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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

(delivered at the opening Session, January 18, 1923)

RÉV. PÈRE DHORME

(JERUSALEM)

Excellence,¹ Mesdames et Messieurs,

LA Société Orientale de Palestine entre dans sa quatrième année. Vous avez bien voulu m'appeler à en accepter la Présidence et je vous en remercie, tout en avouant que cet honneur me déconcerte. Il n'est pas aisé de succéder à ceux qui, depuis trois ans, ont exercé cette charge. Les noms du Père Lagrange, de Monsieur Garstang et de Monsieur Albright disent éloquemment dans quelle largeur d'horizon se ment notre Société. L'éloge des deux premiers a été retracé devant vous. Vous ne trouverez pas mauvais que je parle de mon prédécesseur immédiat, Monsieur Albright. On peut dire de lui que, comme Abraham, il a passé d'Our des Chaldéens au pays de Canaan, car c'est principalement comme assyriologue que ses publications l'avaient fait connaître et c'est comme directeur de l'École d'archéologie américaine à Jérusalem qu'il nous a été donné de l'apprécier personnellement. Plus heureux qu'Abraham, il ne s'est pas arrêté au Négeb, mais son ardeur scientifique l'a promené à travers tout le monde sémitique et même au royaume des Pharaons trop souvent fermé aux Sémitisants. Je ne vous énumérerai pas les nombreuses publications de Monsieur Albright dispersées à travers les Revues américaines, anglaises ou françaises. Dans toutes nous retrouvons l'ampleur d'une information qui ne se résigne pas à se cantonner dans le champ trop étroit de sa spécialité, mais déborde fatalement dans les domaines connexes. Avec beaucoup de jeunesse d'âme et de tranquille audace, cet assyriologue, doublé d'un parfait hébraïsant, ne craint pas de franchir les frontières de Babylone et

¹ Son Excellence Sir Herbert Samuel, Haut-Commissaire.

de la Bible pour donner à sa vision de l'antique Orient plus d'étendue et plus de lumière. Nous sommes certains qu'un jour il synthétisera tant d'observations nouvelles et sagaces pour donner une vivante reconstitution d'un passé qu'il connaît si bien.

Car c'est toujours l'Orient, Mesdames et Messieurs, qui fait l'objet de nos recherches et de nos travaux sur cette terre de Palestine. Lorsque fut fondée notre Société en 1920, d'aucuns haussèrent les épaules. Quelle chimère de vouloir grouper les archéologues, philologues, numismates, folkloristes, en de platoniques réunions où serait laissé à la porte tout ce qui divise ou sépare, et où ne serait admis que tout ce qui unit ou rapproche! Et cela à Jérusalem, la cité où la pacification des esprits fut plus souvent un rêve qu'une réalité! La Société a pourtant continué de vivre. Elle a même essaimé. Les travaux de ses adhérents, portés à travers les deux mondes par son journal trimestriel, ont suscité des associés nouveaux et des collaborations très efficaces. Qu'il me soit permis, à cette occasion, de rendre hommage à notre secrétaire, Monsieur Danby, dont le zèle infatigable a grandement contribué à l'extension de notre champ d'action.

La mort vient de nous enlever un des ouvriers de la première heure en la personne de Monsieur Eliézer Ben-Yehudah, qui était encore notre vice-président en 1922. Ce qu'il fut dans l'ordre de la science philologique, ceux-là seuls l'ignorent pour qui l'hébreu est toujours de l'hébreu. Il s'était fait l'esclave de son œuvre et le bourreau de ses journées. Rare exemple du travailleur modeste et acharmé, qui sait fermer ses yeux au monde extérieur pour concentrer sa vision sur la recherche intérieure de sa pensée. Comme d'autres étudient la vie depuis la cellule primitive jusqu'à son apparition en êtres complexes et organisés, il s'attacha à suivre à travers les âges l'évolution des mots de la langue sacrée. La plume lui tomba des mains au mot *nafal*, comme si l'existence de l'ouvrier avait été rythmée par le mouvement de l'ouvrage.

Laissez-moi maintenant, Mesdames et Messieurs, redire la grandeur de la tâche qui incombe à notre Société. Ceux qui dans le monde ne sont séduits que par les jouissances du corps ou par les distractions de l'esprit ne sauraient apprécier l'ivresse intellectuelle qu'éprouvent parfois ceux qui se consacrent à la recherche de la vérité. La découverte d'une parcelle de cette vérité est l'objet de

nos réunions. Or, dans les multiples sphères de l'histoire ancienne de l'Orient, la lumière se fait chaque jour plus intense. De même que les astronomes braquent leurs télescopes sur les étoiles du ciel profond, nous devons fixer notre regard sur les rayons qui émanent des profondeurs de l'histoire humaine. L'évolution des peuples, pour être plus capricieuse, n'est pas moins captivante que les révolutions des mondes sidéraux. Unissons nos efforts pour découvrir des phénomènes nouveaux ou mieux comprendre les faits déjà connus, pour coordonner les recherches du présent avec les acquisitions du passé. Ainsi notre œuvre collective sera pour chacun un secours, un réconfort, un encouragement. Toujours plus de lumière et plus de vérité, telle devrait être la devise de notre Société. C'est du moins le vœu que je formulerai pour elle, sûr que vous ne me désavouerez pas.

ELIEZER BEN YEHUDAH (1858—1922)

A TRIBUTE

W. F. ALBRIGHT

(JERUSALEM)

IN the untimely death of Eliezer Ben Yehudah we have all suffered a grievous loss. His contributions to Hebrew lexicography and his great feat, the resurrection of the Hebrew language, have been ably stressed by others; it is not my purpose to repeat the eulogies which they have lavished on his great achievements, but rather to describe the man himself, as I had the privilege of knowing him during the past few years.

He possessed, to an eminent degree, the virtues of a gentleman and a scholar. Of him it may well be said that "to know him was to love him." One would like to linger on many phases of that delightful personality, but the allotted time forbids more than a glance. Most of all, perhaps, one remembers those times when a militant enthusiasm would fill his slender form with an unquenchable fire, when his eyes would light up, and one would feel humble, as in the presence of an Israelite seer of old. Or it would be the glow of a new discovery, that glow which every true scholar knows so well. Not content with its preëminent achievement, his creative genius was never tired of producing new ideas, ingenious and often brilliant. It was always a pleasure to hear him outline his new finds, for he had that sheer joy of creation which never fails to thrill and interest others. How we would open dictionaries and run down references, or study passages in the Hebrew Bible on such occasions—and very frequent they were, too! It comes as a shock when one realizes that those delightful conferences are gone for ever.

Another quality, as gentle as rare, which he possessed, was modesty. He was not one of the many who cannot stand fame.

Possibly it was in part the severe discipline of his early life which kept him modest, and yet one cannot but feel that it was the self-effacement of a man who lives for his work that was responsible for this lovable trait of his character. Like other great men who have surrendered their life for an ideal, his life gained more than it lost. Ben Yehudah never exhibited the common failing of the older scholar, a high-priestly attitude toward others. One never heard him speak *ex cathedra*. Nor was he ever distant, or supercilious toward young scholars. He had the same friendly welcome for all scholars, both old and young, Gentile and Jew. To him it was sufficient to belong to the freemasonry of scholarship, to have trodden its arcana, and to have learned to appreciate its mysteries.

His life is indeed an inspiration to all who are contending for an ideal, against great odds. He came here more than forty years ago, without health, means, or friends, bent on the quixotic task of reviving a tongue which had been dead, so far as ordinary social intercourse is concerned, nearly twenty-five hundred years. And yet he succeeded, thanks to his unconquerable faith in his vision of a new nation, united by the bond of a common language. Truly a *monumentum aere perennius*! Great, however, as this achievement is, his own remarkable personality is in some respects quite as great. It will live long, enshrined in the memories of all who knew him.

(A detailed account of the late Eliezer Ben Yehudah's lifework will be given in the next number of the Journal by Mr. David Yellin. Together with the English translation of Mr. Yellin's article it is proposed to print also the original Hebrew. Many members of the Society who are acquainted only with ancient Hebrew will perhaps welcome this opportunity of studying a specimen of the revived language written by an acknowledged master of Modern Hebrew style; and the Editorial Board feel that the inclusion of this sample of the revived language will be in itself an additional tribute to the memory of the Society's late Vice-President.)

THE CURSING OF THE FIG TREE

W. H. P. HATCH

(JERUSALEM)

JESUS' cursing of the fig tree on the road between Bethany and Jerusalem and its subsequent withering, as they are narrated in the gospels of Matthew and Mark, have caused grave difficulties to thoughtful readers. These difficulties are philosophical and moral as well as critical. Is such a thing possible in a world in which every event seems to have its appropriate cause? And could a mere word, spoken in momentary disappointment or anger, produce such an effect? If this question be answered in the affirmative, there still remains another of a different sort, and the latter question may prove more difficult to answer than the former. Even if Jesus possessed the power to cause the fig tree to wither, why did he use it in this way? Elsewhere in the gospels his hand is stretched out to restore and not to injure, and he speaks to bless and not to curse. What had the fig tree done to merit such a fate? Augustine asks in one of his sermons: "Quid arbor fecerat fructum non afferendo? Quae culpa arboris infecunditas?"¹ Is it irrational to curse an inanimate object, such as a fig tree, and Jesus does not elsewhere exhibit irrationality. Some have also been troubled about the destruction of property involved in the cursing and withering of the fig tree. Did it not belong to someone? What right had Jesus to do such a thing?²

¹ Cf. Migne, *P. L.*, XXXVIII, 592.

² Apologetic explanations of Jesus' act have often been given. It is sometimes called an acted parable and classed with certain symbolic acts recorded in the Bible. Cf. Gould, *Mark* in *Internat. Crit. Com.*, p. 212. Lagrange says: "Il faut donc conclure . . . que Jésus faisait une action symbolique. C'est le propre de ces actions d'avoir quelque chose d'étrange, qui excite la curiosité, qui fait aussitôt soupçonner un mystère" (*Évangile selon Saint Marc*², p. 275). It is also frequently pointed out that the destruction of things is justified when

We pass over the philosophical and moral difficulties without further discussion, in order that we may consider the critical questions which press for solution. The cursing of the fig tree is narrated by Matthew and Mark,¹ but not by Luke. Mark places it just before the cleansing of the temple—on the morning of that day, as Jesus was returning from Bethany to Jerusalem with the Twelve. Matthew, however, puts it after the purification of the temple—on the morning of the next day, as Jesus was coming back to Jerusalem from Bethany. In Matthew the incident of the fig tree is followed by the saying about faith and its power. Indeed, according to the First Evangelist, the fig tree withered immediately (*παρὰχρημα*) after Jesus' pronouncement concerning it, and the disciples marvelled. In Mark, however, the cleansing of the temple intervenes between the cursing of the fig tree and the saying about the power of faith. According to the Second Evangelist, when Jesus and his companions were passing the spot the following morning, they perceived that the fig tree had withered. The withering must have been gradual, for otherwise they would have noticed it at once, as in Matthew. The author of Matthew heightens the effect of the miracle by making it occur immediately after Jesus' dictum concerning the fig tree, and he no doubt thought that he was improving Mark's narrative by bringing this incident and the saying about faith together.

The words of Jesus concerning the fig tree are transmitted differently by the two evangelists. Mark reports the saying thus, using the optative of a wish in the negative form: "May no one ever eat fruit of thee." In Matthew on the other hand the aorist subjunctive with *οὐ μήκετι* is employed in the sense of an emphatic future indicative, and Jesus' words are given thus: "No fruit shall ever in any wise be produced from thee." The author of Matthew has softened down Mark's imprecation into "a solemn prophecy of fact", as Allen says,² and changed the verb. Jesus used the Aramaic imperfect, which could be understood either as a future, as in the Matthaean form of the saying, or as a jussive or optative, as in Mark's form.³

the purpose is to benefit persons. Cf. Trench, *Notes on the Miracles of our Lord*³, p. 436, and the older writers there quoted.

¹ Mk. 11 12-14 = Mt. 21 18-19.

² Cf. Allen, *Matthew in Internat. Crit. Com.*, p. 224.

³ The saying may have been originally in this form: כל גברא פירא מנך לא יאכל לעלמין.

A still more difficult problem remains to be solved. The incident of the fig tree is placed by both evangelists just before the final passover. How could Jesus have expected to find figs on the tree in April? For, if he did not expect to find fruit, the story has no point.¹ Early figs (بَاكُورَات), which were considered a great delicacy in ancient times, ripen late in May or early in June, and the commoner kind in the latter part of August or the fore part of September. Mark, in an explanatory note, tells his Roman readers, who were not familiar with Palestinian conditions,² that "it was not the season of figs".³ It has sometimes been thought that Jesus hoped to find a few figs of the previous season that had clung to the branches during the winter.⁴ Josephus relates of the region of Gennesaret that "it supplies the most royal products, the grape and the fig, continuously for ten months".⁵ This statement seems to the present writer incredible. But in any case we must remember that Josephus is speaking only of Gennesaret, which was noted for its fertility,⁶ and not of Palestine in general. The above mentioned explanation is perhaps possible, but it is certainly not probable. Dr. Post, who spent thirty-three years in Syria, says that he had searched and inquired in vain for figs that had remained on the tree all winter.⁷

¹ Augustine, however, thought otherwise. Cf. *Quaest. Evang.*, II, 51 (Migne, P. L., XXXV, 1362): "Non enim dubium est illam inquisitionem non fuisse veram: quivis enim hominum sciret, si non divinitate, vel tempore, poma illam arborem non habere. Fictio igitur quae ad aliquam veritatem refertur, figura est: quae non refertur, mendacium est."

² Cf. Zahn, *Einleitung in das N. T.*², II., p. 250. It is not necessary to regard these words as the "comment of an early reader which has made its way into the text" (Cheyne in *Enc. Bib.*, II., col. 1522, following Toup).

³ οὐ (οὐπω I) γάρ (om syr sin) ἦν (ὁ DWOr) καιρὸς σύκων ADNWXΓΠ *min* it vg syr. sin hcl Or—ὁ γάρ καιρὸς οὐκ ἦν σύκων KBLΔ boh sah pesh.

⁴ Cf. O. Holtzmann, *Leben Jesu*, p. 324. See also the note in Whiston's translation of Josephus, *Jewish War*, III, 10, 8.

⁵ Josephus, *B. J.*, III, 519. H. J. Holtzmann refers to this passage and says: "Von dorthier (i. e. from the Sea of Galilee) aber brachte Jesus seine Erfahrungen in das keineswegs ebenso paradiesische Judäa mit" (*Die Synoptiker*³ in *Hand-Commentar zum N. T.*, p. 90).

⁶ Josephus calls it *φλοισιμα τῆς φύσεως* (*B. J.*, III, 518). Gennesaret was famous for its fruits also in later times. Cf. *Berakhoth* 44^a; *Peṣaḥim* 8^b.

⁷ Cf. Hastings's *D. B.*, II., p. 6^a. Hyvernati; however, says that the late figs "occasionally remain on the tree during the winter months" (*Jewish Encyclopedia*, V., p. 382^b). But Mr. John E. Dinsmore, a botanist who has lived in Jerusalem over twenty years and studied the flora of Palestine carefully, told me that he

It has also been suggested that Jesus may have been looking for green figs, which are found in March and April. But certainly a hungry man, walking along a country road in the early morning, would not be much displeased or disappointed at not finding a handful of green figs!¹ Finally, to say that in Jesus' time there must have been some variety of figs, now unknown, that matured at pass-over, is to beg the question.

Some modern critics have struck out on an entirely different path, using a method that has worked satisfactorily in other places. Luke, in the portion of his gospel known as the Great Interpolation, relates the parable of the unproductive fig tree.² There is nothing corresponding to this parable either in Matthew or in Mark. Under certain conditions parabolic teaching is easily converted into historical fact. Sir Philip Sidney expressed surprise that some theologians of his day believed the story of the Good Samaritan to be allegorical;³ and the Inn of the Good Samaritan is still shown on the road to Jericho. Some scholars think that the parable of the unproductive fig tree has been transformed by this process into the incident of the cursing of the fig tree.⁴ The transformation must of course have taken place before our gospels were written. This theory cannot be rejected off hand,⁵

had never known figs to hang on the trees until spring. Père Lagrange, also a resident of Jerusalem, says: "Il est tout à fait sans exemple dans le pays que les figes demeurent sur les arbres pendant tout l'hiver" (*op. cit.*, p. 275).

¹ Lagrange says: "La figue verte est absolument immangeable" (*op. cit.*, p. 275).

² Lk. 13 6-9.

³ Cf. Cheyne in *Enc. Bib.*, II., col. 1521.

⁴ Cf. Bacon: "Nothing remains but to treat vers. 12-14 also as a simple dramatization of the parable Lk. 13 6-9, which in vers. 20-25 has received further elaboration by the attachment of Q sayings" (*The Beginnings of Gospel Story*, p. 160). See also J. Weiss, *Das älteste Evangelium*, p. 381; Loisy, *Les Évangiles synoptiques*, II., p. 286; Cheyne in *Enc. Bib.*, II., cols. 1521f.; Bacon in Hasting's *Dict. of Christ and the Gospels*, I., pp. 593f. On the other hand cf. Jülicher, *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu*, II., pp. 446f. H. J. Holtzmann recognizes a basis of fact in the narrative, but continues as follows: "Die Verbindung dieses Gelegenheitswortes mit einem, wenn es nicht Sinnbild ist, sinnlosen Naturwunder beruht wohl auf Umsetzung des Gleichnisses Lc. 13 6-9 in eine symbolische Handlung nach Anleitung von Mch. 7 1, Hos. 9 10" (*Die Synoptiker*³ in *op. cit.*, p. 90). It is not necessary to discuss here the theories of Nestle and Schwartz. Neither of them has been widely accepted, and to the present writer both seem less probable than the view represented by Bacon. For the former see *Enc. Bib.* s. v. 'Beth-phage', and for the latter *Z.N.T.W.*, V. (1904), pp. 80 ff.

⁵ So Plummer, *Luke* in *Internat. Crit. Com.*, pp. 339 ff.

for it is based upon a principle that was undoubtedly at work before evangelic tradition became fixed. But does this principle apply in the present case? The fig tree in the parable of Luke is unrepentant Israel, and the parable clearly teaches the forbearance and severity of God in his dealings with his people.¹ This is diametrically opposed to the spirit manifested in the cursing of the fig tree, and the inference to be drawn from the latter is quite unlike the teaching of the parable. In one case the tree is given a chance to improve and bring forth fruit, whereas in the other it is condemned forthwith and irretrievably for its barrenness. Therefore, it seems to the present writer most improbable that Luke's parable of the unproductive fig tree should have given rise to the cursing narrated in Matthew and Mark. The contrary supposition, viz. that the cursing of the unfruitful tree has been covertly into a parable for apologetic or other reasons, labours under the same difficulty. Like begets like in the formation of tradition as well as among living beings.

How, then, can the incident of the fig tree be explained? First, it is certainly misplaced by Matthew and Mark.² It could not have taken place at a time when one could not expect to find edible figs on the tree. It must have occurred either late in May or early in June, when the first ripe figs mature, or in the latter part of August or the fore part of September, when figs of the commoner kind are gathered. What, then, probably happened? Jesus came one day to a fig tree, hoping to find a few figs, for it was the season for them. But the tree was barren. There were no figs on it. He was not angry at so trivial a disappointment, and he uttered no imprecation against the tree. That was not his custom. He saw that the tree was incapable of bearing figs, and simply remarked, "No one will ever eat fruit of thee". It was a statement of an obvious fact. This was probably the occasion of Luke's parable of the unproductive fig tree. Turning to his disciples, he drew a lesson from the barren tree, which by reason of its barrenness suggested to him the house of Israel. As the tree was not producing figs, so his own nation

¹ Cf. Rom. 11 22.

² The incident is somewhat loosely connected with the context in which it stands, and on this account some think that it was interpolated into the gospel history by Mark. Cf. Wellhausen, *Das Evangelium Marci*, p. 95; J. Weiss, *op. cit.*, p. 268; Goguel, *L'Évangile de Marc*, pp. 217 ff.

was not bringing forth the fruit of repentance. The fig tree furnishes the starting point, and from that he proceeds to set forth his view of God's dealing with Israel.

If the incident of the fig tree and the parable related by Luke are connected in the manner here suggested, we are not without an indication of the time at which the words were spoken. It must have been after the Jews' opposition to Jesus' preaching had become pronounced. Nevertheless, he had not lost hope of winning them. One naturally thinks of the latter part of August or the fore part of September in the last year of his ministry. If, however, the figs in question were of the first ripe variety, the incident should be placed late in May or early in June.

It is incorrect to speak of the cursing of the fig tree, for there was no cursing. Jesus used the imperfect in reference to the future of the tree. This was afterwards interpreted as a jussive or optative, and it was believed that Jesus had cursed the tree and caused it to wither. In this way a very striking miracle was produced. Matthew, as we have seen, heightens the effect of the miracle by making it take place immediately after Jesus speaks.

It has already been pointed out that both Matthew and Mark connect the incident of the fig tree with the saying about the power of faith. In Mark the two are separated by the cleansing of the temple, whereas in Matthew they are brought together. According to Mark Jesus says: "Have faith in God. Verily I say unto you, whosoever shall say to this mountain, Be thou taken up and cast into the sea, and shall not doubt in his heart, but shall believe that what he saith cometh to pass, it shall be so unto him."¹ In Matthew the connection of the incident with the saying is emphasized and strengthened by a reference to the fig tree in the saying. According to Matthew Jesus says: "Verily I say unto you, if ye have faith and do not doubt, not only shall ye do what is done to the fig tree; but even if ye shall say to this mountain, Be thou taken up and cast into the sea, it shall be done."² Mark is obviously more primitive. He represents a stage in the growth of evangelic tradition when the incident and the saying were less closely connected. Originally they

¹ Mk. 11 22 f.

² Mt. 21 21.

were distinct.¹ But it was not unnatural that they should be brought together. For here was a striking saying about faith, and from the point of view of the early Christians what better means of producing wonder-working faith could be imagined than a miracle of this sort? When Jesus bade his disciples have faith or trust in God, and then went on to speak of the power of such faith in hyperbolic language, he was not thinking of wonder-working.

It is not altogether easy to say how the incident of the fig tree came to be placed in the last week of Jesus' life. It must have occupied this position in evangelic tradition before the earliest of our gospels was written. The history of Passion Week, which was the culmination of Jesus' ministry and the most memorable period of his life, undoubtedly took shape before the earlier part of the gospel story; and there was probably a tendency at work in the earliest age to put events and sayings into this last week which did not really belong there.

If the incident of the fig tree was placed in Passion Week, it was natural to locate it on the highway between Bethany and Jerusalem, for Jesus and his disciples passed over this road several times during this period.²

¹ Bacon regards the sequel (Mt. 21 19c-22 = Mk. 11 20-25) as "a secondary attachment" on account of both its material and its language (cf. Hasting's *Dict. of Christ and the Gospels*, I., p. 593). Goguel says: "La parole sur la foi ne paraît pas provenir de la même source que l'épisode du figuier. L'allusion qui y est faite à une montagne au bord de la mer fait penser que cette parole n'a pas été prononcée aux portes de Jérusalem, mais en Galilée. Le lien qui est établi entre elle et l'épisode du figuier est donc artificiel et Marc qui les juxtapose simplement est plus ancien que Mathieu 'qui les coordonne'" (*op. cit.*, pp. 216f.). See also Wellhausen, *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, pp. 55f.; *Das Evangelium Marci*, pp. 97f.; Jülicher, *op. cit.*, II., p. 447.

² J. Weiss, however, says: "Darum glaube ich, dass die Geschichte vom Evangelisten nur deswegen hier aufgenommen ist, weil sie in der Überlieferung auf dem Wege von Bethanien nach Jerusalem lokalisiert war" (*op. cit.*, p. 268).

THE MIZPAH OF 1 SAMUEL 7 5 &c.

