bunch of flowers and shrubby stock (*mathiola incana*).  
     O God, mayest thou keep her (stature) safe.  
     He is my beloved and I am his.
- 5 My beloved and I in the flower garden—  
 Roses overshadowed us.  
     I asked for a kiss from her forehead,  
     O God, mayest thou guard our secret!
- 6 My beloved and I in the cab  
 His eyes are black and guarded.  
     O God, may a kiss be saved for me!  
     “You are quite welcome to it”!

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* song 1, line 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Cant.* 5 12.

<sup>3</sup> *Cant.* 8 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Ḥōš gēldī ṣafā geldī*. خوش گلدی صفا گلدی is the Turkish form of welcome to the guest.

<sup>5</sup> I have known this song since 1906.

The metre is:—

$\begin{array}{c} \_ \cup \cup \cup \_ \\ \_ \cup \_ \cup \_ \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \_ \_ \_ \\ \_ \_ \cup \_ \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} (\cup) \_ \_ \cup \_ \_ \\ \_ \cup \cup \cup \cup \_ \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \_ \_ \_ \\ \_ \_ \_ \end{array}$
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## IV

1 àsmar <sup>1</sup> u lâbis 'amîš in-nôm <sup>2</sup> sâ'a yiskar <sup>3</sup> u sâ'a iymîl <sup>4</sup>	w-imzârriro b-ḥabbî murjâni yišbah 'ûd ir-riḥâni. <sup>5</sup>
2 ya wà'fiti 'al-bâb wàhdi <sup>6</sup> w-in sa'alûk 'anni -l-gid'ân <sup>7</sup>	àmsaḥ (i)dmû'i b-maḥràm̄ti 'âši'w-imfâri' šâhibti.
3 ya mdà'da'a <sup>8</sup> 'âla šfâfik w-in-nôme tâht (i)lḥâfik	bùstik wâla ḥâdan šâfik <sup>9</sup> btiswa alfên u miyya. <sup>10</sup>
4 ya nhûd ḥabibi kâma <sup>11</sup> l-ballôr <sup>12</sup> ya rêtani bēnhum madfûn	'âṭfun <sup>13</sup> safârjal u rummâni <sup>14</sup> bēn il-yasmîn w-ir-riḥâni... <sup>15 16</sup>
5 ya ṭâlî'in 'al-'âsri lafô' 'âla gâzâl (i)'yûno sûd	ya nâzilîn sàllimû-li hû sâbab ḥuzni u nôhi...
6 inzilt 'al-bâḥ(i)r l-atḥâmmam lâhû b-life <sup>17</sup> wâla b-šâbûn	jimlit ḥabâyib ḥammamûni illa bi-gâmaz (i)l-i'yûni. <sup>18</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A girl is meant:—Cant. 1 5.

<sup>2</sup> Cant. 5 3.

<sup>3</sup> Cant. 5 1.

<sup>4</sup> Cant. 8 5.

<sup>5</sup> Sweet basil (*ocymum basilicum*), sacred herb.

<sup>6</sup> Cant. 5 2.

<sup>7</sup> Literally:—handsome, reckless youth.

<sup>8</sup> Tattooing on the lips as well as on other parts of the body is considered as beautifying, especially among *fellaḥât* and *bûdawiyyât*, who may also in their youth (in Egypt up to the 6th year) tattoo the belly as far as the *mons mulieris*. Of late I saw a tattooed child painted with red on her belly in nearly the same way in which some figurines represent the Phoenician Astarte. The child was probably Trans-Jordanian and not older than four years.

<sup>9</sup> Cant. 8 1.

<sup>10</sup> This verse is identical with another of the song *ya binti*, 'ēni u-'inayya which circulated before 1906. Good verses of older songs often appear in new songs of the same metre.

<sup>11</sup> Cant. 5 14. *kâma* is classical for *zei* or *mittl*.

<sup>12</sup> Colloquially *bannûr*, Cant. 5 14. Both passages deal with the whiteness of the body.

<sup>13</sup> This is the form used for 'âṭfhum or 'âṭfun in colloquial speech.

<sup>14</sup> Cant. 4 13. Vide Note 5, p. 236.

<sup>15</sup> Cant. 2 16; 4 6; 4 14; 6 2.

<sup>16</sup> *Yasmine* is the *jasminum officinale*. Cant. 7 12. Variant:—*bēn in-nihûd w-it-taḥtâni* (inter mammas et montem veneris).

<sup>17</sup> These two verses are considered to form a separate song.

<sup>18</sup> Cant. 4 9. It is not unusual for youths in public baths to wash each other when kneading of the body (massage) and rubbing with fibre is necessary.



- 6 I went down to the sea to bathe;  
 A number of friends bathed me —  
     Not with fibre, nor with soap,  
     But with the lilt of the eyes.
- 7 Do not admire a handsome, reckless youth,  
 Walking and flapping his sleeves.  
     He eats and drinks from the market . . .  
     And his mother grieves . . .

## V

- 1 Fùlla, ya Fùlla,<sup>1</sup> ya zàhr il- fùll<sup>2</sup>      hatû-li ḥabibi u ḥallûni afyll<sup>3</sup>
- 2      Fùlla ya 'êni      ya 'inab iz-zêni<sup>4</sup>  
     l-alÿffo bi-ḥdêni<sup>5</sup>      'âla 'ên il-kùll . . .<sup>6</sup>
- 3      Fùlla ya 'âdi<sup>7</sup>      w-âna fik myš râdi  
     l-abî' (i)ḡrâdi      w-a'îf<sup>8</sup> il-kùll.
- 4      Fùlla ya kbîre      wârde<sup>9</sup> yasmîne  
     'îš'ik ya Sarîne<sup>10</sup>      bisbi l-kùll.<sup>11</sup>
- 5      Fùlla bitmàlli      w-iš-ša'r mḥàнна,<sup>12</sup> mdàlli  
     lertên 'usmàlli<sup>13</sup>      'âla 'ên il-kùll.

<sup>1</sup> Nomen proprium, fem.

<sup>2</sup> Plant and its flower: *nycanthes sambac*.

<sup>3</sup> This word is generally used in Syria — sc. away (with him).

<sup>4</sup> Cant. 1 14 and 7 9.

<sup>5</sup> Cant. 2 6; diminutive of *ḥdîni*.

<sup>6</sup> Cant. 8 1.

<sup>7</sup> Here and in the following verses see notes.

<sup>8</sup> This expression is mostly used in Syria.

<sup>9</sup> Rose, Cant. 2 1. The tulip is not mentioned in our folksongs. A striking resemblance to this passage is shown by a Kurdish verse (cf. note to Cant. 2 1).

<sup>10</sup> *Sarîne*, *Serena* (Sp. *Serena*), is the name of one of the numerous Arabic speaking Spanish Jewish actresses who are favorites in the theatres at Damascus, Aleppo, Beyrouth and other cities of Syria and Palestine. *Râḥlo* (Rachel), *Têra*, *Ḥasibe*, *Frôssô*, are the names of some of these "stars", who have gained notoriety in Thespis's service.

<sup>11</sup> Cant. 4 9.

<sup>12</sup> Cant. 7 6; 5 11.

<sup>13</sup> *Lera* is derived from the Italian *lira* (Latin *libra*), 'usmâli: Turkish عثمانلى *osmanli*, from 'Uṭmân plus the Turkish suffix *li*. It is used as an Arabic word.

6	Fùlla btydwàḏḏa <sup>1</sup> 'àla bôse u 'aḏḏa <sup>3</sup> .	b-ibrî' <sup>2</sup> il-faḏḏa 'àla 'ên il-kùll.
7	Fùlla bythârib <sup>4</sup> w-àlla l-aṣâhib <sup>6</sup>	b-il-'ên w-il-hâjib <sup>5</sup> 'àla 'ên il-kùll.
8	Fùlla b-il-hâra <sup>7</sup> baḥùbbik jakâra <sup>9</sup>	btîṣrab sigâra <sup>8</sup> 'àla 'ên il-kùll.
9	bayyâ' l-(i)mḥàllal <sup>10</sup> l-âḥdo w-atkàllal <sup>11 12</sup>	bimši u biddàllal 'àla 'ên il-kùll.
10	bayyâ' l-(i)knâfe <sup>13</sup> il-bôse mn (i)šfâfo <sup>15</sup>	bimši blaṭâfe (bzarâfe) <sup>14</sup> btiswa l-kùll.
11	bayyâ' il-màrmâr l-abûsak w-âskar <sup>16</sup>	bimši u bithâssar 'àla 'ên il-kùll. <sup>17</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ablutions are performed before the prayer. Here "she" is referred to as a Mohammedan.

<sup>2</sup> This word (*ibrîq* ابريق) means besides "pitcher for ablutions" also, now and then, "pot or jug."

<sup>3</sup> 'àla bôse u 'aḏḏa . . . على بوسة وعضة . . . sive puer furens impressit memoram dente labris notam . . ." Horatii Carminum Lib. I, xiii, 12, ad Lydiam.

<sup>4</sup> See note to Cant. 4 7-9 and Song 25.

<sup>5</sup> Dark eyebrows are indispensable elements of beauty.

<sup>6</sup> The *pronomen personale* is here omitted for the sake of the rhyme.

<sup>7</sup> An unheard of thing.

<sup>8</sup> Mohammedan women smoke cigarettes relatively more than the *nargîle* (نارجيله).

<sup>9</sup> This word is derived from the Persian and Turkish *âşkâr* آشكار "plainly, openly, decidedly," and is used in common parlance in the same sense. But *jakâra* جكاره which accidentally resembles the classical Arabic *jahâran* جهارا stands only for "wilful, in defiance of."

<sup>10</sup> Cant. 2 3; (3 2).

<sup>11</sup> Cant. 2 9.

<sup>12</sup> Here she is thought to be a Christian, as the word in this connection only refers to the wedding ceremony of Christians.

<sup>13</sup> (*Y*)*knâfe*: Cf. note 10, p. 229.

<sup>14</sup> Cant. 7 1.

<sup>15</sup> Cant. 5 13; 4 11 and 12.

<sup>16</sup> Cant. 1 2.

<sup>17</sup> The words *yâ Fùlla* are sung at the end of every verse. Christian, Mohammedan and Jewish elements are mixed here.

The metre is as follows:

[ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ||| ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ||| ] — ˘ ˘  
با فله

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1 Fulla, O Fulla, O jasmin flower!                                       | Bring me my beloved and<br>let me go!                             |
| 2 Fulla, O my eye,<br>I'll wrap him in my bosom                          | O beautiful grapes!<br>In spite of all!                           |
| 3 Fulla! O judge,<br>I'll sell my property                               | I do not like you.<br>And forsake all!                            |
| 4 Fulla! O big one,<br>Your love, O Serena,                              | O rose, O jasmine!<br>Captures all!                               |
| 5 Fulla is drawing water—<br>Two Turkish pounds (I would give for...)    | Her hair is dyed with henna,<br>hanging down.<br>In spite of all! |
| 6 Fulla makes her ablution<br>(I'd) like to have) a kiss—a bite—         | With a silver pitcher.<br>In spite of all!                        |
| 7 Fulla fights<br>I'll make friends (with her) by God,                   | With eye and eyebrows.<br>In spite of all!                        |
| 8 Fulla is on the streets<br>I'll love you defiantly                     | Smoking cigarettes.<br>In spite of all!                           |
| 9 The seller of mixed pickles<br>I'll take him for a husband and wed him | Walks mincingly.<br>In spite of all!                              |
| 10 The seller of <i>knâfe</i><br>A kiss from his lips                    | Walks daintily.<br>Is worth all.                                  |
| 11 The seller of marble<br>I'll kiss you and be drunk (of it)            | Walks around and sighs.<br>In spite of all ...!                   |

## VI

- |   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| 1 | ṭāl'a min dār abūha<br>lābse fuṣṭān 'al-môḍa <sup>1</sup> | nāzle bêt ij-jirān<br>w-il- (i)'yūn <sup>2</sup> bḥudrub salām... <sup>3</sup> |
|---|---|--|

<sup>1</sup> This word is the Arabic form of the French *à la mode*.

<sup>2</sup> Variant: *w-il-'āskar* . . . ( . . . and the sentry salutes her). *darb* ضرب *ṣalām* "beating" the salute, is a military expression.

<sup>3</sup> These two stanzas form the refrain. The other verses are all in dialogues. Some stanzas were omitted, being offensive.



- |    |   |   |
|----|---|---|
| 2  | 'ultilla yâ hîlwa rwîni<br>'âlâtli rûh yâ maskîni | 'âla sidrik fârrijîni <sup>1</sup><br>u şidri balâṭ (i)rḥam.          |
| 3  | 'ultilla yâ hîlwa rwîni<br>'âlâtli rûh ya maskîni | 'âla bzâzik fârrijîni<br>(i)bzâzi tuffâḥ iṣ-šâm. <sup>2</sup>         |
| 4  | 'ultilla yâ hîlwa rwîni<br>'âlâtli rûh yâ maskîni | 'âla bâṭnik fârrijîni<br>yâ bâṭni mähmar 'ajjân.                      |
| 5  | 'ultilla yâ hîlwa rwîni<br>'âlâtli rûh yâ maskîni | 'âla fhâdik fârrijîni<br>(i)fhâdi 'imdân (i)rḥâm. <sup>3 4</sup>      |
| 6  | 'ultilla ya hîlwa rwîni<br>'âlâtli rûh yâ maskîni | 'âla nhûdik nâyyimîni<br>(i)nhûdi kûz ir-rummân. <sup>5</sup>         |
| 7  | 'ultilla yâ hîlwa rwîni<br>'âlâtli rûh yâ maskîni | 'âla (i)'yûnik fârrijîni <sup>6</sup><br>w- i'yûni (i)'yûn il-guzlân. |
| 8  | 'ultilla yâ hîlwa rwîni<br>'âlâtli rûh yâ maskîni | 'âla ḥawâjbik fârrijîni<br>ḥawâjbi (i)hlâl ša'bân. <sup>7</sup>       |
| 9  | 'ultilla ya hîlwa rwîni<br>'âlâtli rûh yâ maskîni | 'âla timmik fârrijîni<br>u timmi ḥâtm(i) Slimân. <sup>8</sup>         |
| 10 | 'ultilla yâ hîlwa rwîni<br>'âlâtli rûh yâ maskîni | 'âla ḥdûdik fârrijîni<br>kinno lissâtak sakrân?                       |

<sup>1</sup> In the following the word *nâyyimîni* نيميني may be substituted for *fârrijîni* فرجيني. Cf. *sidrha ha-l-lôḥ* . . .—Song no. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Damascene apples are the best all over Syria and Palestine.

<sup>3</sup> Cant. 5 14.

<sup>4</sup> Cant. 5 15. For the whiteness of the body cf. the second verse too.

<sup>5</sup> The word *kûz* كوز is generally used for the prickly pear (cactus)—*ṣâṭr* or *ṣubbeir*. Cf. the following verse from the poem beginning:—*makkâr, yâ bu-z-zûluf* . . . مكار يا بو الزلف, *rummân ṣdêrik dîbil rûṣṣi 'alêh mâyya* رمان صدريك دبل رشي عليه ميا . . . من قلة الميا illit il-mâyya (sic!)—give them some water—or, owing to the scarcity of water.

<sup>6</sup> She is a Mohammedan girl and must veil her face, Cant. 2 14.

<sup>7</sup> The crescent of the month of Ša'bân is a good omen, presumably because it reminds the people of the approaching feast (Ramaḏân).

<sup>8</sup> King Solomon still plays the rôle of the greatest magician, as is evident from some tales of the Arabian Nights (The Fisherman and the Genie). A similar passage is in no. 16.

- 11 'ultilla ya ḥilwa rwīni                      'āla znūdik fārrijīni<sup>1</sup>  
       'ālātli rūḥ yā maskīni                    kinno lissātak ḥalmân ...?<sup>2</sup>

- 1 She was going out of her father's home,  
 Walking down to the neighbour's house,  
       Wearing a robe à la mode  
       And the eyes saluted her.
- 2 I said to her:—"O fair one satisfy me,  
 And let me see your breast."  
       She told me: "Go away, you wretch,  
       My breast is a marble slab."
- 3 I said to her:—"O fair one satisfy me,  
 And let me see your breasts."  
       She told me:—"Go away, you wretch,  
       My breasts are Damascene apples."
- 4 I told her:—"O fair one satisfy me,  
 And let me see your belly."  
       She told me:—"Go away, you wretch,  
       My belly is the trough of a baker."
- 5 I said to her:—"O fair one satisfy me,  
 And let me see your thighs."  
       She told me:—"Go away, you wretch,  
       My thighs are marble pillars."
- 6 I said to her:—"O fair one satisfy me,  
 And let me sleep on your breasts."  
       She told me: "Go away, you wretch,  
       My breasts are pomegranates."

<sup>1</sup> Cant. 7 s. Cf. *ḥattēt zīndi 'a-zīndo* ... حطيت زندي زنده (I put my wrist on his wrist).

<sup>2</sup> I have known this song since 1906; it is sung in a sort of *tempo di marcia*. The rhyme is good. The metre generally runs thus:—

Verse 1: ˘ ˘ ˘ — ˘ ˘ —    ||    ˘ ˘ — ˘ ˘ —  
           — ˘ ˘ — ˘ ˘ —        ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ —

Verse 2: — ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ —    ˘ ˘ — ˘ ˘ — —  
           ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ —        ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ —

- 7 I said to her: "O fair one satisfy me,  
And let me see your eyes."  
She told me:—"Go away, you wretch,  
My eyes are eyes of gazelles."
- 8 I said to her:—"O fair one satisfy me,  
And let me see your eyebrows."  
She told me:—"Go away, you wretch,  
My eyebrows are as the crescent of the month of Ša'ban."
- 9 I said to her:—"O fair one satisfy me,  
And let me see your mouth."  
She told me: "Go away, you wretch,  
My mouth is like King Solomon's signet."
- 10 I said to her:—"O fair one satisfy me,  
And let me see your cheeks."  
She told me:—"Go away, you wretch,  
It seems that you are still drunk."
- 11 I said to her:—"O fair one satisfy me  
And let me see your wrist."  
She told me:—"Go away, you wretch,  
Methinks you are still dreaming" . . .

## VII

- 1 l-ḥinna, l-ḥinna, ya 'aṭr in-nāda,<sup>2</sup> ašûfak ḥabîbi, ya 'êni, jallâb<sup>3</sup> il-hāwa.<sup>4</sup>  
2 min<sup>5</sup> ajâtni ùmmo, tis'âlni 'alê, l-aḥûṭṭo bi-'êni, w-atkâḥḥal 'alê.

<sup>1</sup> Henna is a cosmetic used for painting the hands and dying the hair, especially at weddings, in the country as well as in the town (Mohammedans). Here it stands for *tâmer ḥinna* ثمر حناء Lawsonia inermis from the leaves of which it has been prepared Cant. 1 13.

<sup>2</sup> It conveys here the meaning of nectar. Some people sing wrongly 'aṭr -in-nāda عطر الندى, which is naturally senseless.

<sup>3</sup> This line forms the refrain, *marâdd*.

<sup>4</sup> Or *gallab*, the Egyptian form of the classical *jallâb*. This is the Aleppo version and more probable. The Jerusalem version runs *šubbâk ḥabîbi, ya 'êni, gallâb il-hāwa* شباك حبيبي يا عيني جلاب الهوى —The window of my beloved (O my eyes) is the bringer of passion.

<sup>5</sup> *Min* is the contraction of *lammin*: classical *lamma*. It stands in this passage for *in*, "if." Another variant:— *min ḥôfi min ìmmo (ûḥto, 'ammto)* من خوفي من امه (اخته عمته) in their respective places), fearing that his mother (sister, aunt) might ask me about him . . .



- 2                    ḥnàyyina, yâ ḥnàyyina, yâ ḥnàyyina<sup>1</sup>  
                     lêši nômik la-d-ḏàḥa? rêto hàna!<sup>2</sup>
- 3 'âmat (i)mni-n-nôm u tindah sâdati      wa'î'a b-l-'îšî<sup>3</sup> šûfum ḥâlati<sup>4</sup>  
          ḏâ' nûşş il-lêl zûrum<sup>4</sup> fâršati      ḥâliya mni-l-ḥûbb u wâḥdi nâyima.<sup>5</sup>
- 4 'âmat (i)mni-n-nôm u tindah yâ Fâraj      lâni majnûne wâla 'â'li ḥàraj  
          lâbni la-l-maḥbûb 'illiyye b-dàraj      (b)sùkkara u-miftâḥ w-il-ḥâris âna.
- 5 'âmat (i)mni-n-nôm u tindah yâ Laţîf      lâni majnûne wâla 'â'li ḥafîf  
          mîn yihîbb allâh u yiţ'amni raġîf?<sup>6</sup>      raġîf il-maḥbûb yikfâni sâna.<sup>7</sup>
- 6 'âmat (i)mni-n-nôm u bint (i)zġàyyara<sup>8</sup>      ḥàmila l-bù'ja u fiha mḥàyyara  
          'ultilla: yâ bint u lêš mḥàyyara?      'âlat min zûġr sinni ramâni l-hâwa.
- 7 'âmat (i)mni-n-nôm u tindah 'ammiha      riḥet il-'aţţâr<sup>9</sup> ya riḥet tûmmiha  
          s'id u mà-s'ad mîn hawâha u ḥàbbiha      zâdat (i)b-'ûmro tamantâ'sar sâna.<sup>10 11</sup>

1 Once here, once here, once here

Mayest thou, O God, let us gather with the beloved ones.

2 Little Ann, O little Ann, O little Ann.

Why do you sleep till late in the forenoon? May it become you well!

3 She awoke and cried:—"Gentlemen,

I have fallen in love, look at my present condition.

Half of the night has been lost, visit my bed;

It is bare of love, and I am sleeping by myself."

<sup>1</sup> *Ḥnèyyina* also means the "little tender one."

<sup>2</sup> An Arabic proverb says that the sleep of the maiden lasts till the forenoon.  
 Cf. notes to Cant. 2 7.

<sup>3</sup> I. e., she is lovesick, Cant. 5 8.

<sup>4</sup> The *m* of the plural in poetry (influenced by the Egyptian vernacular).  
 Cf. note 7 to song 1.

<sup>5</sup> Cant. 3 1.

<sup>6</sup> *ḥobbi ta'mâni raġîf w-il-idâmemyñ ḥaddo* حبي طعماني رغيّف والادامه من خدّ  
 My beloved gave me a loaf (of bread) And the seasoning (condiment) was  
 from his cheek. Cf. note 11 on Song 3.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. this passage with that of 1 Kings 19 6-8.

<sup>8</sup> Cant. 8 8.

<sup>9</sup> Cant. 3 6 and 7 10.

<sup>10</sup> Eph. 6 3. 1 Kings 1 1-4.