W. J. PHYTHIAN-ADAMS

(JERUSALEM)

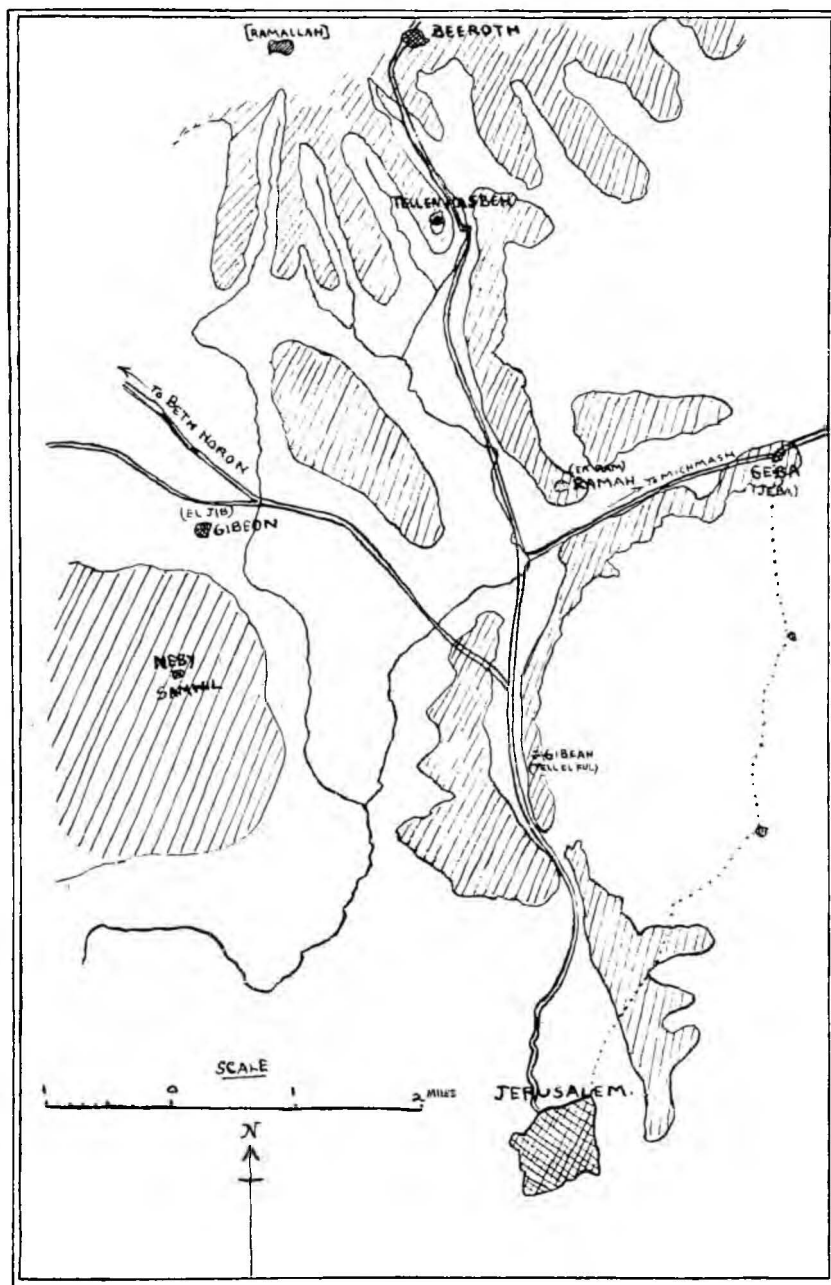
IN addition to a Mizpah or Watchtower in Gilead or Moab (Ju. 11 29, 1 Sa. 22 3) and a Mizpah near Mt. Hermon (Josh. 11 3, and 8), two other places of this name are definitely mentioned in the Old Testament. One of these was either in the maritime plain or the Shephelah, as it is placed (Josh. 15 38) with towns like Migdal Gad (Mejdel), Lachish (Tell El Hesi), Beth-dagon (Beit Dejan near Gaza), etc. and was therefore in or near Philistine territory. The other was a village of Benjamin (Josh. 18 26) and is accordingly found in conjunction with Ophni (Jifna), Geba (Jeba), Gibeon (El Jib), Ramah (Er Ram), and Beeroth (Bireh). It is this Benjamite Mizpah which is the subject of the present note.

Mizpah occurs already in the Book of Judges as the recognised place of assembly for all Israel, the place at which they consecrate themselves for some special work and at which they register their solemn vows "before the Lord". So, Jephthah, when he has been chosen as leader against the Ammonites, goes up to Mizpah with the elders of Gilead and there takes his oath of fealty, or, as the Bible describes it, speaks "his words *before the Lord*" (Ju. 11 11). [It is *after* this, be it noted, that he passes "over Gilead and Manasseh and from Mizpah of Gilead . . . to the children of Ammon" (Ju. 11 29), so that there is no question of a confusion between the two Mizpahs]. So, when Israel hears of the crime committed by Gibeah, it assembles "*unto the Lord*" at Mizpah (Ju. 20 1): it is at Mizpah that the case is formally heard (Ju. 20 3); it is from there that Israel issues to Benjamin its demand for the surrender of the guilty (20 13); it is there that the people take an oath never to give their daughters to the men of Benjamin (Ju. 21 1); and it is there that they swear a

solemn vengeance against any tribe that has not answered the national summons. "And the children of Israel said, Who is there among all the tribes of Israel that came not up in the assembly *unto the Lord*? For they had made a great oath concerning him that came not up *unto the Lord* to Mizpah, saying, he shall surely be put to death." (Ju. 21 5).

The years which followed these incidents were years of gloom, oppression, and disaster, but when the standard of Israel was raised aloft once more, it was planted by Samuel at Mizpah; and once again we hear the summons of Israel unto the Lord. "And Samuel said, gather all Israel to Mizpah, and I will pray for you *unto the Lord*. And they gathered together to Mizpah, and drew water, and poured it out *before the Lord*, and fasted on that day, and said there, We have sinned against the Lord. And Samuel judged the children of Israel in Mizpah" (1 Sa. 7 5). It is surely idle to suggest that the Mizpah of Judges and the Mizpah of Samuel were two distinct places: is it not one of the chief features of this revolt, that the old assembly place of Israel with all its hallowed memories is deliberately chosen by the Prophet-Judge as the rallying point against Philistia?

It will be noticed that as a national place of assembly Mizpah lent itself naturally to being also a centre for 'judgment'. Samuel, indeed, used it for this purpose, together with Bethel and Gilgal (1 Sa. 7 16); and, as such, it seems to have survived with them the foundation and disruption of the Kingdom. "Hear this, O ye priests", cries Hosea, "and hearken, ye house of Israel, and give ear, O house of the king, for unto you pertaineth the judgment; for ye have been a snare at Mizpah and a net spread upon Tabor" (Ho. 5 1). Whatever be the correct interpretation of this passage—for it is admittedly uncertain—the general meaning is clear. Those who have judged falsely shall now themselves be judged. "Blow ye the cornet in Gibeah and the trumpet in Ramah . . . Ephraim is oppressed and *broken in judgment* because he followed vanity." (Hos. 5 8, 11.) Why Gibeah? Why Ramah? Because the centre of corruption is at Mizpah of Benjamin with which these places are so often found in conjunction. A separate vengeance is pronounced by Hosea and Amos upon Gilgal and Beth Aven or Bethel (Hos. 4 15. Amos 4 4: 5 5); but it is only of importance to us here as shewing how this triad of holy places retained its sanctity long centuries after the establishment of



the Temple at Jerusalem. Here again it is surely idle to suggest that the Mizpah of Hosea is some unknown city or high-place, distinct from the Mizpah of Samuel.

So far we have found no evidence by which we can fix the site of Mizpah within the limits of the tribe of Benjamin; yet it would be untrue to say that we have been left altogether without guidance. A rallying place for the nation must be central, convenient, and accessible. Neither Shiloh nor Bethel fulfils these conditions: Mizpah apparently did. Accessibility seems, indeed, to have been the chief factor in its selection, for, though Israel assembled at this point, it had nevertheless to go up to Bethel for the purpose of asking counsel of the Lord (Ju. 20 18). That it did not assemble there in the first place, is doubtless due to the remoteness of Bethel from the main roads: therefore it is reasonable to assume that Mizpah, on the contrary, lay on or near them.

We may perhaps learn something also from the behaviour of the Philistines, when they heard that Israel was mustering at Mizpah (1 Sa. 7). The Philistines, as we know, held the hill country of Judaea with a chain of garrison forts (notably round Michmash and Geba), and relied, for their communications with the maritime plain, on the principal passes such as that of the two Bethhorons. If these communications were threatened, they must immediately be defended; but until or unless an enemy drew so dangerously near as to have this effect on them, that enemy could safely be left to himself: to hunt him out in some impregnable position far from a main road, would have been the height of folly: the obvious policy for the Philistines as masters of the country, was to increase their garrisons, burn a village or two, take hostages, and then wait quietly till the "rebels" either emerged from their fastness, when they could be attacked on some more convenient position, or dispersed to their homes through sheer inability to provoke a battle in the mountains. At the risk of over-stressing this argument, let us assume that Mizpah was, as it is usually assumed to be, at Neby Samwil. What possible reason could the Philistines have for attacking Israel in so remote and difficult a region? In the days before long-range artillery, Neby Samwil was tactically useless, for it controlled no road or pass; in the days before Morse signalling was invented, it would be futile even as a "watch tower". In short, if the Philistines found that

Israel had assembled at Neby Samwil, they would never have taken the mad step of attacking them there: conversely the fact that they *did* attack them at Mizpah is proof that Mizpah was not, like Neby Samwil, a remote peak, aloof from the main lines of communication, but that it lay, on the contrary, either upon, or so near to, those lines as to menace the security of the whole Philistine position in Judaea. We have thus two plausible arguments for supposing that Mizpah was in a central, commanding position on or near a main road; and when we come to its later history, mere probability hardens into fact.

When Baasha king of Israel began to fortify Ramah (Er Ram), he did so (1 Kings 15 17) "that he might not suffer any to go out or come in to Asa king of Judah". In other words, he chose a site which would control not only the present road from Shechem to Jerusalem but also the route which crossed the Wady Suweinit from Michmash to Geba and thence to Ramah and Jerusalem. "At Michmash he layeth up his baggage; they are gone over the pass; they have taken up their lodging at Geba: Ramah trembleth; Gibeah of Saul is fled" (Is. 10 29). Such is Isaiah's description of this second road and in the light of it the king of Judah's reply to Baasha assumes a new and important interest. Having succeeded in securing the withdrawal of the enemy, Asa pulled down the hostile fortress of Ramah and with the materials taken from it constructed two fortresses of his own. The first of these was Geba and his purpose in selecting it is clear: it was to control this second road at the pass of the Wady Suweinit. The second was Mizpah; and it needs no very great acumen to infer that this was to command the first road, that is the main-road from Shechem to Jerusalem. Now the Benjamite Mizpah ought, as we have seen, to be on or near a main road, so, when we find Asa fortifying a Mizpah in answer to Baasha's challenge, we may assume that this Mizpah was the Mizpah of early Israelite history, and that it lay somewhere north of Ramah on the Nablus road. That Asa's fortress did as a matter of fact command this road, we have other evidence to prove. After the removal of Judah into captivity, the king of Babylon appointed Gedaliah governor of Judaea with his headquarters at Mizpah. Now, not only do we know that this Mizpah lay on the Nablus road but we also know that it was the same as that fortified by Asa. When Gedaliah

had been murdered at Mizpah by Ishmael son of Nethaniah "there came certain from Shechem, from Shiloh, and from Samaria . . . with oblations in their hands, to bring them to the house of the Lord", or, in other words, pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem (Jer. 41). Ishmael decoyed these men inside the town, and, having slain them, cast them into "the pit", which the prophet tells us was the same as "that which Asa the king made for fear of (lit. 'before the face of') Baasha king of Israel". (Jer. 41 9.)

We are now in a position to marshal the evidence at our disposal together with our inferences and conclusions—

1. In the time of Judges, Mizpah of Benjamin is a central place of assembly, and therefore presumably on or near some main road. It is also a place of special sanctity, where solemn oaths are sworn before the Lord.

2. In the time of Samuel, its *religious* importance remains the same. It is used also as a centre for judging. Its *tactical* position is important enough to threaten the Philistine communications.

3. In the time of Asa (908 B. C.) its *strategic* importance overshadows its sanctity; it is fortified as a stronghold commanding the Shechem road above Ramah, while the parallel fortress of Geba commands the eastward route through Michmash.

4. In the time of Hosea (720 B. C.), its *religious* importance re-emerges; it is still a holy place and also, apparently, a city where judgments are delivered.

5. In the time of Gedaliah (588 B. C.), it is so central and important, that it is fixed upon as the headquarters of the new governor. It lies on the Shechem-Jerusalem road.

There remains now one reference which has to be examined. What was this "pit" which "Asa the king made for fear of Baasha king of Israel"? To anyone acquainted with Canaanite fortresses there can be only one answer, and that an obvious one. The strongholds of this country were built in ancient times either on isolated hillocks or, if these were not available, on lofty spurs, inaccessible on all sides save on that which linked them to the hills behind. All that was necessary to secure perfect isolation, was to dig a moat across the connecting saddle of the peninsula and thus sever all communication with the "Mainland". It is clear that this normal precaution was taken by Asa's engineers, and it reveals, as nothing

else could reveal, the nature of the site which he chose for his frontier stronghold.

We have now only to search along the Nablus road north of Ramah and discover if a site exists worthy of being associated with the historic name of Mizpah. The search will not be a lengthy one. Between Er Ram and Bireh the most prominent object on this road is the rounded hill on the top of which stands Tell El Nasbeh. This hill, which in reality forms the end of a spur thrown off to the south from the Ramallah-Bireh ridge, commands, on either side of it, the valleys which lead southwards to Jerusalem, and particularly that to the east, through which the present main-road to Nablus passes. Here the open valley contracts into a narrow and precipitous defile; the road has to bend sharply across a wady, and for a space runs actually under the lee of the hill itself. It is not too much to say, that, for the purposes of ancient warfare, Tell El Nasbeh must have been the most important strategic position on the northern frontier of the kingdom of Judah. Tactically, its position is almost unassailable. It is amply provided with its own water supply, a fact of paramount importance in a hill fortress; it could be easily protected on its northern side by a dry moat such as we have mentioned; it stands high and clear of its surrounding hills and may thus deserve the title of Watch tower. In other respects it fulfils all the requirements of the Mizpah whose long history we have surveyed: it is prominent, central, and accessible; it directly threatens the communications between Michmash or Geba and the Bethhoron pass; it is suited not only for a fortress but for an administrative centre. When we add to this that the pottery found on its surface corroborates its presumed antiquity, and that its name, Tell El Nasbeh, reflects in a curious manner the Mizpah of ancient days, we are surely compelled to ask ourselves these two questions:—

Is it possible that so strong a position should have been neglected by the kings of Judah?

If not, can there be any doubt that this was Mizpah?

The reference in Jeremiah (41 12) which seems to shew that Mizpah lay west of the "great waters in Gibeon" is inexplicable on any theory so far advanced, for, if anything is clear to an impartial student, it is, that the Mizpah of this context (i. e. the Mizpah of Asa and Gedaliah) was situated on the main road from Shechem to Jerusalem and therefore to the east of the only known site of Gibeon (El Jib).

The reference to Mizpah in 1 Macc. 3 46 contains no direct evidence of its location. It was "over against Jerusalem" a phrase too vague to be helpful, and it was apparently near the Bethhoron pass, since the army of Judas moved from it directly to Emmaus, at the exit of the Plain of Ajalon. The most interesting words in this passage, perhaps, are those which allude to Mizpah as "a place of prayer aforetime for Israel". The spirit of these words exactly reflects that of the first references to the place in the Old Testament. There was only one great Mizpah, and everyone was expected to know where and what it was: other Mizpahs might bear the names of Moab or Gilead, but the Benjamite Mizpah needed no such qualification.

FOLKLORE OF THE SEASONS IN PALESTINE

T. CANAAN

(JERUSALEM)

IN the following paper I wish to describe some material concerning the "weather rules" of Palestine, which I have gathered since the publication of my article "Der Kalender des palestinensischen Fellachen"¹ and which were therefore not included in it. It may serve with the papers of Bauer,² Sonnen³ and Stephan⁴ as a supplement to the "Kalender".⁵ In order not to repeat what has been already written, many proverbs or sayings will only be given with translation, without going into details about the weather itself.

Repeated enquiries about the names of the months used in Palestine elicited only the lists mentioned in the "Kalender". Some months bear different names in different places, as is noted by Stephan and Bauer (l. c.), but I have never found *two* Adjrads (as described by Bauer), one for November and the other for December. The name *Adjrad* (December) comes from *djarada*, "to strip, to peel", and means "the bare, stripped without vegetation," like trees stripped of all their leaves. An expression with this meaning which I heard from a woman in Jerusalem is: *el-adjrad biydjrid*⁶ *eš-šadjar min*

¹ Z. D. P. V. XXXVI, pp. 266—300.

² Z. D. P. V. XXXVIII, pp. 54—57: Bemerkungen zu Dr. Canaan's "Der Kalender etc."

³ Landwirtschaftliches vom See Genesareth, *Das Heilige Land*, Heft 1, 1921.

⁴ The Division of the Year in Palestine, J. P. O. S. pp. 159—170.

⁵ A few details about the same subject are found in the following articles: *Blätter aus Bethlehem*, Bauer, "Volksleben im Lande der Bibel", pp. 112—120. Canaan, "Die Wintersaat in Palästina", Z. D. M. G. 70, pp. 164—178. The weather rules mentioned by Bauer are mostly taken from the *Blätter aus Bethlehem*. Sonnen does not give any literature.

⁶ Or *bydjrid*.

waraquh u ba'd el-marrât es-seneh min sitâh = "December strips the trees of their leaves and sometimes (it strips) the year of its (the month's) rain."¹

The Bedouin² believe that those who fall sick in January (*el-ašamm*) suffer long from their illness. The same belief exists with respect to animals: *fî kânûn el-ašamm bibawwîl el-ehmâr qêh u damm* = in January³ the ass urinates pus and blood.⁴

In the *safârî* months (September, October and November) especially in the last two, the Bedouin take care not to eat much fatty food (*zûfar*), as they are afraid of becoming sick.⁵

The name *hamîs* for April denotes the fifth month of the year (December being the first), just as *hamîs*, Thursday⁶ is the fifth day of the week. I do not think that Bauer's supposition that the name *hamîs* for April comes from its first or second Thursday can be accepted. The following facts speak against the probability of this explanation:

1. The 4—6 special Thursdays do not always fall in this month.
2. In most cases Friday (*djum'ah*) is substituted for Thursday (*hamîs*), as will be noted later. Only in the case of *hamîs el-amwât* does the word *hamîs* come more often than *djum'ah*. In *hamîs en-nabât* both expressions are used equally. In all others only *djum'ah* is known.
3. The different Thursdays are not known in all districts where *hamîs* is used for April.⁷
4. If the Nebî Mûsâ feast begins, as Bauer correctly says, eight days after *hamîs el-amwât* and 15 days after *hamîs en-nabât*, then his first statement "Seinen (Monats-)Namen hat er von seinem ersten Donnerstag, etc." can not hold true, since the Nebî Mûsâ feast always coincides with the Greek Easter, which changes every year.

The various Thursdays, which, as I have already observed, are called much more often *djum'ah* = Friday, bear other names in the cities than they do among the *fellâhîn* or Bedouin. The celebration

¹ The latter part is not always included in this saying.

² Heard from the 'Idwân tribe (Transjordanian).

³ *El-ašamm* = the deaf.

⁴ Heard in Jerusalem.

⁵ Bedouin.

⁶ See *Muhîṭ el-muhîṭ* I, 594.

⁷ Thus a man of 'Anâtâ did not know the Bedouin names of the months.

of the day—or in some cases only the preparation of the feast—always begins according to Oriental computation with the eve of the preceding day,¹ in our case (Friday) from the eve of Thursday,² and continues all day Friday. These twenty-four hours make up our Friday. *Lēlatu-djum'âh* (the night of Friday) means the night between Thursday and Friday.³ Ramaḍân begins with the eve of the last day of Ša'bân and ends with the eve of its last day.⁴

Following are the different Fridays which bear different names and enjoy special celebration:

Order of Fridays	Compared with the Greek Easter	Names of Fridays in Jerusalem (and environs)	Names among peasants and Bedouin
first	14 days before Good Friday	<i>djum'et el-mnâdât</i> ⁵	<i>hamîs</i> or <i>djum'et en-nabât</i> ⁶
second	8 days before Good Friday	<i>djum'et el-bêraq</i> ⁷	<i>hamîs el-amwât hamîs</i> or <i>djum'et el-bêd</i>
third	Good Friday	<i>dj. el-'elêmât</i> ⁸	<i>dj. el-maghri</i> or <i>dj. el-haiwânât</i>
fourth	8 days after Good Friday	<i>dj. er-raghâib</i> or <i>dj. el-halâwi</i> or <i>ed-dj. et-tâuli</i> ⁹	
fifth	14 days after Good Friday	<i>dj. el-ghurabâ</i>	
sixth	21 days after Good Friday	<i>dj. el-hazânâ</i> ¹⁰	

¹ This may account in some cases for the use of Thursday.

² Of course one should not take the word "eve" too strictly, for many festivals begin already in the afternoon.

³ *Lēlat 'id eš-šalīb* means the eve preceding the feast itself.

⁴ This shows that the criticism on p. 56, § 3 of Z. D. P. V. 1915 does not hold.

⁵ It bears this name because it is announced on this Friday that the Nebî Mūsâ feast will begin in eight days.

⁶ This expression is not applied to the third Friday, which falls with Good Friday (as by Stephan).

⁷ Also called *djum en-nazleh* (Stephan). The Nebî Mūsâ flag is carried in great procession from the Omar mosque to the sanctuary.

⁸ The expression *dj. el-'eleiym* (Stephan) is not much used. See for further details, Canaan, *Aberglaube u. Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel*, p. 87.

⁹ *Ed-djum'âh el-hâmigh* falls on the preceding week and not on this Friday. *'Id el-muntâr* coincides with this Friday.

¹⁰ It used also to be called *dj. en-nawar*, an expression which is at present unknown.

Many say that the three Fridays following *djum'et el-elēmāt* are known collectively as *djuma' er-raghāyb* (the Fridays of desires), the first bearing this designation *par excellence*, while the last is known as *el-ḥazānā* (the Friday of the sorrowful). According to the people of Jerusalem only the first Friday bears the name of *djum'et er-raghāyb* (also *djum'et el-ḥalāwī*,¹ the Friday of the sweets²). In all three the peasants buy sweets to be distributed to members of their families and to others. On the first Friday the members of the family enjoy the sweets, on the second *djum'et el-ghurabā* (the Friday of the strangers) strangers, and on the third the "sorrowful" are presented with them. By "sorrowful" are meant widows and orphans, since they have no male support. It is to be noted here that this exact division, although known, is not preserved everywhere. The last week used to be called in Jerusalem *djum'et en-nāwar* (the Friday of the gypsies), but this expression is no longer known. The gypsies used to go in a body, dressed in their best clothes, to the mosque of Omar on this day.

Poor women or those having no male support are said to express their grief on such a day by the saying:

fī djum'et er-raghāyb yāwēl illi djōzhā ghāyb

"On the Friday of the desires woe to the woman whose husband is absent."

In *djum'et* (also called *ḥamās*) *en-nabāt* the young unmarried girls go out Thursday afternoon to the fields and gather flowers and sweet-smelling herbs. In cutting the herbs they ask the plants:

*taqš*³ *u-natš*⁴ *šū dāwā er-rās yā šdjērah*

"Crack and pull out—what is the remedy for the head,⁵ O little tree."⁶ These flowers are placed in water and left all night under the open sky, in order to be acted upon by the stars. This practice

¹ *Ḥalāwī* is a special kind of Oriental sweetmeat. The day bears this name because all peasants buy and eat sweets on this occasion.

² Some call it also *ed-djum'ah et-tawīleh* = the long Friday (week).

³ *Taqš* comes from *taqaša* (unknown in either *Mūhit el-muḥit*. Hava, Kassāb and Hammām or Wahrmond) is the sound made by cracking or breaking a twig or an egg against another.

⁴ *Natš* is the popular name for "thistles" in general. I think that it is used here only for the assonance like *šāḍar maḍar* etc.

⁵ I. e. for headache, as well as for growth of hair and beauty of complexion.

⁶ Heard from a woman of Dēr Ghassāneh.

is known as *tandjīm*.¹ With this water they wash their hair on the following day (Friday) believing that it will grow thicker and longer. Some mix the water with their bath. They dress themselves afterwards in their best clothes and go out into the fields.² Many think that performing these acts will hasten their chances of marriage.³

A corruption of a well known proverb points indirectly to this day:
*talāti bitāwīlū el-ʿumr mašyak ʿala nabāt*⁴ *urukbak ʿalā eš-šāfināt u*
aḥḍak el-banāt

Three (things) will prolong thy life: walking on grass, riding on good horses⁵ and taking girls (in marriage).⁶

In *djumʿet el-amwāt*, better known as *ḥamīs el-amwāt*, the women of Jerusalem go on Thursday afternoon to the cemeteries to visit their dead. They take with them dyed eggs, sweets and even cooked food and meat. The greater part is distributed to the poor—who gather on such a day—as an *adjr*⁷ (recompence). The meaning is that, since some help is given to the needy in the name of the deceased, God will reckon such an act in his favour. In some villages the women go before sunrise⁸ to the cemetery, believing that a visit after this time is not so good. Soon after sunrise they go home.⁹ The children of the peasants go on Thursday afternoon to the houses of their neighbours and beg: *aʿtūnī bēda ʿan amwātkum*, “give me an egg in the name of your dead”. Those in the house give an egg, dried figs, raisins or a piece of bread. The children express their thanks with the words *allah yirḥamhum*, God be merciful to them. This day, therefore, bears also the name *ḥamīs el-bēd* (Thursday of eggs).

¹ Cf. *Aberglaube u. Volksmedizin*, pp. 96, 126.

² The above description shows that only one part of this day's work falls on Thursday, while the greater part comes on Friday (evening, night and day).

³ A man of Artās assured me that all butter stowed up to this day must be boiled, else it will spoil.

⁴ This word is substituted for *ṭabāt* (firmly).

⁵ The word represents “a horse standing on three feet and touching the ground lightly with the fourth” (Hara 392).

⁶ The opposite is: Three things will shorten life: walking behind funerals, going through deserts, and marrying widows (or divorced women).

⁷ Not *adjar* as Bauer has in Z. D. P. V. XXXVIII, 54. *Adjār* = lease, rent; *udjrah* = wages, salary; *adjr* (ind *allah*) = recompence (with God).

⁸ As soon as the sun rises, the spirits disappear. Compare Gen. 32, 25.

⁹ In Jerusalem the cemeteries are visited all day. It is customary for the relatives of the recently deceased to spend most of the day around his tomb.