<sup>11</sup> The metre (verse 5 with slight alterations) runs as follows:—

$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccc}
 \triangle & \cup & \cup & \cup & \triangle & \cup & \triangle & \cup & \cup & \cup & \triangle & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup \\
 \triangle & \cup & \cup & \cup & \triangle & \cup & \cup & \cup & \triangle & \cup & \cup & \cup & \triangle & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup
 \end{array}$

- 4 She rose up and cried:—"O Faraj,  
I am neither crazy, nor have I lost my senses.  
But I'll build an upper room for my beloved and a staircase too—  
With a lock and a key, and I'll be guardian."
- 5 She rose up and cried:—"Good gracious!  
I'm neither crazy nor silly . . .  
Who will give me for God's sake a loaf of bread?  
The loaf of my beloved would last me a year . . ."
- 6 She rose up from sleep, only a little girl,  
Carrying the bundle and looking distracted.  
I asked her:—"Why do you, O girl, look so distracted?"  
She answered:—"In spite of my youth I am lovesick . . ."
- 7 She rose up from sleep calling her uncle.  
The odour of her mouth is like a perfume box.  
Happy—twice happy is he, who courts her and loves her,  
For she would add to his age eighteen years . . .

## IX

- 1 'āla dal'ōna,<sup>1</sup> 'āla dal'ōna,      āsmar sabbāni bġāmz il-i'yūna<sup>2 3</sup>
- 2 'āla dal'ōna bit'ul dahīlak<sup>4</sup>      lissātni zġāyyra<sup>5</sup> māniš min jīlak  
ūšbur 'alāyya ḥatta aḥkilak      'al-li jarāli mbāreh w-il-yōma . . .
- 3 mār'at 'alāyya min bāb id -dēri āhlan u sāhlan,<sup>6</sup> yā māsa -l-ḥēri.  
tuffāḥ šami 'āla-l(i)šdēri<sup>7</sup>      willa safarjal, 'ūmu-'ṭufūna!

<sup>1</sup> This form is poetical for the usual *mdalla'a*, *mdallale*.

<sup>2</sup> This verse is the refrain.

<sup>3</sup> Cant. 4 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Dahīlak* دحيلك or *dāḥlak* دخلك is an expression used to implore somebody most earnestly. It has its origin in Beduin custom according to which one seeks protection and refuge in the tent of a Bedawi, who in his turn must protect him even at the risk of his own life.

<sup>5</sup> *Zġāyyra* زغيرة is the diminutive form of *zġire* زغيرة; Cant. 8 s.

<sup>6</sup> These words of the conversation are the stereotype form of bidding welcome to the guest.

<sup>7</sup> Cant. 4 13. See also n. 2, p. 236.

- 4 mār'at tithāṭṭam<sup>1</sup> hiyye u 'ammitha<sup>2</sup> rīḥa u rawāyeh rīhet 'udlitha<sup>3</sup>  
dāḥlik yā yamma māḥla bōsitha bēn il-ḥawājib 'asal bi-ṣḥūna.<sup>4</sup>
- 5 šuftha btitmāḥṭar ḥāmila -l-jarra bēda u ḡarīre<sup>5</sup> ḥawāṭṭa b-alla<sup>6</sup>  
māma, yā māma ḥabibi bārā<sup>7</sup> lābis mitlābbis w-imkāḥḥil (i)yūno.
- 6 'āla dal'ōna, 'āla dal'ōna, āsmar sabāni b-ḡāmz il- (i)yūna.<sup>8</sup>  
āsmar sabāni w-āna sabēto ṭū'u ya l-ida billi tid'ūna.
- 7 'ādat h(i)bāli w-aḥdāt-li bāli<sup>8</sup> ḥādd il-bunāyya bālah (i)jbāli.<sup>9</sup>  
ḥylwa yā ḥylwa 'ūmi mni-'bāli<sup>10</sup> ḥylwa ya ḥylwa n-nāf(i)s mal'ūna.
- 8 ṭil'at 'a-j-jābal dōse 'a-dōse<sup>11</sup> nizlit ij-jābal dōse 'a-dōse.  
w-in kân yā ḥubbi 'āwiz-lak bōse uṣbur 'a āhli ḥatta (i)ynamūna...<sup>12 13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cant. 7 1.

<sup>2</sup> Her aunt is here the "dame d'honneur."

<sup>3</sup> Cant. 3 6; 1 3; 4 10<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Cant. 4 10. A parallel to this stanza is the following:

أحلى من العسل بول كانوا خد البنيه جنبه طريه  
*ḥaḍḍ il-bunāyya jibne ṭariyye āḥla mni-l- 'asal būwwal kanūna*

The cheek of the little girl is (like) fresh cheese,

Sweeter than honey in the beginning of winter

(*kanūn āwwal* and *kanūn tāni* are considered to be the most rainy period in the year).

<sup>5</sup> Cant. 8 8.

<sup>6</sup> *Ḥawāṭṭa bālla* حوطتها بالله is a sort of a charm against the evil eye. Psalm 91 was used for amulets, and would answer this purpose.

<sup>7</sup> Cant. 5 2; 2 9.

<sup>8</sup> Cant. 4 9.

<sup>9</sup> Cant. 7 8; 5 16. *Bālah jibāli* بلح جبالي is a special sort of date, very sweet. The palm tree is said to reach a height of only one meter(?) and grows especially in the district of the Rūwela Arabs in Transjordan. (Yusuf A.)

<sup>10</sup> Cant. 6 4, 5.

<sup>11</sup> Cant. 7 1.

<sup>12</sup> Cant. 2 17 and 4 6.

<sup>13</sup> Another verse of this song reminds us of Cant. 1 9:

'āla dal'ōna 'āla dalālik winte -l-mūhra wāna ḥayyālik  
وانت المهره وأنا خيالك على دلعونه على دلالك

About the spoiled girl and about her (your) coquetry—

and you are the (noble) filly and I am your rider.

This song is of Fellāḥ origin, but it has become so common that the version of the city has been given here, being the better known one.

The metre runs generally as follows:—

٤ ٠ ٠ ١ — | ٤ ٠ ٠ ١ — || ٤ ٠ ٠ ١ — | ٤ ٠ ٠ ١ — | ٤ — ٠ ١ —

- 1 (A song) about the spoiled girl, about the spoiled girl . . .  
A brown one caught me with the lilt of his eyes . . .
- 2 About the spoiled girl! She says:—"I implore you,  
I am still a little girl and not of your age.  
Have patience, while I tell you  
What happened to me yesterday and to-day . . ."
- 3 She came past me from the convent gate:—  
"How do you do? What a fine evening!  
Have you on your breast Damascene apples  
Or quinces? Let's pluck them."
- 4 She passed by with her aunt, walking proudly.  
The odour of her forelock is the fragrance of perfumes.  
Oh mother, how sweet would it be to kiss her  
Between her eyebrows—like honey in the comb!
- 5 I saw her walking proudly carrying her pitcher,  
White and fair,—I encircle her with the name of God!  
Mother, oh mother, my beloved is outside  
With his best clothes on and his eyes painted with kohl.
- 6 About the spoiled girl, about the spoiled girl.  
A brown one caught me with the lilt of his eyes.  
A brown one caught me and I caught him too—  
May you burst with envy (rage), oh my foes, at your own curses.
- 7 She sat opposite me and distracted me,  
(For) the cheek of (this) little girl is like desert dates.  
O fair one, O sweet one, go out from my presence,  
O fair one, O sweet one, the soul is unaccountable . . .
- 8 She went up the hill, step by step,  
She went down the hill, step by step.  
And if you, my beloved, want a kiss,  
Wait until my family has gone to sleep . . .



## X

- 1 râyih 'afên,<sup>1</sup> ya msallîni? ya bādri<sup>2</sup> ḥubbak kâwîni<sup>3</sup>  
imla-l-mudâm, ya ḥabîb w-is'îni,<sup>4</sup> ya kûtri šo'i 'alêk, yâ salâm.
- 2 daḥâlt âna jnênt -in-nudmân<sup>5</sup> la'êt ḥabîbi bitfarraj<sup>6</sup>  
maddêt îdi 'âla-r-rummân,<sup>7</sup> 'âlti-l-ḥîlu šâḥbo: mḥarraja!
- 3 Yâ bādri<sup>8</sup> ḥâlak w-il-wajnât, u-ḡamz i'yûnak, ya 'yûni,<sup>9</sup>  
dôl<sup>10</sup> šabbahûni fik walhân u-hûm bi-'îš'ak ḡalamûni.<sup>11</sup>
- 4 yâ âbyaḍ,<sup>12</sup> yâ lôn il- yasmîn, yâ-l-li 'âla ḥaddak wârde<sup>13</sup>  
wi-ḥyât jamâlak w-il-wajnât âna asîr il- maḥâbbe.<sup>14</sup>

- 1 Where are you going, oh my entertainer?  
Oh full moon, your love has burnt me.
- Pour the wine, O beloved, and give me to drink,  
Alas, how I do long for you!
- 2 I entered the garden of the drinkers,  
And found my beloved gazing around.
- I stretched out my hand to the pomegranates—  
Said the fair owner: It is forbidden.

<sup>1</sup> 'afên? is a contraction of 'âla fên?

<sup>2</sup> Cant. 6 9.

<sup>3</sup> Cant. 5 8 and 2 5.

<sup>4</sup> Cant. 2 4; 5 1; 8 2.

<sup>5</sup> Cant. 5 1; 6 10. Cf. notes to Cant. 5 1.

<sup>6</sup> Cant. 5 1<sup>b</sup> and 6 10 + 6 1 + 7 13.

<sup>7</sup> Cant. 6 1.

<sup>8</sup> Cant. 6 9. Variant:—... u râmš (i)'yûnak... "the lashes of your eyes"  
و رمشي عينوك ...

<sup>9</sup> Cant. 6 6.

<sup>10</sup> Dôl is the plural form of ḥâda and stands for ḥadôl, these.

<sup>11</sup> Cant. 4 9. Variant: . . . ولهان فيك خلوني هذول ḥadôl ḥallûni fik  
walhân ...

<sup>12</sup> Cant. 5 10.

<sup>13</sup> Cant. 6 6. Cf. ... w-il-wârdi fâttaḥ 'âla ḥaddo, "and the roses have blossomed  
on his cheek" والورد فتح على خده.

<sup>14</sup> Cant. 4 9.

I have known this song since 1908. The metre is generally: —

Verse 1: ١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦ ٧ ٨ ٩ ١٠ ١١ ١٢ ١٣ ١٤ ١٥ ١٦ ١٧ ١٨ ١٩ ٢٠ ٢١ ٢٢ ٢٣ ٢٤ ٢٥ ٢٦ ٢٧ ٢٨ ٢٩ ٣٠ ٣١ ٣٢ ٣٣ ٣٤ ٣٥ ٣٦ ٣٧ ٣٨ ٣٩ ٤٠ ٤١ ٤٢ ٤٣ ٤٤ ٤٥ ٤٦ ٤٧ ٤٨ ٤٩ ٥٠ ٥١ ٥٢ ٥٣ ٥٤ ٥٥ ٥٦ ٥٧ ٥٨ ٥٩ ٦٠ ٦١ ٦٢ ٦٣ ٦٤ ٦٥ ٦٦ ٦٧ ٦٨ ٦٩ ٧٠ ٧١ ٧٢ ٧٣ ٧٤ ٧٥ ٧٦ ٧٧ ٧٨ ٧٩ ٨٠ ٨١ ٨٢ ٨٣ ٨٤ ٨٥ ٨٦ ٨٧ ٨٨ ٨٩ ٩٠ ٩١ ٩٢ ٩٣ ٩٤ ٩٥ ٩٦ ٩٧ ٩٨ ٩٩ ١٠٠ ١٠١ ١٠٢ ١٠٣ ١٠٤ ١٠٥ ١٠٦ ١٠٧ ١٠٨ ١٠٩ ١١٠ ١١١ ١١٢ ١١٣ ١١٤ ١١٥ ١١٦ ١١٧ ١١٨ ١١٩ ١٢٠ ١٢١ ١٢٢ ١٢٣ ١٢٤ ١٢٥ ١٢٦ ١٢٧ ١٢٨ ١٢٩ ١٣٠ ١٣١ ١٣٢ ١٣٣ ١٣٤ ١٣٥ ١٣٦ ١٣٧ ١٣٨ ١٣٩ ١٤٠ ١٤١ ١٤٢ ١٤٣ ١٤٤ ١٤٥ ١٤٦ ١٤٧ ١٤٨ ١٤٩ ١٥٠ ١٥١ ١٥٢ ١٥٣ ١٥٤ ١٥٥ ١٥٦ ١٥٧ ١٥٨ ١٥٩ ١٦٠ ١٦١ ١٦٢ ١٦٣ ١٦٤ ١٦٥ ١٦٦ ١٦٧ ١٦٨ ١٦٩ ١٧٠ ١٧١ ١٧٢ ١٧٣ ١٧٤ ١٧٥ ١٧٦ ١٧٧ ١٧٨ ١٧٩ ١٨٠ ١٨١ ١٨٢ ١٨٣ ١٨٤ ١٨٥ ١٨٦ ١٨٧ ١٨٨ ١٨٩ ١٩٠ ١٩١ ١٩٢ ١٩٣ ١٩٤ ١٩٥ ١٩٦ ١٩٧ ١٩٨ ١٩٩ ٢٠٠ ٢٠١ ٢٠٢ ٢٠٣ ٢٠٤ ٢٠٥ ٢٠٦ ٢٠٧ ٢٠٨ ٢٠٩ ٢١٠ ٢١١ ٢١٢ ٢١٣ ٢١٤ ٢١٥ ٢١٦ ٢١٧ ٢١٨ ٢١٩ ٢٢٠ ٢٢١ ٢٢٢ ٢٢٣ ٢٢٤ ٢٢٥ ٢٢٦ ٢٢٧ ٢٢٨ ٢٢٩ ٢٣٠ ٢٣١ ٢٣٢ ٢٣٣ ٢٣٤ ٢٣٥ ٢٣٦ ٢٣٧ ٢٣٨ ٢٣٩ ٢٤٠ ٢٤١ ٢٤٢ ٢٤٣ ٢٤٤ ٢٤٥ ٢٤٦ ٢٤٧ ٢٤٨ ٢٤٩ ٢٥٠ ٢٥١ ٢٥٢ ٢٥٣ ٢٥٤ ٢٥٥ ٢٥٦ ٢٥٧ ٢٥٨ ٢٥٩ ٢٦٠ ٢٦١ ٢٦٢ ٢٦٣ ٢٦٤ ٢٦٥ ٢٦٦ ٢٦٧ ٢٦٨ ٢٦٩ ٢٧٠ ٢٧١ ٢٧٢ ٢٧٣ ٢٧٤ ٢٧٥ ٢٧٦ ٢٧٧ ٢٧٨ ٢٧٩ ٢٨٠ ٢٨١ ٢٨٢ ٢٨٣ ٢٨٤ ٢٨٥ ٢٨٦ ٢٨٧ ٢٨٨ ٢٨٩ ٢٩٠ ٢٩١ ٢٩٢ ٢٩٣ ٢٩٤ ٢٩٥ ٢٩٦ ٢٩٧ ٢٩٨ ٢٩٩ ٣٠٠ ٣٠١ ٣٠٢ ٣٠٣ ٣٠٤ ٣٠٥ ٣٠٦ ٣٠٧ ٣٠٨ ٣٠٩ ٣١٠ ٣١١ ٣١٢ ٣١٣ ٣١٤ ٣١٥ ٣١٦ ٣١٧ ٣١٨ ٣١٩ ٣٢٠ ٣٢١ ٣٢٢ ٣٢٣ ٣٢٤ ٣٢٥ ٣٢٦ ٣٢٧ ٣٢٨ ٣٢٩ ٣٣٠ ٣٣١ ٣٣٢ ٣٣٣ ٣٣٤ ٣٣٥ ٣٣٦ ٣٣٧ ٣٣٨ ٣٣٩ ٣٤٠ ٣٤١ ٣٤٢ ٣٤٣ ٣٤٤ ٣٤٥ ٣٤٦ ٣٤٧ ٣٤٨ ٣٤٩ ٣٥٠ ٣٥١ ٣٥٢ ٣٥٣ ٣٥٤ ٣٥٥ ٣٥٦ ٣٥٧ ٣٥٨ ٣٥٩ ٣٦٠ ٣٦١ ٣٦٢ ٣٦٣ ٣٦٤ ٣٦٥ ٣٦٦ ٣٦٧ ٣٦٨ ٣٦٩ ٣٧٠ ٣٧١ ٣٧٢ ٣٧٣ ٣٧٤ ٣٧٥ ٣٧٦ ٣٧٧ ٣٧٨ ٣٧٩ ٣٨٠ ٣٨١ ٣٨٢ ٣٨٣ ٣٨٤ ٣٨٥ ٣٨٦ ٣٨٧ ٣٨٨ ٣٨٩ ٣٩٠ ٣٩١ ٣٩٢ ٣٩٣ ٣٩٤ ٣٩٥ ٣٩٦ ٣٩٧ ٣٩٨ ٣٩٩ ٤٠٠ ٤٠١ ٤٠٢ ٤٠٣ ٤٠٤ ٤٠٥ ٤٠٦ ٤٠٧ ٤٠٨ ٤٠٩ ٤١٠ ٤١١ ٤١٢ ٤١٣ ٤١٤ ٤١٥ ٤١٦ ٤١٧ ٤١٨ ٤١٩ ٤٢٠ ٤٢١ ٤٢٢ ٤٢٣ ٤٢٤ ٤٢٥ ٤٢٦ ٤٢٧ ٤٢٨ ٤٢٩ ٤٣٠ ٤٣١ ٤٣٢ ٤٣٣ ٤٣٤ ٤٣٥ ٤٣٦ ٤٣٧ ٤٣٨ ٤٣٩ ٤٤٠ ٤٤١ ٤٤٢ ٤٤٣ ٤٤٤ ٤٤٥ ٤٤٦ ٤٤٧ ٤٤٨ ٤٤٩ ٤٥٠ ٤٥١ ٤٥٢ ٤٥٣ ٤٥٤ ٤٥٥ ٤٥٦ ٤٥٧ ٤٥٨ ٤٥٩ ٤٦٠ ٤٦١ ٤٦٢ ٤٦٣ ٤٦٤ ٤٦٥ ٤٦٦ ٤٦٧ ٤٦٨ ٤٦٩ ٤٧٠ ٤٧١ ٤٧٢ ٤٧٣ ٤٧٤ ٤٧٥ ٤٧٦ ٤٧٧ ٤٧٨ ٤٧٩ ٤٨٠ ٤٨١ ٤٨٢ ٤٨٣ ٤٨٤ ٤٨٥ ٤٨٦ ٤٨٧ ٤٨٨ ٤٨٩ ٤٩٠ ٤٩١ ٤٩٢ ٤٩٣ ٤٩٤ ٤٩٥ ٤٩٦ ٤٩٧ ٤٩٨ ٤٩٩ ٥٠٠ ٥٠١ ٥٠٢ ٥٠٣ ٥٠٤ ٥٠٥ ٥٠٦ ٥٠٧ ٥٠٨ ٥٠٩ ٥١٠ ٥١١ ٥١٢ ٥١٣ ٥١٤ ٥١٥ ٥١٦ ٥١٧ ٥١٨ ٥١٩ ٥٢٠ ٥٢١ ٥٢٢ ٥٢٣ ٥٢٤ ٥٢٥ ٥٢٦ ٥٢٧ ٥٢٨ ٥٢٩ ٥٣٠ ٥٣١ ٥٣٢ ٥٣٣ ٥٣٤ ٥٣٥ ٥٣٦ ٥٣٧ ٥٣٨ ٥٣٩ ٥٤٠ ٥٤١ ٥٤٢ ٥٤٣ ٥٤٤ ٥٤٥ ٥٤٦ ٥٤٧ ٥٤٨ ٥٤٩ ٥٥٠ ٥٥١ ٥٥٢ ٥٥٣ ٥٥٤ ٥٥٥ ٥٥٦ ٥٥٧ ٥٥٨ ٥٥٩ ٥٦٠ ٥٦١ ٥٦٢ ٥٦٣ ٥٦٤ ٥٦٥ ٥٦٦ ٥٦٧ ٥٦٨ ٥٦٩ ٥٧٠ ٥٧١ ٥٧٢ ٥٧٣ ٥٧٤ ٥٧٥ ٥٧٦ ٥٧٧ ٥٧٨ ٥٧٩ ٥٨٠ ٥٨١ ٥٨٢ ٥٨٣ ٥٨٤ ٥٨٥ ٥٨٦ ٥٨٧ ٥٨٨ ٥٨٩ ٥٩٠ ٥٩١ ٥٩٢ ٥٩٣ ٥٩٤ ٥٩٥ ٥٩٦ ٥٩٧ ٥٩٨ ٥٩٩ ٦٠٠ ٦٠١ ٦٠٢ ٦٠٣ ٦٠٤ ٦٠٥ ٦٠٦ ٦٠٧ ٦٠٨ ٦٠٩ ٦١٠ ٦١١ ٦١٢ ٦١٣ ٦١٤ ٦١٥ ٦١٦ ٦١٧ ٦١٨ ٦١٩ ٦٢٠ ٦٢١ ٦٢٢ ٦٢٣ ٦٢٤ ٦٢٥ ٦٢٦ ٦٢٧ ٦٢٨ ٦٢٩ ٦٣٠ ٦٣١ ٦٣٢ ٦٣٣ ٦٣٤ ٦٣٥ ٦٣٦ ٦٣٧ ٦٣٨ ٦٣٩ ٦٤٠ ٦٤١ ٦٤٢ ٦٤٣ ٦٤٤ ٦٤٥ ٦٤٦ ٦٤٧ ٦٤٨ ٦٤٩ ٦٥٠ ٦٥١ ٦٥٢ ٦٥٣ ٦٥٤ ٦٥٥ ٦٥٦ ٦٥٧ ٦٥٨ ٦٥٩ ٦٦٠ ٦٦١ ٦٦٢ ٦٦٣ ٦٦٤ ٦٦٥ ٦٦٦ ٦٦٧ ٦٦٨ ٦٦٩ ٦٧٠ ٦٧١ ٦٧٢ ٦٧٣ ٦٧٤ ٦٧٥ ٦٧٦ ٦٧٧ ٦٧٨ ٦٧٩ ٦٨٠ ٦٨١ ٦٨٢ ٦٨٣ ٦٨٤ ٦٨٥ ٦٨٦ ٦٨٧ ٦٨٨ ٦٨٩ ٦٩٠ ٦٩١ ٦٩٢ ٦٩٣ ٦٩٤ ٦٩٥ ٦٩٦ ٦٩٧ ٦٩٨ ٦٩٩ ٧٠٠ ٧٠١ ٧٠٢ ٧٠٣ ٧٠٤ ٧٠٥ ٧٠٦ ٧٠٧ ٧٠٨ ٧٠٩ ٧١٠ ٧١١ ٧١٢ ٧١٣ ٧١٤ ٧١٥ ٧١٦ ٧١٧ ٧١٨ ٧١٩ ٧٢٠ ٧٢١ ٧٢٢ ٧٢٣ ٧٢٤ ٧٢٥ ٧٢٦ ٧٢٧ ٧٢٨ ٧٢٩ ٧٣٠ ٧٣١ ٧٣٢ ٧٣٣ ٧٣٤ ٧٣٥ ٧٣٦ ٧٣٧ ٧٣٨ ٧٣٩ ٧٤٠ ٧٤١ ٧٤٢ ٧٤٣ ٧٤٤ ٧٤٥ ٧٤٦ ٧٤٧ ٧٤٨ ٧٤٩ ٧٥٠ ٧٥١ ٧٥٢ ٧٥٣ ٧٥٤ ٧٥٥ ٧٥٦ ٧٥٧ ٧٥٨ ٧٥٩ ٧٦٠ ٧٦١ ٧٦٢ ٧٦٣ ٧٦٤ ٧٦٥ ٧٦٦ ٧٦٧ ٧٦٨ ٧٦٩ ٧٧٠ ٧٧١ ٧٧٢ ٧٧٣ ٧٧٤ ٧٧٥ ٧٧٦ ٧٧٧ ٧٧٨ ٧٧٩ ٧٨٠ ٧٨١ ٧٨٢ ٧٨٣ ٧٨٤ ٧٨٥ ٧٨٦ ٧٨٧ ٧٨٨ ٧٨٩ ٧٩٠ ٧٩١ ٧٩٢ ٧٩٣ ٧٩٤ ٧٩٥ ٧٩٦ ٧٩٧ ٧٩٨ ٧٩٩ ٨٠٠ ٨٠١ ٨٠٢ ٨٠٣ ٨٠٤ ٨٠٥ ٨٠٦ ٨٠٧ ٨٠٨ ٨٠٩ ٨١٠ ٨١١ ٨١٢ ٨١٣ ٨١٤ ٨١٥ ٨١٦ ٨١٧ ٨١٨ ٨١٩ ٨٢٠ ٨٢١ ٨٢٢ ٨٢٣ ٨٢٤ ٨٢٥ ٨٢٦ ٨٢٧ ٨٢٨ ٨٢٩ ٨٣٠ ٨٣١ ٨٣٢ ٨٣٣ ٨٣٤ ٨٣٥ ٨٣٦ ٨٣٧ ٨٣٨ ٨٣٩ ٨٤٠ ٨٤١ ٨٤٢ ٨٤٣ ٨٤٤ ٨٤٥ ٨٤٦ ٨٤٧ ٨٤٨ ٨٤٩ ٨٥٠ ٨٥١ ٨٥٢ ٨٥٣ ٨٥٤ ٨٥٥ ٨٥٦ ٨٥٧ ٨٥٨ ٨٥٩ ٨٦٠ ٨٦١ ٨٦٢ ٨٦٣ ٨٦٤ ٨٦٥ ٨٦٦ ٨٦٧ ٨٦٨ ٨٦٩ ٨٧٠ ٨٧١ ٨٧٢ ٨٧٣ ٨٧٤ ٨٧٥ ٨٧٦ ٨٧٧ ٨٧٨ ٨٧٩ ٨٨٠ ٨٨١ ٨٨٢ ٨٨٣ ٨٨٤ ٨٨٥ ٨٨٦ ٨٨٧ ٨٨٨ ٨٨٩ ٨٩٠ ٨٩١ ٨٩٢ ٨٩٣ ٨٩٤ ٨٩٥ ٨٩٦ ٨٩٧ ٨٩٨ ٨٩٩ ٩٠٠ ٩٠١ ٩٠٢ ٩٠٣ ٩٠٤ ٩٠٥ ٩٠٦ ٩٠٧ ٩٠٨ ٩٠٩ ٩١٠ ٩١١ ٩١٢ ٩١٣ ٩١٤ ٩١٥ ٩١٦ ٩١٧ ٩١٨ ٩١٩ ٩٢٠ ٩٢١ ٩٢٢ ٩٢٣ ٩٢٤ ٩٢٥ ٩٢٦ ٩٢٧ ٩٢٨ ٩٢٩ ٩٣٠ ٩٣١ ٩٣٢ ٩٣٣ ٩٣٤ ٩٣٥ ٩٣٦ ٩٣٧ ٩٣٨ ٩٣٩ ٩٤٠ ٩٤١ ٩٤٢ ٩٤٣ ٩٤٤ ٩٤٥ ٩٤٦ ٩٤٧ ٩٤٨ ٩٤٩ ٩٥٠ ٩٥١ ٩٥٢ ٩٥٣ ٩٥٤ ٩٥٥ ٩٥٦ ٩٥٧ ٩٥٨ ٩٥٩ ٩٦٠ ٩٦١ ٩٦٢ ٩٦٣ ٩٦٤ ٩٦٥ ٩٦٦ ٩٦٧ ٩٦٨ ٩٦٩ ٩٧٠ ٩٧١ ٩٧٢ ٩٧٣ ٩٧٤ ٩٧٥ ٩٧٦ ٩٧٧ ٩٧٨ ٩٧٩ ٩٨٠ ٩٨١ ٩٨٢ ٩٨٣ ٩٨٤ ٩٨٥ ٩٨٦ ٩٨٧ ٩٨٨ ٩٨٩ ٩٩٠ ٩٩١ ٩٩٢ ٩٩٣ ٩٩٤ ٩٩٥ ٩٩٦ ٩٩٧ ٩٩٨ ٩٩٩ ١٠٠٠ ١٠٠١ ١٠٠٢ ١٠٠٣ ١٠٠٤ ١٠٠٥ ١٠٠٦ ١٠٠٧ ١٠٠٨ ١٠٠٩ ١٠١٠ ١٠١١ ١٠١٢ ١٠١٣ ١٠١٤ ١٠١٥ ١٠١٦ ١٠١٧ ١٠١٨ ١٠١٩ ١٠٢٠ ١٠٢١ ١٠٢٢ ١٠٢٣ ١٠٢٤ ١٠٢٥ ١٠٢٦ ١٠٢٧ ١٠٢٨ ١٠٢٩ ١٠٣٠ ١٠٣١ ١٠٣٢ ١٠٣٣ ١٠٣٤ ١٠٣٥ ١٠٣٦ ١٠٣٧ ١٠٣٨ ١٠٣٩ ١٠٤٠ ١٠٤١ ١٠٤٢ ١٠٤٣ ١٠٤٤ ١٠٤٥ ١٠٤٦ ١٠٤٧ ١٠٤٨ ١٠٤٩ ١٠٥٠ ١٠٥١ ١٠٥٢ ١٠٥٣ ١٠٥٤ ١٠٥٥ ١٠٥٦ ١٠٥٧ ١٠٥٨ ١٠٥٩ ١٠٦٠ ١٠٦١ ١٠٦٢ ١٠٦٣ ١٠٦٤ ١٠٦٥ ١٠٦٦ ١٠٦٧ ١٠٦٨ ١٠٦٩ ١٠٧٠ ١٠٧١ ١٠٧٢ ١٠٧٣ ١٠٧٤ ١٠٧٥ ١٠٧٦ ١٠٧٧ ١٠٧٨ ١٠٧٩ ١٠٨٠ ١٠٨١ ١٠٨٢ ١٠٨٣ ١٠٨٤ ١٠٨٥ ١٠٨٦ ١٠٨٧ ١٠٨٨ ١٠٨٩ ١٠٩٠ ١٠٩١ ١٠٩٢ ١٠٩٣ ١٠٩٤ ١٠٩٥ ١٠٩٦ ١٠٩٧ ١٠٩٨ ١٠٩٩ ١١٠٠ ١١٠١ ١١٠٢ ١١٠٣ ١١٠٤ ١١٠٥ ١١٠٦ ١١٠٧ ١١٠٨ ١١٠٩ ١١١٠ ١١١١ ١١١٢ ١١١٣ ١١١٤ ١١١٥ ١١١٦ ١١١٧ ١١١٨ ١١١٩ ١١٢٠ ١١٢١ ١١٢٢ ١١٢٣ ١١٢٤ ١١٢٥ ١١٢٦ ١١٢٧ ١١٢٨ ١١٢٩ ١١٣٠ ١١٣١ ١١٣٢ ١١٣٣ ١١٣٤ ١١٣٥ ١١٣٦ ١١٣٧ ١١٣٨ ١١٣٩ ١١٤٠ ١١٤١ ١١٤٢ ١١٤٣ ١١٤٤ ١١٤٥ ١١٤٦ ١١٤٧ ١١٤٨ ١١٤٩ ١١٥٠ ١١٥١ ١١٥٢ ١١٥٣ ١١٥٤ ١١٥٥ ١١٥٦ ١١٥٧ ١١٥٨ ١١٥٩ ١١٦٠ ١١٦١ ١١٦٢ ١١٦٣ ١١٦٤ ١١٦٥ ١١٦٦ ١١٦٧ ١١٦٨ ١١٦٩ ١١٧٠ ١١٧١ ١١٧٢ ١١٧٣ ١١٧٤ ١١٧٥ ١١٧٦ ١١٧٧ ١١٧٨ ١١٧٩ ١١٨٠ ١١٨١ ١١٨٢ ١١٨٣ ١١٨٤ ١١٨٥ ١١٨٦ ١١٨٧ ١١٨٨ ١١٨٩ ١١٩٠ ١١٩١ ١١٩٢ ١١٩٣ ١١٩٤ ١١٩٥ ١١٩٦ ١١٩٧ ١١٩٨ ١١٩٩ ١٢٠٠ ١٢٠١ ١٢٠٢ ١٢٠٣ ١٢٠٤ ١٢٠٥ ١٢٠٦ ١٢٠٧ ١٢٠٨ ١٢٠٩ ١٢١٠ ١٢١١ ١٢١٢ ١٢١٣ ١٢١٤ ١٢١٥ ١٢١٦ ١٢١٧ ١٢١٨ ١٢١٩ ١٢٢٠ ١٢٢١ ١٢٢٢ ١٢٢٣ ١٢٢٤ ١٢٢٥ ١٢٢٦ ١٢٢٧ ١٢٢٨ ١٢٢٩ ١٢٣٠ ١٢٣١ ١٢٣٢ ١٢٣٣ ١٢٣٤ ١٢٣٥ ١٢٣٦ ١٢٣٧ ١٢٣٨ ١٢٣٩ ١٢٤٠ ١٢٤١ ١٢٤٢ ١٢٤٣ ١٢٤٤ ١٢٤٥ ١٢٤٦ ١٢٤٧ ١٢٤٨ ١٢٤٩ ١٢٥٠ ١٢٥١ ١٢٥٢ ١٢٥٣ ١٢٥٤ ١٢٥٥ ١٢٥٦ ١٢٥٧ ١٢٥٨ ١٢٥٩ ١٢٦٠ ١٢٦١ ١٢٦٢ ١٢٦٣ ١٢٦٤ ١٢٦٥ ١٢٦٦ ١٢٦٧ ١٢٦٨ ١٢٦٩ ١٢٧٠ ١٢٧١ ١٢٧٢ ١٢٧٣ ١٢٧٤ ١٢٧٥ ١٢٧٦ ١٢٧٧ ١٢٧٨ ١٢٧٩ ١٢٨٠ ١٢٨١ ١٢٨٢ ١٢٨٣ ١٢٨٤ ١٢٨٥ ١٢٨٦ ١٢٨٧ ١٢٨٨ ١٢٨٩ ١٢٩٠ ١٢٩١ ١٢٩٢ ١٢٩٣ ١٢٩٤ ١٢٩٥ ١٢٩٦ ١٢٩٧ ١٢٩٨ ١٢٩٩ ١٣٠٠ ١٣٠١ ١٣٠٢ ١٣٠٣ ١٣٠٤ ١٣٠٥ ١٣٠٦ ١٣٠٧ ١٣٠٨ ١٣٠٩ ١٣١٠ ١٣١١ ١٣١٢ ١٣١٣ ١٣١٤ ١٣١٥ ١٣١٦ ١٣١٧ ١٣١٨ ١٣١٩ ١٣٢٠ ١٣٢١ ١٣٢٢ ١٣٢٣ ١٣٢٤ ١٣٢٥ ١٣٢٦ ١٣٢٧ ١٣٢٨ ١٣٢٩ ١٣٣٠ ١٣٣١ ١٣٣٢ ١٣٣٣ ١٣٣٤ ١٣٣٥ ١٣٣٦ ١٣٣٧ ١٣٣٨ ١٣٣٩ ١٣٤٠ ١٣٤١ ١٣٤٢ ١٣٤٣ ١٣٤٤ ١٣٤٥ ١٣٤٦ ١٣٤٧ ١٣٤٨ ١٣٤٩ ١٣٥٠ ١٣٥١ ١٣٥٢ ١٣٥٣ ١٣٥٤ ١٣٥٥ ١٣٥٦ ١٣٥٧ ١٣٥٨ ١٣٥٩ ١٣٦٠ ١٣٦١ ١٣٦٢ ١٣٦٣ ١٣٦٤ ١٣٦٥ ١٣٦٦ ١٣٦٧ ١٣٦٨ ١٣٦٩ ١٣٧٠ ١٣٧١ ١٣٧٢ ١٣٧٣ ١٣٧٤ ١٣٧٥ ١٣٧٦ ١٣٧٧ ١٣٧٨ ١٣٧٩ ١٣٨٠ ١٣٨١ ١٣٨٢ ١٣٨٣ ١٣٨٤ ١٣٨٥ ١٣٨٦ ١٣٨٧ ١٣٨٨ ١٣٨٩ ١٣٩٠ ١٣٩١ ١٣٩٢ ١٣٩٣ ١٣٩٤ ١٣٩٥ ١٣٩٦ ١٣٩٧ ١٣٩٨ ١٣٩٩ ١٤٠٠ ١٤٠١ ١٤٠٢ ١٤٠٣ ١٤٠٤ ١٤٠٥ ١٤٠٦ ١٤٠٧ ١٤٠٨ ١٤٠٩ ١٤١٠ ١٤١١ ١٤١٢ ١٤١٣ ١٤١٤ ١٤١٥ ١٤١٦ ١٤١٧ ١٤١٨ ١٤١٩ ١٤٢٠ ١٤٢١ ١٤٢٢ ١٤٢٣ ١٤٢٤ ١٤٢٥ ١٤٢٦ ١٤٢٧ ١٤٢٨ ١٤٢٩ ١٤٣٠ ١٤٣١ ١٤٣٢ ١٤٣٣ ١٤٣٤ ١٤٣٥ ١٤٣٦ ١٤٣٧ ١٤٣٨ ١٤٣

- 3 Oh my full moon, your mole and your cheeks,  
And the lilt of your eyes—oh, my eyes!—  
Have driven me to love you frantically,  
And they have maltreated me in my love for you.
- 4 Oh white one, of jasmine colour,  
With roses on your cheeks—  
By your beauty and your cheeks,  
I am captivated by your love...

## XI

- 1 mārmar zamāni, mā sa'āni sūkkar,<sup>1</sup> 'ālbi tiwālla' bihawāk ya-l-āsmar<sup>2</sup>  
2 mārmar zamāni, ma sa'āni 'āmbār,<sup>1</sup> āna u-ḥabībi bi-l-jinēna nīskar.<sup>3</sup>  
3 ya rāyḥa 'a-l- ḥammām ḥudini ma'āki, l-āḥmil il-bū'je u-āmši warāki  
4 w-in kan abūki ma a'tāni-yyāki l-ā'mal 'amāyil mā 'imilha 'Āntar.<sup>4</sup>  
5 baḷḷāhi yā 'assis u-lā ṭhākīha, ḥādi bunāyya, w-il-hāwa rāmīha.<sup>5</sup>  
6 "ūlu la-ēn iṣ-šāmsi lā tiḥmāši, ḥabībi ṣābbaḥ b-il-barāri<sup>6</sup> māši."<sup>7 8</sup>
- 1 He embittered my life and never gave me sugar (syrup) to drink—  
My heart is inflamed with your love, O brown one!
- 2 He embittered my life and never gave me amber (syrup) to drink—  
My beloved and I drink in the flower garden.
- 3 O, you, who are going to the bath, take me along with you,  
That I may carry your parcel and walk behind you.

<sup>1</sup> Cant. 4 11. Vulgate, Cant. 1 2, 4; 4 10; 7 13.

<sup>2</sup> Cant. 1 5. Cf. the following verse:

والهوى شق الثوب  
سوحني بنوب بنوب  
*il-hōb il-hōb il-hōb*  
*ala ḥūsnak u-jamālak*

الهوب الهوب الهوب  
على خسنك وجمالك  
*w-il-hāwa šagq it-tōb*  
*sauwahni bnōb, (y)bnōb...*

*Hōb, hōb, hōb* (senseless)

and passion has torn my garment,

For your beauty and your charms have ravished me completely.

<sup>3</sup> Cant. 5 1; 6 2-3.

<sup>4</sup> 'Antar is the Arab ideal of chivalry.

<sup>5</sup> Cant. 2 5.

<sup>6</sup> Cant. 3 6.

<sup>7</sup> Verse 6 reminds on Verse 6 of Psalm 121.

<sup>8</sup> Metre:            ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘            ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘  
                     ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘            ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘

- 4 And if your father does not give you to me (for a wife)  
Surely I'll do things, which even Antar never did.  
5 By God, O priest, do not speak to her (reproachfully),  
She is but a little girl and love has made her ill.  
6 "Tell the eye of the sun not to shine hot,  
My beloved went this morning walking in the desert."

## XII

- |   |  |   |
|---|--|---|
| 1 | Âhi <sup>1</sup> ya àsmar il-lôn<br>habîbi wi-'yûno sûd                  | ḥayâti <sup>2</sup> l-asmarâni <sup>3</sup><br>amma l-kùḥli sabâni. <sup>4 5</sup>  |
| 2 | šufta wâ'fe 'al-mîna<br>šubb il-'âra' w-is'îna <sup>8</sup>              | b-îda fülle u yasmîna <sup>6 7</sup><br>ḥayâti -l-asmarâni. <sup>2</sup>            |
| 3 | šuft il-ḥylwa ya 'îsa <sup>9</sup><br>lâmman šâlḥat 'amîša <sup>11</sup> | zây iš-šam'a <sup>10</sup> bi-knîsa<br>šâr il-mislim nušrâni . . . <sup>12 13</sup> |

- 1 O brown of hue! The brown one is my life!  
My beloved one has black eyes, but the kohl (stibium) captured me.  
2 I saw her on the quay—in her hand *full* and jasmine.  
Pour out the arak and give us to drink, my life, my brown one!

<sup>1</sup> Particle of interjection—*âh*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. stanza 1, Song 3.

<sup>3</sup> This verse is the refrain.

<sup>4</sup> *Asmarâni* اسمراني for *àsmar* اسمر is a more poetical form.

<sup>5</sup> Cant. 4 9.

<sup>6</sup> See stanza 4, Song 3.

<sup>7</sup> *Full* *فل* *nycanthem sambac*; *yasmîn* ياسمين *jasmine officinale*. Both these names are also *nomina propria fem.*

<sup>8</sup> Cant. 5 1; 2 4.

<sup>9</sup> The Mohammedan form 'Îsa عيسى stands for Christian *Yasû* يسوع Jesus, but this name has nearly become a prerogative of the latter.

<sup>10</sup> Cant. 5 14. This passage indicates whiteness of the body in particular and bodily beauty in general. Cf. also *Horatii Carmina No. XIII ad Lydiam*.

<sup>11</sup> Cant. 5 3.

<sup>12</sup> A very unusual thing.

<sup>13</sup> Many verses are omitted because they are tedious and do not answer our purpose. Metre:—

Recited Verse 2:	$\begin{array}{cccccccc} \backslash & \cup & \backslash & \cup & \backslash & \cup & \backslash & \cup \\ \backslash & \cup & \backslash & \cup & \backslash & \cup & \backslash & \cup \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{cccccccc} \backslash & \cup & \backslash & \cup & \backslash & \cup & \backslash & \cup \\ \cup & \backslash & \cup & \backslash & \cup & \backslash & \cup & \backslash \end{array}$
Sung Verse 2:	$\begin{array}{cccccccc} \backslash & \cup & \backslash & \cup & \backslash & \cup & \backslash & \cup \\ \backslash & \cup & \backslash & \cup & \backslash & \cup & \backslash & \cup \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{cccccccc} \backslash & \cup & \backslash & \cup & \backslash & \cup & \backslash & \cup \\ \cup & \backslash & \cup & \backslash & \cup & \backslash & \cup & \backslash \end{array}$

3 I saw the fair one, O Isa, like a candle in the church.

When she took off her chemise the Mohammedan became Christian.

### XIII

- |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | 'al-(i)'màyyim, <sup>1</sup> 'al-(i)'mâm, <sup>2</sup>                        | bêḏa u ḥàmra, <sup>3</sup> ya salâm . . . <sup>4</sup>                                  |
| 2 | 'al-(i)'màyyim, 'ad-dabbûs <sup>5</sup><br>maddêt îdi 'al-maḥrûs <sup>7</sup> | dârat ḥàdda u 'âlat bûs <sup>6</sup><br>ràfrîf, ya têt il-ḥamâm . . . <sup>8</sup>      |
| 3 | 'al-(i)'màyyim 'âlât-li:—<br>biddi šabb ikân mit-li                           | (zrâr id-dikke ḥallât-li)<br>âfruš bi-ḥḏêno w-anâm. <sup>9</sup>                        |
| 4 | 'al-(i)'màyyim, 'al-birke<br>yihri' bàyya, šu ḥirke <sup>12</sup>             | ḥadfâtni <sup>10</sup> bi-j-janârki <sup>11</sup><br>aḥḏât-li 'âli 'awâm. <sup>13</sup> |

<sup>1</sup> (*I*)'màyyim is the diminutive form of 'am, uncle.

<sup>2</sup> (*I*)'mâm is the plural of 'am: colloquially (*i*)'mûm(e).

<sup>3</sup> This song deals with a girl of doubtful virtue.

<sup>4</sup> *Ya salâm* is an expression probably of Egyptian origin. This stanza is the refrain, *maradd*.

<sup>5</sup> Here in the meaning of *membrum virile*. Words are often inserted to complete the rhyme, although they may be sometimes senseless and even misleading.

<sup>6</sup> Variant: ḥayyarâtni mnên abûs . . . حيرتني من اين ابوس (She puzzled me—where I should kiss). Cant. 7 s.

<sup>7</sup> Literally, "the guarded thing or person." *Maḥrus* means usually "son" and is used in polite conversation, e. g.: *kîf ḥâl ilmaḥrûs (maḥrûsak)?*—i. e., How is your son getting on? Here the sense of *mons mulieris* underlies.

<sup>8</sup> *Têt il-ḥamâm* often applies in folk-song to girls; cf. the song *jôz il-ḥamâm* . . . Here it conveys the meaning of *membrum virile* for which *ḥamâme* and *bâšar* (the latter also Hebrew, *bašar*) are colloquially used.

<sup>9</sup> *Ḥḏên* is the diminutive of *ḥuḏun*, lap. This form is poetically preferred. Cant. 23 and 213.

<sup>10</sup> Syrian form for *râmat*.

<sup>11</sup> *Janârki* (Persian and Turkish: *jânârik*), for Arabic *swêda*, green-gage, plum, is used in Northern Syria on the Turco-Arabic linguistic frontier.

<sup>12</sup> *Bayha*, her little father, is Syrian dialectic. The literal rendering of this expression would be: "May her father be burnt." This verse is undoubtedly of Syrian origin.