In *djum'et el-haiwânât* better known as *djum'et el-maghri* (but never as *hamîs*) the useful animals¹ (cows, horses, sheep and goats²) are dyed with red. The frontal portion, between the horns, is the part chosen for dying, but the horns and the back, especially of sheep, may also be dyed. All animals enjoy a yearly rest day. They are not sent to work, and the milk is not sold but used or distributed to the poor. *Lêlatu djum'ah* and Friday morning the animals are not milked. This is done about noon.³ In some places even the jars where milk and its products (butter, sour milk, etc.) are stored, are dyed with *mighri*. Cattle are protected on this day against serpent bites in the following way.⁴ Living serpents are thrown into a mixture of boiling oil and water, and all is left for some time to boil. Every animal is touched on different parts with this solution, which is supposed to contain a prophylactic antitoxin. This procedure is known by the name *hawî el-halâl*.⁵

The other days—*dj. el-'elêmât*, *dj. el-mnâdât*, *dj. el-bêraq*, *dj. el-hâmyéh*⁶ etc.—need no description, since they have been fully described elsewhere. It is important to note that many local festivals, which are connected with a *welî* takes place on the third Friday (*dj. el-'elêmât*).

Beside this division we should note another period which plays a minor rôle: The *mustagrêdât* (the last three days of February and the four first of March)⁷ are thought by some to be *ayâm el-husûm* mentioned in Sûrah 69, 7 of the Qorân. As is it thought that every child which is begotten in these days will be born either undeveloped or badly developed, all intercourse with women at that time is stringently forbidden.⁸ Even trees which are pruned during these days will dry up.⁹

A variation to the rhyme given in the "Kalender", p. 279, relating what February says to March in these days is

¹ Mules and asses are generally not dyed.

² Sheep and goats are more often dyed than horses and cows.

³ Heard from a man of 'Abwên.

⁴ Heard from Omar Effendi el-Barghûthi.

⁵ Halâl here means "cattle". It may also stand for "wife".

⁶ These are never called *hamîs*.

⁷ See "Kalender", l. c.

⁸ Heard from inhabitants of Jerusalem, as well as from *fellâhîn*.

⁹ Heard from a peasant of Artâs.

*adâr yâ ibn 'ammî talâteh minnak u arba'ah minnî tanhallî wâdha
ighannî*

March, my cousin, let three days of you and four of mine (unite in bringing so much rain) that we cause her (the village's, according to others the old woman's) valley to sing (i. e. much water will flow through the *wâdî*). The story relates that the old woman had her poor hut (*ḥarbûsheh*) in the *wâdî*, and, as she cursed February, the above saying was uttered.

While *ṣawwâl* is also known by the name *ṣahr es-sitt ayyâm*, or *ṣahr es-sitteh* — the month of the six days (cf. Stephan), a very rarely heard name, *Radjab* is also called *ṣahr es-sitt* (the month of the lady, also a rare appellation) since it is believed that Fatmeh, the daughter of the Prophet, gave birth to her children in this month.

Regarding Ramaḍân it is said: *inn 'aššar daššar*, i. e. if ten days pass, he (the month) will soon leave (close). Others divide it into three periods of ten days each:

'ašarah maraq 'ašarah daraq¹ 'ašarah ḥalaq.

Ten pass, (the other) ten (will) go quickly, (and the last) ten shave (i. e. finish) the month.

Let us now consider the weather rules from which the peasant tries to foretell the weather conditions on which he bases his work. We shall begin with the latter part of the autumn, which is really nothing but the period before the winter. The weather begins to get colder after the Feast of the Cross² as illustrated by the following rhyme:

mâ lak şefiyât ba'd eš-şalîbiyât

"You have no summers after the Feast of the Cross."

At the same time any sign of winter at this early period is a good omen:

inn barraqat 'alâ -ş-şalîb mâ bitghîb,³

"If there is lightning on the Feast of the Cross, it (the rain) will never depart."

¹ See *Muḥîṭ el-muḥîṭ*.

² 14th of Sept., old style (Julian calendar).

³ In Bêt djâlâ they say *barq iş-şayyib mâ biḡhayyib*. The lightning of the *şayyib* will not depart (except with heavy rain), i. e. it foretells good rain. The *şayyib* is the mountain to the N. E. of Bêt djâlâ.

Other sayings are:

fī 'īd mār Ilyās bithallaq el-ghēm,

"On (about) the Feast of St. Elias¹ the clouds begin to be formed."

eilūl ṭarafuh biš-šitā mablūl

"The end of September is wet with rain."

When rain does not fall at its expected time everyone watches for clouds, which are its forerunners:

lau biddha tišti ghayyamat

"If it intended to rain it would have become cloudy."

Murkiness brings rain:

mā biyu'qub el-ghabās illā er-ršās

"Nothing follows murkiness except sprinkling."

Some Christians believe that if it begins to rain on a Sunday the downfall will continue for some time:

Inn haddat maddat, "If it (the rain) remains (falling all) Sunday, it (this condition) will continue."

When the sun shines abnormally hot during the winter season it is thought—as this condition is unnatural—that it will be followed by rain, and it is called: *šamsha marḥūmeh*. This expression means: "Its sun is followed by *raḥmeh* (mercy, an expression used at times figuratively for rain).² It may also mean: "Its sun is dead". The Palestinian Arab never speaks of any dead person without adding: *il-marḥūm fān*, "N. N. treated with mercy", or *raḥmet allāh 'alēh*, "N. N., the mercy of God be upon him". I incline more to the first explanation, although both point to the idea that the sun must be followed by rain.

If the sun shines after a heavy rain it is said: *il-hardōn bilā'ib bintoḥ*, "the lizard plays with his daughter."³ This saying, which is used by children, tries to express the idea that reptiles leave their holes at this time.

Whenever it hails until a white layer of hailstones covers the ground it may be followed by snow, for *il-barād fraš it-taldj*, "the hail is the bed of the snow." The snow is said to be "the salt of the earth":

¹ 20th of July, old style.

² See also Z. D. P. V. XXXVI, 292, note 5.

³ Others say: *el-hardōn bidjawwiz ibnuh*, "the lizard marries his son."

it-taldj milh il-ard. Some define such a hail as being one which is composed of the smallest grains (*ibrîm*), while hail of larger grains is known by the term *haranza*.

It may not be without interest to note the different expressions for different kinds of rain:

<i>naqqatāt</i>	it drips gently,
<i>rašrašat</i>	it drips rapidly,
<i>baḥḥat</i>	it rains fast with small drops,
<i>zaḥḥat</i>	it rains fast with larger drops,
<i>‘abūrah</i>	shower falling from a cloud, which passes away in a short time,
<i>za‘ūq</i>	the same with heavy downpour,
<i>sabb</i> or <i>kabb min ir-rabb</i>	very heavy, continuous rain (from the Lord).

When it begins to rain the following expressions are used: *‘am-marat*, *nizlit* (or *tāḥat*, rarely) *id-dunyā*, “the world is being renewed or cultivated, or is pouring.” When the rain stops for a short time the term *ṣaḥat*, for a long time *amsakat*, and when the rain is over, *aftamat* is used.¹

The peasants believe that if a rainbow stretches north to south it stops the rain: *qōs* (or *qās*) *ḥadjdžāz* (preventing bow), but if it goes east to west it is a sign of more rain, *qōs jarrār* = “drawing bow” (heard from a woman of Bêt djâlâ).²

The different degrees of cloudiness are:

<i>ghayyamat</i>	it is cloudy,
<i>ghattamat</i>	it is somewhat murky from cloudiness,
(i) <i>swaddat</i> (<i>attamat</i>)	it is dark,
<i>raḥaṣaḥ</i>	it is very dark and the sky is full of thick clouds.

When violent lightning and thunder follow each other in rapid succession it is said to portend heavy rain:

¹ For snowing they use *nadafat* and *barghalat* (the last is used when the snow is in round small grains). The snow itself belongs to one of the following categories: *raqāqî*, *Kabâtîl*, *naṣṣ*. For *Kabâtîl* some use *Kawâtîl*. In Bêt djâlâ I heard also the expression *ḥuḥ* (perhaps from *kūk*) for large pieces of snow.

² A weather rule about the rainbow runs as follows:

qōs eṣ-ṣabāḥ ‘aduww -l-fallāḥ
qōs el-māsā dalîl eṣ-ṣāfā

“The rainbow of the morning is the enemy of the peasant,
The rainbow of the evening is the sign of clearness.”

ida abraḡat war'adat
i'lam inn mazārībā ṭarṭaḡat

"If it lightens and thunders, know that is gutter-pipes clash."

I have also collected some new sayings about 'id Lydd:¹

fî 'id Lydd šidd yā fallāl šidd
mā biḡi laš-šitā didd

"On the Feast of Lydd yoke (your plough) O, peasant, yoke, none will oppose (the coming of) the rain."

fî 'id Lydd kullu šaddādīn išidd
u kullu rammākin ihidd,²

"On the Feast of Lydda let every yoker (of a plough) yoke, and let every possessor of a mare have her fertilized."³

It is believed that animals (mares, cows, she-asses) and women who are fecundated in this day bring forth strong and healthy offspring.⁴ Accordingly we have the agricultural rule: *awwal el-wsūm* ⁵ *lā thūm*, "Do not run about in the first of the seasons."

The first month of the rainy season is divided into three periods of ten days each:

The first ten days are known as *itrūh* ⁶, falling (with sickness),
 „ second „ „ „ „ „ *intūh*, butting (with horns),
 „ third „ „ „ „ „ „ *iftūh*, opening or beginning (of good luck).

After the rains of the first ten days the first grass comes out. This is believed all over Palestine to be very bad for the cattle. The inhabitants think that the animals get sick if they eat this grass. The disease is known by the name *dj' am*.⁷ The same word

¹ November 3, Julian calendar.

² This meaning of *ihidd* (from *hadda*) is not known in classical Arabic (not found in *Muḡit el-muḡit*).

³ This verse is known to the Bedouin ('Azāzmeh of the Negeb, and 'Idwān cf. Transjordanian).

⁴ Variants to *fî 'id Lydd uhrut u qidd* (Kalender) are *fî 'id Lydd šidd u quidd*, and *fî 'id Lydd uhrut u šidd*.

⁵ For explanation of *mōsam* s. "Kalender".

⁶ *ṭarīh*, "sick person"; *maṭrūh*, "sick"; *intarah*, "he got sick"; *eš-šams ṭarḡatu*, "he was sun-struck".

⁷ This word is used in classical Arabic in the same meaning (s. *Muḡit el-muḡit*, I, 261).

is used wrongly by some people for the grass¹ which grows after the first rain. For this reason it is said when the rain comes late: *min baht el-halāl u-ta'hîr el-fallâh*², "It is good luck for the cattle and delay (in his work) for the peasant." By *intûh* they mean that the seeds will push through the ground better than in the first period, for the rain of this period is generally stronger than that of the preceding. The expression *imtûh*,³ used by Bauer, is wrong and should be *intûh*. As far as I could find this expression is not used for *šatwat 'el-masâtîh* but denotes what has been mentioned. If during the third period (*iftûh*) the rainfall is as good as it was in the two other periods, the year promises to be good. Of course any of these three periods may fail to bring rain.

The best rain is supposed to be that which falls when *Tureiyâ* (Pleiades) and *Libra* are in a north-south line.

wasm et-tureiyâ a'djab min a'djab
*fil-barr māl u-fil-baḥr dahab.*⁴

"The season of the Pleiades is a wonder of wonders,
(it brings) on land wealth and on the sea gold."

Accordingly, this season is everywhere called⁵ the season of riches (*wasm et-trēyāwî wasm el-māl*).

It has been noted that when *Suhêl* (Canopus) rises the cold is so severe that special care must be taken to protect the animals: *tîlî shêl awî*⁶ *l-hêl*,⁷ "Canopus has arisen, shelter the horses."

The weather grows constantly colder and the cold reaches its climax about the last part of *el-adḡrad*, thus we are taught

fil-mâlâdeh bizîd el-bard ezyâdeh,

"At Christmas the cold increases greatly."

But soon afterwards it begins to grow warmer:

¹ This is known in classical Arabic as *wašr*, M. el-M. II, 2074.

² Heard from the 'Idwân.

³ Z. D. P. V. XXXVIII, 55.

⁴ 'Azâzmeh and 'Idwân tribes.

⁵ Also mentioned by Bauer.

⁶ I have also heard instead of *awî šidd* and *ghattî*.

⁷ Mr. Stephan has called my attention to the song: *yâ imm el-manâdil*, where a part of a verse runs as follows:

yâ nâym iḡhattâ tîl'u l-marwâzîni
"O, sleeper cover yourself; *Libra* has arisen."

*fil-ghitās biyughtus muṣṣ el-bard.*¹

“At Epiphany half of the cold dives (disappears).”

Therefore the rule:

*bēn el-ghitās wil-milādeh lā tsāfer yā hādī*²

“Between Epiphany and Christmas don’t journey O, quiet man!”

The rain is generally so heavy in the *marb’ānīyeh* that one is advised:

“Between January and February do not sleep in your neighbour’s house”

(bēn kânûn u-šbāt ‘ind djārak lā tbât).

March (*adār*) is the “stallion” of the year (*fahl is-saneh adarhā*), since all agricultural work depends on the quantity of rain which falls during this month:

*adār fahālḥā*³ *adār maḥalḥā*⁴

“March made it fertile (i. e. was the stallion),

March made it sterile.”

It is too late at this time of the year to plough or sow any winter grain:

fī nisān ḡubb il-‘iddeh u-il-faddlān

“In April hide the farm tools and the plough.”

People consider the 23rd of April (St. George’s feast)⁵ to be the boundary between the winter and the summer.⁶

On the other hand it is now the best time to work in the orchards.

in kân biddak il-qēd ištghil’ fī djum’it il-bēd

“If you want the fruits of midsummer work in the week of the eggs.”⁸

Gradually it grows hotter and most of the grass begins to dry up:

*fī šahr il-ḥamīs kullu ḥudratin tabis*⁹

“In April every green (plant) begins to dry up.”

¹ This rule is not exact.

² Another similar saying is: *bēn el-ghitās u-‘id er-rûm lā tsâfir yā madjnûn*, “Between Epiphany and the Greek feast (Christmas) don’t journey, O fool.”

³ Some use *falahā* (from *falaḥa*, to make prosperous).

⁴ Heard from the ‘Idwân.

⁵ Betûniâ.

⁶ The feast of Lydd (also that of St. George) is the boundary of the winter and the summer.

⁷ According to others *uḥruṭ*, plough.

⁸ See explanation given above.

⁹ Dêr Ghassâ-neh.

The following verse refers to the time of the budding of the leaves of the fruit trees:

*rāh is-siām l-imbārak u-adja hadd is-ša'nineh
aurāq ir-rummān u-il-hōh u-it-tineh*¹

"Blessed Lent has gone, and Palm Sunday has come—
peaches, pomegranates, and fig trees begin to leaf."

The first cereals which ripen are the horse-beans, and many believe they can foretell the excellence of the crops by the quality of the *fūl*:

*hud fālḥā min (i) fwālḥā*²

"Take its (the year's) omen from its horse-beans."

In August the grapes are ripe:

fī āb udḥul il-karm walā thāb

"In August enter the vineyard and don't be afraid."

At the same time the olives develop, little by little:

*fī 'id il-'adrā imm in-nūr
bysubb iz-zēt fī-z-zētūn.*

"On the feast of the Virgin, the mother of light,
Oil pours into the olives."

No sooner are the grapes over, than the vineyards are deserted:

*habbar it-tīn u-qarqā' urēqoh
rauwaḥ in-nātūr iyraqqi' ihlēqoh.*

"The figs are over and their leaves have rustled down,
The watchman goes home to mend his rugs."

The summer approaches its close slowly and one must not be misled by the hot days of the last third of September, since "the summer of the pomegranates laughs at the naked" (those who go still in light summer clothes); *sefiyyit ir-rummān btidḥak 'alā l-'arlān.*

Finally we may give some rules or sayings connected with the non-agricultural life of the peasants:

fī kânûn lâ tbî' bēḏak yâ madjnûn

"Don't sell, fool, your eggs in Kânûn³ (as eggs are then rare and expensive)."

¹ From the Song of Lazarus.

² Another proverb has *(i)tfālḥā* (babies) instead of *(i)fwālḥā*.

³ December and January.

As soon as spring begins and the flowers blossom the cold decreases markedly and animal life gets more vigorous. The following saying puts this truth in the mouth of the hens:

til' il-hannūn u-mā bydnā
yā 'ēbnā, yā 'azāritnā minnšālībnā.

"The flowers have come out, and we have not yet laid eggs,
 What a shame, what a rebuke (we deserve) from our owner!"

Christian women order their new summer and festival clothes at the end of spring:

*hadd in-nuṣṣ faṣṣil u quṣṣ*¹

"In the middle Sunday of Lent fashion and cut out (a dress)."²
 It is too late to postpone this work much:

illī mā btilbis 'al-'anṣarah bytmūt (i)mhaṣṣarah.

"She who does not dress on Whitsuntide dies of pique (vexation of spirit)."

Another saying, current amongst Christians as well as among non-Christians, is:

ṣāf iṣ-ṣēf yā nadamyt illī (i)nkasā

"The summer is in its full power, oh regret of those who have bought the necessary clothes, (for the winter is over, and he is not going to use them)."

"The summer carpet is wide", (*bsāt iṣ-ṣēf uwstī*³) is an expression alluding to outdoor life in this period of the year. Vineyards and orchards are full of life, work is done and meals are eaten in them.

When chickens hatch in the latter part of the summer they will develop very badly, as they cannot support the cold, which is rapidly drawing near:

ṣūṣ taṣārīn byākul u binīn

"The chicken of October and November eats and weakens."

ṣūṣ it-tīn byḍall (i)ynīn

"The chicken of the fig time continues to weaken."

¹ Another variant is:

hadd en-nuṣṣ illī mā qaṣṣiṣ iquṣṣ

"On middle Sunday, every one who has not yet cut out a dress must do it."

² The two words *faṣṣil* and *quṣṣ* have, when used in dress-making, nearly the same meaning. *qaṣṣēt badleh*, "I have bought (cut) the stuff for a suit"; *faṣṣal badleh*, "he cut out a suit."

As the days get shorter and the nights longer, evening parties, which were not so popular in summer, come into their rights again:

ba'd 'id is-sayydeh wên is-sakhîrah idj-djaideh

"Where are the good watchers (those who stay awake for parties) after the Feast of the Lady (St. Mary)."

[I take this opportunity to correct some statements in my article "The Division of the Year in Palestine" (Vol. II 3).

- a) (*i*) *l-ajrad* (p. 161) stands for December and not for January.
- b) *jum'it ir-raġâyib* (p. 165) falls on the Friday following *jum'it il-(i)'layyim* and is not another name for it.
- c) *jum'it in-nabât* coincides with *jum'it il-ymnâdâ(t)* and not with *jum'it il-(i)'layyim* or *jum'it ir-raġâyib* (p. 165).

St. H. Stephan.]

THE EPHRAIM OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS

W. F. ALBRIGHT

(JERUSALEM)

MUCH unfortunate confusion has been caused by the similarity between the place-names *Ophrah* and *Ephraim*, the first written with *ayin*, the second with *alef*. In the first place, they should never have been identified, for, once such a combination is made, it persists with the most astonishing tenacity, defying all efforts at dislodgment. Despite the fact that there is nothing in the biblical allusions to require the identity of the two places, it has been maintained until very recently, on the basis of the *Onomasticon*. Now, however, such scholars as Thomsen and Guthe have at last seen that the *Onomasticon* clearly distinguishes them, and there is no excuse for retaining a theory which obscures the facts.

Ophrah is mentioned twice in the Old Testament, in such a way as to localize it pretty accurately north of Michmash, though not far north.¹ Ephraim is mentioned once in the Old Testament, 2 Sam. 13 23, which relates that Absalom had sheep-shearers in Baal-hazor, beside Ephraim. Much more interesting to us, however, is the occurrence of the name in the New Testament, John 11 54, where we are told that Jesus, in order to spend a few quiet weeks with his disciples before the Passover, left Jerusalem, and went to a place near the wilderness, to a town named Ephraim. Where was this Ephraim?

Eusebius in the *Onomasticon* places Ophrah at a village called Aephra (*sic*) five miles east of Bethel. This can only be Rammûn or et-Taiyibeh, and, since Rammûn is the Remmon of the *Onomasticon* and the Mosaic of Madeba, it must be the other town, a large and prosperous Christian village on a commanding height five miles

¹ See Jos. 18 23, 1 Sam. 13 17, and the commentaries on the latter.

northeast of Bethel. This is supported by the consistent tradition in the village that the old name of the place was *'Afrāh*. Another *'Afrāh* in Transjordanian has suffered the same change of name to *et-Taiyibeh*, as pointed out by Hölscher.¹ As R. Hartmann has shown,² the name *'Afrāh* was ominous, and was therefore replaced by a name meaning "(having a name) of good omen".

The identification of Ophrah with *et-Taiyibeh* agrees well with all the Old Testament passages, including one which alludes to Ephron,³ also written with *'ayin*, and presumably identical with Ophrah—since the endings on these names are practically interchangeable. The Old Testament reference to Ephraim can be forced into agreement with the same location, but the passage in John cannot be made to agree, contrary to the general opinion. The village of *et-Taiyibeh* lies more than 2800 feet above sea-level, and is one of the coldest spots in Palestine during the rainy season. It was emphatically not an ideal place for Jesus and his disciples during the weeks before Passover, that is, during February or March, which the Master was usually accustomed to spend on the Sea of Galilee, several hundred feet below sea-level, an altitude assuring warmth at all times of the year. The Son of Man, who said that He had no place in which to lay His head, did not court the hostility of the elements, nor did He seek inclement weather in which to test the stamina of the disciples. Moreover, *et-Taiyibeh* is too prominent and accessible a point for one of Christ's purposes, to conceal himself temporarily from the hostility of his Jewish foes. We must therefore search elsewhere for a suitable location.

Eusebius and the Mosaic of Madaba identify the Ephraim where Jesus went with Ephraea or Ephraim (in one place the *Onomasticon* offers Ephron by mistake) "a very large village" twenty miles north of Aelia (that is, Jerusalem). Now Eusebius elsewhere places Remmon fifteen miles north of Jerusalem, quite correctly, and since *et-Taiyibeh* is less than two miles further north, it is clear that he was not

¹ ZDPV 29, 142.

² ZDMG 65, 536—8.

³ 2 Chron. 13 19. In this passage Abijah is said to have captured the Israelite towns of Bethel, Jeshanah, and Ephron from Jeroboam I. Bethel is Beitin; Jeshanah is Burj el-Isâneh, not 'Ain Siniéh (see *Bulletin of the American Schools*, no. 9, pp. 7—8). It is, therefore, evident that *et-Taiyibeh* suits the probabilities for the site of Ephron.

thinking of it when he made his statement regarding Ephraea (*sic*). We must go somewhat further to the north. Thomsen and Guthe, following somewhat similar lines of reasoning, have come to the conclusion that the second Ephraim of Eusebius—both avoid biblical identifications—lay to the north of et-Ṭaiyibeh, and have suggested sites west of Tell 'Asūr (Baal-hazor).¹ As will be shown elsewhere at length, both sites proposed are quite untenable. St. John, however, says that Ephraim was situated near the desert, so it must have lain east of Baal-hazor, near which it is placed by the passage in Samuel. Moreover, the Talmud locates an Ephraim in a valley not far from Michmash. We have therefore only to find a valley just east of Tell 'Asūr, and well stocked with ancient ruins.

In precisely the right spot there is a beautiful valley, lying in secluded loveliness a thousand feet below Kefr Mâlik, a village near the eastern foot of Tell 'Asūr. The upper end of the Valley of Sâmieh is only 1400 feet above sea-level, and protected on all sides by high hills. A splendid fountain, 'Ain Sâmieh, provides water enough to irrigate almost the whole of the wide valley, which is, therefore, one of the richest in Palestine, famous far and near for its onions. Here also are ruins in profusion, strangely enough unmentioned in the *Survey of Western Palestine*. In fact the site is rarely visited, because of its inaccessibility; Dalman was turned back at the point of a rifle when he attempted to enter its seclusion. It contains some of the richest deposits of antiquities in Palestine, which will well repay a thorough investigation.

It was, in 1906—7 that the peasants of Kefr Mâlik began prospecting for antiquities in the old cemeteries of Wâdi Sâmieh on their own account. Discoveries were made on every side; scores of ancient tombs were excavated and looted, until finally the Turkish authorities got wind of it, and suppressed the illegal digging with so much severity that the villagers still have a bad taste in their mouth, not effaced even by the war. The antiquities—objects of pottery, bronze, and glass, etc.—passed into various hands, notably into the possession of Harvard University, where they still await publication. Professor Lyon was not content with buying the antiquities found,

¹ Guthe, MNDPV 1911, 49—56, suggests Ḥirbet Ghurâbeh, a mile and a half northwest of Sinjil; Thomsen prefers Ḥân Abū l-Ḥajj Fâris (*Loca Sancta*). Both identifications are archaeologically untenable.

however; he also studied the tombs, measuring and photographing. So far only a preliminary account of these investigations has been published. The tombs are now filled, so we may hope for eventual publication of the results of the work done by the American School at the time.

In the course of the year 1922 the American School made two visits to Kefr Mâlik and 'Ain Sâmieh, in order to study the valley and its remains. These two brief visits have only served to whet one's appetite for more. On every side there are unrecorded ruins of interest, representing every period from the Canaanite down to the Arabic. Above the spring there is a *hirbeh* belonging, as shown by the potsherds, to the Late Canaanite and perhaps to the beginning of the Early Palestinian, that is to a period between about 1600 and 1100 B. C. A remarkable megalithic monument on the summit suggests that the spot was sacred from a considerably higher antiquity. The tombs near the sacred spring carry us back for the most part, as described by Lyon, to the same period as the potsherds above, but a large number of them belong to the Israelite and Graeco-Roman periods. The Byzantine and Arab periods are also well represented by remains, including a fine Greek inscription from the reign of Justinian,¹ published some years before the war and now in the National Museum. While the early town is represented, it would seem, by Hîrbet el-Marjameh, the late one is no less clearly to be located under the débris of Hîrbet el-Byâdir, a little way below the spring.