<sup>13</sup> Variant: *sabât-li*, she captured my mind. Another version: *jâbat-li ḏàhri 'awâm* . . . (*Acceleravit ejaculationem seminis mei*).

- 5 'al-(i)'mayyim, ya Āsma,<sup>1</sup> taḥt it-tine tbāuāsna<sup>2</sup>  
 āja l-'ars<sup>3</sup> u kamāšna<sup>4</sup> w-āḥad minni mīt (i)ryāl.<sup>5</sup>
- 6 'al-(i)'māyyim ya šbîni<sup>6</sup> ya zāhr il-basatîni<sup>7</sup>  
 l-ādrub ḥālî sikkîne w-āḥsib il-'um(u)r mâ kân.<sup>8</sup>
- 7 'al-(i)'māyyim ya 'ammi ḥūdlak bōse min tūmmi  
 abūyi ṭālla' ummi w-aḥūyi sâfar 'aš-šâm.<sup>9</sup>
- 8 'al- (i)'māyyim ya Mansūr taḥt iṣ-ṣūrri fi 'aṣfūr<sup>10</sup>  
 fi 'arabiyye, fi ḥanṭūr fi lukānda lal-manām. . . .<sup>11</sup>
- 9 'al-(i)'māyyim ḥūd u jib<sup>12</sup> taḥt iṣ-ṣūrri šî<sup>13</sup> ajib  
 fi 'ubtānji, fî babbôr<sup>14</sup> rākib fî 'Ābd il Ḥamid . . .<sup>15-17</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Nomen pers. femin.*

<sup>2</sup> Cant. 2 3 and 2 13.

<sup>3</sup> The word 'ars means "procurer, scoundrel, fancyman, petticoat pensioner," and is often used insultingly.

<sup>4</sup> Literally: — seized us, i. e., surprised us. In this sense the word is used in Syria.

<sup>5</sup> Approximately twenty pounds sterling. He receives an unusually large sum in order to keep quiet.

<sup>6</sup> This part of the song seems to be of Christian origin.

<sup>7</sup> Cant. 4 13.

<sup>8</sup> Literally: — And consider that life did not exist (for me).

<sup>9</sup> This stanza is of Mohammedan origin. That is, a distant place or a large city, where nobody knows him, so she is naturally left to herself.

<sup>10</sup> "Bird" stands here for *pudendum muliebre*. It means elsewhere also *membrum virile*, but is rarely used in both senses.

<sup>11</sup> "Lodging-house."

<sup>12</sup> Take and give" refers to the coitus. Cf. note on Cant. 5 1.

<sup>13</sup> šî for ʔšî: something, i. e., collum uteri, spatium interlabiale.

<sup>14</sup> Heard in Aleppo as 'ubtānji, an Italo-Turkish loan-word. The Jerusalem version is: fî 'ubtān u fî babbôr . . . فيه قبطان وفيه بابور.

<sup>15</sup> 'Abdulhamid plays in contemporary minds the same rôle given to Harūn ar-Rašid in the Arabian Nights.

<sup>16</sup> There exist about ten more or less ambiguous songs without the excellent rhyme of this one, and otherwise in many respects inferior to it.

<sup>17</sup> Some stanzas of this song have been omitted as being needlessly offensive. The popularity of this song, which circulated already before 1912, is proved by the fact that there are numberless variants and a considerable number of local verses all over Syria, Mesopotamia (towns), and Egypt.

The underlying metre is double when sung: — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ || ◡ ◡ ◡ |||

- 1 On the little uncle; on the uncles:—(she is) white and ruddy, what joy!
- 2 On the little uncle:—with the club—she turned her cheek and told me: “Kiss!”  
I stretched out my hand to the guarded thing: beat your wings, O dove!
- 3 On the little uncle:—she told me—she unbuttoned her petticoat—  
I want a youth like myself, in whose bosom I may spread my couch and sleep.
- 4 On the little uncle: at the pool she throw a green gage at me,  
She is d-d dexterous, for she distracted me so quickly!
- 5 On the little uncle:—O Asma, under the fig tree we exchanged kisses,  
The procurer came and took from me one hundred mejidis.
- 6 On the little uncle:—O my god-father, you blossom of the gardens,  
I'll stab myself with a dagger and forget that life exists.
- 7 On the little uncle:—O my uncle, take a kiss from my mouth,  
Father has divorced mother, and brother has gone to Damascus.
- 8 On the little uncle:—O Mansur, there is a bird under the navel,  
There is also a landau and a phaeton, a hotel as well.
- 9 On the little uncle:—take and give—, under the navel is a wondrous thing,  
There is a captain and a ship, on board of which is Abdulhamid . . .

## XIV

- 1      âs-il-<sup>1</sup> 'uzâr<sup>2</sup> fo' wâjnatê(h) âbyaḍ<sup>3</sup> yâ nâr 'âlbi 'alê(h)  
mâ 'utt âna ânsa-l-jâfa,<sup>4</sup> yâ mûnyati, ḥarâm 'alêk.
- 2      zûrni yâ-bu-l-wâjhi-l-bašûš, w-ibri<sup>5</sup> 'ulêbi min-il-gušûš,  
l-âkšif 'âla sidrak w-ašûf bistân<sup>6</sup> u-mašâlla<sup>7</sup> 'alê(h).
- 3      zûrni yâ-bu-l-'âlbi-l-ḥanûn, w-ibri 'ulêbi min-il-humûm,  
il-ḥubbu da kûllo finûn,<sup>8</sup> wâṣṣâni maḥbûbi 'alê(h).

<sup>1</sup> *Âs* is “myrtle.”

<sup>2</sup> This expression is pre-Islamic and was already used by Imru'ul Qais in  
كُنْتُ أَلْسَاءَهُ.

<sup>3</sup> Cant. 5 10.

<sup>4</sup> Literally, frigidity.

<sup>5</sup> This is the classical *ibri* اجري.

<sup>6</sup> and <sup>7</sup> See pag. 250 notes 1 and 2.

<sup>8</sup> Literally, This love is an art. *Bistan* may mean a flower garden as well as an orchard. Cf. the Latin *hortus*, *hortulus*. Though the one addressed is

- 4      *āna baḥibbak min zamān, rūḥi fidāk, 'ālbi kamān,*  
*mazrū' 'āla ṣḍrak bistān,<sup>1</sup> maktūb (u) māšalla 'alê(h).<sup>2</sup>*

- 1      The blushing myrtle is on his cheek,—  
 He is white, O—the burning of my heart for him.  
 I cannot more forget the cruelty,  
 O, my desire, it is not right of you (sc. to let me suffer).

- 2      Visit me, O, you with the radiant face  
 And heal my heart from its miseries.  
 Then I shall uncover your breast and see  
 a garden—what a fine one too!

- 3      Visit me, O you with the tender heart,  
 And heal my heart from sorrows.  
 All this love (making) is a farce,  
 Which my beloved imposed upon me.

- 4      For long I have loved you;  
 My soul and heart is a ransom for you;  
 There is a garden planted on your breast  
 Written above it: *māšalla* (i. e. it is a beautiful one).

masculine "she" is meant. The language is semi-classical. I have known it since 1906; it appears to be of Egyptian origin. The metre is:

⏏ ⏏ ⏏ ⏏ — ⏏ ⏏ ⏏ || ⏏ ⏏ ⏏ ⏏ — ⏏ ⏏ ⏏

<sup>1</sup> Cant. 4 12 and 13. Cf. also the following two verses from different songs:—

(n)zilt āna bistānikum      'atāft āna rummānikum . . .

I went down to your orchard      And plucked your pomegranates . . .

قطعت انا رمانكم      نزلت انا بستانكم

and      yā ḥabibi, ya nāyim      fāttah ward ij-janāyin . . .

O my sleeping love,      The roses in the gardens have blossomed . . .

فتتح ورد الجنائين      يا حبيبي يا نايم

Cant. 5 14. Cf. the stanza: *rīḥān ṣḍerik dibil min 'illit il- mayya* . . . (The basil shrub of your breast has faded from lack of water.)

<sup>2</sup> *Māšalla* (from the classical *mā šā'a llāhu* sc. *kāna* is often used as an expression of admiration for persons, things and actions; it may also be used ironically. It is written on house-doors and carved on charms as a talisman to repel the evil spirits or the spell of the evil eye.—Cant. 1 13 and 14; 4 12.

## XV

- |   |  |  |
|---|--|--|
| 1 | il-i'zûbiyya<br>'ûmi ḥṭubili <sup>2</sup>                    | tâlat <sup>1</sup> 'alâyya<br>ya mâma <sup>4</sup> wâḥde šalabiyya . . .                                     |
| 2 | libsat il-bûrnus<br>myš râiha tûḥluṣ <sup>5</sup>            | 'al'at il-bûrnus <sup>3</sup><br>ya mâma <sup>4</sup> ha-l-i'zûbiyya <sup>6</sup> ('askariyya). <sup>8</sup> |
| 3 | Taḥt il-lemûne <sup>7</sup><br>immik ḥanûne                  | nâmi ya 'yûni<br>ya mâma ḥannit 'alâyya.   |
| 4 | Taḥt it-tuffâḥa <sup>7</sup><br>hiyye l-fallâḥa              | nôme b-rayâḥa<br>ya mâma ḍiḥkit 'alâyya. <sup>8</sup>  |
| 5 | ḥabîbi <sup>10</sup> nâṭir<br>w-in kân lak ḥâṭir             | tâḥt il- 'anâṭir<br>ya mâma dawwir 'alâyya. <sup>9</sup>   |
| 6 | ḥabîbi b-dâro<br>šûfi šu mâlo <sup>12</sup>                  | dâhab as'âro <sup>11</sup><br>ya mâma za'lân 'alâyya.  |
| 7 | ḥabîbi b-ḥême <sup>13</sup><br>w-il-fûr'a qême <sup>15</sup> | 'amar b-gême <sup>14</sup><br>ya mâma tâlit 'alâyya.   |

<sup>1</sup> The third person sing. fem. is formed in the perfect tense sometimes also with a final *i* instead of a (in certain cases), e. g. *ṭālit*, *lībṣit*, *ḥānnit*, for *ṭālat*, *lībṣat*, *ḥānnat*. This pronunciation seems to be preferred by Mohammedans, more especially the women, who still cling to the "pure" Palestinian dialect, as women are in speech and manners conservative, but it seems to be of Syrian origin. ●

<sup>2</sup> Mothers still sue for their sons' brides.

<sup>3</sup> Words are often inserted to complete the metre. *Burnus*, fine linen cloak.

<sup>4</sup> Throughout this song the words *ya mămă* (O mother) are inserted before the next to the last word of each stanza, when sung. See also the song no. 2, note 3.

<sup>5</sup> Literally:—come to an end.

<sup>6</sup> *Hâl* = *hâdi il-*.

<sup>7</sup> Cant. 2 3<sup>b</sup>; 8 5.

<sup>8</sup> Variant: ... *biryâha, hîyye-l-fallâha, ya mâma, mnitmàssah fîha* ...

<sup>9</sup> This stanza is supposed to be sung by the girl.

<sup>10</sup> Cant. 3 1 and 5 6.

<sup>11</sup> Cant. 5 11.

<sup>12</sup> The mother is spoken to.

<sup>13</sup> Inserted for the sake of the rhyme.

<sup>14</sup> Cant. 6 10.

<sup>15</sup> *Daim* ذيم is classical. The word is used in this connection very rarely.





- 3 ya<sup>1</sup> tûlha w-alla 'a-tûli l-in<sup>2</sup> fiha mn-il-gûsr (i)šwàyya.  
 4 ya râsha râs il-ḥamâma minhu -j-jadâyil<sup>3</sup> marḥiyya  
 5 w-êš<sup>4</sup> agûllak fi-l-i'yûn?<sup>5</sup> w-itgûl i'yûn guzlâniyya.  
 6 w-êš agûllak fi-l-munḥâr? w-itgûl fustga ḥalabiyya.<sup>6</sup>  
 7 w-êš agûllak fi šfâfha? w-itgûl lôza țariyya.<sup>7</sup>  
 8 ya tûmmha ḥâtm(i)slimân<sup>8</sup> nsiddo bi-l-'asrawiyya.  
 9 w-isnânha lâqm il-lûlu maškûka šakka zêniyya.  
 10 w-êš agûllak fi-l-inhûd? w-itgûl rummân mallisiyya.<sup>9</sup>  
 11 w-êš agûllak fi bātṇha? mātwi țayya 'a -țayya.  
 12 w-êš agûllak fi-l-ifḥâd? w-itgûl šâm'a maḍwiyya.<sup>10</sup>  
 13 w-êš awaššiflak gûnjha? w-itgûl ta'lim in-nûriyya . . .<sup>11</sup>

- 1 When I was returning home, taking the Eastern path,  
 2 When I was returning home a delicate girl met me.  
 3 Her height is, by God, my height, though she may be a little shorter.  
 4 Her head is like a dove's head from which her locks hang loose.

<sup>1</sup> Ya is the "oh" of admiration.—Class. *yâ-li* جال.

<sup>2</sup> Lin is the contraction of *wa lau in* ولو ان (colloquially *lawann* لوان); it may, however, be derived from the classical *la-in* لئن though.

<sup>3</sup> *Jadâyil* جدایل. Cant. 4 3.

<sup>4</sup> Weš is the contraction of the Class. *wa-šyû* وایش (coll. وایش).

<sup>5</sup> (I)'yûn another plural form of 'inên—عينين.

<sup>6</sup> *Fustug ḥalabi* فستق حلبی *pistacia vera* (*staphylea pinnata*) is the best sort of the pistachio nut. The colour of the prepared fruit resembles the *qamḥi* قمحی, wheat colour (Cant. 7 26) which is in our opinion the best colour for the human body. Whereas the "golden" colour *dāhabi* ذهبي, Cant. 5 14 and 15 (reddish) is considered second to it.

<sup>7</sup> Green almonds are very much liked, because they are the first fresh green things after the winter and their sour taste makes them the more agreeable.

<sup>8</sup> *Ḥâtm (i)Slimân* خانم سليمان. This expression is taken over from the Jewish magic by the way of the Arabian Nights; cf. the story of the porter and the three sisters. Here it conveys the meaning that it is a magical thing and at the same time so small that it can be covered by a small nickel piece. Besides, a small mouth is said to be a true sign of a *vulva angusta*.

<sup>9</sup> *Rummân mallisi* رمان ملیسی is a sort of pomegranate of middle size having unusually small grains and very delicious. *Kufr Kenna*, the traditional Cana in Galilee (St. John 2 1) and *ʿAin ʿArîq* عين عریق north of Jerusalem are famous for this fruit. Cf. the notes to the seventh chapter.

<sup>10</sup> *ʾAbyad zai iš-šâm* ابيض زي الشمع is a simile for whiteness. The word *maḍwiyye* مضویه seems to have been inserted for the sake of the rhyme only.

<sup>11</sup> *Nûri* نوري *nûriyye* نوریه *nâwar* نور *nûriyyât* نوريات, masculine and feminine words for "gypsy," singular and plural. The gypsy woman dances coquettishly. Here it means that she is a mistress of coquetry.

- 5 "How shall I describe her eyes?" "Say, they are gazelle eyes."  
 6 "How shall I describe her nose?" "Say, it is a pistachio nut from Aleppo."  
 7 "How shall I describe her lips?" "Say, (they are) a fresh almond."  
 8 Her mouth is like King Solomon's signet, we may cover it with a metlik piece.  
 9 And her teeth are a chain of pearls elegantly strung . . .  
 10 "How shall I describe her breasts?" "Say, they are Mallisi pomegranates."  
 11 "How shall I describe her belly?" "Say, it is one fold over another."  
 12 "How shall I describe her thighs?" "Say, a lighted candle."  
 13 "How shall I depict her coquetry?" "Say, it is like that of a gipsy woman..."

## XVII

- 1 yâ gâzâli,<sup>1</sup> kêfa 'anni ab'adûk, šattatu šamli wi-hâjri 'awwadûk?  
 2 sâkkar il-hâris<sup>2</sup> 'alâyya-l-bâb u-râḥ, 'al-li ma-ftâḥ-lak la-bâkir is-šabâḥ  
 3 iftaḥîli,<sup>3</sup> âḥ, yâ sitt il- milâḥ,<sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup> bass il-lêle nâyimûni 'indakum.<sup>6</sup>

- 1 O, my gazelle, how did they remove you from me?  
 They separated us and accustomed you to be far from me.  
 2 The watchman shut the door on me and went away,  
 Saying to me: "I'll not open it for you before to-morrow morning."  
 3 O, mistress of the fair ones, pray, open it for me,  
 And let me sleep only this night at your house!

## XVIII

- tiški, t'ûl: ya ḥârim<sup>7</sup> jifni n-nôm, ya ḥârim.<sup>8</sup>  
 âna min ḥubbi fik,<sup>9</sup> ya jamîl,<sup>10</sup> ṭarrâzt ismak 'a-maḥârim,  
 kûll il-(i)mlâḥ šihdû-li fik innak ḥîlu,<sup>11</sup> lâkin zâlim

1 Cant. 2 9; 2 17; 8 14. The gazelle is the ideal of grace.

2 Cant. 3 3. *Vide* song no. 2, stanza 5.

3 Cant. 5 2.

4 Cant. 1 8; 5 7; 6 1.

5 *Vide* note to Cant. 1 3.

6 The metre is:  $\underline{\text{u}} \text{ } \text{u} \text{ } \underline{\text{u}} \text{ } \text{u} \text{ } \underline{\text{u}} \text{ } \text{u} \text{ } \underline{\text{u}} \text{ } \text{u} \text{ } \underline{\text{u}} \text{ } \text{u}$   
 $\underline{\text{u}} \text{ } \text{u} \text{ } \underline{\text{u}} \text{ } \underline{\text{u}} \text{ } \text{u} \text{ } \underline{\text{u}} \text{ } \text{u} \text{ } \underline{\text{u}} \text{ } \text{u} \text{ } \underline{\text{u}}$

7 Participle of *ḥrm*  $\text{حرم}$  to prohibit, to deny.

8 Cant. 3 1 and 5 2.

9 Cant. 1 3<sup>b</sup>; cf. also Cant. 3 10.

10 Cant. 4 7 and 6 9.

11 Cant. 1 16 and 2 14<sup>b</sup>.

yâ mâhlāk ya ḥilu lāmman tintirih<sup>1</sup> la-n-nôm . . .  
 tiswàdd 'èni u min taht itbân li  
 yâ a'azz min nûr 'èni,<sup>2</sup> fên kùnt il-yôm?  
 ilak warttên ya ḥilu w-int šâḥi, w-àrb'a la-n-nôm.<sup>3</sup>  
 'àla šàrt, ya jamil, marilak bayâd bàṭni:—<sup>4</sup>  
 yinzal 'alêk in-nàda,<sup>5</sup> tiskar talatîn yôm . . .<sup>6</sup>

She complains and says:—"O, you, who have denied sleep to my eyelids.  
 Because of my love for you, fair one, I've embroidered your name on  
 handkerchiefs.

All the pretty girls assured me that you are sweet, but cruel—  
 How fair are you, sweet one, when you are stretched in sleep . . .!  
 My eye darkens and beneath you appear to me;  
 O, you, who are dearer than the light of my eyes, where have you been  
 to-day?  
 You have two roses when you are awake, and four when sleeping—  
 On condition, O fair one, that I do not show you the whiteness of  
 my belly—  
 (Otherwise) the dew would fall on you and you would be drunk for  
 thirty days."

<sup>1</sup> This word is classical and is not used elsewhere. It stands for the colloquial *titmàddad* تتمدّد or *titlâ'aḥ* تتلقّح. — Cant. 7 7.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Psalm 17 8.

<sup>3</sup> A similar passage is the following:—

*ḥabîbi 'a-l-'ên gâyib*  
*w-âna 'àlbi 'alêh dâgib*  
*ya ràbbi tǵibo w-ašâhid*  
*wàrd ḥàddo w-il-yâsimîn . . .*

حبيبي ع العين غايب  
 وانا قلبي عليه دايب  
 يا ربي تجيبه واشاهد  
 ورد خده والياسمين

My beloved is absent at the well

And my heart melts for him.

O God, I beg Thee to bring him to me,

That I may see the roses of his cheek and the jasmine (of his face).

Cant. 6 12 and 6 7.

<sup>4</sup> Cant. 5 14. According to the above cited book of Preuss, *Biblisch-talmudische Medizin*, the rabbis interdicted the coitus nudus, and this is where Mohammedan tradition follows them.

<sup>5</sup> Cant. 5 2. Cf. also Daniel 4 22-30 for Nebuchadnezzar's disease; the dew is believed to be harmful to the eyes.

<sup>6</sup> This is a so-called *mauwâl maš'ri*. Metre and rhyme are deliberate. See note to the *palaest. Diwan* of Professor Dalman. During the winter season 1920/21 the "actress" *Frôssô* sang this *mauwâl* in the *variété cafés* of Jerusalem.

## XIX

1	yâ gâwye šambarik mâl <sup>1</sup> yâ šâhbi fi šâfa l-gôr <sup>3</sup>	w-il -hâdd bâyyan hamâra . . . <sup>3</sup> nimši 'âla dâu nârha.
2	râsha hammâs <sup>4</sup> w-iš-šâ'ir bisbâs <sup>6</sup>	râbi fi Tôbâs <sup>5</sup> jadâilo ragâyib. <sup>7</sup>
3	šid(i)rha ha-l-lôh w-il-gâl(i)b majrûh	hallâni anûh biddi-le ṭabîb. <sup>8</sup>
4	bât(i)nha hallâs <sup>9</sup> là trâfignâš	yâ ṭâyî l-igmâš w-âḥirtak (i)tîb.
5	ḥâš(i)rha n-naḥîl <sup>10</sup> là trâfignâš	yâ šallit ḥarîr w-âḥirtak (i)tmîl.
6	ḥâš(i)rha n-naḥîl là trâfignâš	yâ 'ûd in-naḥîl <sup>11</sup> w-âḥirtak (î)tmîl.
7	ṭummha l-miltamm <sup>12</sup> u mâtâ bniltamm	zâd il-gâl(i)b hâmm 'a-frâš il-ḥabîb? <sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This song is a *mhâha*. On the different forms of song cf. Dalman's preface to his excellent *palaestinscher Diwan*.

<sup>2</sup> Literally, Your cheek has shown its ruddiness, flush. Cant. 6 6; 4 3<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> *Šâfa*: the brink; They would then be walking by night. This verse ends with the exclamation *yâ wâw*!

<sup>4</sup> The meaning of *hammâs* is uncertain. *Muḥîṭ il-Muḥîṭ* does not explain it. I could not get the exact rendering.—Cant. 7 6.

<sup>5</sup> Tôbâs is a village in the Nâblus district. Another village of the same name is said to exist in the Jebel Ḥaurân, but I could not find it on the available maps of Palestine.

<sup>6</sup> *Bisbâs* seems to mean hanging down nicely(?).

<sup>7</sup> *Jdâilo ragâyib* is a curious expression, which stands for "attractive curls," Cant. 4 3 and 6 4.

<sup>8</sup> Cant. 2 5 and 5 8.

<sup>9</sup> Cant. 7 2.