Since a much fuller treatment of the whole question will appear in the future, suffice it to say that Sâmieh is in every way exactly the site for the biblical Ephraim. Nearah or Noaran, which Guérin wished to place here,² lay at 'Ain Dûq, as we know now, so there is no other claimant. The warm and lovely Wâdi Sâmieh was, then, in all probability, the district referred to, John 11 54, where Jesus spent those precious weeks far from the tumult of Jerusalem. As we shall see elsewhere, the *wâdi* seems to have played a rôle of great importance in the dawn of Hebrew history. From its name, *Ephraim*, we may derive the name of the tribe; the necropolis, moreover,

¹ Cf. RB 1907, 275 f.

² *Samarie*, I, 211—13; cf. Guthe, ZDPV 38, 47. 'Ain Dûq has been excavated in part by Vincent, who has established the identification with Nearah or Noaran.

suggests that the original tomb of Rachel, mother of all the *Benê Yosef*, lay here, at the true Ephrath, from which the tribe received its name, *ha-Ephrathi*. As will be shown in the detailed paper referred to, it would seem that we are coming a step nearer the solution of some of the interesting problems still hovering around the cradle of the Hebrews. Thanks to the collaboration of archaeology and biblical research, we may catch a glimpse of unexpected episodes in the childhood of Israel, episodes upon which Ephraim, Ai, Shiloh, and Bethel are beginning to shed a long-hidden light. The childhood of Israel already gave promise of a vigorous youth, a promise abundantly fulfilled in the days of Samuel and Saul.

METHODS OF EDUCATION AND CORRECTION AMONG THE FELLĀḤĪN

E. N. HADDAD

(JERUSALEM)

WHEN we see the poor *fellāḥīn* many questions arise in our minds. Have they any aim in life, or do they leave everything to fate? Have they any elements of culture? Do they follow definite rules of social life, and if they have such rules, how do they know them, and how do they keep them, since most of them are illiterate?

They do have social laws which they keep very strictly and hand down accurately from one generation to another without writing. I do not wish to discuss the value of their methods, but to describe some of them as they are. I do not mean here methods of school education, but methods of education and correction in social and moral life.

Here, for example, is an illustration of their methods of teaching honesty. The *fellāḥīn* believe that after a dying person tells his relatives about the debts he owes others, he is no longer responsible for them before God, but his relatives will be responsible if they do not pay the debts he owes. Hence they see that it is necessary to pay his debts to the creditors after his death, even if they are obliged to sell the furniture of their house.

Here is an illustration of how they endeavour to prevent thefts. Thefts from mosques and wells are considered very unlawful and bring severe punishment from heaven. Therefore any one who has wood or other things to store, places them in the open air in the court of the mosque, where no one dares to steal them.

Should a person prove to be a thief, and has the thing stolen still in his possession, he must give it back, and must offer atonement by killing one or more animals and preparing a supper for the notables

who have negotiated for reconciliation. In some places, where no mediation takes place it is customary for the thief to restore the thing stolen fourfold. This is the case when the theft occurs outdoors. Should the theft occur indoors, he pays in addition 1500 piastres for breaking into the house.¹

Where a man insults a woman or a girl, so that she is obliged to call for help, it is considered a great disgrace. Her shout is called "call of the victim".² Such a case leads to a trial among the *fellāḥīn*. The punishment of the guilty one is:

a. Payment of the costs of the food for the judges and all others present. This is called *wajāha*.³

b. The guilty one must report at the house of the offended party bareheaded and barefoot as a token of disgrace, and must apologize.

c. He must besides pay from twenty to thirty pounds as punishment.

It is not easy to settle such a case, for an insult paid to a woman is considered a great disgrace. Before the trial begins, the guilty one is asked to take an oath, in the presence of five honourable men⁴ of his family before he is exonerated. The oath taken is as follows: "By the almighty God and by the life of the One who sent the Holy Book through the chief of the Prophets, I have done nothing and caused no harm to her; I did not make any improper proposals to her".⁵ If the five justifiers answer: "He is right in what he has said",⁶ then his punishment will be as stated above, but if one disagrees with the other four, the defendant is sentenced to death, even if the case is simply one of attempted assault. The death sentence, however, is modified through the intervention of honourable men, and a heavy fine is levied instead.

In case of assault, a virgin is killed by her relatives when her case becomes known, if the act has been committed with her consent. The cause of this harshness is the great disgrace caused by her.

¹ طيبة الدار.

² صيحة الضحى.

³ وجاهة.

⁴ عليه ان يحلف دين وخمسة.

⁵ والله العظيم وحيمة من ارسل القراءه على سيد المرسلين اني ما عملت ولا اذيت ولا اعترض هذه الكرمه باعتراض سوء.

⁶ صدق في ما قال.

They believe that if they do not act in this way people will look at them with contempt and hatred.

An adulterous woman is divorced and sent back at once to her parents to be punished by them.

The guilty man in this case is punished more severely than if he were a murderer. Owing to the disgraceful nature of the crime its true name is not employed, during the trial, but the euphemistic expression, "theft", is used instead. The judges know the crime perfectly well, but a case of rape is treated under the veil of theft.

Even if the act was performed with the woman's consent, it does not lessen the guilt of the man. In any case, he is sentenced to death and a heavy fine is substituted for the execution.

The punishment for an assault on a woman is to pay a fine consisting of animals, such as camels, horses, cows and donkeys, mules, etc. A woman or girl has the right to receive as many animals as can be contained in a row from the place where she calls for help up to the last point where her voice can be heard. In the actual trial, the amount is reduced to a sum within the ability of the guilty party to pay.

A disloyal man, that is, one who does not submit to justice and does not accept a trial, loses the security of his possessions as punishment. His domestic animals may be taken away, his threshing floors may be burned, his trees may be cut down, and, if all these things do not produce any effect, a heap of stones is piled in front of his house, at night, in the form of a tomb and two cartridges are placed on it. When he sees that, he at once knows that his life is in danger. If he accepts the trial, it is well, if not, he will be slain.

It is a great disgrace to beat a woman, so the person who wounds her face is punished severely and fined a large sum of money. If reconciliation takes place, he must offer as atonement a sacrifice of two sheep, one basket of rice, a tin of semne (melted butter), five ratls of coffee, ten ratls of sugar and four garments. To wound a woman in a place not visible to the eye is considered a small crime and the woman is paid for time lost and medical fees, and is asked for forgiveness.

Here we may relate the following incident which illustrates the biblical phrase, An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.

Some time ago a quarrel took place at Liftā between two men,

named Ṣāliḥ Jūdi Khashram and Aḥmed Ḥasan Nāṣer. Ṣāliḥ Jūdi, the younger one, wounded Aḥmed, the elder, with a knife. Aḥmed refused to accuse him before the law courts. The relatives of Aḥmed asked Ṣāliḥ if he were ready to present himself in the native court, and he accepted the proposal. After the judges had been nominated by both the accuser and the accused, and the accused had confessed his act, he was judged as follows: "Because you have raised your arm against one who is older than you, you must either be ready for trial, or you must leave the village for three years, while your enemies have the right to do with your property whatever they wish, and no one in the village will try to defend your rights." He accepted the trial at once. The judges were Yasīn 'Akle, Ismā'il Najjār and Ismā'il Ḥammūdi. The accused one was asked, "Why did you wound your cousin?" He answered, "The devil tempted me, so I did wrong."

He was sentenced to have his arm amputated. The chief of the village mediated and the decision was replaced by the sacrifice of two sheep and a repast for those who were present, as well as a fine of twenty pounds. Then they took the guilty one to the house of the injured party and put his hair-robe and his keffiye (head-cover) around his neck as a sign of contempt. Then they made him stand before his opponent and said to him, "Arise and avenge yourself, or if you wish to pardon him, the matter is left to you." Then Aḥmed got up, lifting his sword, and asked him three times, "Do you permit me to cut off the arm which wounded me?" He answered him, "Yes, I permit you". Then he said to him, "Go, I have pardoned you". Then the notables of the village said: "We have fined him twenty pounds and the costs of the case."

¹ The trial of a murderer is described in the article, "Blood Revenge among the Arabs, in the first volume of this Journal.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

A PROPOS DU MOT שָׁלַח.

Mon attention sur l'hébreu שָׁלַח a été attirée par les deux passages du livre de Job où il figure dans l'expression עָבַר בַּשָּׁלַח.

Le premier de ces passages est XXXIII, 18:

יְחַשֵּׁד נַפְשׁוֹ מִנִּי־שָׁחַת
וְחַיָּתוֹ מִעֵבֶר בַּשָּׁלַח

Il n'y a pas d'hésitation pour la traduction du 1^{er} hémistiche: «Il préserve son âme de la fosse». La fosse est la tombe ou le shéol. Il s'agit simplement de préserver l'homme d'une mort prématurée.

Le 2^{me} hémistiche est rigoureusement parallèle au premier. Au mot נַפְשׁוֹ «son âme» répond חַיָּתוֹ «sa vivante», c'est-à-dire son principe de vie. Et il est clair que מִעֵבֶר בַּשָּׁלַח correspond à מִנִּי־שָׁחַת. L'opinion qui a prévalu consiste à voir dans le mot שָׁלַח une arme quelconque. Le targum s'est contenté de transcrire בַּשָּׁלַחָא. La version syriaque traduit «par la perte, par la mort» (בַּאֲבִדָּנָא), mais les Septante ἐν πολέμῳ et la Vulgate *in gladio* ont été plus précis. Chez les modernes on s'en est tenu à cette interprétation: «[pour préserver] sa vie du tranchant du glaive» (*Le Hir*); «[pour sauver] sa vie du trait qui la menace» (*Renan*); «[afin de garantir] sa vie des coups du glaive» (*Jegond*); «et empêche leur vie de succomber sous le glaive» (*Bible du rabbinat français*).

Il est incontestable que le mot שָׁלַח a désigné une arme, et cette arme était un dard ou un javelot. Le substantif dérive de שָׁלַח «envoyer», exactement comme la latin *missile* «trait, flèche, javelot» dérive de *missus*, qui provient de *mittere* «envoyer». Il faut ajouter que l'assyrien possède un verbe *šalû* «envoyer, lancer», d'où dérive précisément un substantif *šelû* qui est glosé *ša kakki* «en parlant d'une arme». ¹ Cette arme *šelû* n'est autre que שָׁלַח «trait, javelot».

¹ THUREAU-DANGIN, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, XI, p. 89.

On sait que cette signification de שָׁלַח est nettement accusée dans *Neh.* IV, 11; *II Chron.* XXIII, 10.

La question est de savoir si ce sens convient au mot שָׁלַח dans notre passage de Job. Si oui, il faudrait traduire: «et [il préserve] son âme de passer par le trait». Je sais que cette expression pourrait se tolérer à la rigueur. Mais dans le même chapitre nous trouvons au v. 28:

פָּדָה נַפְשִׁי מִעֲבוֹר בַּשָּׁחַת

«Il a exempté mon âme de passer par la fosse».

On voit que, dans un contexte littéralement calqué sur le v. 18, le mot שָׁחַת «fosse, tombe, shéol» remplace שָׁלַח.

Nous sommes donc invités par le texte lui-même à chercher pour שָׁלַח un sens analogue à celui de fosse. Or un passage de Joël nous confirme dans cette opinion. Le chapitre II de Joël décrit, en termes vivants, une invasion des guerriers venues du Nord. Le v. 7 montre les soldats escaladant les murailles d'une cité. Ils marchent en rangs pressés, sans se confondre. Le v. 8 achève la première description par ces mots:

וּבָעָר הַשָּׁלַח יָפְלוּ לֹא יִבָּצְעוּ

On traduit généralement: «et au travers des armes ils se précipitent sans se rompre» ou bien «et s'ils tombent par les armes, il ne se rompent pas».¹ Mais l'expression נָפַל בָּעָר apparaît dans un autre endroit, où la signification est claire. C'est dans *II Reg.* I, 2:

וַיִּפֹּל אֶחָזִיָּה בְּעַד הַשִּׁבְכָה

«Et Ochazias tomba par le treillis», c'est-à-dire par la fenêtre grillagée. Est-ce une réminiscence de ce passage qui a permis à S. Jérôme de traduire le texte de Joël par *sed et per fenestras cadent*? Toujours est-il que le mot שָׁלַח, dans Joël comme dans Job, signifie l'endroit par où l'on passe, par où l'on tombe, et non pas l'arme qui fait tomber.

Or il existe en assyrien un mot *šilihtu*, dont le sens de «canal» semble évident dans la phrase *šilihti ša (nāru) Banīti hira'* «creuse le canal du fleuve Banīti».² En hébreu, le mot שָׁלַח possède une signification analogue dans *Neh.* III, 19: בְּרֶכֶת הַשָּׁלַח «la piscine du

¹ Cf. VAN Hoonacker, *Les petits prophètes*, p. 169.

² Meissner, *Supplement*, p. 94; Muss-Arnolt, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 1038.

canal», la piscine de Siloé. Pour indiquer le canal par excellence, on déforma la forme הַשְּׁלַח en הַשְּׁלֵחַ, qui devint Σιλωαμ en grec, *Siloe* en latin. Mais S. Jean n'ignore pas que primitivement il s'agissait d'un nom commun, dont il donne l'étymologie, en le rattachant au verbe שָׁלַח: Σιλωάμ ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται ἀπεσταλμένος (*Joh. IX, 7*).

Fidèle à ce sens, la tradition rabbinique n'a pas négligé d'utiliser שָׁלַח dans une expression typique: בֵּית הַשְּׁלֵחִין, pour indiquer un champ qui a besoin de travaux d'irrigation.¹

Mais il faut noter que, chez les Hébreux comme chez les Cananéens, le canal pouvait être conçu de deux manières. Tantôt, et c'est le cas de Siloé, il s'agit de faire couler l'eau depuis une source jusqu'à une piscine assez éloignée. Tantôt le canal est un puits vertical ou oblique, par où l'on accède au point d'eau.²

C'est sous ce deuxième aspect que nous expliquerions le mot שָׁלַח dans le passage de Job qui a servi de point de départ à ces constatations: «Il préserve son âme de la fosse et sa vie de passer par le Puits». Le puits est le canal vertical par où l'on descend à la tombe ou au shéol qui est sous notre terre. Passer par le puits est un euphémisme, analogue à celui des Babyloniens qui disaient: *libir nāra* «qu'il passe le fleuve» (il s'agit du fleuve des Enfers), pour demander qu'on esprit retourne aux enfers.³ L'association de שְׁחַת «la Fosse» et de שָׁלַח «le Puits» devient ainsi toute naturelle. Il suffit, pour s'en convaincre, de se reporter à *Ps. LV, 24*, où nous trouvons:

וְאַתָּה אֱלֹהִים תּוֹרְדֵם לְבֹאֵר שְׁחַת

«Et toi, ô Dieu, tu les feras descendre au puits de la fosse».

Ce puits est personnifié dans *Ps. LXIX, 16*:

וְאַל-תִּתְּמַר-עָלַי בֹּאֵר פִּי

«Et que le Puits ne ferme pas sa bouche sur moi!»

Le texte de Joël devient limpide avec cette interprétation de שָׁלַח. Parmi les assaillants il en est qui tombent par les puits, c'est-à-dire par les ouvertures que les assiégés ont ménagé dans le sol, véritables trappes où disparaissent les ennemis.

¹ LEVY, *Neuhebr. und Chald. Wörterbuch*, II, p. 559.

² VINCENT, *Canaan*, p. 26 et p. 27, n. 1.

³ THUREAU-DANGIN, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, XVIII, p. 189.

Le second passage de Job, où se présente le mot שָׁלַח est XXXVI, 12, où nous avons בְּשַׁלַּח יַעֲבְרֵי «ils passent par le Puits», parallèle à יִנָּעֻי «ils expirent». L'interprétation n'est plus douteuse après ce que nous venons de voir. Passer par le Puits est bien un euphémisme pour signifier «mourir, expirer».

J'ajouterai, en terminant, que la traduction de שָׁלַח par «puits, tunnel, canal» me paraît convenir encore dans l'expression שְׁלַחֶיךָ «tes canaux» de *Cant.* IV, 13. Paul Haupt avait déjà proposé cette explication.¹ Il faut bien remarquer que le v. 12 parle d'une «fontaine fermée» et d'une «source scellée», tandis que le v. 19 signale la «source de jardins», le «puits des eaux vives qui coulent du Liban». Les canaux interviennent tout naturellement dans la description du jardin aux eaux abondantes et aux plantes variées.

P. DHORME.

LA TERRE DE LEMNOS CHEZ LES HÉBREUX

Dans son *Histoire Naturelle*,² le naturaliste Pline l'Ancien, parlant des diverses sortes de rubriques ou terres rouges, déclare que l'une des plus célèbres était la «terre de Lemnos»: *Palmarum enim Lemniæ dabant; minio proxima hæc est, multum antiquis celebrata, cum insula in qua nascitur. Nec nisi signata venundabatur: unde et sphragidem appellavere*: «Car on donnait la palme à la terre de Lemnos. Elle se rapproche du minium, et elle fut très vantée par les anciens, comme l'île dont elle est originaire. On ne la vendait que marquée d'un sceau, d'où on lui donna le nom de sphragis». Vous reconnaissez dans le mot sphragis le grec σφραγίς «sceau, cachet» et aussi «terre sigillée», appellation technique de la terre de Lemnos. Les qualités de cette terre, employée dans la médecine, sont d'abord d'être rouge comme le minium, ensuite de n'être mise en vente que portant le cachet de sa provenance. Les anciens médecins, et spécialement Dioscoride et Galien, insistent sur ce fait que cette terre porte toujours un cachet. D'après Dioscoride, ce cachet représentait une chèvre.

¹ *Biblische Liebestlieder*, p. 90. L'auteur, qui aime les sens par trop réalistes, matérialise à l'excès la portée de l'expression.

² Livre XXXV, 14, 1.

Dans son fameux «Livre des simples», l'arabe *Ibn-el-Beithar* a tout un paragraphe sur cette sphragis.¹ Il cite les opinions des anciens et a soin de nous donner le nom arabe: *tin mahtūm* «argille marquée d'un sceau» ou simplement «terre sigillée».

Mon attention a été attirée sur ce produit de l'île de Lemnos par un passage du livre de Job, où il m'a semblé qu'on pouvait reconnaître une mention de cette terre sigillée. C'est lorsque le Seigneur décrit les merveilles de la nature et qu'il insiste sur le lever de l'aurore. La lumière apparaît et à ce moment la terre change d'aspect. Le texte décrit ce phénomène de la façon suivante (XXXVIII, 14):
תְּהַפֵּךְ כְּחֶמֶר חוֹתָם וַיִּתְּצֻבוּ כָמוֹ לְבוֹשׁ.

Le second hémistichie est intraduisible. Littéralement on interpréterait «et ils se tiennent debout comme un vêtement». Mais, quelles sont ces choses qui se tiennent debout? Et est-ce la propriété des vêtements de se tenir debout? Or nous constatons qu'au v. 13 et au v. 19, donc dans le vers qui précède et celui qui suit notre v. 14, il y a chaque fois un *ע* suspendu, c'est-à-dire sans doute ajouté après coup. Et c'est précisément un *ע* qui a disparu de notre 2^{me} hémistichie, où le verbe יִתְּצֻבוּ est à lire תִּצְבֵּעַ (*Beer*), du verbe צָבַע «teindre». Le sens est alors: «et elle se teint comme un vêtement». Or, le 1^{er} hémistichie, qui est en parallélisme avec le 2^{me}, signifie simplement: «elle devient comme de l'argile de sceau». On a été unanime à chercher dans cette image une description des objets qui prendraient du relief, comme si la terre était marquée d'un sceau. C'est une explication des plus subtiles et qui ne convient guère à l'éveil de la nature aux premières heures du jour. Mais חוֹתָם est rendu dans le Targum par מִינָא חוֹתָמָא et ces deux mots rappellent étrangement le *tin mahtūm* des Arabes. Je crois que «l'argile de sceau» n'est autre que la fameuse terre sigillée, la sphragis de Lemnos. Elle est choisie comme point de comparaison à cause de sa couleur rouge. Au lever de l'aurore, la terre «devient comme de la terre sigillée et elle se teint comme un vêtement!». Tout rougeoit au moment où le soleil va paraître. C'est l'aurore aux doigts de rose qui ouvre les portes de l'Orient. L'auteur du Livre de Job, qui n'est pas seulement un grand poète, mais aussi un

¹ Edition Leclerc, dans *Notices et Extraits* des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, tome XXV, 1881, p. 421, no. 1488.

savant, a trouvé dans la rubrique ou terre rouge de Lemnos l'image de cette vive coloration. Inutile donc de recourir à des subtilités d'exégèse pour saisir le sens de la description.

P. DHORME.

THE SITE OF APHEK IN SHARON

Since the appearance of the writer's paper (*Journal*, Vol. II, pp. 184—189) on the sites of the various towns called Aphek, some important new material has become available, enabling us to fix the site of Aphek in Sharon with greater precision. It is now certain that this Aphek is represented by the tell on which lies the mediaeval fortress of Qal'at Râs el-'Ain, at the headwaters of the Nahr el-'Aujâ. Aphek is, therefore, identical with the Roman Antipatris, and also, as we shall see, with the Hellenistic Pegae. There are few towns which have borne so many names in the course of their history:—Aphek, cir. 2000—300 B. C.; Pegae, cir. 300—20 B. C.; Antipatris, cir. 20 B. C.—800 A. D.; Qal'at Râs el-'Ain, cir. 1300—.

In two recent visits to Râs el-'Ain the writer has carefully examined the remains there, as well as the other sites in the 'Aujâ basin. The tell on which Qal'at Râs el-'Ain lies is situated due west of the railway station, between it and the head of the 'Aujâ, so that the mound is surrounded on three sides by swamps. It is very extensive, and the only reason why it appears to be low is that the original settlement was level with the plain, and lacked the usual hill to give it prominence.

The western part of the summit is occupied by a rectangular fortress, or rather fortified khan, of unmistakably Arabic origin. It is difficult to imagine why the Survey of Western Palestine regards it as the Crusaders' castle of Mirabel, since the structure bears no trace of Crusading activity, and the site is not suitable at all for a castle. It is, on the other hand, likely enough that the fortress at Mejd el Yâbâ represents Mirabel, as restored later by the Arabs. While there are no inscriptions visible at Râs el-'Ain, it would seem that the fortress was built by the Mamlûk sultan Qilâwûn (1279

bis 1290 A. D.), as 'Omar el-Barghûthî has informed me, basing his view on a combination of inscriptional data with tradition.

Râs el-'Ain was identified with Antipatris independently by Wilson and Sandreczsky, as well as later by Conder (PEFQS 1874, 184—186). After Wilson's paper in PEFQS 1874, 192—196, the correctness of this view could hardly be doubted, and every year has made it more certain, so that now it is generally taken for granted, and never discussed. The site agrees exactly with Josephus's description (*Ant.* XVI, 142), according to which Antipatris, built by Herod in honor of his father, lay in the Plain of Capharsaba (modern Kefr Sâbâ), in a well-watered spot, surrounded by groves (*ἄλσους*) and with a stream running around it. The only stream in this plain is the 'Aujâ, which is thus obviously referred to, and the only possible site on the 'Aujâ is Râs el-'Ain, which is covered with Roman and Byzantine potsherds, and formerly possessed broken pillars and other remains of the Graeco-Roman age. The rather garbled statements of the itineraries agree with this site better than any other conceivable one, and the remark of the *Onomasticon*, that Galgoulis (Jiljûlien) lay not quite six miles north of Antipatris, is approximately correct. It is true that Râs el-'Ain does not appear on the map to be surrounded by streams, as Josephus says, but it is actually enveloped on three sides with swamps, in which innumerable springs rise, and the swamps, if drained, as they must have been, would become streams.

Josephus, however, gives the impression that Antipatris was a new foundation on Herod's part. This is evidently a mistake, since the mound is much older than the Christian era. Around the edges of the tell, and in places on the summit where there have been pits sunk for some purpose there are numerous Hellenistic potsherds, quite too numerous to represent only the first two or three generations of Antipatris. Now, Alt, taking up a suggestion of Isidore Levy, has shown that the Hellenistic town of Pegae must have been located at Râs el-'Ain (ZDPV 1922, 220—223). In our literary sources, Pegae is mentioned only once, by Josephus, *Ant.* XIII, ix, 2, but this reference proves that it was situated in the central maritime plain, northwest of Judaea, since John Hyrcanus is said to have requested the Romans to return this region, taken from the Jews by Antiochus Sidetes. The following towns in the district are explicitly

mentioned: "Joppa and the harbors (of Azotus and Jamnia)¹ with Gezer and Pegae." Since the name Πηγαί means "Sources," and the only site in the neighborhood of good springs available for comparison is Râs el-'Ain, the combination is only natural, and is rendered practically certain by the archaeological indications of the site. The town of Pegae was more than an ephemeral settlement, since it is also mentioned in the Zenon (Gerza) papyri, about 260 B. C., 130 years before the time of John Hyrcanus. It is very likely that the well-known Greek place-name "Pegae" was given to the older Aphek (see below), partly because of the similarity of the names in sound, as well as because of the suitable meaning. A closely parallel case is known from Transjordan, where the Macedonian military colonists gave the name of their own Pella to the native Paḥel (Fâḥil). Cf. also modern Jewish cases, such as *Hartôl*, "Good Mountain," for *Artûf*.