<sup>10</sup> Cant. 7 1.

<sup>11</sup> Cant. 7 7 and 5 14.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. also the song No. 16.

<sup>13</sup> Cant. 3 4 and 8 2.

8 šuftha ya-hûi                      ti'jin fi-l'a'in  
w-il-asâwir<sup>1</sup> fi-l(i)šmâl        u fi l-yamîn...<sup>2</sup>

- 1       O bewitching one, your “mutch” moved,  
           And the red colour of your cheek has appeared...  
 O my friend, on the remotest edge of the Jordan valley  
       We may (safely) walk by the light of her fire...
- 2               Her head is pentagonal—  
               She grew up in Tobas,  
       And her hair hangs down,  
               Its locks are worth having(?)
- 3       Her broad chest  
           Caused me to weep,  
       And the heart is sick  
           And requires a physician.
- 4       Her belly is soft  
           Like a fold of cloth.  
       “Do not follow us—  
           You will be disgraced in the end...”
- 5       Her slender hip  
           Is like a bunch of silk.  
       “Do not follow us—  
           In the long run you will stumble...”
- 6       Her slim leg  
           Is like the stem of the palm tree.  
       “Do not follow us—  
           In the end you will fall...”

<sup>1</sup> Cant. 7 2.

<sup>2</sup> The provenance of this song is the neighbourhood of eṭ-Tayyibe and northwards. The dialect is peasant and in several passages rather hard to render exactly.

Verse one is the refrain. Its metre is:

$\cup \perp \cup \downarrow \cup \cup \_ || \cup \perp \downarrow \cup \cup \downarrow \_$

The general metre for verses two — seven is:  $\left\{ \begin{array}{ccc|ccc} \cup & \cup & - & \cup & - & \cup & - \\ \cup & - & \cup & \cup & - & \cup & - \end{array} \right\}$

Note the division of the verse; the first three stanzas rhyme.

- 7 Her small mouth  
Has added to the sorrows of the heart.  
When shall we meet  
On the beloved's bed?
- 8 I saw her kneading the dough, O brother,  
And the arm rings were on both the right and left hand...

## XX

myn sÿhr 'ynêk arûḥ fên yâ wâ'di? <sup>1 2</sup>  
yâ-lli kawêtni,<sup>3</sup> yâ sâbab wâ'di...  
in jùtt bi-l-waṣl tib'a sâbab sâ'di<sup>4</sup>  
âfraḥ w-a'ûl:—"ḥùbbi mhannîni"<sup>5</sup>  
ya ma sabêṭ<sup>6</sup> nâs myn 'âbli u min bâ'di...<sup>7</sup>

Variant:

myn sÿhr ynêk âna arûḥ fên, ya wâ'di?  
w-aṣbâḥt myn nâr ġarâmak mûbtala u wâḥdi.  
lô zûrtani fard lêle yâ kamâl sâ'di  
âfraḥ w-akîd il-'azûl:—"ḥùbbi mhannîni"  
yâ ma sabêṭ (y)'ûl innâs myn 'âbli u min bâ'di.

Where shall I flee from the spell of your eyes—alas.  
You, whose love has burnt me, O cause of my felicity.  
If you'll bestow your charms on me, you'll be the cause of my happiness;  
I shall rejoice and say: "My beloved regales me."—  
Oh, how many people before me and since have you taken captive.

Variant:

Where shall I flee from the spell of your eyes—alas.  
Since I have become afflicted by the fire of your love, I am alone.  
If you should visit me one night, O perfection of my happiness,  
I would rejoice and mortify the envious (saying:—) "My friend regales me."  
Oh, how often did you captivate the minds of men,—before me and since.—

<sup>1</sup> This version and another one I know in Jerusalem. I have heard a third one from Miss M. N., Nazareth.

<sup>2</sup> The first stanza reminds one vividly of Psalm 139 7.

<sup>3</sup> Cant. 4 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Sabab sâ'di* سبب سعدي. Cf. *causa nostrae laetitiae* in *Litania Beatae Mariae Virginis*.

<sup>5</sup> *Hâmma'a* هَمَّا (lit. he lets me enjoy [life] fully, Cant. 2 5).

<sup>6</sup> *Sabêṭ* سبيت. Cf. Proverbs 7 26.

<sup>7</sup> The metre does not differ from that of the usual *mauwâl*.

## XXI

1 w-âna nâzil 'a-l-wâdi w-is-sâ'a tintên<sup>1</sup>  
 la'âni l-maḥbûb 'abbâlîni<sup>2</sup> bawwâsni l-ḥaddên.

2 w-âna nâzil 'a-l-wâdi w-id-dinya šita  
 la'âni l-maḥbûb ya 'ênî lâffni b-'abâto . . .<sup>3 4</sup>

1 As I was descending to the valley At two o'clock,  
 There met me the beloved, kissed me, And let me kiss his cheeks.

2 As I was descending to the valley In the rain,  
 My beloved met me (oh my eye!) And wrapped me in his mantle...

## XXII

1 sâfar il-maḥbûb, ma rêtiḥ<sup>5</sup> ya 'ên?  
 šaga-llâh<sup>6</sup> 'a-l-iyâm illi maḍên.<sup>7</sup>

2 šufto lâbis iṣ-šambar,<sup>8</sup> zêno 'amar<sup>9</sup>  
 šibh il-gazâl<sup>10</sup> mšawwar,<sup>11</sup> kaḥîl il-'ên.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The time is two hours after sunrise.

<sup>2</sup> 'Abbâlîni *قَتْلَنِي* stands for the original exclamation *yâ'ênî* *ياعيني*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ruth 3 9. Are these not parallels to Ezekiel 16 8, where we read: *et expandi amictum meum super te, et operui ignominiam tuam?* As the prophet was a captive in Mesopotamia, Ezech. 1 3, he may have taken this allegory from daily life there. In 1915 I was unwillingly witness of an incident which illustrates this passage. There was a man, some twenty yards off the road from Bagdâd to Mo'azzam *المعظم* *بغداد* who, between 8 and 9 A. M., in broad daylight *expandit amiculum* (*'abâye* *عباية*) *suum super puellam*.

<sup>4</sup> The second part of the verse is repeated when sung. The metre is (verse 2):

$$\begin{array}{cccccccc} \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup \\ \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup \end{array} \parallel \begin{array}{cccccccc} \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup \\ \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup \end{array}$$

<sup>5</sup> The classical form of it is *ra'aitih* *رأيتيه*; Cant. 3 3.

<sup>6</sup> Lit., drench (sc. with blessings). This is also a classical expression.

<sup>7</sup> *Mâda* *مضى* pass away, go.

<sup>8</sup> The *šambar* is used only for covering the head, cf. song no. 19, line 1.

<sup>9</sup> His smells are aromatic; cf. Song 36.—Cant. 4 13 seq.

<sup>10</sup> Classical; cf. Cant. 1 9 and 1 17.

<sup>11</sup> *Mšawwar* *مصوّر* formed, lit. painted, formed, Cant. 8 14. This same word is used to translate the passage Isaiah 53 2: He has no form nor comeliness. *لا صورة له ولا جمال*. Cf. first stanza of song 3.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. the song no. 12, first stanza.







- 1 Weep, O my eye, over one who is lonely in the encampment!  
 2 The pangs of separation are both first and second (sc. in my heart).  
 3 I bit the lip of the beloved. At my tongue was the breast of honey,  
 4 O fair one, and I drank in deep draughts.  
 5 Bear witness, O eye (spring, well) to my vow,  
 6 That I will return again to love . . .

## XXV

- 1 'inêki -s-sûd sâgu l-mùbtali, sâgu.<sup>1 2</sup>  
 2 w-iḥdûdik il-ḥumr juwât il-gâdaḥ râgu.<sup>3</sup>  
 3 âju bêt 'izzik lâ mabsamik dâgu<sup>4</sup>  
 4 bâtu sakâra<sup>5</sup> la-nûṣṣ il-lêl ta fâgu . . .

- 1 Your black eyes led the afflicted, they led (him).  
 2 And your red cheeks shone in the wine glass.  
 3 They came to your proud house (O fair one) but they did not taste your mouth,  
 4 (And even so) they spent the night drunk and did not awake until midnight . . .

## XXVI

- 1 ṭil' il-'amar w-i'tâla<sup>6</sup> min yammikum<sup>7</sup> šâḥibi<sup>8</sup>  
 2 milla ḥawâjib u jôz (i)'yûn<sup>9</sup> ilak šâḥibi<sup>8</sup>  
 3 tîfdâk rôḥi l-'azîza in 'ulta li šâḥibi<sup>8</sup>  
 4 mâlak matîlin<sup>10</sup> bën àhl il-hâwa<sup>11</sup> mâlak  
 5 ya nâḥlitin (i)b-ḡûš(u)n<sup>12</sup> kûllma ḥabb il-hâwa mâlak  
 6 lâni ṭam'ân wâla 'êni 'âla mâlak:  
 7 rittak aḥûy 'âla ṭûl il-mâda<sup>13</sup> šâḥibi.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is a *mauwâl*. Heard from Miss M. N., Nazareth.

<sup>2</sup> Cant. 4 9.

<sup>3</sup> Cant. 4 3<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> *mabsam* ميسم laughing party. Cant. 2 3<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Cant. 5 1.

<sup>6</sup> This is a so-called *mauwâl Baḡdâdî*.

<sup>7</sup> *yammikum* يمم stands here for 'indikum and is colloquial; it has nothing to do with the classical *yamm* يم the sea. Does it stand for *jambikum*?

<sup>8</sup> Cant. 5 9 and 8 7<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Cant. 5 12 and 1 15.

<sup>10</sup> *matîl* مثيل plus nunation.

<sup>11</sup> Cant. 1 4<sup>b</sup>; 5 1; 6 1.

<sup>12</sup> Cant. 7 8.

<sup>13</sup> Cant. 8 1.



- 1 Between the brown and the white (sc. girls) I wasted my life.
- 2 The white ones are twice refined sugar, wrapped in silk,
- 3 And the brown ones are perfume of crystal vases, prescribed for the sick.

## XXX

il būlbul nāḡa 'ala ḡusn il-ḡill<sup>1</sup>  
 àh, ya ša'i' in-ny'māni . . .<sup>2</sup>  
 'aṣḡi alāflyf maḡbūbi,<sup>3</sup>  
 bēn il-yasmin w-ir-riḡāni.<sup>4</sup>

ya māmā āna marḡāne<sup>5</sup>  
 bidḡi ḡakīm i(y)ḡawīni<sup>6</sup>  
 ḡāwa l-ḡakīm mā bynfā'ṡi  
 šōfit ḡabibi btikfini.<sup>7</sup>

ḡabibi āja la'ṡndi<sup>8</sup>  
 ya nās, nayyāmto 'āla zṡndi<sup>9</sup>  
 w-il-wārdi fāttaḡ b-il-wajanāt<sup>10</sup>  
 w-il-miski fāyeḡ, yā wā'di.<sup>11 12</sup>

The nightingale warbled on the jasmine bough—

O anemone . . .

I would like to embrace my beloved

Between the jasmine and the basil herb.

O mother, I am sick,

I need a physician to treat me.

<sup>1</sup> *ḡill* (better *ḡyll*) *فل nycanthem zambac*.

<sup>2</sup> *Anemone nemorosa*, or simply *ḡannūn حنون*.

<sup>3</sup> Cant. 6 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Jasminum officinale* and *ocimum basilicum*.

<sup>5</sup> Cant. 5 8.

<sup>6</sup> See song no. 19, verse 3.

<sup>7</sup> See verse 2, song 14.

<sup>8</sup> Cant. 5 2.

<sup>9</sup> See p. 237, n. 1.

<sup>10</sup> See song no. 18, line 8.

<sup>11</sup> Cant. 1 12.

<sup>12</sup> The metre is:—

Verse 2: ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — || ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ —  
 ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — || ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ —

But the physician's medicine is of little avail with me,  
Since the look of my beloved would suffice (to heal) me.

My beloved came to me,  
O ye people, and I let him sleep on my wrist.  
And the roses budded (then) on the cheeks,  
While the musk gave forth its odour, O joy!

## XXXI

- |   |                     |                                      |
|---|---------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1 | yâ bàhr mâ bànzalak | sâfar ḥabîbi fik                     |
| 2 | yâ wârd mâ bà'tufak | ḥumrit (i)ḥdûdo fik                  |
| 3 | yâ kùhl mâ bàṣḥanak | sawâd (i)'yûno fik                   |
| 4 | yâ fârš mâ bà'rabak | âfša (i)nhûdo fik . . . <sup>1</sup> |

- 1 I'll not fare on you, O sea,      For my beloved made a journey on you.  
2 I'll not pluck you, O rose,      Bloom of his cheek is in you.  
3 I'll not grind you, kohl (stibium),      The dark of his eyes is in you.  
4 I'll not approach you, O bed,      For in you he has showed his breasts...

## XXXII

- |   |                           |  |
|---|---------------------------|--|
| 1 | hayyamâtnei, hayyamâtnei, | 'an siwâha ašğalatnei <sup>2</sup>         |
| 2 | lèitani mâ rùhtu ma'ḥa:   | kûntu šâyim faṭṭarâtnei . . . <sup>3</sup> |

- 1 She distracted me, yes, she distracted me,  
    And drew me from everything, save from herself.  
2 O, had I only not gone with her—  
    I was fasting and she made me break the fast . . .<sup>3</sup>

## XXXIII

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1 | gûmi, tjalli <sup>4</sup> yâ bint amîr il-'arab <sup>5</sup> |
| 2 | w-in kân 'alêki 'atab, niḥna 'alêna l-'atab.                 |

<sup>1</sup> This is a portion of a lengthy poem: *makkar* (or *ya zên*) *ya bû-z-zûluf* مككار (يا زين) يا أبو الزلف You sly (fair) one, with locks on the temples.

<sup>2</sup> Cant. 4 9.

<sup>3</sup> Variant: *alḥdît 'a'li dàššarâtnei* احدثت عقلي دشرتني she deprived me of my reason and left me. Sexual intercourse breaks the fast in Ramaḍân.

<sup>4</sup> *Tjalli* تجلى, make the *jalwe* جلوة.

<sup>5</sup> For *bint amîr il-'arab* cf. Cant. 7 2 and Psalm 45 4.



## XXXV

- 1 gûmi, tjàlli u-ḥàlli ha-la'ádi tmût<sup>1</sup>  
 2 yâ sàjrit il-mistka<sup>2</sup> wi-gšûnha yagût.<sup>3</sup>  
 3 niḥn min bêṭ ṭàyyib<sup>4</sup> w-aṣ(i)lna maṭbût,  
 4 w-ijðûdna fi-l-magâbir tistâhil it-tâbût...<sup>5</sup>

- 1 Rise, adorn yourself, and let the enemies die (sc. burst with annoyance),  
 2 O mastic tree with the ruby boughs!  
 3 We come from a noble house and our origin is sure,  
 4 And our ancestors in the graveyards are worth their coffin...

## XXXVI

- 1 ḥàddak u-nàddak<sup>6</sup> u dôrt wiḥhak il-wâsi'  
 2 w-imḥâbbidak bi-glêbi 'àgrab il-lâsi'  
 3 làu ṣâwwamûni ṭaman-t- iyyâm u tâsi'  
 4 l-àḥrib (i)mdinet ḥàlab<sup>7</sup> w-âskun sidrak il-wâsi'.<sup>8</sup>

- 1 Your cheek, your odours and the round shape of your broad face—  
 2 And your love in my heart is a stinging scorpion.  
 3 If they compelled me to fast eight days or even nine,  
 4 I'd destroy the town of Aleppo and dwell on your wide breast.

## XXXVII

- 1 ṭûlak<sup>9 10</sup> ḥâṣab zân<sup>11</sup> wi-grûnak<sup>12</sup> ḥbâl il-bêt<sup>13 14</sup>  
 2 w-int azhêt<sup>15</sup> il-'arab, kin<sup>16</sup> ruḥt w-illa jêt.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is a *zagrûta* from Galilee. (Miss M. N.)

<sup>2</sup> *Sàjrit il-mistka* (*pistacia lentiscus*) is taken over from the Arabian Nights (story of Aladdin and his lamp).

<sup>3</sup> Cant. 7 s.

<sup>4</sup> Cant. 7 l.

<sup>5</sup> The *tâbût* تابوت coffin, is used only for Christian burials.

<sup>6</sup> *Nàddak* نكد could be explained as "your odours" (lit. your ambergris), but it seems rather to be a senseless word rhyming on the preceding one.

<sup>7</sup> It would be more to the point if he stated: *gal'it ḥalab* قلعة حلب the citadel of Aleppo.

<sup>8</sup> Heard in Jerusalem, in the district north of Ramallah, and from Miss M. N., Nazareth.

<sup>9</sup> This song is a *saḥje* from the district north of Jerusalem.

<sup>10</sup> See note 1 to song no. 3. She is addressed.

<sup>11</sup> Cant. 5 15<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> *Grûn* قرون "horns."

<sup>13</sup> *Bêt iṣ-ša'r* بيت الشعر camel's hair tent, or goat's hair tent.

<sup>14</sup> This is a parallel to Cant. 7 s.

<sup>15</sup> *Àzha*, lit., "flourish," here in its transitive sense also.

<sup>16</sup> *Kin*, *cin* stands for *in kân* ان كان—Variant *lyn* = *lau in*.

<sup>17</sup> *Jêt* is corrupt for *àjêt* اجيت classical *jî'ta* or *ataita*.



- 3      yâ-bu nagârîš,<sup>1</sup> yâ-bu jûbbe ḥàḍra,<sup>2</sup>  
 4      jaràḥtni jûrḥ, ṭûl il-ʿûmr mâ yibra.  
 5      w-il-hidb w-il-ʿên sârighin<sup>3</sup> min il -ḡuzlân  
 6      w-il-bàṭn bàṭn -il-ʿâsûf,<sup>4</sup> id-ḡâmir,<sup>5</sup> il-ʿaṭṣân.  
 7      yâ-bu<sup>6</sup>-š-šanâyib<sup>7</sup> ḡâhab<sup>8</sup> l-il-i'lâliye<sup>9</sup>  
 8      ʿaḡḡabt ḡâlbi, yâ-bu ḡagga šmâliya.<sup>10</sup>  
 9      yâ ʿiṣbit<sup>11</sup> il-ʿâmbar<sup>12</sup> min ḥizigha mâlat,  
 10      mâ ḡallha illa iymînak min kâribha šâlat.  
 11      ḡârbi bêt il-amîr mhêra<sup>13</sup> ḡirra<sup>14</sup>  
 12      mšânšile b-id-ḡâhab<sup>15</sup> mâ tintîli<sup>16</sup> bârra.

- 1 Your height is that of the teak log, and your side-locks are like tent-ropes.  
 2 And it is you, who make the Arabs rejoice, whether you go or come...  
 3 O you with the embroidery and the green coat,  
 4 You have given me a wound which throughout life will not heal.  
 5 Your eyelashes and your eyes you have stolen from the gazelle,  
 6 And your belly is that of a noble she-camel, when she is thirsty.  
 7 O you with the mustache who went upstairs to the loft, [solarium]  
 8 You tortured my heart, O you with the tattoo on your cheek.  
 9 Oh, the amber fillet has slipped because it was too tight,  
 10 Only your right hand unloosed it, its tightness made it slip up.  
 11 West of the emir's house is a young filly,  
 12 With golden hangings—she does not come out...

<sup>1</sup> I could not get the singular for this word, so I take it to be *nagš*.

<sup>2</sup> The green colour is preferred, because it is at the same time the colour of the prophet's standard.

<sup>3</sup> Lit., you stole them (fem.).

<sup>4</sup> *ʿÂsûf* عاسوف is "riding camel."

<sup>5</sup> *Ḍâmir* ضامر with slender hips; cf. song 53.

<sup>6</sup> Now she addresses him.

<sup>7</sup> *Šânab* شنب is the singular form. The form *šanâyib* شنایب seems to have been influenced by the plural of the more common word *šârib* شارب *šawârîb* شوارب.

<sup>8</sup> *Ḍâhab* is the classical equivalent of *râh* راه.

<sup>9</sup> *ʿûllyye* is the *solarium* of the Romans.

<sup>10</sup> This is a tattoo mark like a freckle, and is considered to be very attractive.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Esther 6 s.

<sup>12</sup> Cant. 4 11.

<sup>13</sup> Cant. 1 9.

<sup>14</sup> *Ḡirr* غر young, unexperienced.—Cant. 8 s.

<sup>15</sup> Cant. 1 11.

<sup>16</sup> *Btintîli* بتنتلع is one of the rare colloquial Palestinian Arabic words which form a passive, whereas passives are the rule in the Mesopotamian vernacular.

## XXXVIII

- 1 Yâ tûlak tûl 'ûd il-gàna w-il 'ûng mâyl mël<sup>1 2</sup>  
 2 w-il -hàs(i)r min riggito hadd il-gûwa w-il-hêl.  
 3 ya nâyimîn id-ḏàḥa<sup>3</sup> (i)tnabbahu bi-l-lêl  
 4 hâdi l-'arûs il-'âmbara w-illi 'alêha l-'ên.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 O you, whose height is that of the lance, your neck is bent,  
 2 And your hip, by its slenderness, has caused the loss of all (my) strength.  
 3 O you, who sleep in the fore-noon, watch in the night—  
 4 This is the bride, the amber one, on whom each eye is cast . . .

## XXXIX

- 1 Ya ḥabbîl il-binn Âlla w-in-nabî ḥabbîk<sup>5</sup>  
 2 fî blâd il-yâman<sup>6</sup> ma yizra'u ḥabbîk.  
 3 l-aşîr darwîş w-adârwiş 'âla ḥubbîk<sup>7</sup>  
 4 yihtik sabîl il-şâfik wâla ḥabbîk . . .<sup>8</sup>

- 1 God and the Prophet loved you, O coffee-bean,  
 2 Even in Yemen they do not plant a bean like you.  
 3 I'll become a dervish and lead an ascetic lip for your love's sake—  
 4 Confound the one who saw you and did not love you.

## XL

- 1 yâ râyiḥ şmâl u bâss gûllo  
 2 u sâllim 'al-ḥabîb u bâss gûllo<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the metre cf. note on no. 42.

<sup>2</sup> The bent neck and the slender hip make the figure more attractive.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ḥneiyiyina* song no. 8, note 3.

<sup>4</sup> Heard in Jerusalem (M. T.) and also from Miss M. N., Nazareth.

<sup>5</sup> This is a Mohammedan stanza. As the prepared coffee bean is brown, a girl of dark complexion is likened to it.—Cant. 15.

<sup>6</sup> Yemen is Arabia Felix.

<sup>7</sup> The Mohammedan *derwîş* درویش is often married, since celibacy is not a *conditio sine qua non* for his class. But the poet apparently likes the rôle of Schiller's *Ritter Toggenburg*.

<sup>8</sup> The source of the song is Galilee. (Miss M. N.)

<sup>9</sup> This form of imploring is used in Cant. 5<sup>b</sup>. The song is from the north of Jerusalem. [N. H. S.]



- 5           ‘ala nàhr-iş-şâfa wîrdat ḥalîme  
 6           jadâyil sûd w-arḥâthin ḥalîme<sup>1</sup>  
 7           rûḥin, yâ bîd, ma-ntinniş ḡanîme<sup>1</sup>  
 8           tà'in yâ sûmr,<sup>2</sup> yâ 'izz -iş-şahâba.  
  
 9           naşâme-l-bîd ta'màtni m'âllil<sup>3</sup>  
 10          u-wîḡhin ka-l-bâdr-yîdwi ma' il-lêl<sup>4</sup>  
 11          ‘ala frâḡhin il-jism şâr m'âllal<sup>5</sup>  
 12          ṭariḥ il-fârş min yâmm-iş-şahâba.<sup>6 7</sup>

- 1    I spent the night counting the stars alone,  
 2    And embracing the white breasts beside me.  
 3    O my cousins—each one of them  
 4    Strikes a bird from the ninth heaven (with her glance)!  
  
 5    To the clear spring Halîme went for water.  
 6    Her black locks—she let them hang loose.  
 7    Away with you, O white ones, for you are not worth getting!  
 8    Come, you brown ones, O best of friends!  
  
 9    The fairest of white ones flattered me with vain hopes.  
 10   Their face is as the full moon, which shines at night.  
 11   When they left my body withered away,  
 12   Confined to bed—by my great love for my friends.

<sup>1</sup> Cant. 6 4.

<sup>2</sup> Cant. 1 5.

<sup>3</sup> This is in the plural.

<sup>4</sup> Cant. 6 10.

<sup>5</sup> Cant. 5 8 and 2 5.

<sup>6</sup> *‘Atâba* verses are *par excellence* the product of the country. The provenance of these verses is the district north of Ramallah.

<sup>7</sup> The metre differs with nearly every verse given in this paper. We may scan it thus:—

Verse 1:   ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ —   |   ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ —  
             ◡ — ◡ — — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ —   |   — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ —

Verse 2:   — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — —   |   ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ —  
             — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — —   |   — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ —

Verse 3:   ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — — ◡ — —   |   ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ —  
             — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — —   |   ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ —



- 3 I adjure you by the prophet, O well, did they not come?  
 4 Did not the cattle of my friends come to water?"
- 5 The dove cried out and said: "I come to you,  
 6 At midnight I came to you, O my beloved.  
 7 I thought there were torches at the door of your house,  
 8 But lo, your cheeks were turned toward me."...

## XLIII

- 1 jàmb id-dâr l-azrà' lak lemûne  
 2 kùll in-nâs 'âla hùbbak lâmûni  
 3 sâne u šahrên<sup>1</sup> lâ kiswe wâla mûne:—  
 4 ašâhdak bâs-šubbî u mâsa . . . ba.
- 1 Near the house I shall plant a lemon tree for you.  
 2 Everbody has blamed me for my love of you;  
 3 (I have been) a year and two months without clothes or food,  
 4 (Living) only by seeing you morning and evening.

## XLIV

- 1 gaṭà't (i) jbâl mâ fiha d(u)rûbi<sup>2</sup>  
 2 w-imšit il-lêl w-âhli ma d(i)ru bî  
 3 w-âna lau âdri l-manâya fi d(u)rûbi<sup>3</sup>  
 4 gâbl ma-mšit waddà't il-ḥabâba . . .<sup>4</sup>
- 1 I crossed mountains, where there were no paths,  
 2 I wandered all the night and my relatives did not know where I was.  
 3 If I had known that death was in my path,  
 4 Before departing, I would have bidden farewell to the beloved ones.

## XLV

- 1 w-âna l-ašîḥ šoṭ "Allâhu âkbar"<sup>5</sup>  
 2 'âla-lli nhûdha rummân u âkbar.

<sup>1</sup> *Sane u šahrên* سنه وشهرين is a long, unlimited period; cf. above, song 8, 5; 22, 4; p. 226, n. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Cant. 2 s.

<sup>3</sup> Cant. 4 s.

<sup>4</sup> There are four variants to this song; this form comes from Tûl-karm.

<sup>5</sup> *Allâh(u) âkbar* الله أكبر are the introductory words of the *adân* اذان, the call to prayer. They express also astonishment or admiration.

- 3 w-àna ḥâyif yijîni š-šêb u- âkbar <sup>1</sup>  
 4 u tikrah šôfti ḥilwa l- 'iṣâba.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 I'll cry out: "Great is God,"  
 2 For her whose breasts are pomegranates and larger.  
 3 But I fear that old age will befall me,  
 4 Then she of the beautiful fillet will hate the sight of me.

## XLVI

- 1 mârâg <sup>3</sup> 'anni bitlâffat ḥawalêh  
 2 biswa l-ḥôš <sup>4</sup> w-in-nâzil ḥawalêh <sup>5</sup>  
 3 kašâft iṣ-ṣidr <sup>6</sup> u bân li ḥawalêh  
 4 gâmar w-(i)njûm fi 'âl -is-sâma . . . ba.

- 1 He passed by me, turning his head on all sides;  
 2 He is worth the house and everything around it.  
 3 I uncovered his breast and there appeared around it  
 4 The moon and the stars in the height of heaven.

## XLVII

- 1 yâ tûlak tûl 'ûd iz-zân lâ mâl <sup>7</sup>  
 2 u-šâ'rak gâlab il(i)jdâl lâ mâl <sup>8</sup>  
 3 u-bâyyak, <sup>9</sup> lâ ârḍa ṣîḡa <sup>10</sup> wâlâ mâl  
 4 u-kîf ir-râi 'indak w-il-jawâba?

- 1 O you, whose height is that of an unbending teak,  
 2 Whose hair surpasses the stiffest braids in stiffness.  
 3 By your father, I do not want bridal gift nor wealth,—  
 4 What is your opinion and your answer?

<sup>1</sup> Old age is here personified; cf. Latin *senectus*. Is. 46 4.

<sup>2</sup> 'Iṣâba عصابه poetical form for (y)'šbe عصبه; cf. song 37, line 9 and Est. 6 s.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. song 3, line 4.

<sup>4</sup> Ḥôš حوش answers here to the German "Haus und Hof".

<sup>5</sup> In-nâzil ḥawalêh النازل حواليه, all (the property) stretching around it.—  
 Cant. 6 9 10.

<sup>6</sup> Ṣidr صدر is here and elsewhere pronounced like *sidr* سدر.

<sup>7</sup> Cant. 5 15 and 7 s. Wâlâ mâl ولا مال and did not bend.

<sup>8</sup> Cant. 6 4 and 6 e.

<sup>9</sup> Bayyak بيك is diminutive of *abûk* ابوك.

<sup>10</sup> Ṣîḡa صيغه is pronounced as *sîḡa* سيغه.

## XLVIII

- 1           yâ tûlak tûl 'ûd iz- zân w-il- mēs<sup>1</sup>  
 2           u ḥāddak<sup>2</sup> ma ribi bi-l-yāman w-il-gēs<sup>3</sup>  
 3           ḥsāra ya l-(i)mliḥa yôḥdik tēs<sup>4</sup>  
 4           u yûgtuf ward ḥāddik 'a-n-nāda . . . ba<sup>5</sup>

- 1       O you, whose height is that of the teak and the tile tree,  
 2       Your cheek did not grow among Yemen nor Qais.  
 3       What a pity, O fair one, that a he-goat should marry you  
 4       And pluck the rose of your cheek in the dew . . .

## XLIX

- 1           yâ tûlak tûl nāhle<sup>6</sup> fi sarāya<sup>7</sup>  
 2           wi-ḥdūdak<sup>8</sup> ḥumr w-išfāfak tarāya  
 3           min (i)ṣtambûl l-ab'ātlak marāya<sup>9</sup>  
 4           wi-tmāra u šûf,<sup>10</sup> ya 'izz<sup>11</sup> il-ḥabāba . . .

- 1       O you, whose height is that of a palm tree in a serail,  
 2       Your cheeks are red and your lips are fresh.  
 3       I'll send you mirrors from Constantinople,  
 4       Look into the mirrors and gaze, O best-beloved.

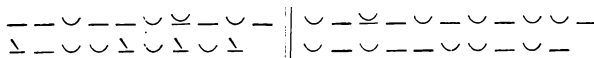
<sup>1</sup> The Latin name for *mēs* شجرة الميس is *celtis australis*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ḥāddak*, your cheek, is used here *pars pro toto*.—Cant. 1 18.

<sup>3</sup> Qaisî and Yāmanî قيسي و يمنى are the two political parties in Palestine. Cf. the article of Mr. E. N. Haddad in the *Journal*, Vol. I., pp. 209 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Tēs* تيس he-goat is the symbol of stupidity.

<sup>5</sup> Cant. 6 1. Cf. the note to the text of Cant. 7 12. Cant. 7 12 is somewhat similar. The metre is:



<sup>6</sup> Cant. 7 8.

<sup>7</sup> *Sarāya*, سرايا, seḥai.

<sup>8</sup> Cant. 6 8.

<sup>9</sup> *Stambûl* is the Paris of the Orient. Variant: *u min iṣ-šam* . . . ومن الشام and from Damascus.

<sup>10</sup> *Sc.* your beauty.

<sup>11</sup> Or: O pride of the beloved.



## L

- 1 anâm il-lêl w-âhlam bik<sup>1</sup> b-hidwâi<sup>2</sup>  
 2 hafîfîn, haţţamat<sup>3</sup> gdâmo bhidwâi<sup>2</sup>  
 3 ħakûli 'an ţa'm rîgo bî dwâi<sup>4</sup>  
 4 širib minno l-'alîl tûmma ţâba.

- 1 I sleep at night and dream of you, in peace,  
 2 O light of foot, whose walk is graceful.  
 3 They told me of the healing taste of his palate;—  
 4 The patient drank of it and recovered . . .

## LI

- 1 'a'tâba b-âwwal iz-zênât ħuţţî<sup>5</sup>  
 2 zabâd u nâdd 'al-garmûl ħuţţî<sup>6</sup>  
 3 (i) 'yûnik nâhr min ûmmo warâtto<sup>7</sup>  
 4 u sidrik rôḍ<sup>8</sup> min tâhto l-i'sâba . . .<sup>9 10</sup>
- 1 Sing an 'atâba to the first of the fair;  
 2 Put civet and ambergris on your braid.  
 3 Your eyes are a river, from whose source I drew,  
 4 And your breast is a garden, with herbs underneath . . .

<sup>1</sup> Cant. 3 1 (Psalm 63 6).

<sup>2</sup> Derived from class. *hudu* هــدو, an unusual form, here only for the rhyme.

<sup>3</sup> *Haţţam* حـطـم walking mincingly, proudly.—Cant. 7 1.

راحت تتخطم هي وما هي وخت في القلب حربه مجليه  
*rahîṭ tyţţĥaţţam ħiyye u-ma ħiyye? u ħallat fi-l-'alîb ħarbe majliyye.*

She went, walking mincingly, Is it really she, or is it not she?

And she left in my heart a bright spear.

<sup>4</sup> Cant. 7 9. Cf. line 8 of song 32.

<sup>5</sup> Cant. 5 9.

<sup>6</sup> Cant. 3 6.

<sup>7</sup> Cant. 5 12 (7 9).

<sup>8</sup> Cant. 6 11.

<sup>9</sup> This is a metaphor taken from the Koran: جـنـات تـجـري مـن تـحـتـها الـانـهار.

<sup>10</sup> Variant: *u-sidrik rôḍ mārta' la-š-šabāba* وصدرك روض مرتع للشبابا  
 Your breast is a garden and a grazing place for youths.

Variant for lines 3 and 4 (supposed to be said by "her"):

(i)'yûni lak manâhl lo warâtte عيوني لك مناهل لو وردته  
 u sidri rôḍ binjytlak 'jšâba. وصدري روض بينبت لك عشا با

My eyes are springs for you, if you come to drink.

And my breast is a garden, with herbs sprouting forth for you.—Cant. 8 2.

## LII

• jarāḥni b-hidb (i)yûno w-il-(i)myâli<sup>1</sup>  
 bi-gālbi la-ḥayyikum<sup>2</sup> zâdat imyâli.  
 ḥabâbi, lēš ta-zittûni (i)myâli<sup>3</sup>  
 bâ'd ma kûnt ašâḥḥ (i)mn il-gâna . . . ba?<sup>4</sup>

He wounded me with his eyelashes and koḥl pencils . . .  
 In my heart swells affection for your tent . . .  
 O friends, why did you increase my affliction  
 After being straighter than a lance?

## LIII

mâ ḥilî-li ġêr ṭûlha<sup>5</sup> b-wašt<sup>6</sup> dâmir  
 bâḥlytna<sup>7</sup> šibh il- 'ūd b-wašt<sup>6</sup> dâmir.  
 âna l-arkab salâyil ḥêl ašâyil  
 w-adâwwir<sup>8</sup> 'à wlifi<sup>9</sup> fi-l-ḥâla<sup>10</sup> . . . ba

I never admired anything like her form with a slender hip;  
 She, who is chary of her charms, is slender as a bough.  
 I'll ride on noble relay horses  
 To search for my playmate in the desert . . .

## LIV

Ḥabibi<sup>11</sup> ġâb<sup>12</sup>  
 Wâna 'albi dâb<sup>13</sup>  
 Ba'â lo zamân  
 Ma ba'âtši jawâb.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> (Y)myâl اميال is the plural form of *mîl* ميل, the koḥl pencil, cf. Cant. 4 9.

<sup>2</sup> Ḥayy حَيّ encampment.

<sup>3</sup> Cant. 5 8.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. first stanza of song 38.

<sup>5</sup> Cant. 7 7.

<sup>6</sup> Wašt is pronounced with partial assimilation *wâšt* (وسط).

<sup>7</sup> Bâḥlytna, better *bahlytna* باخلتنا for *bâḥle 'alēna* باخله علينا.

<sup>8</sup> Cant. 5 6.

<sup>9</sup> Walîf وليف; cf. song No. 40, stanza 1.

<sup>10</sup> Cant. 3 6.

<sup>11</sup> Cant. 3 1<sup>b</sup>; 1 7.

<sup>12</sup> Cant. 3 1<sup>b</sup> and 5 6.

<sup>13</sup> Cant. 5 8 and 2 6.

<sup>14</sup> Cant. 7 11.

- 2                   Ûkšif 'alàyya  
                  Ya řabīb  
                  'Àla-lli atâni  
                  Min il-řabīb.<sup>1</sup>
- 3                   Wàllah yâ rābb  
                  ha-l-āmru 'ajīb <sup>2</sup>  
Wàna 'albi dāb  
                  'Àla l-ařbāb.<sup>3 4 5</sup>
- 1                   My beloved is away  
                  And my heart has melted.—  
For a long while  
                  He has sent no message.
- 2                   Examine me  
                  Oh physician,  
As to what I suffered  
                  On behalf of the beloved one.
- 3                   By God, Oh Lord!  
                  This is a wondrous thing;  
Yet my heart melted  
                  For the beloved ones.

---

<sup>1</sup> Cant. 5 8 and 2 5.

<sup>2</sup> I. e., love—Cant. 8 6<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> This word is put in the plural for the sake of the rhyme.

<sup>4</sup> This song, from which several verses are omitted, is known all over Palestine and Syria. I heard it in 1912 in Aleppo.

<sup>5</sup> The rhyme is good; the metre runs thus:—

    ∪ ∩ ∪ ∩      ∩ ∪ ∩ ∪ ∩  
    ∪ ∩ ∪ ∪ ∩    ∩ ∪ ∩ ∪ ∪ ∩

عروسته هالشليه  
واشترها بماله  
يام العريس كوني شرحه  
ومحبجه لا تنغاضي  
خلي العزيب يتجوز  
وينحف رجله عن داري

## ٧١

نادولي العريس لاقشع حالته  
لاقشع بياض عنقه وا قبل شاماته  
قصفه من الريحان شقة عباته  
جيبوا ابرة الفضة وخيط الملميسي  
ونادولي العريس لاقشع حاله  
بالله يا امه نادي خواته  
يرقصوا للعريس بالشمعه المضويه



٦٧

ابو حاجب ابو كدله ابو عين ابو شعير ثلاثة اذرع وباعين  
وبالله عليك تلني بالحضين ترى الدنيا فيها موت وحياء - با

٦٨

ابو جعود عليك الجعد بالزين جوز حواجب خط القلم بالزين  
على سدر الحليوى جوز بزين قمر ونجوم حولهم مشعشعه - با

٦٩

يا مية اهلا وسهلا في قدمكم لبس الجوخ يصلح لقدمكم  
الارض اليابسة اللي داسها قدمكم اخضرت والعشب فيها انتشى - با

٧٠

عريسنا هالماوردي ايه  
بدي اعزمه الليله عندي ايه  
يا عروسته هالشلبيه ايه  
يا خدودها تنقط وردى ايه  
طنج طينجه من حاله ايه  
يعيش ودراعه ببقاله ايه

٦٣

حيبي طل من الشباك لاشوفك  
يا ديب النمل يا حمرة شفوفك  
عليم الله يوم ما بشوفك  
علي اليوم اكثر من سنه — با

٦٤

يا صحن ليّه      ومغطى بشاوريه  
زلوا من الطريق زلوا      لتمرّق السريه

٦٥

يا ام العروس يا ملكه      يا لولو بشبكه  
اعطينا عروسنا      وعوضينا البركه

٦٦

مرد      يا وجه القمر يا عروسه      يا مدور كما الصينيه  
عريسك وصى السايغ      يسوغلّك ساعه شلييه  
ابوك وصى السايغ      يسوغلّك اسواره الفيه

٦٠

شال كشميرك يا عروس غيرني  
لاحظ زندي عَلَى زندك وانزل عَلَى البساتين  
لاقطف العنب فوق العنب تين  
لاقطف عنقود المحبة حتى تحبيني

٦١

قومي يا عروس حل الرواح  
والبلبل غنى والديك صاح  
تحت شباك عريسك سايع اسمه صلاح  
يسوغ اساور ذهب لايديك الملاح

٦٢

بباضك بباض الورقه  
وحمره خدودك خلقه  
واللي معه المال يوخد متلك جميله  
واللي ما معه مال ببقى ممقوت خلقه

\*\*\*

٥٧

حبّيتي نزلت عالدار لبست  
جلال مطرز على الراس لبست  
تحا كيني ترى الروح ببست  
انا العليل وهي لي الدوا — با

٥٨

دقت الطبول والزمور      من دخلتك للدار  
وشعشت التريا      والقنديل يقدح نار  
والقمر في السما      وايش نزله للدار ؟  
نجمة الصبح سبقت      نجمة الغرار

٥٩

لبستك الزهري      نزلتك وادي  
اصطادها يا عريس      ان كنت صياد  
اصطادها يا عريس      وا قبل صيدها  
اصطادها يا عريس      وست البنات هادي



٥٤

- ١ حبيبي غاب وانا قلبي ذاب بقی له زمان مابعث جواب
- ٢ اكشف علي يا طبيب عاللي اتاني من الحبيب
- ٣ والله يا رب هالامر عجيب وانا قلبي ذاب على الاحباب

تنبيه

ليس « للغنائي والزلاغيط » التابعة ترجمة او نقل او اي ملاحظة في القسم الانكليزي  
من هذه المقالة . وجل المراد من سردها تنعيم الفائدة

٥٥

ناعورة الدوم تنعق « يا حبيبي » تعن  
وعينها تعتن عزم المقيم تعن  
ناشدتها بالمسيح « مالك تنوحي » ؟ تعن  
قالت : « ولفني فارقت يا بلوتي مرّاي  
مرّاي لو بنظرك ولف الصبا مرّاي  
ما كان قلبي مدي . الروح بطلت تعن »

٥٦

عريسنا يا زيتونه والزيت بنقط منه  
وعريسنا وحيد يارب كتر منه

۵۱

- |   |                           |
|---|---------------------------|
| ۱ | عتابا بول الزينات حطي     |
| ۲ | زباد وند عالقرمول حطي     |
| ۳ | عيونك نهر من امه وردته    |
| ۴ | وسدرك روض من تحته العشابا |
- [ وسدرك روض ومرتع للشبابا ]

۵۲

- |   |                                |
|---|--------------------------------|
| ۱ | جرخني بهدب عيونه والميال       |
| ۲ | بقلبي لحيكم زادت اميالي        |
| ۳ | حبابي ليش ته زدتوني ميال       |
| ۴ | بعدهما كنت أصح من القنا — با ؟ |

۵۳

- |   |                              |
|---|------------------------------|
| ۱ | ما حايلى غير طولها بوسط ضامر |
| ۲ | باختنا شبه العود بوسط ضامر   |
| ۳ | انا لاركب سلايل خيل اصايل    |
| ۴ | وادور عَ وليفي بالخللا — با  |

## ٤٨

يا طولك طول عود الزان والميس  
وخذك ما ربي باليمن والقيس  
خساره يا المليحه يوخذك تيس  
ويقطف ورد خدك عالندى — يا

## ٤٩

يا طولك طول نخله في سرايا  
وخدودك حمر وشفافك طرايا  
من اسطمبول [او من الشام] لابت لك مرايا  
وتمازى وشوف يا غز الحبايا

## ٥٠

انام الليل واحلم ببك بهدواي  
خفيف خطمت اقدمه بهدواي  
حكولي عن طعم ريقه بيه دواي  
شرب منه العليل ثم طابا

٤٥

وانا لاصبح صوت « الله اكبر »  
على اللي نهودها رمان واكبر  
وانا خايف يجيني الشيب واكبر  
وتكره شوقي حلوه العصابه

٤٦

مرق غني ببتلفت حواليه  
ببسوى الدار والنازل حواليه  
كشفت السدر وبان لي حواليه  
قمر ونجوم في عالي السما — با [ مشعشه — با ]

٤٧

يا طولك طول عود الزان لا مال  
وشعرك غلب الجدال لا مال  
وبيك لا ارضى صيغه ولا مال  
وكيف الراي عندك والجوابا ؟

زعق طير الحمام وقال : « جيتك  
بنص الليل يا محبوبي جيتك  
حسبت مشاعل بيباب بيتك  
اتاريهن خدودك مصوبه » — با

٤٣

جب الدار لا زرع لك ايمونه  
كل الناس على حبك لاموني  
سنه وشهرين لا كسوه ولا مونه  
اشاهدك بس صبح ومسا — با

٤٤

قطعت جبال ما فيها [واكثرها] دروبي  
ومشيت الليل واهلي ما دروا بي  
وانا لو ادري المنيا في دروبي  
قبل ما مشيت ودعت الحبابا

٤١

- ١ قضيت الليل اعد النجوم وحداي  
واقلب في النهود البيض وحداي  
بنات العم فيهن كل وحداي  
ترمي الطير من تاسع سما - با
- ٢ عَلَى نهر الصفا وردت حلبيه  
جدائل سود وارختهن حلبيه  
رحن يا بيض مانتنش غنبيه  
تعن يا سود [سمر] يا عز الصحابا
- ٣ نشأى البيض طعمتني معلل  
ووجهن كالبدريضوي مع الليل  
عَلَى فراقهن الجسم صار معلل  
طريح الفرش من يم الصحابه

٤٢

- ١ زعق طير الحمام وقال : « ماجوش  
هأللي واعدوني اليوم ماجوش »  
سألتك بالنبي يا بير ماجوش ؟  
ولا وردك طراش الصحابا ؟