On the western side of the tell, just above the main spring, the mound seems to have been artificially scarped, since the slope down from the foundations of the *qal'ah* is too steep to be natural. The purpose of this was evidently to permit a road to skirt the stream above its source, since the latter is impassable below. The archaeologist may be grateful for the scarp, which enables him to study the stratification of the mound without making a special section. In our visits we collected a large number of sherds, belonging mostly to the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages, though Middle Bronze was not entirely lacking. The writer also found an interesting seal impression in clay, of the pseudo-Egyptian style familiar on seals of the age of Phoenician syncretism (between 1100 and 500 B. C.). The mixture of periods is naturally to be accounted for in the usual way; at the edge of a mound nothing is commoner than to find heaps of débris which have been thrown over the town walls, and hence represent several periods of occupation.

Now that we positively know that there was an important town at Râs el-'Ain during the greater part of the second millennium and the early part of the first, the identification with Aphek becomes

¹ Alt (*op. laud.* p. 221) thinks that λιμένες may be a corruption of Ἰάμνεια, Jamnia. Perhaps it is more natural to assume that the names of the harbours have dropped out after λιμένες. Our suggestion is tentative; the only other port which could come into consideration is Apollonia, modern Arsûf, which was later occupied by Alexander Jannaeus.

obvious. The Migdal Aphek from which the Jews defied Cestius received its name from Aphek-Antipatris because the latter was the nearest town to the "tower." The name *Mejdel Yâbā*, which it now bears comes, according to an aged *fellāh* of Rentis, from the neighboring village of Yâbā (now called *Dikerin*), as I learn from Omar el-Barghuthi, who got this information. The other name, *Mejdel Šâdiq*, is derived from an influential sheikh of two generations ago, named Šâdiq, who reoccupied the site, then in ruins. All these appellations, *Aphek*, *Yâbā*, *Šâdiq*, are intended to distinguish this Migdal or Mejdel from *Stratonos Pyrgos*, Mejdel near Ashkelon, etc. Eben-ezer, from which the Israelites defied the Philistines, encamped at Aphek, must then be Mejdel Yâbā, for the same reason that the latter must be identical with Pyrgos Aphek. Mejdel Yâbā occupies the only strong position for miles along the edge of the plain, and is, moreover, because of its situation, advanced into the plain facing Râs el-'Ain, the only rational point to be held by defenders of the pass into the hills. In Roman times the road from Antipatris to Gophna and Jerusalem entered the hills just south of Mejdel Yâbā.

Recently the view of Šanda, that Aphek was situated at Râs el-'Ain, has been taken up by Alt, who further makes the interesting suggestion (oral) that the name "Aphek" may have some connection with "fountain," since the three best known Apheks (*Aphaca-Afgā*, *Aphek-Fig*, and *Aphek-Râs el-'Ain*) are all located at important spring-heads. Since the Hebrew common noun *afîq* means, according to the ordinary interpretation, "stream, channel for water," this looks very plausible; one may also compare Heb. *hefîq* (= Aram. *nfq* in the causative) "pour out." The writer is, however, inclined to translate the word *afîq* quite differently than is ordinarily done, and to explain the proper name as meaning "stronghold." The reasons for this rendering will be given in a paper to appear in JBL.

W. F. ALBRIGHT.



LA DATE DES ÉPIGRAPHES D'ARÂQ EL-ÉMÎR

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VOICI à peu près exactement un siècle que les explorateurs anglais Irby et Mangles découvraient les énigmatiques ruines d'Arâq el-Émîr, dans une gorge pittoresque de l'ou. Syr, à quelques heures de marche au Nord de Hesbân. Depuis lors ces ruines ont été décrites à l'infini. Le site est devenu familier à tous ceux qui s'occupent d'archéologie palestinienne et ses monuments ont été vulgarisés par la photographie ou le dessin presque à l'égal des momies pharaoniques. On sait qu'il y a, dans un amphithéâtre naturel de ce ravin, une véritable cité rupestre développant sur une considérable étendue ses cavernes artificielles et l'installation compliquée de ses magasins, écuries, habitations, réduits fortifiés, galeries creusées dans la roche vive. En contraste avec ce troglodytisme savant, quelques édifices s'égrenaient à travers l'esplanade. Un surtout piquait la curiosité par son mégalithisme, certaines singularités

de son plan, l'anomalie de détails ornementaux d'inspiration fort disparate mais du fini le plus délicat associés à maint élément d'exécution fruste et comme inachevée.

Les érudits découvrirent de bonne heure, dans un passage des *Antiquités judaïques* de l'historien Josèphe, une identification très judicieuse de cette localité. Josèphe raconte que dans la première moitié du second siècle avant notre ère un certain Hyrkan fils de Tobie, un ancien fermier général des impôts en Judée pour le compte des Lagides, ayant rompu avec ses frères, qui détenaient à Jérusalem les charges sacerdotales et l'administration du Temple, s'était retiré au delà du Jourdain, dans la région de Hesbân. Il s'était fait construire, en un site appelé Τύπος une résidence fortifiée, βαρύν ἰσχυράν, manière de palais enchanté où tout avait été combiné pour allier le confort à la sécurité.¹ Hyrkan y vécut 7 ans guerroyant sans trêve contre les Arabes de la région. Si explicites sont quelques traits caractéristiques dans la narration de Josèphe — les travaux immenses dans le roc, le charme enchanteur du site et surtout son nom de Τύπος à peine modifié et par une atténuation parfaitement normale dans l'articulation arabe es-Syr qui le désigne encore, qu'on ne pouvait guère hésiter à reconnaître dans ces ruines les imposants vestiges de l'installation fortifiée du fameux Tobiade. Une courte épigraphe en vieille écriture hébréo-araméenne, répétée deux fois à l'entrée de deux groupes particulièrement importants des habitations souterraines, venait confirmer le rapprochement établi. On y lisait en effet, sous la forme Tōbīah, le propre nom patronymique de Hyrkan.

A la vérité, ces petits textes lapidaires ne résolvait pas le problème archéologique des ruines, ni même intégralement le problème historique de leur origine. Sur le caractère des réduits souterrains nulle hésitation n'était possible. Mais que pouvait être, au contraire, le monumental édifice installé à l'air libre au milieu de l'amphithéâtre? L'hypothèse d'un temple et celle d'un palais fortifié trouvèrent des partisans également doctes, semblait-il, et également convaincus. Ce temple ou ce palais pouvait-il, au même degré que l'ensemble des cavernes dans le roc avoir été l'œuvre de Hyrkan fils de Tobie? La divergence devenait ici inquiétante entre des spécialistes tels que

¹ JOSEPHÉ, *Antiquités jud.*, XII, §§ 229—233, éd. Niese.

M. de Vogüé, concluant à un palais dont il faisait honneur à Hyrkan, et M. de Saulcy soutenant avec son brio habituel qu'il s'agissait d'un très vieux temple ammonite désaffecté au milieu de ces cachettes troglodytiques faites à souhait pour servir de repaire au Tobiade fugitif du second siècle. Et jusqu'en cette théorie l'inscription était appelée en témoignage et précisément en raison de sa physionomie archaïque. Mais au lieu d'y reconnaître le nom de Tōbīah, M. de Saulcy pensait y découvrir la confirmation de son sanctuaire archaïque en l'interprétant ערכיה «la roche de Jahveh».¹

A quelques nuances près, les interprétations innombrables fournies jusqu'à nos jours des monuments en question se rattachent toutes à l'un ou à l'autre des systèmes: temple ou palais. La plupart d'ailleurs de ces nouveaux développements archéologiques sont dépourvus de sérieuse compétence et demeurent tributaires des ouvrages qui leur ont été le plus facilement accessibles. Les épigraphes, au contraire, ne sauraient plus désormais laisser place au moindre doute. Quels que puissent avoir été, ou demeurer à l'avenir, les errements d'épigraphistes occasionnels trop peu familiarisés avec le sujet, voire même les hésitations de savants très qualifiés mais disposant d'une documentation graphique imparfaite, la lecture évidente de ces deux groupes identiques de lettres est Tōbīah.² Ce point était depuis longtemps acquis par la sagacité des maîtres, les de Vogüé, les Clermont-Ganneau, les Nöldeke, bien que je ne sois pas en mesure d'indiquer avec précision à qui revient le mérite de l'avoir établi le premier avec certitude.

On était moins au clair sur la date de ces épigraphes et sur l'identité du personnage ainsi désigné. Sans détailler les fondements de leur conviction, la plupart des spécialistes reconnaissaient une certaine physionomie archaïsante à cette écriture, beaucoup plus voisine encore de l'araméen lapidaire ancien que de l'hébreu carré. Le document demeurerait toutefois de trop minime importance pour autoriser un diagnostic paléographique dont la fermeté serait capable d'imposer une attribution allant à l'encontre des arguments déduits

¹ DE SAULCY, *Voyage en Terre Sainte*, I, 21s.; cf. cependant son *Mémoire sur les monuments d'Arâq-el-Emyr*, dans *Mém. de l'Inst. de France*, XXVI, 83ss.

² On s'étonne que M. le Prof. BUDDE, *Zeit d. morg. Ges.*, 1918, p. 186ss., ait encore quelque hésitation sur le déchiffrement et qu'il cherche à lire: לרביה.

de l'archéologie et de l'histoire. Au fait, l'archéologie elle-même n'osait risquer aucun verdict suffisamment fondé. Les installations dans le roc sont en effet toujours quelque peu difficiles à classer chronologiquement quand ne s'y rencontrent point de formes très caractéristiques accessoires. Quant aux monuments à l'air libre, dans leur état présent ils n'autorisaient guère une interprétation décisive. Ce que l'oeil le plus exercé et l'information technique la plus étendue pouvaient discerner en ce chaos permettait seulement de classer toute cette installation à la période hellénistique, ou selon les termes de M. de Vogüé, à «une époque comprise entre le siècle d'Alexandre et le siècle d'Auguste.»¹ Il fallait donc, en fin de compte, se rabattre sur ce que l'on estimait une donnée historique: la célèbre narration de Josèphe sur les avatars du Tobiade Hyrkan. Monuments et inscriptions se trouvaient dès lors ramenés dans l'intervalle strictement défini entre les années 182 à 176/5 avant notre ère.

Au printemps de 1904 la mission archéologique américaine de *Princeton University* que dirigeait M. l'architecte H. C. Butler reprenait l'examen d'Arâq el-Émîr et y pratiquait une série de sondages, malheureusement trop limités pour fournir toute la lumière désirable. L'architecte très distingué qui se double chez M. Butler d'un archéologue parfaitement averti acquérait l'impression que le plus important édifice du groupe, le Qaşr el-'Abd, s'interpréterait beaucoup mieux comme un temple que sous forme de palais. La synthèse de tous les éléments d'apparence d'abord antinomique observés à nouveau ou produits par les fouilles de la mission eût suggéré quelque création syncrétiste d'un art unissant le mégalithisme phénicien des temps grecs à des influences esthétiques venues plus ou moins en droite ligne de la Perse ou d'Alexandrie. Cet éclectisme hardi semblait ne pouvoir comporter qu'une période, que Butler reconnaissait très finement: celle où la Palestine fut brillante et prospère, sous la domination temporaire des premiers Lagides. Il en arrivait même à suggérer avec précision le règne de Ptolémée II dit Philadelphe, entre 285 et 247 av. J.-C. Mais au terme de son étude, n'osant plus opposer un sentiment esthétique pourtant si motivé à ce qu'il tenait pour une évidence historique, Butler sacrifiait sa conviction

¹ De Vogüé, *Le Temple de Jérusalem*, p. 41.

technique à l'assertion de Josèphe acceptée d'emblée comme une donnée infrangible.¹

Et la hantise de ce texte fatidique obsédait de même sorte le remarquable épigraphiste de la mission, Enno Littmann.² Tandis qu'il scrutait avec sa minutieuse acribie les deux épigraphes, il était frappé de leur trouver à son tour une allure archaïsante nettement accentuée. Devant ce double groupe à peine nuancé de lettres monumentales, son érudition très avertie évoquait, comme termes de comparaison les plus acceptables, les grands textes araméens d'Arabie ou d'Égypte, du VI^e au IV^e siècle: stèles de Teimā, de Saqqarah, ou celle dite aujourd'hui de Carpentras. Mais tout aussitôt le prudent épigraphiste, qui discernait dans les textes d'Arâq el-Êmîr une physionomie générale plus évoluée, s'attachait à détailler les nuances graphiques de nature à comporter une époque sensiblement plus basse sans oser la mieux définir. Tout au plus supposait-il que le lapicide juif aurait adopté une graphie araméenne volontairement archaïsante. Il savait accumuler de très spécieux arguments pour aboutir à la conclusion que les deux petits textes peuvent être attribués «avec un haut degré de probabilité» à l'époque de Hyrkan le Tobiade, les indices paléographiques étant déclarés trop ténus pour prévaloir contre la donnée historique explicite de Josèphe. En conséquence, il datait les épigraphes de 180 environ avant Jésus-Christ.³

Le sujet en était resté là. Jusqu'à l'éventualité, aujourd'hui plus aléatoire que jamais, d'une fouille laborieuse poussée assez loin pour tenter d'arracher enfin son secret à la ruine de Qaṣr el-'Abd, il est peu de précisions archéologiques nouvelles à escompter. L'épigraphie semblait bien avoir livré tout ce que pourront jamais fournir les deux laconiques inscriptions; et comment ne pas taxer de témérité la présomption de remettre en cause la conclusion acquise au sujet de ces textes?

Pour écarter néanmoins tout reproche de présomption téméraire il suffit de souligner que cette conclusion des épigraphistes les plus qualifiés ne leur a pas été imposée par des motifs intrinsèques. Bien

¹ BUTLER, *Syria*; Div. II: *Anc. Arch.*; Sect. A I, p. 1—25.

² LITTMANN, *Syria*; Div. III: *Inscr.*; Sect. A I, p. 1—7. Cf. DALMAN, *Palästina-jahrbuch*, XVI, 1921. p. 33—35.

³ LITTMANN, *op. laud.*, p. 2.

plutôt serait elle en un désaccord relatif avec ces suggestions intrinsèques. Pour Littmann récemment, ou pour Lidzbarski et Cooke, tout aussi bien que naguère pour Clermont-Ganneau je suppose, elle leur est imposée par ce qu'ils estiment une exigence historique, en l'espèce la donnée de Josèphe sur Hyrkan et ses merveilleuses créations dans le ravin de Tyros = Ou. eş-Syr.

Quand on s'est familiarisé avec le précieux historien, on est peu enclin à recevoir avec une confiance dispensée de sérieux contrôle ses plus catégoriques assertions. Josèphe vaut, en général, ce que valaient les sources très disparates qu'il met en œuvre et ses ouvrages, inestimables pour nous, requièrent pourtant d'un bout à l'autre une critique souvent délicate.

Voici de belles années déjà que Wellhausen traitait toute la petite histoire de notre Hyrkan avec un radicalisme sévère, la tenant pour un roman puéril qui débute par une aventure licencieuse et s'encombre d'anecdotes plus risibles que merveilleuses, groupées un peu au petit bonheur dans une trame chronologique où s'accumule de lourdes invraisemblances.¹ Büchler a bien pu s'insurger contre cette sévérité outrancière: il n'a pas réussi à prouver qu'elle manquait de sérieux fondements.² On a d'assez bons indices que Josèphe exploitait ici une source d'origine samaritaine et brodait, sur un canevas historique transposé d'une ou deux générations un récit qu'il s'efforçait d'adapter aux circonstances contemporaines de Ptolémée V Évergète, ou de Ptolémée VI Philométor. On voit de suite combien précaire deviendrait la conclusion chronologique déduite de son récit pour les monuments et les épigraphes d'Arâq el-Émîr, si parfaite et si expressive que se révèle sa description du site et de l'installation en cause.

Écartant donc pour un moment son affirmation, essayons de scruter plus à fond les deux inscriptions pour enregistrer le témoignage qu'elles se rendent à elles-mêmes. L'enquête, nécessairement minutieuse et aride, est du moins assez brève puisqu'elle porte sur cinq lettres seulement, deux fois répétées avec des variations presque imperceptibles.

¹ WELLHAUSEN, *Isr. und jüd. Geschichte*², p. 232; cf. *Revue biblique*, 1920, p. 200, n. 3.

² BÜCHLER, *Die Tobiaden und die Oniaden* . . . , p. 97 ss.

En matière de paléographie sémitique, tout ne se compare pas à n'importe quoi. Il est bien évident que, dans la même phase d'évolution d'une écriture quelconque, les lettres n'auront pas un galbe de tous points identique si elles sont tracées cursivement au calame sur les fibres d'un papyrus, burinées dans le métal, ou gravées sur la pierre. Jusque dans un même procédé graphique, la gravure sur pierre je suppose, la physionomie d'un même texte pourra être profondément nuancée selon qu'il représente le proscynème inhabile d'un pèlerin sur la roche ou les murailles d'un sanctuaire, l'œuvre exercée d'un sculpteur bien outillé opérant sur une surface propice, suivant enfin que le texte se restreint à une donnée banale ou contient quelque emphatique commémoraison officielle destinée à la plus lointaine postérité. A l'entrée des cavernes monumentales où il est gravé avec une si majestueuse ampleur et un soin manifeste, le nom de Tōbiāh ne peut marquer que le droit de propriété individuelle d'un personnage influent; l'épigraphie orientale ancienne fournit d'autres exemples plus clairs de cette prise de possession par un simple nom et l'usage en est perpétué sous nos yeux à travers les rues de Jérusalem moderne par les pancartes signalant que tel magasin est une réserve de la « Dette publique », ou un « dépôt de la Banque X ou Y ».

Littmann avait donc le sentiment très juste des seuls éléments de comparaison à choisir pour ces épigraphes aramaisantes: les inscriptions araméennes antiques gravées sur des stèles avec plus ou moins de recherche et de virtuosité. On a vu plus haut qu'il en alléguait spécialement trois: les stèles de Teimâ, de Saqqarah et de Carpentras. Le premier texte est classé avec une certaine indétermination aux confins du VI^e et du V^e siècle. Le document dit de Carpentras se place au cours du IV^e siècle, et celui de Saqqarah porte seul une date explicite équivalent à 482 avant notre ère, par conséquent gravé dans le premier quart du V^e siècle.

Avec la graphie de la stèle de Teimâ (n° 2), où se retrouve chaque lettre des épigraphes d'Arâq el-Ēmîr, la similitude générale laisse place à de notables divergences tendant à produire dans le texte palestinien une impression plus rigide et plus anguleuse qui paraît l'acheminer, moyennant une évolution déjà longue, vers l'écriture carrée de l'hébreu ultérieur. Le מ, encore ouvert dans *Teimā*, est fermé. Le י garde la haste supérieure horizontale fort développée

de ses origines, mais se redresse à la manière d'un *daleth* hébreu, tandis que *Teimā* l'incline par le bas vers la gauche. Le \beth conserve les *apices* supérieurs qu'il présentait dans *Teimā*; toutefois ses hastes rigides se recoupent à angles droits au lieu de présenter la souplesse de courbe qui le caractérise dans *Teimā*. Avec le \daleth presque identique, le \beth serait sans contredit la lettre la plus similaire dans les deux documents, encore qu'elle soit droite et rigide à 'Arâq el-Ēmîr, au lieu d'infléchir ses hastes verticales à droite comme à *Teimā*. La différence entre le grès mou de la stèle d'Arabie et le calcaire assez résistant des cavernes moabitiques est apte sans doute à justifier quelques unes de ces nuances. Il demeure néanmoins que le sentiment des formes n'est plus strictement le même et qu'on est dans un stade plus avancé de l'écriture qui vise à des caractères de plus en plus distincts.

Les mêmes observations sont valables pour la stèle de Saqqarah, (n^{os} 3—3^a) si voisine de celle de *Teimā* par sa date. Il ne s'y rencontre pourtant aucun *teth*, qui serait l'élément le plus ferme de confrontation, et les autres lettres s'y présentent avec de notables variantes bien de nature à rendre compte de celles qui nuancent le nom de Tōbîah.

Avec la stèle de Carpentras (n^{os} 4—4^a), où manque par malheur aussi le *teth*, les analogies sont certainement plus étroites. Le *beth*, le *waw* et le *hê* tendent à la verticalité des grandes hastes et aux recouvrements à angle droit. Le *iod* seul est ici beaucoup moins développé et laisse pressentir sa réduction finale à une sorte d'accent circonflexe ou de très minime ondulation qui en fera le plus petit caractère de l'hébreu carré. On conçoit que, dans un texte monumental comme le voulait Tōbîah, la forme antique plus ample et plus décorative ait été préférée.

A ces rapprochements, auxquels Littmann bornait ses indications, d'autres plus explicites apparemment encore se peuvent ajouter, empruntés à une catégorie de documents analogues.

Un petit texte votif (n^o 7), sur une dalle calcaire trouvée à *Teimā* également (CIS. II, n^o 114) et que les éditeurs classent au IV^e siècle, offre trois lettres \beth , \beth et \daleth pratiquement identiques à celles d'Arâq el-Ēmîr. Le \beth s'y trouve cependant avec une variante très inclinée. Ce texte ne contient ni \daleth , ni \beth .

Dans le *titulus* funéraire du même lieu et de même époque (n° 115), la seule lettre commune, le 𐤁, se compare trait pour trait aux 𐤁 de Tóbiah.

Sur le vase de Saqqarah (CIS. II, n° 123), attribué au V^e siècle, on constate un 𐤁 fermé, un 𐤁 avec d'énergiques *apices*, mais pas de



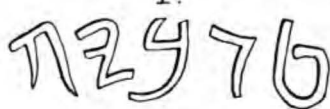
1 a.



7.



1.



2.



3 a.



3.



4 a.



4.



6



5.



.8

haste inférieure horizontale, presque le même 𐤁, mais un *iod* très variable et pas de 𐤁.

La stèle du Vatican (CIS. II, n° 142) du IV^e siècle (n° 6), n'a aucun *teth*. Ses *beth* et *rêš* demeurent plus arrondis. Les *iod* sont un petit *demi-cercle* ou une sorte d'accent circonflexe posé verticalement. Les *hé* sont anguleux mais très inclinés.

Un dernier, mais pas le moins précieux élément de comparaison est fourni par les fameuses anses d'amphores estampillées au nom divin, יה et יהו (n° 8). La série déjà connue comprend des exemplaires découverts à Gézer, à Jéricho, à Jérusalem. Des raisons que ce n'est pas le lieu de développer autorisent à penser que ces estampilles authentiquaient le volume des jarres destinées aux redevances en nature que chaque cité devait envoyer à l'administration centrale. A l'époque finale de la monarchie, VII^e—VI^e siècles, ce tribut devant aboutir aux magasins royaux de Jérusalem, les récipients officiels avaient pour marque un timbre indiquant à la fois la destination et la provenance: ... למלך חברון *Au roi. — Hébron* (ou telle autre ville). Après la Restauration, dans la nouvelle organisation théocratique, le Temple devenait le centre unique et absolu où devaient converger toutes les redevances. Inutile dès lors de spécifier ni le destinataire, ni la provenance: le pays entier constituait une Communauté dont Jahvé était le seul véritable chef. Le nom divin, dépourvu de toute détermination superflue, prit, sur les nouveaux récipients usités pour la collection des redevances, la place de l'ancienne estampille officielle pour en garantir le volume.¹ C'est seulement vers la fin de III^e siècle que de nouvelles conditions politiques et religieuses durent modifier cet usage. On obtient ainsi une époque générale IV^e—III^e siècles pour ces estampilles, dont il n'y a pas besoin d'accentuer l'analogie paléographique avec les inscriptions d'Arâq el-Émîr.

Quand on a confronté ainsi chaque élément de nos épigraphes avec les textes antiques reproduits dans les excellentes planches héliographiques du *Corpus*, il se dégage une conclusion presque spontanée. Du point de vue exclusivement paléographique, et compte tenu de toutes les similitudes requises dans la nature des textes et leur gravure, les épigraphes d'Arâq el-Émîr se distinguent des écritures lapidaires araméennes du I^{er} siècle — palmyrénien et nabatéen — par des nuances tout aussi accentuées que celles qui ont fait intercaler à peu près deux siècles d'évolution entre la stèle de Teimā et celles du Vatican ou de Carpentras. Entre ces documents archaïques l'évolution graphique n'est pas très malaisée à suivre pour chaque lettre. Il n'est évidemment pas question d'en déduire une sorte d'échelle chronologique de cette évolution comme

¹ Cf. *Revue biblique*, 1910, p. 412, n. 1.

si elle se fût nécessairement poursuivie selon des proportions déterminées par la seule durée d'exercice. Une telle rigueur ne sera jamais de mise en ces matières. Si les comparaisons paléographiques gardent néanmoins la valeur d'une approximation telle quelle, il paraît s'imposer de conclure ici que les textes d'Arâq el-Émir représenteraient beaucoup mieux les formes de l'écriture araméenne usitée en Palestine au cours du III^e siècle que vers le milieu du second avant notre ère.

En d'autres termes, la paléographie seule snggèrerait de remonter environ d'un siècle la date des épigraphes qu'on a datées surtout au nom de l'histoire. Le témoignage épigraphique rejoindrait ainsi celui de l'archéologie indépendante, qui eût volontiers assigné le monument principal d'Arâq el-Émir à la première moitié du III^e siècle si elle avait pu se dégager de la hantise d'une attestation littéraire paraissant l'assigner un siècle plus bas.

Il s'imposerait d'aborder maintenant la fatidique narration de Josèphe et de la soumettre à une critique attentive, en vue de constater si la précieuse exactitude des détails si vivants et si pittoresques consacrés à décrire la «forteresse-palais» — car le terme *βῆρις* transcrivant l'araméen בִּרְתָּא comporte l'une et l'autre signification — de *Týpos* entraîne de toute rigueur l'authenticité de son attribution au Tobiade Hyrkan entre 182 et 175 avant notre ère. Une découverte récente, parfaitement inattendue, va nous dispenser de cette tâche, ou plutôt la rendre singulièrement facile.

En étudiant avec son admirable compétence un lot de papyrus grecs exhumés naguère au Fayoum et conservés au Musée du Caire, M. C. Edgar y a reconnu les Archives, d'un certain Zénon, fonctionnaire de haut rang dans l'administration égyptienne de Ptolémée II. Ce personnage, investi de toute la confiance du Lagide, paraît avoir joué le rôle considérable de contrôleur du fisc. Il apparaît soudain sur les points les plus variés de l'empire, jusqu'au fond des plus lointaines provinces, se fait rendre compte, règle, ordonne avec une autorité incontestée, sans négliger, semble-t-il, de traiter à l'occasion certaines affaires dans son propre intérêt. Dans une période où la Palestine des deux côtés du Jourdain est passée sous la domination égyptienne, on n'a aucune surprise à y trouver le diligent inspecteur des finances. Peut-être même était-il spécialement nécessaire de contrôler le loyalisme de la nouvelle province annexée, ou d'y faire

respecter les exigences du fisc puisque le tout puissant agent semble n'avoir pas quitté la contrée durant près de 2 ans entre 260 et 258 avant notre ère, soit les années XXV—XXVII du long règne de Ptolémée II.

Un des documents qu'il avait eu le soin louable de consigner dans ses Archives nous le montre, au cours de ses randonnées palestiniennes, arrêté un jour dans «la Birthâ d'Ammonitide», ἐν βίρτῃ τῆς Ἀμμωνίτιδος, et troquant pour la misérable somme de 50 drachmes une petite esclave de sept ans que lui cède un certain Nicanor clérouque de Tôbias. Chacun sait que le terme de *clérouque* désignait les colons miliciens que l'administration Lagide installait régulièrement dans les provinces de récente annexion et de préférence aux marches de l'Empire. Le menu fait ne serait donc pas digne d'exciter notre curiosité si le théâtre où il s'accomplit ne retenait l'attention en évoquant, dans cette région d'Ammonitide où nous avaient amenés les épigraphes d'Arâq el-Êmîr, le propre nom de Tobias dans une βίρρα singulièrement apte à nous expliquer la βάρης de Josèphe. Il n'y a pas à tourner beaucoup de feuillets des Archives de Zénon pour découvrir l'identité du Tobias dont relevait le clérouque Nicanor et ses congénères dans la Birthâ. Il se présente nettement comme un ancien dynaste local élevé en dignité par Ptolémée quand la contrée fut annexée à l'Égypte. Une série de faciles déductions que ce n'est pas le lieu de développer permet de saisir pourquoi cet ancien potentat régional, qui n'était pas de race autochtone — arabe suivant le langage du temps — mais israélite, devenu maintenant gouverneur de toute la province pour le compte et par la grâce de Ptolémée II, avait eu de bonnes raisons de s'assurer une résidence de toute sécurité, au milieu de sa colonie de miliciens territoriaux, alors que le siège officiel de son Gouvernorat fut certainement la capitale de la province, c'est à dire Rabbath Ammon, devenue alors Philadelphie par une adulation facilement intelligible. Le rusé vieil ammonite ne pouvait qu'estimer prudent de se prémunir contre quelque revirement de fortune.

Il suffit évidemment d'avoir signalé en raccourci les suggestions des nouveaux papyrus concernant cette situation politique de l'Ammonitide en 260 ou 259 avant notre ère pour que chacun ait en mémoire les nombreux passages de la Bible qui nous font connaître la lignée ancestrale du dynaste Tobias et sa descendance,

depuis le trop fameux Tobias du V^e siècle, ce terrible «esclave ammonite» suivant la qualification péjorative et indignée de Néhémie qui causa des difficultés si graves à la restauration de la communauté juive au retour de l'Exil, jusqu'à ces *B'ne Tōbiah* qui nous sont connus par quelques unes des plus dramatiques pages des livres des Macchabées.

Dans cette perspective, tout devient clair à 'Arâq el-Émir. L'israélite Tōbias promu gouverneur de la nouvelle province égyptienne se révèle parfaitement avisé en établissant son petit poste de vétérans presque au centre de sa province administrative, en un site à la fois merveilleusement facile à défendre en cas de soudaine insurrection et propice à une installation de cette nature. Le caractère de cette agglomération rend compte de tous les monuments et l'époque en justifie la physionomie. Le monumental Qaṣr el-'Abd était le temple de la colonie où des vétérans juifs et perses, se mêlaient à des grecs des îles ou d'Asie Mineure, anciens mercenaires de l'armée égyptienne; le syncrétisme esthétique dont il témoigne devient naturel sous l'influence prépondérante de l'art alexandrin. Au milieu de la colonie, Tōbias s'est réservé, comme un abri sûr, à toute éventualité, les deux plus remarquables groupes des cavernes en faisant graver son nom sur la paroi. Le nom de *Birthâ* donné à toute l'installation et qui en définit bien la nature est celui même qui, peu auparavant, désignait, en Egypte, l'installation très analogue d'Éléphantine. A ce nom araméen correspondent les épigraphes aramaisantes qui nous ont conservé le nom de Tōbîas. Leurs formes graphiques suggéraient de les attribuer au courant du III^e siècle, en raison de leur étroite parenté avec les documents araméens d'Égypte. La paléographie s'accordait remarquablement ici avec l'archéologie méthodique suggérant, on s'en souvient, comme date la plus vraisemblable du monument central précisément ce règne de Ptolémée Philadelphe au milieu duquel nous établit le papyrus de Zénon qui vient de révéler ce Tōbias oublié dans cette Birthâ dont les origines demeuraient si difficiles à expliquer d'après le petit roman de Josèphe. Aussi bien n'était-il guère intelligible que Hyrkan fugitif se fût trouvé soudain en mesure de créer à lui seul un palais de contes de fées et ses immenses annexes creusées dans la roche vive, alors qu'il devait guerroyer sans trêve contre les Arabes, et que son activité en cette région fut limitée dans un

étroit intervalle de 7 ans, au bout desquels, de guerre lasse, il se suicida. Loin qu'il ait été le créateur de la puissante et somptueuse Bâris que Josèphe a d'ailleurs si bien décrite, Hyrkan le Tobiade du second siècle contraint de fuir Jérusalem revenait seulement chercher un refuge dans le repaire fortifié créé un siècle auparavant par un de ses ancêtres, grâce à un concours de circonstances singulièrement plus propices et que la légende probablement tendancieuse avait déjà déformées quand Josèphe écrivit sa narration trop confiante.

A l'encontre de son témoignage, on conclura donc, sur les indices archéologiques et épigraphiques si brillamment confirmés par le papyrus de Zénon, que les monuments d'Arâq el-Émir et leurs inscriptions ne datent point du second siècle, mais furent l'œuvre du Tôbias qui gouvernait la province vers 260, au milieu du règne de Ptolémée II Philadelphie. D'autres diront mieux que moi les conséquences pleins d'intérêt qui en découlent pour l'histoire biblique et celle du Judaïsme.

ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS OF GAZA

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THE value of historical inscriptions is normally dependent on the importance of the individuals and events dealt with. From this point of view the value of the inscriptions of Gaza is small: most of the people referred to are unknown in history, and the inscriptions themselves only tell us about the foundation or restoration of buildings which, with one exception, have not been described by any Oriental author. On the other hand, many buildings mentioned in Arabic sources are untraceable to-day. Gaza had no chronicler of its own, as had several other towns in Syria and Palestine, e. g. Damascus, Jerusalem, Aleppo and Beyrouth; though among the natives of Gaza were such scholars and poets as Ḥasan al-Ghazzī ash-Shâ'ir, etc.

Notwithstanding this, it was for a few centuries the most important town in Palestine. After the expulsion of the Crusaders, Palestine became an annex of Egypt,¹ the centre of gravity was transferred to the south, and the first town of larger size on the way from Egypt to Damascus grew naturally to a place of prime importance. Jerusalem was the capital of Palestine under the Crusaders as well as under the Turks, but in the interim it lost all its importance, and Khalīl az-Zāhirī reports that it was simply a town in the province of Gaza.² Discharged officials often used to live in the Holy City waiting for a new post. This position of Gaza was officially recognized by the Mamluks in the 9th century (A. H.), when Gaza became a province (*mamlakah*), and its governor later received the official title of *kāfil*, viceroy.

Clermont-Ganneau was the first to find an Arabic Gaza inscription; it was a late fragment, discovered at Shaikh Ajlīn, in the vicinity of

¹ Palestine belonged to Egypt already under the Faṭimids, but this dependence was not as strong as under the Mamluks.

² *Zubdat kashf al-mamalik* ed. Ravaisse, p. 42; cf. also *at-Ta'rif bil-mustalah ash-sharīf* by Ibn Faḍl-Allāh al-'Umārī, p. 177.

Gaza.¹ Years afterwards Max van Berchem, in his preliminary studies for a *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, collected them all during his repeated visits in the Near East and occasionally referred to them in his publications, especially in the *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, Égypte, pp. 222, 224, *Syrie du Sud*, Jérusalem, p. 234. He contributed also a brief summary of them to the "*History of the City of Gaza*" by M. A. Meyer, New York 1907, pp. 149ff. But none of them has been published nor commented upon.

It was impossible for various technical reasons to arrange the inscriptions in strictly chronological order, or even in Prof. van Berchem's "semichronological" order, i. e. to arrange them according to the date of the buildings and to present all the inscriptions of each building together, irrespective of their age. Starting with the earliest dated inscriptions of Gaza, I hope to follow with several inscriptions of lesser value, finishing up with the more important ones. Quranic texts, tombstones, fragments and inscriptions of later than 1516 A. D. are on principle excluded, unless they are of special interest. They will be given in the final edition, together with a fuller discussion of the inscriptions presented here provisionally.

1.

SHAIKH ILYÂS

FOUNDER'S INSCRIPTION. 671 A. H. Marble lintel over the entrance door. Dimensions about 111 cm × 25½ cm. Four lines of crude Ayyubid naskhi, incised characters, points throughout, many vowels and differentiating signs. Inscription bordered by an incised frame. To its right and left sides, an emblem. Plate 1.

- (1) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ إِنَّمَا يَعْمُرُ مَسَاجِدَ اللَّهِ مِنْ أَمَنِ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ
الْآخِرِ وَأَقَامَ
- (2) الصَّلَاةَ وَآتَى الزَّكَاةَ وَلَمْ يَتَخَشَّ إِلَّا اللَّهَ أَمْرٌ بِأَنْشَاءِ هَذَا الْمَسْجِدِ الْمُبَارَكِ
لِلَّهِ وَفِي طَاعَةِ اللَّهِ
- (3) وَابْتِغَا مَرْضَاتِهِ وَرَغْبَةً فِي مَغْفِرَتِهِ وَثَوَابِهِ الْعَبْدُ الْفَقِيرُ إِلَى اللَّهِ تَعَالَى
الشَّيْخُ الْيَاسَ
- (4) بَنَ سَابِقُ بْنُ خَضِرٍ غَفَرَ اللَّهُ لَهُ وَآثَابَهُ فِي شَهْرِ صَفَرٍ سَنَةِ أَحَدٍ وَسَبْعِينَ
وَسْتَمِيَّةَ رَحِمَ اللَّهُ مِنْ دَعَا لَهُ
وَجَمِيعَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ

¹ *Archaeological Researches*, II, p. 380.



Plate 1

Qur'ān IX 18 until **لا اله الا الله** . . . Ordered the construction of this blessed mosque¹ . . . Ilyās son of Sâbiq son of Khidr . . . In the month of Šafar of the year 671.

L. 1—2. The spelling of Quranic words is here more correct than in other inscriptions of Gaza, most of them bearing the same verse.

L. 4. The spelling **ستمية** without an *alif* is rare in Arabic epigraphy, although occasionally to be found.

The last words **وجميع المسلمين** are written across the lines 1—3.

This inscription—the earliest one in Gaza—is of little historical interest. The founder of the mosque referred to is an unknown shaiikh—at least as far as I am aware—and the shrine itself seems never to have been an important one. As there are no traces of a mosque in this enclosure, but only a ruined *qubbeh* with a built up tomb, it is highly probable that the inscription—like so many others in Gaza—had been detached from the building it was originally designed for, and brought hither, to be used as a lintel.

The frame of the inscription shows in its four corners a peculiar ornamentation resembling very much the “fleur de lis” ornament in the blazon of the Amīr Shaikhū, on the railing of the *sabīl* of his Mosque in Cairo. Yacoub Artin Pacha argued that «il n'était pas convenable, quelque grand et puissant que fût l'Emir qu'il inscrivit son nom ou ses armes sans rappeler ceux du maître auquel il appartenait et auquel il tenait sa puissance» and concluded, therefore, that the Amīr Shaikhū being unable to inscribe the name of the Sultan on this railing, “il entoure son armoire du signe symbolique que les Sultans paraissent avoir adopté à cette époque, c'est-à-dire la fleur de lis, et il les place partout autour, de ses armes comme pour les soutenir, les maintenir et les protéger».²

There is no doubt whatever that the “fleur de lis” of the Mamluks is only an imitation of the French one³ and a good many Amīrs used it as their blazon; and Yacoub Artin Pacha is entirely right when suggesting that its origin dates from the victory over the

¹ Following M. van Berchem's example I translate *masjid* by “mosque” and *jāmi'* by “Mosque” (with a capital M).

² Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien, 4^{me} sér., no. 6, 1905, p. 12.

³ Cf. Mrs. R. L. Devonshire in “The Burlington Magazine”, vol. 35, p. 245. The Arabic text quoted there is taken from Qalqashandī, *Subḥ al-a'shā*, vol. 4, p. 61, l. 20 ff.

Franks, may be in Damietta.¹ But there is no argument in favour of calling it the blazon of the Sultans of this epoch, because the most important Bahri-Sultans had various blazons with quite other emblems, e. g. Baibars: the lion, Qalwāwūn: the duck, Ketbughā: the cup.² Yacoub Artin Pacha himself cannot quote any fleur de lis of al-Malik an-Nāṣir Ḥasan reigning at the time when this *sabīl* was built (ab. 1355 A. D.) and refers to al-Malik al-Ashraf Sha'bān who ascended the throne eight years later (1363). On the other hand the number of Mamluk Amīrs who did not mention in their inscriptions the name of their Sultans is at least equal to those who did, so that it was apparently quite "convenient" to omit the name of the ruler. Moreover there are, among blazons without inscriptions, hardly four which have this special form of "support".³

To all the internal arguments against this theory we must add now as an external one the evidence of our inscription, made about 80 years before the *sabīl* of Amir Shaikhū, with almost the same "supporting" ornament, but under a Sultan who himself used quite another blazon in an inscription more than a hundred years earlier than the first authentic "fleur de lis" used as an heraldic emblem by a Sultan.



Fig. 1.

The peculiar mark on both sides of the inscription raises the question whether it is a wasm or a blazon. No wasm published in the lists given by Artin Pacha can be considered as identical with this one, though no. 340 shows a close resemblance to it.⁴ But more than that: the wusūm have never been used to mark anything except camels and horses. Hence there is little reason to believe these marks are wusūm.⁵ But there exists an exact parallel to this emblem. The Arabic Museum in Cairo possesses in its collection of national ceramics a unique fragment of a vase, the bottom of which shows the very same design of our

¹ Op. cit. p. 12.

² Cf. Ahmed Zāki Pacha's interesting monograph *Les Couleurs Nationales de l'Égypte Musulmane*, Cairo 1921, p. 26.

³ Two other examples without inscriptions are the blazon of Amīr Tāz in his palace in Cairo and the blazon attributed to Sultan Faraj in his *sabīl*.

⁴ Contributions, p. 206.

⁵ Personal enquiries in Gaza seem to confirm that there is no wasm of this design used among the Beduin of Gaza-district, at least not to-day.

inscription, enclosed in a round shield (Fig. 1). Now blazons of the geometrical class—i.e. heraldic emblems which do not represent animals—are always designed on shields, and although the inscription on the Cairo fragment is broken, the heraldic character of its design is beyond question. Thus the absence of a shield is the only difficult point in explaining our emblem straightway as a blazon.

In the list of the earliest known Muhammadan heraldic shields¹ (see Appendix 1) we see that the earliest blazon shows its emblem covering the whole field of a round shield. The next step is to divide the shield, cutting off from it a "chief" and placing the emblem in the lower part of it. I have no dated examples to prove that the reverse of this, the "point" cut off, with the emblem in the upper part of the shield, belongs to the same period, but there are several examples of this kind of blazon known to me in the Arabic Museum in Cairo. At all events the following badges in our series show a triple division: a fesse with a "chief" and a "point". The fesse is either in plain colour or shows the emblem, whilst the "chief" and "point" remain blank. That is the last stage of the simple blazon. The next step leads to the compound one, which we do not discuss here. The earliest, compound blazon belongs to Jamâl ad-dîn Yûsuf al-Ustadâr in a window "grille" of his Mosque in Cairo.

If we consider this list, we see that the whole difference between the earliest form and Shaikh Ilyâs' sign consists in the shield. As the entire series of examples (which are not selected but represent all we possess) points to increased diversity, we must expect at the beginning of the series the simplest form possible. This would be represented by our form, which is found later on with its heraldic shield. It would seem therefore possible to risk the hypothesis that we have before us the most ancient form preserved of a Muhammadan blazon; whilst the oldest form known from the literature is

¹ I hope to present, later on, a special monograph on Muhammadan heraldry, dealing in full with the problems touched upon here. Meanwhile I wish to express my best thanks to Dr. Ernst Kühnel of the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Berlin, Mr. R. L. Hobson of the British Museum, and Mr. H. W. Kent of the New York Metropolitan Museum, for the kindness with which they sent me photographs of Muhammadan objects of art, decorated with blazons. But I feel very specially indebted to Captain K. A. C. Creswell, one of the best scholars of Muhammadan architecture, who put at my disposal his extraordinary rich collection of original photographs, in which I found many of the most important examples.

the blazon of an Amîr belonging to Saladin's army, which Yacoub Artin Pacha already recognized as the blazon of a polomaster.¹

2.

ZÂWIYAT AS-SAYYID AḤMAD AL-BADAWÎ

FOUNDER'S INSCRIPTION. 73x A. H. Marble slab over the front door of a room to the right of entering the hall of the *zâwiyah*. Dimensions about 125×33 cm. Two lines of Mamluk naskhi. Many points, a few differentiating signs and ornaments in the intervening spaces. The inscription slab is sunk into a bevelled frame of local stone. Plate 2.

- (1) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ تَبَارَكَ الَّذِي إِنْ شَاءَ جَعَلَ لَكَ خَيْرًا مِنْ
ذَلِكَ جَنَّاتٍ تَجْرِي مِنْ تَحْتِهَا الْإِلَٰه
(2) نِهَارٍ وَيَجْعَلُ لَكَ قُصُورًا إِنْ شَاءَ هَذَا الْمَكَانَ الْمُبَارَكَ الْعَبْدَ الْفَقِيرَ إِلَى اللَّهِ
تَعَالَى طَرْنَطَايَ الْجُوكَنْدَارِي

... Qur'ân XXV, 11. Made this blessed building ... Ṭurunṭây al-Jukandârî.

Hisâm ad-dîn Ṭurunṭây was wâlî of Gaza during the governorship of Tankiz. Whether he was himself a polomaster or only a freed mamluk of a *jukandâr* is uncertain.² Another text giving his biography with more details supplies the date of his appointment, which was the 15th of Ramaḍân 731 A. H. Later on Ṭurunṭây was transferred to Ja'bar, which he left for Damascus after the death of the Amîr Shihâb ad-dîn Aḥmad b. Baraq. In his new position as wâlî of Damascus Ṭurunṭây was promoted to the rank of an Amîr of Ten, which he kept apparently until his death. As it seems unlikely that the manuscript of Ṣafadî will be published, I give the text *in extenso*, together with a copy of Ṭurunṭây's diploma,³ which may be compared with the draft of a letter of appointment

¹ Contribution à l'Étude du Blason en Orient, p. 132; cf. also St. Lane-Poole: Saladin etc., London 1898, p. 320, n.

² Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalânî, Kitâb ad-durar al-kâminah (MS of al-Azhar-Library) s. v. طرنطاي الجوكندار والي غزة في أيام تملكه. A modern copy of this text in my possession reads الجوكندار without the final ي. If this is correct the form *jukandârî* would be a "relatif formel", cf. CIA, and Jerusalem, p. 218, n. 4.

³ The authenticity of this diploma is made more certain by the fact that it was composed by the author of our biography.



Plate 2

for a wâli of Gaza¹ and also with the diploma of Sanjar al-Jâwli,² who was discharged from the governorship of Gaza a short time before the appointment of Turuntây.³

Turuntây's biography:⁴

طُرُ نطَای احد امراء العشرات بدمشق الامير حسام الدين الجوكندار اول ما علمت من امره ان الامير سيف الدين تنكر رحمه الله تعالى ولاة مدينة غزة والبر بها في خامس عشر شهر رمضان سنة احدى وثلاثين وسبعماية ثم انه جاء من غزة وولاه جعبر فاقام بها الى ان توفي الامير شهاب الدين احمد ابن برق فطلبه من جعبر وولاه مدينة دمشق وخلع عليه خلعة امير عشرة ٬ وكان شكلا حسنا طويلا مشربا حمرة كثير المكارم والخدمة للناس والتقدم اليهم ٬ وكنت قد كتبت له توقيعا بولاية غزة ونسخته

رسم بالامر العالى لا زال يدخر لكل منهم حساما ٬ وبطلع في افق الولاية كل بدر اذا غاب شهابها اخذ كماله واربى عليه تماما ٬ يرتب المجلس السامي الاميري الحسامي في كذا سالكا في هاتين الولايتين ما تحب لهما من الطرق التي تخدم منها العواقب ٬ ويظهر فيها من لمعات الحسام ما يمتنحس له طرف الشهاب الثاقب ٬ ويبدى فيها من حسن السياسة ما يتساوى في امه اهل المراقب والمراقب ٬ لما علم من علو همته في الأوقاف المهمة ٬ وعهد من نهضته في الامور التي حراسته في جيدها تنميته وسياسته لحسنها تنم ٬ فليبتول ما فوض اليه ولاية تكون من الشدة والرفق قواما ٬ وتجلو شمس معدلته من افق الظلم ظلاما ٬ وتعالى المحقق على المبطل فان له مقالا ومقاما ٬

¹ Qalqashandî, *Subh al-a'shâ*, vol. 12, p. 331.

² Qalqashandî, op. cit., vol. 12, p. 212. I translate تقييد by "diploma" and توقيع by "letter of appointment" to distinguish between the two kinds of documents, though this translation is quite arbitrary.

³ See his biography later on, under Jâmi' ash-Sham'ah.

⁴ Şafadî, *A'yân al-'asr wa-a'wân an-nasr* s. v., after a copy in photograph of a manuscript in Constantinople, in the possession of the Egyptian Library in Cairo. I am much indebted to the liberal-minded Director of this library for the permission to consult this and other manuscripts during a short leave in Cairo, February 1923.

وليحْتَنِب اخذ البرى بصاحب الذنب ٬ وليحْذِر الميل على
الضعيف الذي لا جنب له ويترك صاحب الجنب ٬ وعمارة البلاد
فهو المقدم من هذا المهتم ٬ والمقصود بكل لفظ ثم له المعنى او لا
يتتم ٬ فليتوخ العذل فانه انفع للبلاد من صوب العهد والسحب
الماطرة ٬ والدَّ لاهل القرى من ولوج الكرى في الجفون الساهرة ٬
فانه لا غيث مع الغيث ٬ ولا حلم مع الظلم ٬ وليتعمد الانصاف
بين الخصوم فما كل نار ضرر ٬ ولا كل سقم يراه في الورد ودم ٬
وليصل باع من لا له الى الحق وصول ٬ وليتذكر قوله عليه الصلاة
والسلم (!) كلكم راع وكل راع مسؤول ٬ فليكن ٬ فليكن تقوى الله
عز وجل ركنه السديد ٬ وذخره العتيد ٬ وكنزه الذي ينمى على
الانفاق وكل كنز على طول المدى يبيد ٬ والله يحرس سرحه ويرعاه ٬
وبوفق لكل خبيى مسعاة ٬ والاعتماد في ذلك على الخط الكريم اعلاه ٬
والله الموفق بمنه وكرمه ٬ ان شاء الله تعالى.

3.

TOMBSTONE. 733 A. H. Built tomb of marble, on a low pedestal, in the courtyard of the *zāwiyah*. Dimensions 64 cm×46 cm. Six lines of elegant Mamluk naskhi, points almost throughout, many differentiating signs and ornaments. On both sides of the slab, from top to bottom, a border consisting of a wavy line with single leaves. On the two pillars are heraldic shields. The tombstone must have fallen out of the adjoining pillars and been replaced, fastened by plaster, easily visible in photograph. This gives the impression that the epitaph has been brought from somewhere else, but a close examination of the tomb proves that slab and tomb have always belonged to one another. Plate 3.

- ١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم كل من عليها فان
- ٢) هذا ضريح الست الجليلة الكبرى المصونة
- ٣) السعيدة الشهيدة قتلو خاتون ابنة المقرأ (!)
- ٤) المرحوم بهادر الجوكندار رحمهما الله
- ٥) تعالى وكان وفاتها يوم الاثنين الثاني من شهر
- ٦) ربيع الآخر سنة ثلاث وثلاثين وسبعماية

... This is the tomb of the Lady ... Qutlū Khātūn, daughter of His Excellency the late Bahādur al-Jūkandār ... She passed away Monday the 2nd of Rabi' II. of the year 733.