٣٩

يا حبة البن	الله والنبي حبك
في بلاد اليمن	ما يزرعوا حبك
لاصير درويش	وادروش على حبك
يهتك سبيل أل	شافك ولا حبك

٤٠

يا رايح شمال وبس قول له  
(وسلم ع الحبيب وبس قول له) : —  
« وليفك ما ينام الليل كله  
يساهر بالقمر حين الغيابا »  
انام الليل عيني ما تنام  
ترى الموعود ما يعرف ينام ؟  
فرشنا الفرش هيئنا المنام  
صاح الديك ما شفنا الحبابا

٣٧

- |    |                    |                    |
|----|--------------------|--------------------|
| ١  | طولك خشب زان       | وقرونك حبال البيت  |
| ٢  | وانت ازهيت العرب   | كن رحت ولا جيت     |
| ٣  | يا بو نقاريش       | يا بو جبه خضرا     |
| ٤  | جرجتني جرح         | طول العمر ما بهري  |
| ٥  | والهدب والعين      | سارقهن من الغزلان  |
| ٦  | والبطن بطن العاسوف | الضامر العطشان     |
| ٧  | يا بو الشنايب      | (ذهب للاعلايه)     |
| ٨  | جرحت قلبي          | يا بو دقه شماليه   |
| ٩  | يا عصبة العمبر     | من حزقها مالت      |
| ١٠ | ما حلها الايمينك   | من كرها شالت       |
| ١١ | غربي بيت الامير    | مهيده غره          |
| ١٢ | مشنشله بالذهب      | ما تنطلع برا . . . |

٣٨

- |   |                     |                   |
|---|---------------------|-------------------|
| ١ | يا طولك طول القنا   | والعنق مايل ميل   |
|   | والخضر من رفته      | هد الفوى والحيل   |
|   | يا نايمين الضحى     | واتبهوا بالليل    |
|   | هادي العروس العمبره | واللي عليها العين |



٣٤

قومي تجلي يا كنة البنا  
والكلحل في عينك زقزقت له وغنى  
حط القدم عالقدم ما سمعت له رنه  
والبطن اللي حملك يجعل مسكنه الجنه

٣٥

قومي تجلي وخلي هالاعادي تموت  
يا سجرة المستكه [ المصطكى ] وغصونها ياقوت  
نحن من بيت طيب واصلنا مشبوت  
وجدودنا في المقابر تستاسل التابوت

٣٦

خذك وندك ودورة وجهك الواسع  
ومحبتك في قلبي عقرب اللاسع  
لو صوموني تمان تيام وتاسع  
لاخرب مدينة حلب واسكن سدرك الواسع

۳۱

۱	یا بحر ما بنزلک	سافر حبیبی فیک
۲	یا ورد ما بقطفک	حمرة خدوده فیک
۳	یا کل ما بصحنک	سواد عیونه فیک
۴	یا فرش ما بقر بک	افشی نهوده فیک ۰۰۰

۳۲

همیتنی	همیتنی	عن سواها اشغلتنی
لیتنی ما رحت معها	کنت صایم فطرتی	

۳۳

۱	قومی تجلی یا بنت امیر العرب	
۲	وان کان علیک عتب	نحنا علینا العتب
۳	وان کنک طویلہ	رمح خیالنا
۴	وان کنک قصیرہ	بارودة ارجالنا
۵	وان کنک سمرہ	عسل مخفیہ بجرارنا
۶	وان کنک بېضا	امیرہ مشرقہ ع دارنا
۷	وان کنک بخیلہ	بتزیدی مالنا
۸	وان کنک خیرہ	تر بایة ارجالنا

٢٧

يا ما ماشوفي الكناري      والعسل من تمه جاري  
آه يا شوب في طوله      والصبايا زغرتوله

٢٨

يا زين يا بو حوره      خدك كما البلوره  
محبك في قلبي      بحشت وعملت جوره

٢٩

ما بين اسمر وابيض ضيعت انا عمري  
والبيض سكر مكرر بالحرير ملفوفه  
والسمر عطر القناني للعليل موصوفه

٣٠

يا لله يا حبيبي نسكر      تحت ظل الياسمين  
نقطف الورد عن امه      والعوازل نايمين [والصبايا فرحانين]

- ٤ بز العسل يا جميل . . . وشربت احفاني  
٥ يا عين كوني علي من الشهاد  
٦ لارجع بالوداد ثاني

٢٥

- ١ عينيـك السود ساقوا المبتـلي ساقوا  
٢ وخدودك الحمر جوائ القدح راقوا  
٣ اجوا بيت عزك لا مبسمك داقوا  
٤ باتوا سكارى لنص الليل تي فاقوا

٢٦

- ١ طلع القمر واعتلى من يمكم  
٢ ملا حواجب وجوز عيون الك  
٣ تفداك روعي العزيزه انت قلت لي  
٤ مالك مثيل بين اهل الهوى  
٥ يا نخلة بغضن كلما هب الهوا  
٦ لآتي طمعان ولا عيني على  
٧ ردتك اخوي على طول المدى

٢٢

- ١ سافر المحبوب ما ريته يا عين ؟ سقى الله عَ الايام الي مضمين
- ٢ شفته لابس الشمبر زينه عمبر شبه الغزال مصور كحيل العين
- ٣ شفته لابس المقطع زينه ييلمع شبه القمر يتشعشع مع نجمتين
- ٤ شفته مهوّد عَ ايدّه مآحلى خده مآحلى النومه عَ خده سنه وشهرين

٢٣

- ١ عالسبات عالسبات طار العزوم وفات
- ٢ عالسبات ويا عيوش يأم الاذراع المنقوش
- ٣ خذيلك ذهب وقروش نقضي لك هالحاجات
- ٤ عالسبات ويا مريوم يأم الاذراع المبروم
- ٥ تلاقيني تحت الاكروم لاقضي لك هالحاجات
- ٦ عالسبات ويا زينه مثلك ما شافت عيني
- ٧ والله لاحطك في حضيني واحلف عنك للمات

٢٤

- ١ يا عين ابكي عَلَى أَلِي بالحي وحدان
- ٢ لوعة البين بالاول وبالتالي
- ٣ عضبت عَلَى شفة المحبوب . . . بلساني

٢٠

- ١ من سحر عينيك اروح فين يا وعدى ؟
- ٢ يا ألي كويتني يا سبب وعدى
- ٣ ان جدت بالوصل تبقى سبب سعدى
- ٤ افرح واقول حبي مهنيني
- ٥ يا ما سبيت ناس من قبلي ومن بعدى
- ...

- ١ من سحر عينيك انا اروح فين يا وعدى
- ٢ واصبحت من نار غرامك مبتلي وحدى
- ٣ لو زرتني فرد ليله يا كمال سعدى
- ٤ افرح واكيد العذول : « حبي مهنيني » ...
- ٥ يا ما سبيت عقول اناس من قبلي ومن بعدى ...

٢١

- ١ وانا نازل عالوادي والساعه تندين
- لاقاني المحبوب قبلني بوسني الخدين
- ٢ وانا نازل عالوادي والدنيا شتا
- لاقاني المحبوب يا عيني لفني بعباته

١٩

مرد

١ يا غاويه شبرك مال والحد بين حماره  
يا صاحبي في شفا الغور نمشي على ضو نارها

\* \* \*

٢	راسها خماس	رايي في طوباس
	والشعر بسباس	جدايله رغايب
٣	سدرها هالالوح	خلافي انوح
	والقلب مجروح	بدي له طيب
٤	بطنها هالاش	يا طي القماش
	« لا ترافقناش	واخرتك تعيب »
٥	خصرها النحيل	يا شلة حرير
	« لا ترافقناش	واخرتك تميل »
٦	تمها الملمتم	زاد القلب هم
	ومتى بنلتم	عَ فراش الحبيب ؟

...

٧ شفقتها يا خوي تعجن في العجين  
والاساور في لشمال وفي اليمين



- ١٠ وايش اقول لك في ليهود ؟ ونقول : « رمان ملبسينه » يا حلاي يا مالي  
 ١١ وايش اقول لك في بطنها ؟ « مطوي طيه ع طيه »  
 ١٢ وايش اقول لك في لفخاد ؟ ونقول : « شمه مضويه »  
 ١٣ وايش اوصف لك غنجها ؟ ونقول « تعليم النوريه »

## ١٧

- ١ يا غزالي كيف عني ابعدوك شئتوا شملي وهجري عودوك ؟  
 ٢ سكر الحارس علي الباب وراح قال لي : « ما فتحك لباكر الصباح »  
 ٣ افتحيلي آه يا ست الملاح بس الليله نيموني عندكم ...

## ١٨

- ١ تشكي نقول : « يا حارم جفني النوم يا حارم  
 ٢ انا من حبي فيك يا جميل طرّزت اسمك ع محارم  
 ٣ كل الملاح شهدوا لي فيك انك حلو لكن ظالم  
 ٤ يا مأحلاك يا حلو لمن تتطرح للنوم  
 ٥ تسود عيني ومن تحت تبات لي  
 ٦ يا اعز من نور عيني فين كنت اليوم ؟  
 ٧ الك وردتين يا حلو وانت صاحي واربعه للنوم  
 ٨ على شرط يا جميل ما ريلك بياض بطني ....  
 ٩ ينزل عليك الندى تسكر ثلاثين يوم »



- ٥ حبيبي ناطر تحت القناطر « وان كان لك خاطر يا ما ما  
دور عليا »
- ٦ حبيبي بداره ذهب اسعاره شوفي شو ماله يا ما ما  
زعلائ عليا
- ٧ حبيبي بخيمه قمر بغيه والفرقه ضيه يا ما ما  
طالت عليا
- ٨ حبيبي برا سابل الغره والفرقه مره يا ما ما  
بالعسكريه

\*\*\*

## ١٦

- ١ وانا رايح ومروح وملقي الدرب الشرقيه يا حلالي يا مالي
- ٢ وانا رايح ومروح لاقطني بنت طريه [بدويه] //
- ٣ يا طولها والله ع طولي لن فيها من القصر شويه //
- ٤ يا راسها راس الحمامه منه الجدائل مرخيه //
- ٥ وايش اقولك في العيون ؟ ونقول : « عيون غزلانيه » //
- ٦ وايش اقول لك في المنخار ؟ ونقول : « فستقه حليه » //
- ٧ وايش اقول لك في شفافها ؟ ونقول : « لوزه طريه » //
- ٨ يا تمها خاتم سليمان نسده بالعشراويه //
- ٩ واسنانها لضم اللولو مشكوكه شكه زينه //

١٤

- ١ آس العذار فوق وجنتيه ابيض يا نار تلمي عليه  
ما عدت انا انسى الجفا يا منيتي حزام عليك
- ٢ زورني يا بوالوش البشوش وابري قلبي من الغشوش  
لاكشف على سدرك واشوف بستان وما شالله عليه
- ٣ زورني يا بوالقلب الحنون وابري قياي من الهموم  
الحب دا كله فنون وصاني محبوبي عليه
- ٤ انا بجبك من زمان روحي فداك قلبي كان  
مرروع على سدرك بستان مكتوب «ماشالله» عليه

١٥

- ١ العزوبه طالت علي قومي اخطيلي يا ما ما  
واحد شليه
- ٢ لبست البرنس قلعت البرنس مش رايحه تخلص يا ما ما  
هالعزوبه [هالعسكريه]
- ٣ تحت الليمونه نامي يا عيوني امك حنونه يا ما ما  
حننت عليا
- ٤ تحت التفاحه نومنه برياحه هي الفلاحه يا ما ما  
ضحكت عليا

١٣

- ١ عالميم عالمام بهضا وحرا يا سلام
- ٢ عالميم عاللبوس دارت خدها وقات «بوس»
- ٣ عالميم قالت لي: (زارر الدكة حات لي)  
مديت ايدي عالروس رفرف يا طير الحمام
- ٤ عالميم عالبركه حدفني بالجارنكي  
«بدي شب يكون مثلي افرش بحضينه وانام»
- ٥ عالميم يا اسما تحت التينه تباوسنا  
يحرق بيها شو حرکه اخدت لي عقلي قوام
- ٦ عالميم يا شيبيني يا زهر البساتين  
اجى العرص وكشنا. واخذ مني مية ريال
- ٧ عالميم يا عمي خد لك بوسه من تمي  
لاضرب حالي سكين. واحسب العمر ما كان
- ٨ عالميم يا منصور تحت الصره في عصفور  
ابوني طلق امي واخويني سافر عالشام
- ٩ عالميم خود وجيب تحت الصره شي عجيب  
في عربيه في حتتور في لوكانده المنام
- في قبطانجي وفي بابور راكب فيه عبد الحميد

- ٤ يا ابيض يا لون الياسمين يأللي على خدك ورده  
وحياة جمالك والوجنات انا اسير المحبه .

١١

- ١ مرمر زماني ما سقاني سكر قلبي تولع بهواك يا الاسمر  
٢ مرمر زماني ما سقاني عمبر انا وحيبي بالجنينه نسكر  
٣ يا رايحه عالجمام خديني معاك لاجمل البقجه وامشي وراك  
٤ وان كان ابوك ما اعطاني اياك لاعمل عمائل ما عملها عنتر  
٥ بالله يا قسيس ولا نثاذيها هادي بنيه والهوى رامها  
٦ « قولوا لعين الشمس لاتحماشي حبيبي صبح بالبراري ماشي »

١٢

- ١ آه يا اسمر اللون حياتي الاسمراني  
حيبي وعيونه سود اما الكحل سباني  
٢ شفتها واقفه عالمينا بيدها فله وياسمينه  
صبي العرق واستقينا حياتي الاسمراني  
٣ شفت الحلوه يا عيسى زي الشمعه بكينسه  
لمن شلحت قيصها صار المسلم نصراني

- ٣ مرقت عليّ من باب البدير اهلاً وسهلاً يا مساه الخير  
تفاح شامي على لسديري ولاّ سفرجل؟ قوموا اقطفونا!
- ٤ مرقت نخطم هي وعمتها ريمه وروايح ريمه قدلتها  
دخلك يا إما مأحلي بوستها بين الحواجب عسل بصحونا
- ٥ شفتها بتمخطر حامله الجره بيضا وغريره حوطها بالله  
ماما يا ماما حبيبي برا لابس ومتلبس ومكحل عيونه
- ٦ على دلعونه على دلعونه اسمر سباني بنغمز العيونا  
اسمر سباني وانا سبيته طقوا يا العدى بالي تدعونا
- ٧ قعدت قبالي واخذت لي بالي خد البنيه بلح جبالي  
حلوه يا حلوه قومي من قبالي حلوه يا حلوه النفس ملعونه
- ٨ ظلمت عاجبل دوسه على دوسه نزلت الجبل دوسه على دوسه  
«وان كان يا حيي عاوزلك بوسه اصبر ع اهلي حتى ينامونا»

١٠

- ١ رايح عَفين يا مسليني يا بدر حبك كاويني  
املا المدام يا حبيب واسقيني يا كترشوقي عليك يا سلام
- ٢ دخلت انا جنينة الندمان لقيت حبيبي بتفرج  
مديت ايدي على الرمان قال لي الخلو صاحبه «مخرج»
- ٣ يا بدري خالك والوجنات ونغمز عيونك يا عيوني  
دول صبحوني فيك ولهان وهم في عشقك ظلموني

۲ علی داماد بن یحیی بن خلیفه بن خلیفه بن خلیفه

[illegible]

دینا سید ایسیہ زینت زادہ صاحبہ و صاحبہ

[illegible]

«ایں کتبہ کی تالیف و تصنیف حضرت مولانا محمد تقی صاحب مدظلہ العالی نے فرمائی ہے۔»

متهم متوجه بخانه الله عتبه بن ابی وقاص قاتل من قاتل

[illegible]

بیتبیت آید، و بخند؟ ر بیتبیت آید: «: و بیتبیت آید»

« ۱۹. اَللّٰهُمَّ اِنِّیْ اَسْأَلُکَ بِکُلِّ شَیْءٍ اَسْأَلُکَ بِهٖ

[illegible]

« جالب من الحزن وحزننا بقية »

۴ قیامت میں یوم البیوم ویتلوہ : « سادگی و اقلیت و پیچیدگی و اکثریت »

[illegible][illegible]

کتابت و نسخہ

[illegible]

- ٣ قتلها : « يا حلوه ارويني عَلَى بزازك فرجيني »  
قالت لي : « روح يامسكينِ وبزازي تفاح الشام »
- ٤ قتلها : « يا حلوه ارويني عَلَى بطنك فرجيني »  
قالت لي : « روح يامسكينِ وبطني نخر عجان »
- ٥ قتلها : « يا حلوه ارويني عَلَى فخادك فرجيني »  
قالت لي : « روح يامسكينِ وفخادي عمدان رخام »
- ٦ قتلها : « يا حلوه ارويني عَلَى نهودك نيميني »  
قالت لي : « روح يامسكينِ ونهودي كوز الرمان »
- ٧ قتلها : « يا حلوه ارويني عَلَى عيونك فرجيني »  
قالت لي : « روح يامسكينِ وعيوني عيون الغزلان »
- ٨ قتلها : « يا حلوه ارويني عَلَى حواجبك فرجيني »  
قالت لي : « روح يامسكينِ وحواجبي هلال شعبان »
- ٩ قتلها : « يا حلوه ارويني عَلَى تمك فرجيني »  
قالت لي : « روح يامسكينِ وتي خاتم سليمان »

## ٧

- ١ الحنه الحنه يا قطر الندى اشوفك حبيبي يا عيني جلاب الهوى
- ٢ من اجتنى امه تسألني عليه لاحطه بعيني يا عيني واتكل عليه
- ٣ من اجتنى اخته تسألني عليه لاحطه بعيني يا عيني واتزرر عليه
- ٤ من اجتنى عمته تسألني عليه لاحطه بكمي يا عيني واضمه عليه

٥ فله بتلي والشعر مخني مدلي ليرتين عثملي على عين الكل  
يا فله

٦ فله بتتوضي بابر يق الفضه على بوسه وعضه على عين الكل  
يا فله

٧ فله بتحارب بالعين والحاجب والله لاصاحب على عين الكل  
يا فله

٨ فله بالحاره بتشرب سيكاره بحبك جكاره على عين الكل  
يا فله

٩ بيع المخلل بيمشي وبدل لاخذه واتكال على عين الكل  
يا فله

١٠ بيع الكنافه بيمشي بلطافه والبوسه من شفافه بتسوى الكل  
يا فله

١١ بيع المرمر بيمشي وتبحسر لابوسك واسكر على عين الكل  
يا فله

٦

١ طالعه من دار ابوها نازله بيت الجيران  
لابسه فسطان عالموضه والعيون بتضرب سلام

٢ قتلها : « يا حلوه ارويني على سدرك فرجيني »  
قالت لي : « روح يا مسكين وسدري بلاطرخام »



والنومه تحت لحافك بتسوس الفين وميه

٤ يا نهود حبيبي كما البلور قطفهم سفرجل ورماني

ياريتني بينهم مدفون بين الياسمين والريحاني

٥ يا طالعين عالقصر ل فوق يا نازلين سلوا لي

على غزال وعيونه سود هو سبب حزني ونوحني

— . —

٦ نزلت عابجر لائحهم جملة حبايب حمموني

لا هو بليفه ولا بصابون الا بغمز العيوني

٧ لا يعجبك شب شملول ماشي بطوح بردانه

اكله وشربه من السوق والهم كله على امه ٠٠٠

٥

١ فله يا فله يا زهر الفل هاتوا لي حبيبي وخلوني اقل

يا فله

٢ فله يا عيني يا غيب الزيني لافه بحضيني على عين الكل

يا فله

٣ فله يا قاضي وانافيك مشراضي لايح اغراضي واعيف الكل

يا فله

٤ فله يا كبيره ورده ياسمينه عشقتك يا سرينه يدسي الكل

يا فله

٣

- ١ قدك المياس يا عمري يا غصين البان كاليسر  
انت احلى الناس في نظري صورك ونشاك يا عمري
- ٢ دق الباب ففتحته « واهلا وسهلا » قتلته  
كاس المدام سكبته قتلته : « تفضل يا عمري »
- ٣ دق الباب بلطافه ففتحته بظرافه  
جبتله صحن كفافه والمأزّه من ورد خده
- ٤ مرقت عني الغندوره ع راسها شكله ومنظوره  
يا رب يسلم لي طولها « هو حبي وانا حبه »
- ٥ انا وحييني بالجنيته والورد خيم علينا  
طلبت البوسه من جبينها يا رب تستر علينا
- ٦ انا وحييني بالكروسه وعيونه سود ومحروسه  
يا ربي تسلم لي بوسه « ياخوش كلدي صفا كلدي »

٤

- ١ اسمر ولا بس قميص النوم ومزرره بحب مرجان  
ساعه يسكرو ساعه يميل يشبه عود الريحان
- ٢ يا وقفتي على الباب وحدي امسخ دموعي بجرمتي  
وان سألوك عني الكدعان عاشق ومفارق صاحبتني
- ٣ يا مدققة على شفافك بستك ولا حدن شافك

- ١ يا رب يا العالي شلون غبدك ظلمته ليه ضلعي كسرتة ؟
  - ٢ مروا عليّ تين قطعوا صلاتي واحد حبيب الروح واحد حياتي
  - ٣ سلم علي وراح مثل الغريبه يادمغة بالعين كوني سكيبه
  - ٤ سلم علي وراح راكب حصانه يسلم حبيب الروح يسلم لي شانه
  - ٥ سلم علي وراح راكب حنتوره يسلم حبيب الروح يسلم لي طوله
  - ٦ ماليش غرض بالسوق مریت لشوفك
- عاذلي سنتين مشتاق ما رويت من شوفك
- ٧ راحوا على الحمام حلوا شعورهم
  - كل البنات نجوم حيي قمرهم

## ٢

- ١ برهوم يا برهوم يا بوالجديله غمزني بعينه (يايما) بيده تشكيه
  - ٢ برهوم عالسطوح والشعر بيلوح والقلب مجروح (يايما) جرح السكينه
  - ٣ برهوم مش عنا والكف محني اطلب واتمنى (اي والله) تلقى الغنيمه
  - ٤ برهوم بالحاره يشرب سيكاره دخلك ياساره (اي والله) اللياله افنحي له
  - ٥ « والله ما فتج لك تاشاور اهلك في اول جهلك (يا برهوم)
- خايف ترمينا «...»

## THE GUEST-HOUSE IN PALESTINE

E. N. HADDAD  
(JERUSALEM)

A guest-house<sup>1</sup> is a meeting place for the clan<sup>2</sup> and for the reception of guests; it is found in every village of Palestine. The number of guest-houses depends on the size of the village and on the number of its clans. In some villages there is only one guest-house; others have two, three or more. If the members of one or more clans are living together in friendly relations, one guest-house may serve for several clans, but if this is not the case each clan has its own guest-house, which may not be a special building, but is often a room which a man offers for that purpose. If the chief or mukhtar of the clan has a large house then, as a rule, one of the rooms of his house serves as a guest-house. The repairs needed for the guest-house are paid for by the whole clan. The expenses include petroleum and mats. Every person of the male sex who is more than thirteen years old has to pay his share of the expenses.