Plate 3

For the general style of women's epitaphs cf. CIA, I, Index.

L. 3. Qutlū is a very common part of Turkish names during the Mamluk period for both men and women, cf. Ibn Iyâs, Index s. v. CIA, I, Index s. v. Nevertheless I could not find the biography of this particular woman.

L. 4. Bahâdur was an "Amîr of Forty" in Damascus,¹ and died 723 A. H. ten years before the death of his daughter. The short biographical note preserved about Bahâdur fails to explain the coming of his daughter to Gaza. Did the fate overwhelm her during a journey, like many pilgrims, or had she married an official of Gaza? And if so, who was he?

Ṭuruntây founded the *zâwiyah* in all probability during his *wilâyah*, some time after 731. Qutlū Khatûn died 733. Is there a possibility of solving our problem by assuming that Ṭuruntây made his endowment to secure to his wife a mausoleum, or—what is more likely—that he buried her on the site of his pious foundation? This theory is based on an *ex silentio* argument, but it may be presented as a possible hypothesis. But there are more important problems arising from this tomb.

This inscription throws a new light on an old problem of Muhammadan heraldry. It is generally assumed that a blazon with office-emblems was used only by the amîr to whom they had been granted, and there was no archaeological evidence to the contrary. The only passage which could have raised doubts as to the identity of a blazon and its bearer, was the statement of Ibn Taghribirdî² quoted by every scholar writing about Muhammadan heraldry since Quatremère, that the courtesans and other women found the blazon of Amîr Anûk so attractive, that they tattooed it on their wrists.

Taken in its literal meaning this statement must have stultified all research in Muhammadan heraldry, as it makes any identification of a blazon, not followed by an historical inscription, *a priori* impossible. Moreover there are several blazons of exactly the same design, belonging according to the accompanying inscriptions to

¹ Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalânî, K. ad-durar al-kâminah s. v. بهادر الجوكندار احد
الطبلخانات بدمشق مات في سنة ٧٢٣.

² *Al-manhal as-ṣâfi*, s. v. Anûk.

different amîrs and epochs.¹ However, none of the blazons hitherto published, which have come to my knowledge, nor any of the numerous unpublished heraldic emblems which I have seen, belong to a person other than a "Lord of the Sword", that is to say, one who could have been granted that special blazon by the Sultan. The first, and apparently unique, exception is the blazon of the lady under discussion. As a woman could not hold any office nor be granted the emirate, this blazon must belong to someone else. The polo-sticks show that the bearer was a polomaster and the inscription leaves no doubt about his relation to Quṭlū Khātūn: he was her father, Bahâdur the Jūkandâr. We know that the offices held by a Mamluk during his public life did not affect his blazon, which was an emblem of his position in an earlier stage of his career — according to M. van Berchem's convincing theory—at the moment he was created an amîr.² The fact that Bahâdur had died ten years before the erection of the tombstone of his daughter proves from another side that the heraldic emblem had become a mere symbol, the use of which evidently could outlive not only the position, but even the life of the nobleman himself. But if our hypothesis were admissible and Turunṭây regarded as the husband of Quṭlu-Khātūn, another and simpler explanation could be accepted: Turunṭây the polomaster, constructing the tomb of his late consort, adorns it with his own heraldic shield, as he would have adorned with his blazon his palace, his own mausoleum or any other monument erected by himself.

¹ E. g. the blazon of Amîr Âtmish al-Bajâshî (Weissbach, *Denkmäler und Inschriften an der Mündung des Nahr el-Kelb*, p. 46f.) and that of Amîr Gumushbughâ (M. van Berchem, *Arabische Inschriften*, p. 42). This blazon cannot belong to Sultan Barqûq, as Weissbach attributes it, the Tsherkeessian Sultans having adopted a written blazon in three lines (cf. the inscription of the Khalif al-Musta'in in the Main Mosque of Gaza), whilst this blazon consists of a twice repeated cup, in the "fesse" and "point", with the "chief" plain.

² CIA, Jérusalem, p. 290 and 291.

THE SITE OF NOB

EDWIN E. VOIGT

(JERUSALEM)

THE identification of the site of Nob has in days past been an exceedingly vexatious question, partly because the literary references to Nob are not as definite as could be wished, but mostly because archaeology has failed to give positive help. This study is made not so much for the purpose of proposing a new site, as of bringing together the material already dealing with the subject, and sifting it critically.

In examining the Biblical references to Nob it appears that the earliest mention of the town is in the First Book of Samuel¹ in connection with the story of the final outburst of Saul's anger against David. As the account goes, Jonathan, by the device of shooting arrows over a lad's head, warned David that he should flee from the neighborhood of Saul. After the lad had returned to the village, Jonathan and David took a final farewell, and "he (David) arose and departed, and Jonathan entered the city: while David entered Nob."² From the fact that the city of Saul and Nob are thus mentioned in the same breath, one could conclude that they were in the same vicinity. Their proximity seems to be further indicated in the narrative that follows. While David was at Nob, obtaining bread and the sword of Goliath from the priest Ahimelech, a certain Doeg saw him and later reported the fact to Saul. Saul thereupon summoned the priests of Nob to Gibeah, and pronounced death sentence on Ahimelech and his house, a sentence which Doeg carried out so as to include all men, women and children, oxen, asses and sheep of Nob. Now, Ahimelech was called to Gibeah, but in executing Saul's command to fall upon the priests Doeg slew not

¹ 1 Samuel 21 2; 22 9, 11, 19.

² 1 Samuel 21 1 f.

only the priests who were in Gibeah but also all the living beings of Nob. The women and children might have gone along with the priests, but one would hardly expect them to take along their cattle; consequently, the natural assumption is that Doeg, in executing his king's orders, had no great distance to go to find the beasts.

Furthermore, David fled to the Philistine city Gath,¹ in the Philistine Plain southwest of Gibeah. Now, there is nothing in the narrative to indicate that, when David began his flight, Gath was his objective, but rather that he fled, and in the course of his flight came to Gath. Consequently, it is probably safe to conclude that since his flight was hasty it lay in one direction, and that since he finally halted at Gath his way led southward from Gibeah. Nob, therefore, on the basis of the references in Samuel would seem to have been south of Gibeah, and not at a great distance.

Nob is also mentioned in Isaiah.² The text of this passage is difficult, but unless one makes very drastic changes it is evident that the place to which Isaiah alludes is somewhere between Geba and Jerusalem, and is located on some eminence from which the Assyrian could "shake his hand at the daughter of Zion." Now, the topography of the countryside north of Jerusalem is such that Nob must necessarily have lain near it, for a short distance to the north of the city is a range of hills of sufficient altitude to shut off all the country farther north from view of Zion. So in order to shake his hand at the city, apparently in derision, effectively he would have to have a position on a place where the city could be sighted, and probably somewhere on this line of hills. One should then look for Nob not far to the north of Jerusalem, and this passage would add confirmation to the comments made above with reference to the Samuel passages, for since Gibeah is unquestionably Tell el-Fûl,³ the Nob mentioned in Isaiah should lie south of Gibeah as well as north of Jerusalem.

Finally, Nob is named in the lists of Ezra and Nehemiah, and its location in general seems to be in the same region indicated by

¹ 1 Samuel 21 10.

² Isaiah 10 32.

³ For an exhaustive discussion of the identification of Gibeah with Tell el-Fûl see Sven Linder's *Sauls Gibe* (Uppsala 1922).

Samuel and Isaiah. On the one hand it is mentioned in the census list with the Benjaminite towns Ramah, Geba, Michmas, Bethel, Ai, Magbish, Elam the other, Harim, Lod, Hadid, and Ono,¹ while in an other list it is found with Anathoth and Ananiah.² These last named places are probably the modern towns 'Anâtā and Beit Hanîna;³ so Nob, being listed with them, would seem to be in southern Benjamin.

Accordingly, the biblical material seems to indicate that Nob was a priestly city in the southern part of Benjamin, that it was south of Gibeah, and that it was on some point of vantage from which the Assyrian general could deride Jerusalem. If any weight is attached to this last condition, we must locate it somewhere on the hills that overlook Jerusalem from the north, or on the Mount of Olives to the east and northeast, for Jerusalem is completely shut in by these hills, and all beyond them is hidden from view.

And indeed most of those who have sought for an identification of the site of Nob have looked to the hills north of Jerusalem as the most likely place. Josephus states that Titus pitched his camp north of the city not over seven stadia distant,⁴ and a number of writers think the camp of Titus would also be a logical halting-place for the Assyrians. EDWARD ROBINSON thought that the city of the priests and Scopus were identical, although he found no remains on Scopus that indicated ancient occupation.⁵ Pastor VALENTINER, finding some tombs and cisterns and some heaps of stones on the east end of the Scopus ridge, known as eṣ-Ṣadr, and thinking that these antiquities dated at least from the time of Titus, concluded that Nob was probably an older settlement on the same spot.⁶ C. W. WILSON, arguing from Isaiah 10 32, held that Scopus would be the logical halting-place between Geba and Jerusalem, and that, although the direction of David's flight was uncertain, still one would expect him to flee southward, and as a result Nob must be on Scopus.⁷ DRIVER

¹ Ezra 2 20 = Neh. 7 33.

² Neh. 11 32.

³ Cf. *Buhl, Geography*, p. 167, for the site of Ananiah. (Ananiah is probably Bethany; see *Bulletin of the American School*, No. 9, pp. 8—10. — W. F. A.)

⁴ Josephus, *Wars* V, ii, 3.

⁵ EDWARD ROBINSON, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, ii, pp. 149f.

⁶ Pastor VALENTINER, *Z. D. M. G.*, XII, 161—170.

⁷ C. W. WILSON, *P. E. F. Q.*, 1875, 94—96.

agrees with these conclusions, though he observes that this site may be too close to the Jebusite fortress.¹ In the history of Saul's activities there is no indication that there was any enmity between him and the Jebusites, so that a Hebrew settlement on Scopus may well have been possible, for it must be remembered that the Jebusite fortress was not as far north as the present Jerusalem, and that Mount Zion ("Ophel") is at least two miles from Scopus. Consequently, on the basis of the literary sources Scopus would be a perfectly possible site, but, at Robinson already noticed in his time, there are no indications of ancient occupation on Scopus. It is impossible to date the building stones lying about, and as for the cisterns and tombs they appear to be Roman, but certainly not older than Jewish times. In addition the Scopus ridge is covered with tesserae of a very fine quality which shows unmistakably that they are of Roman date. However, there is nothing on the hill that is older, and in view of the absence of early potsherds when every other ancient site in Palestine has quantities of potsherds scattered about, it becomes practically impossible to place Nob here.

CONDER, on the other hand, thinks that Nob was located where the modern village Ša'fât stands.² On the basis of Nehemiah 11 32, where the towns Anathoth, Nob and Ananiah are named, he thinks that, since Nob is mentioned between Anathoth and Ananiah, it should lie between the two, and since they correspond to 'Anâtâ and Beit Ḥanînâ, Ša'fât, which lies between them, is the logical place for Nob. He finds further reasons for the identification in his suggestion that Ša'fât has the same meaning as Nob, while it is in full sight of Jerusalem, and on the direct route from Geba to Jerusalem. GEIKIE also makes the same identification.³ In addition he looked around in Ša'fât, and found the ruins of a Moslem shrine and the remains of a few ancient buildings, which indicated to him that it might have been an ancient holy place.

Taking up these points, DRIVER says, with reference to the first, that there is no etymological basis for thinking that Nob can mean "high place." Further, only some of the highest buildings of Jerusalem can be seen from Ša'fât, which is almost hidden from view by the

¹ S. R. DRIVER, *HASTING'S D. B.*, III, 557.

² CONDER, *P. E. F. Q.*, 1875, 183 f.

³ GEIKIE, *Holy Land and the Bible*, vol. II, p. 158.

Scopus range. Again as to being on the direct route, it was pointed out some time ago¹ that there is an ancient road leading from Jeba' southward west of Hizmeh, and thence southwest, joining the present Nâblus road south of Ša'fât. This is an excellent route, for it avoids the deep wadis to the southeast of er-Râm, and seems, therefore, the most probable route for the Assyrian. Consequently, Ša'fât is not very happily located with reference to it, and the Assyrian general would have to retrace his route and turn back to the north in order to make Ša'fât a stopping place. Also, with reference to its being a conspicuous point, there are some half a dozen other points in the immediate neighborhood that are more conspicuous. And, finally, the same difficulty applies to Ša'fât as to Scopus; it has no pre-Roman remains.² The *weli* which GEIKIE speaks of is absolutely no proof of antiquity, for the Moslems build new shrines continually. Hence, the identification of Nob with Ša'fât seems unlikely, even less likely than Scopus because of the fact that Ša'fât lies away from the road.

SMITH, NOWACK and HOLZINGER in their commentaries on Samuel all agree that Nob must lie somewhere north of Jerusalem, but they do not make a definite suggestion. DUHM, MARTI and GRAY in commenting on Isaiah 10 32 do likewise. As a result, it appears that there is a considerable group of scholars who, on the basis of the literary sources, expect Nob to be in the northern vicinity of Jerusalem. But as has been pointed out, the archaeological evidence is negative, and all the definite suggestions that have been made lack this confirmation, needed to carry final conviction.

On the other hand, there are several writers who look for Nob in another part of Palestine. BIRCH suggests that Nob is identical with Almon, modern 'Almîṭ, a mile or so northeast of 'Anâṭa.³ His reasons are that Nob was a priestly city, whose name was apparently lost on account of its destruction by Saul. Now there are only two priestly cities belonging to Benjamin, Gibeon and Almon, and since it can not have been Gibeon, it must have been Almon. 'Almîṭ is

¹ Père FÉDERLIN, R. B., 1906, 266—273.

² (The name is not Arabic, and may well be a corruption of *Ša'fât or *Bêt-Ša'fât. That there was a Byzantine town here seems to be shown by the ruins of a basilica in the village. — W. F. A.)

³ W. F. BIRCH, P. E. F. Q., 1877, 51—60.

completely hidden from Jerusalem; so BIRCH must have left the Isaiah reference out of consideration. The site, also, is northeast of Gibeah, so that David when fleeing from Gibeah started northeastward and made a great detour before coming to Gath. These considerations, unless one looks for a different Nob for every Biblical reference, make this identification out of the question.

Moreover, the writer of the article on Nob in the *Encyclopedia Biblica* does away with Nob entirely, and combines it with Gibeon.¹ He says: (a) that there is no reference to Nob in the lists of the priestly cities, nor in the Talmud except in one reference that cannot refer to a Benjaminite place, nor in modern Palestinian topography; (b) that Nehemiah 11 32 is a composition of the chronicler suggested by Isaiah 10 32, in which Nob is a corruption and does not really occur; (c) that in the accounts in Samuel the occurrence of נ at the end of the word, where it cannot be in the locative or directive sense, suggests that the word נובה is corrupt, and should be corrected to נבעה or נבען. Consequently, the place is without question Gibeon, and this in turn explains why the Gibeonites demanded vengeance from David on the sons of Saul.² To this theory GREGG also subscribes.³

Obviously, the Isaiah passage is the storm centre. The Hebrew reads smoothly enough, and it seems strange that the translator should have rendered נוב as ἐν ὁδῷ. Either there has been a corruption in the text or the translator blundered. It is most probably the former, for the fact that the Greek reading is without the article would indicate a slavishness in translation that the translator of Isaiah does not show elsewhere,⁴ and the original ἐν νοβῷ has been corrupted into ἐν ὁδῷ, a most natural corruption after the second ν had been lost by haplography. At any rate the awkward Greek ἐν ὁδῷ indicates that there is something wrong with the Greek rather than with the Hebrew, and there does not seem to be sufficient ground to question the Massoretic text. Then, with reference to the use of נ after Nob, contrary to the opinion of the

¹ *Enc. Bib.*, vol. III, col. 3429 f.

² 2 Samuel, ch. 21.

³ A. J. GREGG, P. E. F. Q., 1899, 128.

⁴ For further indications of the freedom with which the Greek translates Isaiah see chs. 45 15, 44 6 ff., 41 9 ff.

writer of the article, its use can be considered as directive after נוב, for in at least three other instances the writer of Samuel makes use of the same construction with other place-names.¹ So there seems to be no need, therefore, for lengthening Nobeh into Gibeon, and the reasons for identifying Nob with Gibeon fall away.

Finally, a number of writers, especially Père DHORME² and GUÉRIN,³ following Saint Jerome,⁴ think that Nob is to be found at the modern town Beit Nûbā, which lies in the Shepheleh about thirteen miles northwest of Jerusalem. Now, of course, if a tradition in Jerome's time existed, placing Nob at Beit Nûbā, it deserves careful consideration. Or was Jerome misled by the similarity between the names, and by the fact that there was no place in southern Benjamin that even approximated the name *Nob*? One hesitates to sit in judgment on Jerome's reasons for his annotation concerning Nob. And yet the remains to be found at Beit Nûbā comprise only the ruins of a crusading church and some ancient stones and cisterns of uncertain age.⁵ On the basis of these one can hardly presuppose a town of the antiquity of Nob. Further, those who follow Jerome create a difficulty by distinguishing Beit Nûbā as the city of the priests whom Saul put to the sword from the Nob of Isaiah and Ezra-Nehemiah, which they regard as another place north of Jerusalem. As has already been pointed out above, the biblical sources as they stand seem to imply only one Nob, and it is only on the word of Jerome, who gives no reasons, that these scholars seek to place Nob near Lydda. On the whole it seems that in this instance St. Jerome is at variance with the biblical material, that Beit Nûbā is too far from Gibeah for the incident of the priests' execution to have been narrated as it was, and that it is in the wrong direction. Consequently one feels some hesitation in accepting Beit Nûbā as the priestly town and in giving up the problem of finding the other Nob north of Jerusalem.

Thus it appears that none of the sites proposed is free from

¹ Cf. 1 Sam. 26 3, 2 Sam. 17 24, 19 16.

² Père DHORME, *Samuel*, p. 192.

³ GUÉRIN, *Judée*, vol. 1, pp. 285—290, 314f.

⁴ St. Jerome, *Ep. ad Eustoch* 85, and *Ep. Paul*.

⁵ Cf. GUÉRIN, *op. cit.*, and CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Archeological Researches in Palestine*, vol. II, p. 71.

difficulties. Scopus is without signs of pre-Roman habitation. Šāfāt has no remains of great antiquity nor is it well located topographically and geographically. The attempts to combine Nob with Almon or with Gibeon seem to be out of the question entirely. The location of Nob at Beit Nūbā, while it may conceivably be squared with the material in Samuel, still leaves the problem only half solved, and the most difficult part remains.

During my stay in Palestine, 1922—1923, at the American School, all of this country has again been carefully investigated, and every hill from which the Assyrian might conceivably have shaken his hand at the daughter of Zion, has been carefully examined. The results were all negative, since the entire neighbourhood is barren of remains that date from the Early Israelite Period. A further suggestion may, however, be made. Père VINCENT kindly told me that some twenty-five years ago when the Germans dug the foundations for the Augusta Viktoria Stiftung, a German Evangelical hospice on the first crest north of the Mount of Olives, now serving as the Palestine Government House, they found a cistern, the foundations of a small building, some pieces of mosaic probably of Christian times, and some potsherds of the Persian Period.¹ The fragments of pottery of the post-exilic period indicate that this is the oldest occupied site in the neighborhood, four or five hundred years older than the other places north of Jerusalem that have been referred to above. If this were Nob it would be contemporaneous with the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, and the occurrence of Nob in these sources would then be a matter of course. Now, as to the earlier place, that of the time of Samuel and Isaiah, one is reminded of David's flight from Jerusalem at the time of Absalom's rebellion and the narrative: "And it came to pass when David came to the top (of the ascent of the Mount of Olives) where it was customary to worship God,"² which appears to show that there was a shrine, probably near the place where the post-exilic potsherds were found. The nomenclature in Samuel is by no means certain, and the "Ascent of Olives" may not necessarily have applied at that time only to one crest as in

¹ Pere FÉDERLIN, in the periodical *La Terre Sainte* gives a brief description of these remains.

² 2 Samuel 15 32.

modern times. Also the old road over which David fled seems to have passed beside the Augusta Viktoria Stiftung, so that the shrine may well have been on this same spot.¹ Now, the Nob of Saul's time was a settlement of the descendents of Eli of Shiloh,² who probably kept up Yahweh worship at Nob after the destruction of Shiloh and the loss of the ark. Consequently, they had a place of worship at Nob, and the allusion to David's passing the place where it was customary to worship God suggests that this may have been the Nob which Saul caused to be destroyed some years before. As a matter of fact, it satisfies the conditions of the biblical sources better than any of other sites: it overlooks Jerusalem from the east so that one could shake his hand conveniently from it at Zion; it would not be off the route of David's flight from Gibeah by way of Bethlehem, and it is in southern Benjamin; it has signs of occupation much older than the other sites proposed; and the fact of its being a place of worship logically associates it with Nob.³

However, it also is not without difficulties; its antiquities do not seem to carry us back to the time of Nob, and it is very close to the Jebusite fortress. So the remark, made at the outset, that the location of Nob is an exceedingly vexatious question becomes doubly apparent. However, this is certain: Nob must have lain somewhere in these hills surrounding Jerusalem on the north and northeast. If Scopus had any signs of ancient occupation it would be the most suitable place, but in the absence of these indications Nob was probably located on the hill where the Government House now stands.⁴

¹ See the writer's paper on the site of Bahurim in the *Annual of the American School*, vol. IV.

² Cf. 1 Samuel 14 3 and 22 9, 11, 12, 20.

³ Dean STANLEY in his *Sinai and Palestine*, in a note on page 185, suggested this same identification.

⁴ (It is possible that the absence of impressive remains of the eleventh century B. C. is due to the fact that Saul himself had settled the priests there, near his own capital, at the beginning of his reign. At all events, the priests could not have lived at Nob more than forty years, since the destruction of Shiloh by the Philistines (so probably) presumably took place after 1050, when the Israelites were beaten at Ebenezer, and the Ark was lost.—W. F. A.)

CLERMONT-GANNEAU ET L'ARCHÉOLOGIE PALESTINIENNE¹

L. H. VINCENT O. P.
(JERUSALEM)

DANS les profondeurs de la forêt le bûcheron choisit à son gré les victimes destinées à sa hache: ici de jeunes tiges souples et tout entières tendues vers les sommets de la futaie pour émerger à la lumière; là quelque arbre plus puissant, où ruisselle une sève ardente encore, mais qui étalait déjà sa ramure dans le soleil. La victime tombe à petit bruit et sur la place qu'elle occupait la voûte d'ombre est bientôt refermée: le fourré a cicatrisé sa blessure. Mais voici que la hache a tranché le pied d'un géant, gloire de la forêt. Il chancelle, s'abat dans un fracas immense, clameur lugubre de tout l'entourage meurtri. Ses débris enlevés, à l'étendue de la clairière — plaie béante au sein de la forêt —, l'œil mesure avec stupeur l'étonnante envergure du géant disparu.

Il y a peu de mois,² la mort, bûcheron implacable, terrassait en pleine expansion de sa féconde maturité M. le prof. Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, membre de l'Institut de France et le représentant français sans contredit le plus autorisé des sciences orientales et de l'archéologie spécialement palestinienne. Pour évoquer aujourd'hui sa mémoire en cette réunion, j'ai voulu me remettre au contact de son œuvre prolongée beaucoup plus d'un demi-siècle. Et, l'ayant de nouveau parcourue, je contemple avec une mélancolie douloureuse le vide énorme que cette disparition prématurée vient de creuser dans nos rangs.

¹ Adresse lue en mai 1923, à la réunion de *P. O. Society* présidée par S. E. Sir Herbert Samuel, Haut-Commissaire anglais en Palestine.

² Le 15 février 1923. M. Clermont-Ganneau avait 77 ans.

Ceux qui n'ont pas le privilège, peu enviable après tout, d'avoir doublé le cap de la cinquantaine et consacré depuis toujours leur effort aux études d'archéologie palestinienne — dont M. Clermont-Ganneau demeurait le maître après en avoir, plus que tout autre, frayé la voie, fixé les méthodes et enrichi les modestes trésors —, ceux-là n'apprécieraient peut-être pas sans quelque difficulté cette remarquable carrière. Votre présence même en cette réunion fait la preuve qu'aujourd'hui ces études ont pris, parmi les sciences, un rang honorable. Nul d'entre vous n'ignore ou ne méconnaît plus ni la portée des recherches archéologiques dans la reconstitution d'un passé grandiose et qui nous tient si fort à cœur, ni les méthodes admirablement positives qui permettent d'aboutir à des résultats concrets dans les délicates enquêtes d'épigraphie, de topographie, de folk-lore, de linguistique et d'histoire de l'art. Toutes ces précisions méthodiques sont devenues une sorte de patrimoine commun dont il peut nous paraître stupéfiant que nos devanciers n'aient pas joui depuis l'origine.

Autour des années 1865 à 1870 on commençait à peine à les soupçonner. L'archéologie palestinienne n'était, à proprement parler, pas encore sortie de ses langes. C'était le temps où des savants d'ailleurs admirables en d'autres domaines pouvaient diagnostiquer salomoniens les blocs du Haram parce qu'ils étaient gigantesques, fouiller avec conscience les remparts massifs des cités cananéennes sans y reconnaître autre chose qu'une vaine poussière, attribuer avec une émouvante conviction aux rois de Juda l'hypogée gréco-romain d'Hélène d'Adiabène. Sur les doigts d'une seule main il était facile d'énumérer tous les textes représentant l'épigraphie juive: fragments d'estampilles sur des anses de jarres, ou lambeaux d'épigraphes dans lesquels une divination plus zélée que louable découvrait des romans historico-bibliques déconcertants.