Hospitality is one of the good old customs of the Arabs, as is also the duty of respecting the rights of guests. As soon as a guest enters the host's house he is under his full protection; cf. the story of Lot, Genesis 19 4ff. and of the Levite, Judges 19 23.

Guests not only have free lodging, but they also receive their food and whatever else they need. To refuse to receive a guest is considered a great disgrace; cf. Job 31 32 and Luke 9 5. Hence the common Arabic expression "My house is your house" (i. e., "Consider yourself at home") is more than an empty phrase. Whoever eats bread and salt with the Arabs is regarded as under their protection.

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<sup>1</sup> المضافة.

<sup>2</sup> حائل pl. حوالة.

Guest-houses are open both by day and by night to men only. Women, even if they are strangers, are strictly forbidden to stay in them. A woman is permitted to enter a guest-house in case of presenting a charge against somebody, in the presence of the elders and the mukhtar. After stating her case she leaves, and then the nearest relative takes up her defence. In case she has no relatives this duty devolves upon the mukhtar. All persons of the male sex, including children, are allowed to enter the guest-house, but as it is considered very improper for children to meet with men at social gatherings, they are seldom found there. On days of weddings and funerals they have the right to be there at meals and eat with the men.

Babies and children up to three years of age are strictly forbidden to enter the guest-house. Fathers who visit the guest-house carrying their children in their arms are responsible for their cleanliness. If it is only a case of wetting, then the father must offer, as penalty, a meal to all those present in the guest-house. If the case is more than a mere wetting, he must offer an animal as an atonement for this indecency. A strange woman or girl is strictly forbidden to enter a guest-house but stays with the women of the village, with whom she takes her meals and sleeps. One of the duties of the mukhtars and elders of the village is to make arrangements for women as soon as they arrive.

The purposes of guest-houses may be summed up as:—

1. To serve as places of amusement for the villagers and their guests.
2. As free lodging places for guests.
3. As village law courts.
4. As public meeting places for discussion of all questions of interest to the villagers.
5. As coffee houses.
6. As reading rooms, where newspapers are read and government orders and notices are announced.

In the evening we not only find here guests and idlers but all kinds of labourers and peasants who, after their hard daily work, come to the guest-house to spend the evening, smoking, grinding and roasting coffee, and drinking it by sipping it in their well-known noisy way. Disputes of every kind should be presented before the chiefs and mukhtars to be settled here. These decisions are more acceptable than those of the law courts. Harmless games such as

*khweitimī*<sup>1</sup> and *huzzeirah*<sup>2</sup> are played. The playing of cards is considered as very disgraceful. Jokes of all kinds make the gathering very lively. Proverbs and moral tales while away the evening hours. The persons who wish to sleep may stay in the guest-house or go home, but the guests remain there for the night.

Every guest-house has a guardian, or rather a servant.<sup>3</sup> He is the employee of the clan, which provides for his payment. His food is also given by it. His work is to look after the needs of guests, to see about their beds, food, fodder for their animals and other necessary things. These things are given in turn by the families of the clan.

In some places this is not done in turns but by voluntary contributions. The servant must prepare the coffee and bring the coffee beans and the wood from the person whose turn it is to give them. The food he receives already prepared for the guests.

Guests may be of every class. Animals are killed for those of the higher class as a sign of respect. Otherwise a sufficient amount of the usual food is given. If a guest is not a mere wayfarer, but comes for a purpose he will bring a gift of one or more animals. Guests come with offerings in the case of weddings, visits of condolence or congratulation on safe return from a journey.

Those who come to condole stay one day or more after the dead person is buried and do not return on the day of the interment. Those who come during the funeral procession do not bring animals but offer money instead. To offer money after the burial has taken place is a disgrace; in such a case the gift of an animal is proper. The head of the condoling party presents the money on their behalf by wrapping it in a handkerchief and casting it on the covered grave. Such offerings are presented to the guest-house of the clan of the deceased.

Condolers and honoured guests are not allowed to depart without an entertainment in their honour, which lasts two or more days. The length of stay of the guests depends on the number of the invitations given by the inhabitants of the village. At each invitation one or more animals are killed for the guests. Condolers do not stay over

<sup>1</sup> خويتمية

<sup>2</sup> حزيمة

<sup>3</sup> ناطور

night but eat the food presented to them and then return home. They do so in order to cause as little expense as possible to the relatives of the dead person.

Guests are invited to partake of food after they have been welcomed and after coffee has been offered to them. Such an invitation includes the killing of animals for the guests. People try to outdo one another in inviting guests and usually there is much rivalry. This kind of invitation is called *mughâlatah*.<sup>1</sup> In case of disagreement, the mukhtar or some one chosen for the purpose must decide.

The decision should be referred to one or more chiefs, or some one may be chosen for the purpose by the hosts. One after another the contestants stand before the judge and speak as follows: "What is your opinion about the matter, O judge, whose decision we accept? I demand your protection from injustice and its ways by the life of Abraham, the Friend of God, and the seventy-two prophets." The judge answers: "Don't worry about it." Another person comes in his turn and repeats the same words adding, "I have a great desire to entertain those people", and closing, "May God keep your beard and their beards alive. I beg you to grant them to me." The judge answers: "I have heard your case. Now sit down until I hear the others." Each one repeats the same words.

The one in whose favour the judge decides is addressed with the words, "May God reward you." These words are considered as a final decision. Then the victor in the contest goes at once and prepares the food needed for the feast, such as rice and sheep.

In some villages the host usually offers everything required in the way of food; in others, his relatives aid by bringing bread. The host brings rice, butter and the animals to be killed. If guests arrive at a village long before the time of the chief meal, simple food is presented to them by the relatives of the host. Food of such kind is called *khurûj*.

In a very large deep dish of wood, called *bâtiah*,<sup>2</sup> they break the bread into crumbs and pour over them meat gravy. Some pour on in addition butter, or melted butter with rice and meat. This dish is then presented to the guests with two whole legs of mutton and the fat tail of the sheep. The hosts do not eat but wait on their

<sup>1</sup> مغالطة

<sup>2</sup> باطيه

guests; but when there is an old man in the family of the hosts, he sits down with the guests to eat. The guests give pieces of meat to those who wait upon them as a sign of honour and respect. The chief guest cuts the legs and the tail of the sheep and distributes pieces to anyone of those present. The host may offer less than a whole killed animal at one meal, and the remaining part may be presented at another time, but an act of this kind is not favoured.

It is commonly known that the inhabitants of the districts south of Jerusalem, (such as El-Mâlha, Sataf, Beit-Jâla, Arîâs, the whole region of Hebron, where the Qaisi comprise the majority of the inhabitants), are more liberal than the inhabitants of the northern districts, where the Yemeni outnumber the Qaisi.

Sugar and coffee are not offered by the host only, but any one of the clan may bring them, if he wishes, and the guest-house servant takes charge of them. Coffee is roasted in an iron pan with a long handle, in the presence of the guests. Coffee that is not roasted in the presence of the guests cannot be offered. After being roasted, the coffee is ground in a mortar with a wooden handle. The man who crushes the coffee beats with the pestle in a variety of rhythms to amuse himself and the guests. Those who have ever been present at a guest-house will have noticed this. The Arab drinks coffee of two kinds, bitter and sweet, but the first is preferred. It may be prepared in three ways, bitter (Arabic fashion) half sweet (Turkish fashion) and very sweet (European fashion). Coffee may be drunk by guests many times at one meal. Every meal should have coffee after it as a rule. The person who prepares the coffee tastes it in the presence of the guests to see if it is well prepared. It is believed by some people that this is intended more as a proof of security, to show that the coffee contains no poison. Guests drink coffee according to age; the oldest takes coffee first and the rest follow in turn.

Songs of every kind are sung, especially by the *shâ'ir* (the village poet), who is at the same time singer and accompanist. While playing the *rabâbi*, the native one-stringed instrument, he sings, often improvising the words of the song as he goes along.



## NOTES AND COMMENTS

### *SOME ADDITIONAL NOTES ON THE SONG OF DEBORAH*

In the *Journal*, II, 73—83, the writer has presented a new reconstruction and interpretation of the Song of Deborah. A number of corrections and additions have been noted since, and for the sake of completeness it may be well to collect and print them.

Pag. 79, n. 5:—The correction of  $\aleph$  *Merôz* to *Merôn* has been anticipated by Grätz, who gives it doubtfully in his *Geschichte*, I, 117, as I now see. By a slip on the writer's part, the Assyrian *Marum* of the inscription of Tiglathpileser has been corrupted to *Marun*, which must therefore be left out of consideration. This *Marum* belongs with *Mrm*, No. 12 in the Tuthmosis list, mentioned before Damascus, and therefore probably too far north. It is interesting to note that the Talmudic *Mêrôn*, modern *Meirôn* near Şafed, had a second name, *Tekoa* (Klein, *Beiträge zur Geographie und Geschichte Galiläas*, pp. 23—25), a fact which forms an interesting parallel to the double name *Šimôn* (*Šimrôn*)-*Merôn*, Jos. 12 20. *Seimûniyeh* is the most probable site of Meron; there is an interesting tell, quite unoccupied, on the site. In this connection it may be observed that *Seimûniyeh*, lying ten miles west of *Debûriyeh* and seven east of Tell 'Amr in a straight line, is an admirable location for Meron, which proved recalcitrant from cowardice. The pottery-sequences, obtained from Tell 'Amr in September, 1922, by Garstang and Pythian-Adams, show that that the site is exclusively Iron Age, and materially increase the probability that it represents *Harôset hag-Gôyim*, presumably founded either by Sisera himself or by an immediate predecessor, at the threshold of the Iron Age, early in the twelfth century B. C. Much of the pottery found is identical with the ware from the first and second periods at Gibeah, 1200—1000 B. C. The only other available site for *Harosheth*, el-

Harbaj, a beautiful tell, is probably Hannathon, as will be shown elsewhere. The excavations of the British School here have shown that the site was occupied during the Middle and the Late Canaanite (Bronze) Ages and reoccupied for a short period during the Iron Age, a history which agrees perfectly with the literary references to Hannathon, in the Amarna Tablets, the Old Testament, and the Assyrian inscriptions.

Pag. 81, st. IV:—The adverb *šam* is probably here temporal (Ar. *tumma*), as often in biblical Hebrew, instead of local (Arab. *tamma*). We should render:

At the sound of the cymbals,	Between the drums,
Then they will recite	The triumphs of Yahweh,
The triumphs of his yeomen	In Israel they will tell.

Pag. 81, n. 2:—The identification of Beth Anath with modern Bîneh (so pronounced on the spot) will be defended in a paper to appear in the *Annual of the American School*, Vol. II—III, written in the summer of 1921. It may be observed that this view was first proposed by Neubauer, *Géographie*, pp. 235f., whose references may be supplemented by comparing Klein, ZDPV XXXIII (1910) 37f., for Talmudic Rûm Bêt 'Anat or Râmât Bêt 'Anat. It is curious that it has been disregarded by subsequent topographers, who have preferred the impossible identification of Beth Anath with 'Einîṭā. For the loss of the *t* cf. *Bêt-šan* = *Bēšan* = *Beisân*; *Bêt Neṭōfah* = *Battōf* (Klein, MNDPV 1908, 33ff.), and the numerous cases in the Aramaean place-names of Palestine and Mesopotamia which may be found in Thomsen's *Loca Sancta* (index), Neubauer, etc.

Pag. 81, n. 3:—Cf. now also the long note on the subject of the phrase "mother in Israel" by Pilcher, QS 1922, 38—41. Pilcher also compares the phrase on Sidonian and Laodicean coins and justly observes that the term *em* as applied to towns means rather "chief town of a district," or "town of first rank" than *metropolis* in the Greek sense—except on Sidonian coins.

Pag. 82, st. VII, line 4:—The rendering "And why does Dan become attached to ships" is not altogether happy; a better translation would be "And why does Dan take service on (foreign) ships." As is well known (cf. Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, p. 494), *yagûr onâyôt* means "he becomes a client (*ger*, *metoikos*) on ships."

W. F. ALBRIGHT.

*THE ŞINNÔR IN THE STORY OF DAVID'S CAPTURE OF  
JERUSALEM*

The famous passage 2 Sam. 5 6-9, especially verse 8, forms one of the most difficult exegetical problems in the historical books of the Old Testament. The crux of the difficulty is the obscure word *şinnôr*, none of whose known meanings harmonize well with the context. Owing to the great interest of the narrative for students of the history and topography of Jerusalem, much ingenuity has been expended on the interpretation of this word. Unfortunately, the Gordian knot has usually been cut by adopting a more or less arbitrary meaning for *şinnôr* and disregarding the context on the plea of textual corruption. If there was textual corruption, it crept in at an exceedingly early date, before the compilation of Chronicles, which, as the writer will endeavor to show elsewhere, dates from about 375 B. C. In the corresponding section of Chronicles (1 Chr. 11 4-7) the compiler, who usually copies almost word for word from Samuel, leaves out carefully all the obscure allusions to the lame and blind, the *şinnôr*, etc., though retaining the rest of the passage. If this shows anything, it is that the word *şinnôr* was no longer understood, at least in the particular force employed in the text. On the principle of *difficilior lectio*, as it evidently stood in the copy of Samuel used by the Chronicler, it was surely the original reading as well; it is difficult to imagine a simpler word being corrupted to such a rare one. It is, of course, possible that a line dropped out after *şinnôr*, as Vincent supposes, but this assumption can only be adopted as a last resort.

In a literal translation our passage runs as follows: And the king and his men went to Jerusalem (i. e., *Yerušalaîma*), to the Jebusite who dwelt in the land, and (the latter) said to David, Thou canst not come in hither, but (if thou dost) the blind and the lame will be able to repel thee (verb in plural with 6)—that is to say, David shall not come in hither. And David captured the citadel of Zion, that is, the city of David. And David said on that day, Whoever smiteth (*makkeh*) a Jebusite, let him smite (*yigga' be*) the *şinnôr*—for (and) the lame and the blind my soul (lit., the soul of David) hateth (with the *ketiv*). Therefore they said, The blind and the lame shall not enter the House.

From verse 6 it is clear that the Jebusites had placed the cripples of their town on the walls as a taunt to David—the walls were so strong and the Jewish force so puny that even cripples were garrison enough. If David had to rise day after day, as the siege progressed, only to see the mocking line of cripples on the wall, it is not surprising that he conceived a lively hatred for the unfortunate causes of his humiliation. The emphasis placed on the lame and blind, especially in connection with the aetiological motive in verse 9, shows that there was some reference to them in David's command to his troops on the day when Jerusalem was stormed (verse 8). It is not probable that a tradition would have represented so noble a character as David in the light of a coward wreaking vengeance on the helpless cripples; the vengeance which is undoubtedly implied by the tone of the passage must have been visited on the Jebusites. What was the nature of this vengeance?

The most logical attempt so far made to solve the problem on the basis of the Masoretic text is that of Dalman, PJB 1915, 39–44. Pointing out that the *šinnôr* must have been the object of David's vengeance on the Jebusites, he adopts Wellhausen's suggestion that the *šinnôr* was a part of the Jebusite's body. While Wellhausen, however, suggests the throat, Dalman, going out from the same meaning of *šinnôr*, "pipe, canal," proposes "penis" as an appropriate rendering, without calling attention to the fact that צִינּוֹר means incidentally "vagina" in post-biblical Hebrew. Dalman thinks that the mutilation of the penis would be appropriate poetic justice, since the Jebusites would all become cripples in an even worse way than the cripples who had so aroused his ire. However, it is hard to see any direct connection between the punishment and the crime, and the meaning "male organ" is decidedly forced. Hebr. *ammah* seems to acquire this meaning in the same way that Eng. "yard" has. It is true that Eng. "cock" in the sense of "male organ" means properly "faucet", which is one of the known meanings of *šinnôr*, but it seems to the writer that a better explanation may be derived from an analysis of the semasiology of *šinnôr*.

In the Old Testament the word *šinnôr* is found in one other passage, Ps. 42 8, and the closely related *šanteret* once, Zech. 4 12. In Psalms *šinnôr* means certainly "spout", and seems to refer to the pipes connecting the upper and lower *tehôm*, as in Avestan cos-

mology; the pipes were presumably furnished with faucets to enable the water to be turned off and on at will. In Zechariah, the word *šantéret* is used of the pipes through which oil was admitted to the seven lamps from a basin (*gullah*) above. Naturally it means here "faucet", since the flow of oil had to be regulated. It is not impossible that these words are loans from Assyrian, though the Assyrian word for "faucet," *šaršaru*,<sup>1</sup> is quite different.

In Aramaic and post-biblical Hebrew three meanings of *šinnôr*, *šinnôrâ* are known: (1) spout, faucet (e. g., *Miqwâ'ôt* 4, 1: המניה כלים תחת הצינור;<sup>2</sup> (2) socket in which the pivot of a door turns, socket in general; (3) hook, bent pin. In Syriac the following meanings are listed by Payne-Smith: (1) bee-sting—i. e. hook—; (2) fish-hook—*šinnârtâ*—; (3) Modern Syriac, jaw. From Aramaic the word passed over into Arabic; cf. Fraenkel's meager discussion on p. 89 of his *Aramäische Fremdworte im Arabischen*, where he suggests a combination of Aram. *šinnôrâ* with Arab. *šunbur*, completely forgetting Arab. *šinnârah*. In the *Lisân* (cf. also Lane and the *Muḥîṭ*) the following meanings are given: (1) plane-tree (Persian loan); (2) head of a spindle, iron in the head of a spindle (also suspected by the Arabic lexicographers of being a Persian loan-word); ear (in Yemen); (3) handle of a shield; (4) fish-hook (cf. also the *Muḥîṭ* and Dozy); (5) crochet-needle (Dozy).

If we ask ourselves what the source of all these meanings must have been, we are at first somewhat perplexed for a reply. The doublets *šinnôr* and *šantéret* indicate that we are dealing with a good old Semitic word—whatever its ultimate origin may have been. The solution of the difficulty seems to be furnished by the Arabic *sinnôr* (سنور) in the sense "joint of the neck"; it is very well known among Semitic phonologists that *sin* and *šade* tend to interchange

<sup>1</sup> For Assy. *šaršaru*, "spout, faucet," cf. JAOS XXXV, 396 ff.; AJSL XXXV, 185. The tabu in *Šurpu* against drinking water from a faucet is exactly paralleled in later Hebrew literature, which, as so well known (cf. now also Marmorstein, ZA XXXIV, 94-6), is full of Babylonian conceptions. The Kabbala (*Emeq ham-melek*, fol. 153, quoted from Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, p. 29) says: "Let no man drink from a running tap or spout, but from the hollow of his hands, lest a soul pass into him, and that the soul of some wicked sinner." Naturally the Babylonians had observed that diseases (i. e., demons) were contracted by drinking from water-taps.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *šanterin*, "water-taps, spouts," in *Targum Šeni* to Esther, 12.

in the presence of an *r*, owing to the influence of the broad pronunciation of vowels with *r* (partial assimilation at a distance). It is evident at once that a meaning like "joint" is precisely what we need for our problem, since all the other meanings may be traced back to it without difficulty.

The meaning "socket" is most natural, since all animal joints are based on the ball and socket, like the ancient hinge. In German *Gelenk* is still used sometimes in this sense. Nor is there any difficulty in "faucet, spout," since ancient pipes were always jointed, either as reeds or as a line of earthenware cylinders (vases) joined together; a faucet or spout in the ancient sense was simply a joint of pipe provided with a primitive stop-cock. The meaning "hook" is clearly derived from "link of a chain," or the like; cf. *link* and *gelenk*—which also preserves the meaning "link in a chain." From the meaning "hook" are readily deducible "bee-sting, fish-hook, crochet-needle," as well as "handle of a shield"; from the latter "ear" comes naturally, like the opposite development of "ear" = "handle." One may also compare *Henkel* = "handle, ear," and "hook," as well as the German humorous *Henkeltopf* = "person with prominent ears."

If now we take the primitive meaning "joint," which we have just recovered, and insert it in our translation, the difficulty immediately disappears: And David said on that day, Whoever smiteth a Jebusite, let him strike a joint (*bešinnôr*, or perhaps "his joints")—for the lame (and the blind) my soul hateth. In other words, the Jebusites were not to be slain, but to be lamed, if possible, that the lame survivors might live to bear witness to the folly of mocking King David. It is probable enough that all the male Jebusites (including Arauna) were lamed in some way, since the wrath of a David would hardly stop short of a thorough process. It was justice of a primitive type, to be sure, more like what we would call poetic justice, but in those rough days, accustomed to the *lex talionis*, it could hardly fail to commend itself. It is important to note that this rendering is in strict accord with the best Hebrew idiomatic usage. The expression *yigga' be* is used in exactly the same way Gen. 32 26, in the story of Jacob's encounter with the angel, who "touched" the tendon of his thigh, *ויגע בכף ירכו*, and lamed him for life.

In concluding, we must not fail to refer to the ingenious sug-

gestion of Birch, that *šinnôr* in our passage means "subterranean canal, tunnel," and that David sent his men up this perilous route to storm Jebus, presumably without the knowledge of the besieged. This theory has been defended brilliantly by Vincent (in his *Jérusalem*, I, pp. 146 ff.) whose results are fast becoming the common property of scholars. With so elegant an archaeological demonstration it could hardly be otherwise, since the philological premises are those generally held. These premises, however, are basically unsound. Heb. *we-yigga' baš-šinnôr* cannot mean "and will reach through the *šinnôr*," unless we assume that the phrase had in this passage a meaning nowhere else found in Hebrew literature. Nor does *šinnôr* anywhere else have the meanings "conduit of water, canal where the water murmurs, passage in connection with water." We must thus regretfully give up this interpretation, fascinating as it is, and return to the exegesis of Wellhausen and Dalman, modified as shown above.

It is not surprising that the word *šinnôr* in the sense "joint" employed in the tenth century (when the story arose) had become obsolete in the fourth, since all the meanings known in Aramaic are derived ones. ♂ rendered *παρὰξίφιδιον*, evidently taking the sense "hook" and explaining it as "dagger." Aquila and Symmachus were still more at sea, the one considering *šinnôr* here as a water-course, the other as a battlement, both translations being obviously attempts to harmonize some meaning of *šinnôr* with the traditions regarding David's capture of Jerusalem.

The best expression for the subterranean water tunnel of the type familiar from Zion, Gibeon, Gezer, Ibleam, etc., is *solen* (Gr. *σωλήν*). As pointed out by Eisler, JRAS 1923, p. 64, note, Cadmus is said to have dug such *σωλήνες* from the Theban acropolis to a subterranean fountain.

W. F. ALBRIGHT.

# REPORT OF THE TREASURER OF THE PALESTINE ORIENTAL SOCIETY

(June 1921—June 30, 1922)

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Annual subscriptions for 1922 . . . . .	66 33.3
Sale of Journal . . . . .	2 90.7
Total:	<u>£ E. 430 PT. 60.3</u>

## *Expenditure*

Postage . . . . .	£ E. 8 PT. 55.0
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Refreshments . . . . .	3 48.0
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