Vers 1869, M. Clermont-Ganneau, jeune diplomate stagiaire au Consulat de France à Jérusalem, apportait dans ce néant ou ce chaos les ressources d'une activité régie par les meilleurs principes généraux et le ferment d'une curiosité passionnée. En 1871, quand, son transfert à l'ambassade de Constantinople parut l'enlever aux recherches palestinologiques, on lui devait la connaissance de la stèle de Mésa, la découverte de la stèle hérodiennne du Temple, la découverte de la nécropole juive de Jaffa; et déjà sa pénétrante

sagacité fixait les premiers jalons des enquêtes de topographie et de folk-lore que devaient couronner par la suite de très brillantes découvertes.

A la fin de 1873, après «entente cordiale» entre le *Foreign Office* et le Ministère français des Affaires Étrangères, le jeune diplomate revenait en Palestine, chargé de mission par la Société scientifique si méritante du *P. E. Fund.* Au terme de cette mission, qui dura un mois et dix jours, M. Clermont-Ganneau appliquant ses méthodes topographiques avait découvert le site absolument oublié de Gézer. Il le détermina par une série de coordonnées d'histoire, de toponymie, de folk-lore, que vinrent confirmer avec éclat d'abord la découverte des inscriptions bilingues — hébréo-grecques — de la «Limite de Gézer» et plus tard les fructueuses fouilles du *P. E. Fund.*

Mais surtout, en ce même temps, il avait fait justice d'une mystification audacieuse qui menaçait de jeter un discrédit absolu sur les difficiles recherches d'archéologie palestinienne. Vous songez d'emblée aux fameuses «Antiquités moabites» et nous pourrions y refaire une autre allusion tout à l'heure.

En 1880, Clermont-Ganneau était derechef en Palestine comme vice-consul de France à Jaffa. Ce poste n'avait été pour lui que le prétexte d'une mission scientifique ultérieure, au compte du Ministère de l'Instruction Publique à qui ses publications déjà nombreuses et très remarquées l'avaient signalé. Le succès de cette mission lui ouvrit la porte des honneurs en orientant définitivement sa carrière vers les sciences orientales et spécialement palestinologiques. Même en gardant contact avec la diplomatie, au titre d'interprète officiel pour plusieurs langues orientales dans les Services du Chiffre, il demeurait dans cette ligne scientifique. Il serait sans profit d'étaler ici la liste immense des monographies qu'il dispersa alors dans les périodiques savants de France et d'Angleterre. Nommons seulement les Mémoires incomparables qui créaient en ce temps-là un genre nouveau dont ils demeureront à jamais les modèles par l'exégèse pénétrante des documents épigraphiques et l'association prodigieusement érudite des monuments et des textes: *La stèle de Mésa.* — *Une stèle du Temple de Jérusalem.* — *Matériaux inédits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades.* — *Sceaux et Cachets israélites.* — *Album d'antiquités orientales.* — *Épigraphes hébraïques.* — *Études d'archéologie orientale.* — *L'imagerie phénicienne et la mythologie*

iconologique chez les Grecs. Et puisqu'ils sont trop pour être cités tous, arrêtons l'énumération sur ce pur chef-d'œuvre — plus souvent utilisé que cité — : *La Palestine inconnue*. D'un autre, guère, moins remarquable: *Les fraudes archéologiques en Palestine*, il sera question plus tard.

Absorbé par ses hautes fonctions ministérielles et par un enseignement d'archéologie orientale très actif aux Hautes Études et au Collège de France, élu membre de l'Institut (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres) et membre à peu près prépondérant de la Commission du *Corpus Inscriptionum semiticarum*, M. Clermont-Ganneau n'en continue pas moins à suivre de très près — quand ce n'est pas à guider — le mouvement des études palestinologiques. Nul n'exploite avec plus de pénétration les résultats des recherches qui commençaient enfin à se développer. Les huit volumes du *Recueil d'archéologie orientale* sont une mine incroyable d'information dans tous les domaines de topographie, d'histoire, d'épigraphie et de linguistique, de mythologie, de folk-lore, etc. Il n'est que juste de l'ajouter: les plus remarquables entreprises palestiniennes s'organisèrent avec son concours, quand ce ne fut pas à son instigation et avec son appui direct et énergique; il suffira de rappeler en ce sens les premières fouilles méthodiques de quelque envergure inaugurées sur le site abandonné de Jérusalem primitive.

Ce qui caractérise cette immense activité, c'est l'étonnante variété des sujets qu'elle embrassait et qu'elle dominait avec maîtrise. Peut-être en résultera-t-il un certain dommage pour la gloire posthume de l'illustre savant. Après un tel amas de monographies dispersées, M. Clermont-Ganneau ne laisse pas un nombre impressionnant de gros livres. Ceux-là même sont plutôt des collections de mémoires sur des questions de détail qui avaient le plus souvent une valeur de méthode, ou qui sont trop aisément considérés aujourd'hui comme la minutieuse investigation d'une évidence qui peut paraître spontanée. Ceux qui ont expérimenté ce qu'il en coûte d'effort pour acquérir certaines évidences scientifiques, et surtout pour les protéger contre la frondaison des fantaisies et des mystifications, ceux-là, je n'en doute point, demeurent profondément impressionnés devant l'étendue et la fécondité de ce labeur.

Considérant que le premier devoir d'un savant est de faire la

police de la science, M. Clermont-Ganneau s'attachait volontiers à démasquer les mystificateurs. Il était redoutable à toutes les impostures qui compromettent la recherche scientifique aux yeux des profanes prompts à se réclamer d'un scepticisme absolu sous prétexte que le labeur le plus averti peut encourir quelque fâcheux déboire. Dans cette tâche, ingrate mais nécessaire, il n'a pas dépensé moins de perspicacité et de talent que dans ses plus brillantes découvertes. A ceux qu'a émus la lecture de *Nouvelles* — au surplus justement célèbres — qui ont l'intention d'être pieusement vengeresses contre les duretés prétendues de ce policier de la science palestinologique, je recommanderais volontiers la lecture d'un livre qui pourrait s'intituler: «Un roman véridique», ou «La mille et deuxième Nuit», et qui, de son vrai nom, s'appelle: *Les fraudes archéologiques en Palestine*. Commencez-en la lecture, et vous l'achèverez d'un trait. Fort peu de nos nouvellistes — tout hommage rendu d'ailleurs aux dames qui illustrent notre littérature contemporaine — ont tracé des tableaux plus vivants que la scène très *vécue* des conférences hiérosolymitaines sur les *Moabitica* — ces franches et naïves horreurs relevées d'une pointe d'indécence qui fit hausser leur prix! —, sur la trouvaille du cachet royal de David, sur le Deutéronome moabite, etc. Un La Bruyère ou un La Rochefoucauld ne récuserait point les portraits burinés et concis du savant théologien Weser, de l'honorable épicier Duisberg... Mais arrêtons-nous!.. ce serait exposer cette causerie archéologique aux chicanes chatouilleuses, de la politique, et le regretté maître en a fait lui-même la trop dure expérience.

Un aussi pâle aperçu ne saurait donner une idée suffisante de ce maître et de son œuvre. Je voudrais qu'il fût du moins un hommage rendu à une mémoire qui nous demeurera chère. Il ne serait pas tout à fait stérile s'il rappelait à la génération qui grandit pour la gloire de l'archéologie palestinienne le fruit qu'elle recueillera toujours dans l'œuvre de M. Clermont-Ganneau.



József Hejőházi sc.

E. BEN YEHUDAH
(1858—1922)

Ben Yehudah — בן־יהודה

BEN YEHUDAH AND THE REVIVAL OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE

D. YELLIN
(JERUSALEM)

SO bound up was the whole personality of our late fellow-member, Ben Yehudah, with the present-day revival of Hebrew as a spoken language that we are unable to describe one without the other: if we would speak of Ben Yehudah we must speak of him principally and primarily in his capacity as the Reviver of the Hebrew Language.

Wherein lay his greatness in this work? It lay in the fact that he was the first individual who gave practical embodiment to the idea of the Revival, and that it was from him that there emanated that ever growing circle of influence to which the Revival of Hebrew has attained in our days.

Forty years ago, when Ben Yehudah undertook the revival of spoken Hebrew, he took upon himself two herculean tasks: (a) to promulgate a language which had ceased to be spoken by an entire people—by a people who spoke all the languages of the world except its own language; (b) to fashion all the requisite conditions for creating, out of a language dead these two thousand years, a living speech conformable to all the daily needs of life as those needs had developed in the 19th and 20th centuries.

To effect these two aims there were demanded in him qualities indispensable to all who would achieve so great a purpose. With these qualities he was endowed in the highest degree: energy, obstinacy, persistence, fanaticism, audacity (if called for), and resolution—together with a complete belief in himself and in his ideas.

בן-יהודה ותחית הלשון העברית

ד. ילין

(ירושלם)

כל אישיות חברנו המנוח בן-יהודה קשורה כ"כ בתחית השפה העברית בתור שפת הדבור בזמננו זה, עד כי לא נוכל לתאר לנו אחת מהן מבלי רעותה. ובחפצנו לדבר על בן-יהודה עלינו לדבר עליו בעקר ובעצם בתור מחיה השפה העברית.

במה מתבלטת גדולת האיש הזה בעבודה הזאת? בזה שהוא היה היחיד הראשון אשר הוציא את רעיון תחית השפה לפעל, ומהיחיד המרכזי הזה הלך ההקף הלך וגדול עד אותו הגדל אשר הניעה אליו תחית הלשון העברית בימינו אלה.

בקבל ב"י עליו לפני יותר מארבעים שנה להחיות את השפה העברית בדבור קבל עליו שתי תעודות ענקיות: א: הפצת שפה שחדלו להשתמש בה בדבור בקרב עם שלם המדבר כל השפות שבעולם חוץ משפתו הוא; ב: יצירת כל התנאים הדרושים לברא משפה שלא שמשה לדבור זה כאלפים שנה שפת דבור המתאימה לכל צרכי החיים כפי אשר התפתחו במאה ה"ט וה"כ.

למען יוכל להוציא לפעולה את שני הדברים האלה היו נחוצות לו התכונות הדרושות לכל מקבל עליו להוציא תעודה ענקית לפעל, ואשר חזן המנוח בהן במדה היותר גדולה: מרץ, עקשנות, התמדה, קנאות, עוזות (בשעת הצרך) ותקיפות, ועל כל אלה אמונה שלמה בו בעצמו וברעיונו.

He began his work at a time when everything combined to thwart him: all those around him, even the most enlightened, opposed this new idea; and, worse than any deliberate opposition and downright antagonism, was their bitter ridicule. "The prophet is as fool: the man of the spirit is mad" has ever been the verdict of those who fail to comprehend the idealism of those who would introduce something new and exceptional. Another objection was the lack of words suited to daily needs, a lack felt at every turn. Although the many generations of Hebrew literature possessed a vast vocabulary preserving an abundance of poetical expressions and abstract conceptions, it still lacked very many of the most ordinary words required in everyday life, and all those things which the development of the last centuries has newly introduced in our life. But the greatest opposition of all arose from habit. People had been accustomed all their life to speak a language which was easy to them; and then they were suddenly called upon to compel themselves to become accustomed to a language which they had never spoken and which, moreover, was not rich enough to express all they wanted to express. Against all this the innovator had perforce to fight fiercely and with unabated persistence.

But not only must he fight against his environment, but against himself as well. He was used to the pure Biblical style in all its details and niceties, and in his earlier writings and in his book *Eretz Yisrael* he scrupulously retained this style in all its purity. Then came the problem of the revival of the language in popular speech and he was convinced that the language could not return to life in the guise of such a style, and that it was essential to fashion a simple, popular manner of speech and to adopt a wholly different style. What will not a man do to gain his ideal? He altogether abandoned his former style and began for a time to write in his newspaper in an utterly vulgar style, regardless of literature or literary style. This was an artificial attempt to fashion a spoken language at all costs. Yet in the end he himself was convinced that he had gone too far: he returned to the use of a more suitable style, a style which preserved the laws and practice of the language, while it abandoned so far as possible all the exaggerated peculiarities of the Biblical style.

In recalling to life the Hebrew language he encountered great obstacles; although he knew how to press into service means which

הוא החל את עבודתו בשעה שהכל היה מתנגד לו. הסביבה, אפילו המשפילה, לא יכלה להסכים לרעיון החדש הזה. וגדולה מההתנגדות הרצינית והמלחמה הישרה היתה הליצנות המורה. "אוויל הנביא, משנע איש הרוח", זו היא האמרה התמידית של אלה אשר אינם משיגים את גדלת רעיון המחדשים דברים היוצאים מגדר הרגיל. ההתנגדות השניה היתה החסר המלים המתאימות לצרכי יום יום שהיה מרגש בכל צעד. ישנו אמנם בספרות העברית של כל הדורות אוצר מלים גדול האוצר בקרבו הרבה מן הבמויים הפזויים והמושגים המפשטים, אך כנגד זה חסר בו הרבה מאד מהמלים היותר פשוטות חנדרשות לצרכי החיים ולכל אותם הדברים שהתפתחות מאות השנים האחרונות חדרה בחיינו. אך ההתנגדות היותר גדולה היתה בהרגל. הורגלו אנשים במשך כל ימי חייהם לדבר בשפה באופן נוח להם והנה פתאם עליהם להכריח את עצמם להתרגל לשפה שלא דברו בה מעולם, ואשר עם זה יחד איננה עשירה עד כדי להביע כל מה שהם אומרים להביע. וכנגד כל אלה היה המחדש צריך להלחם בעו ובהתמדה בלתי פוסקת.

אבל לא רק עם כל מה שסביב לו היה האיש צריך להלחם כי אם גם אתו בעצמו. הוא היה רגיל בסגנון התנ"כי שהור עם כל פרטיו ודקדוקיו ובמאמרו הראשונים ובספרו "ארץ ישראל" היה מדיק ושומר על הסגנון הזה בכל סדרתו. והנה באה שאלת תחית הלשון בפי עם ותוכיח לו כי בסגנון כזה לא תוכל שפה לשוב לחיות ונחוצו ליצר שפה פשוטה והמונית ולהשתמש בסגנון אחר לגמרי. ומה לא יעשה האדם לטובת משאת נפשו? הלך ועזב את כל סגנונו והחל לכתב בעתונו משך זמן בסגנון המוני גמור המשכיח את כל הספרות ואת כל דרכי סגנונה. זה היה נסיון ליצר באופן מלאכותי שפה מדברית, ויהי מה! אך סוף סוף נוכח גם הוא כי הרחיק ללכת, וישב וישתמש בסגנון יתר מתאים, סגנון השומר מצד אחד על חקי הלשון ושמושה, ומצד שני עוזב עד כמה שאפשר את כל אותן הסגלות המיוחדות המבלישות את הסגנון התנ"כי.

בתחית השפה פגש מכשולים גדולים על דרכו, אך תמיד ידע להקריב את הנחוצות המקלה את העבודה ויבחר בדרך היותר קשה והיותר כבדה אם ראה

might lighten his task, he yet chose the most difficult and arduous course if he thought that it served the better to retain the spirit and special character of the language; this fact emerges both in the matter of the requisite vocabulary and of orthography.

To fill in the blanks in Hebrew, earlier writers had adopted an easy device—to introduce a very large number of European words. This would have eased considerably the labour of reviving Hebrew as a spoken language. But Ben Yehudah found that such words, in their appearance and construction, were very foreign to such an oriental language as Hebrew; and although he well knew how heavy his work would be if he did not use them, nevertheless he rose up and pronounced them wholly anathema. To make good the defect he had to travel a very long and difficult path, to fashion new words from the roots of Hebrew itself, to draw on the huge Hebrew literature of all generations with a view to uncovering all its treasures which had lain hidden as under an unturned stone, and to bring them out for everyday, common use. And when even this was not enough, he turned his attention to those oriental languages akin to Hebrew in order to make the utmost possible use of them. For this purpose he made special use of Arabic, about which he frequently averred that he was absolutely convinced that we should treat those thousands of Arabic roots, which have no equivalent in Hebrew, just as if they were pure Hebrew roots.

Ben Yehudah paid special regard to the question of the Hebrew orthography of foreign European words which, since they were proper names, could not be avoided despite all his opposition; and in this matter he effected a complete revolution in Hebrew literature. The disciples of Moses Mendelssohn wrote such words according to German spelling, carrying out the system even to the extent of writing surnames, which were actually Hebrew words, in the same way (Melamed—*מעלאמער* = *מלמד*; Jacobi—*יאקאבי* = *יעקבי* etc.). Ben Yehudah found such orthography wholly at variance with the spirit of Hebrew and introduced the system of writing European proper names according to the primitive Hebrew orthographical system, carrying out this with his customary obstinacy, quite regardless of the storm of opposition which the change aroused at the time; and he was so successful that now no trace of that German spelling survives, and his orthography is accepted by virtually all Hebrew

בה את שמירת רוחו הלשון וצורתה המיוחדת, ובשני דברים מתבלטת ההופעה הזאת: באוצר המלים הדרוש לשפה ובצורת כתיבה.

למען מלא עד כמה שאפשר את החסר בשפה העברית מצאו להם הסופרים שקדמו לו דרך קלה מאד, בהכניסם אל השפה העברית מלים אירופיות במדה גדולה מאד. דרך זו היתה מְקַלָּה מאד את עבודת תחיה השפה העברית בתור שפה מדברת. אבל ב"י מצא כי המלים האלה רחוקות בצורותיהן ובמשקליהן מהשפה העברית המזרחית, ובכל דעתו כמה תכבד עליו העבודה אם לא ישתמש בהן, קם ויגור עליהן פְּלִיגָה פעם אחת. ולמען השלים את החסר היה עליו ללכת דרך קשה ואֶרֶבָה מאד, ליצר מלים חדשות משרשי הלשון העברית עצמה, לנצל את כל הספרות העברית הענקית של כל הדורות, למען גלות את כל אוצרותיה אשר היו טמונים בה כאבן שאין לה הופכים ולהוציאם אל שוק החיים כדי להשתמש בהם. ובמקום שגם כל זה לא הספיק, פנה אל הלשונות המזרחיות, אחיות השפה העברית, לנצל אותן עד כמה שאפשר. ביחוד שמשה לו לדבר זה השפה הערבית אשר לא פעם הביע את דעתו כי מאמין הוא באמונה שלמה כי עם כל אלפי שרשיה שאין להם "אחים" בשפתנו העברית עלינו להתחשב כעם שרשים עברים טהורים.

ביחוד עמד המנוח על שאלת הכתיב בשפה העברית גם במלים הזרות האירופיות, אשר למרות כל התנגדותו לא היה אפשר לבלי השתמש בהן בעברית בהיותם שמות עצם פרטיים, ובוה חולל מהפכה שלמה בספרותנו העברית. תלמידי מנדלזון השתמשו למלים כאלה בכתיב הגרמני, והגיע הדבר לידי כך עד כי החלו לכתב גם בשמות משפחה פרטים מלים עבריות בכתיב הזה (מעלאמעד = מלמד, יאקאבי = יעקבי, וכו'). והנה מצא ב"י כי צורת כתיב כזה מתנגדת לגמרי לרוח השפה העברית ויחל להשתמש בכתיב העברי הקדום גם בשמות הפרטים האירופיים, ואת זאת עשה בעקשנותו הרגילה מבלי שים לב למלחמה החזקה שהתעוררה נגד זה בראשית זמן השנוי, והדבר עלה בידו באפן כי אין זכר עוד לכתיב הגרמני ההוא, וכמעט כל הכותבים עברית

writers. There is, moreover no longer any trace of names like ענגלאנד (England), דייטשלאנד (Germany) and פראנקרייך (France) formerly in use; all have been superseded by names far closer to Hebrew forms, e. g. אנגליה (England), גרמניה (Germany), etc.

He left nothing untried which could serve as a means to the spreading of Hebrew as a spoken language.

The first means which he saw must be used was *Education*. He well knew how hard it is to deprive a people of a language to which it has become habituated, and to replace it by another; if it was desirable that this language become a mother-tongue, it was necessary to begin with the youngest children. So he began to practise teaching in Jerusalem, and from Jerusalem his work passed on to the new colonies through the medium of his friends, the first Hebrew Teachers. And if to-day there are in Palestine some 14,000 children receiving an entirely Hebrew education this is but a continuation of that same work which he began forty years ago.

His second means of spreading the language was *Societies*. At that time, when spoken Hebrew had no place among the upper classes, the first means of introducing Hebrew as a spoken language among such people was the formation of special societies whose members undertook the duty of using this language in daily life. The first Society was the "Revival of Israel" which he founded in conjunction with the late J. M. Pines and Nissim Bechar. Among the rules of this society we find this: *Every Member must speak Hebrew in company, at home, and even in the streets, without any sense of shame*. In 1889 he founded the society "Plain Speech", a sub-committee of which served in some measure as the basis of the "Va'ad ha-Lashon" (Language Committee), then known as the "Va'ad ha-Sifrut" (Literature Committee). Besides forming special societies *ad hoc* he introduced into other Societies, founded for other purposes (such as the Jerusalem branch of the Ind. Order of "B'nê B'rith" of which he was one of the first members), the principle of using Hebrew at all their gatherings.

He found in *Journalism* a third means for reviving and spreading the language among the rank and file, perceiving the great need for founding newspapers with the special purpose of providing opportunity for giving a wide publicity to newly invented words and to his new

קבלו את הכתיב הזה. וכן אין זכר עוד לשמות כמו "ענגלאנר", "דייטשלאנר" ו"פראנקרייך" של הדורות הקודמים. כל אלה פנו מקום לשמות שיש להם צורה הרבה יותר קרובה לצורות הלשון העברית כמו: אנגליה, גרמניה, וכו'.

ב"י לא עזב איזה ענין שהוא שיכול לשמש אמצעי להפצת השפה העברית בתור שפה חיה.

האמצעי הראשון שראה שהוא צריך להשתמש בו היה החנוך. ידוע ידע כמה קשה לנתק מפי עם את השפה השגורה בפיו ולשים בפיו שפה חדשה. ואם חפצים להגיע לכך שתהיה השפה הזאת לעם לשפת אם צריך להתחיל בתינוקות. וע"כ התחיל לעסוק לעצמו בהוראה בירושלם, ומירושלם עברה פעולתו אל המושבות החדשות ע"י ידידיו המורים העברים הראשונים. ואם יש לנו כיום בא"י 14 אלף תלמידים המקבלים חנוך עברי נמור זהו המשך אותה הפעולה שהתחיל בה הוא לפני ארבעים שנה.

האמצעי השני להפצת השפה היו לו החברות. בימים ההם כשהדבור העברי עור טרם נפוץ בין הגדולים היה האמצעי הראשון להכניס את השפה העברית בתור שפת הדבור בקרב הגדולים יצירת חברות מיוחדות אשר חבריהן יקבלו עליהם את תעודת ההשתמשות בשפה זו בחיים. החברה הראשונה היתה חברת "תחית ישראל" שנוסדה על ידו וע"י המנחם י. מ. פינס ואדון נסים בכר. בתקנות חברה זו הננו מוצאים את התקנה: "כל החברים מחויבים לדבר עברית בחברה, בבית ואפילו בשוקים ולא יתבוששו". בשנת תרמ"ם יסד את החברה "שפה ברורה" אשר חלק ממנה היה כעין יסוד ל"ועד הלשון" אשר נקרא אז בשם "ועד הספרות". אך מלבד יצירת חברות מיוחדות לתכלית זו הכניס אל חברות שנוסדו אז לתכליות אחרות (כגון חברת "בני ברית" שהיה אחד מחבריה הראשונים) את העקר להשתמש בשפה העברית בכל אספותיהן.

בתור אמצעי שלישי מצא את העתונות כדי להחיות ולהפיץ את השפה בין ההמון ולתת מקום להתפשטות המלים המחדשות והכתיב בצורתו החדשה, הרגיש את הצורך הגדול ביסוד עתונים מיחדים לזה. לתכלית זו יסד את "הצבי" ואהריו

orthography. Therefore he founded *Ha-Tz'vi* and, later, *Ha-Hashqafah* and *Ha-Or*, in which he made copious use of his own invented words in order to make them familiar to his readers.

Over and above such methods he saw the outstanding importance of making a *Dictionary*, containing the entire vocabulary of the literary language throughout its various epochs up to the present day, and all the new words which he and others had introduced to supply what was lacking. He began to compile the dictionary with the language revival specially in mind: in order that any who wished to use Hebrew might find the requisite words without being dependent on dictionaries in French-Hebrew or English-Hebrew and the like, he determined to compile a dictionary according to subjects, so that, side by side with any main word there should occur every word pertaining to that subject—as is done in Littré's *French Dictionary*. For this, he had first to prepare all the linguistic material and go through the entire Hebrew literature, the dictionaries of Arabic and the other Semitic languages. Not until this work was under way did he see a greater purpose before him in the compilation of this dictionary, namely, to give the reference to the various words in the literature of the various periods, thus making it apparent what changes had occurred in the use of these words at different times, and also showing, in the case of certain later words, when they first came into general use or acquired new meanings. He revised his dictionary afresh along these lines and republished it in its present form.

Another important means for the furthering and spreading of Hebrew among the people was the founding of the "Va'ad ha-Lashon" (Language Committee). The absence of most essential words gave Ben Yehudah no rest, and no matter how hard he laboured by himself in the coining of words, this was never more than enough to make good but a small part of the deficiency. What was required was the help of expert specialists to cooperate in this work. The Committee was founded, as mentioned above, in 1889 under the title "Literature Committee", developing later into the "Va'ad ha-Lashon" (the Language Committee); it met from time to time to deal with the finding or the inventing of names for everything which hitherto had no Hebrew name, or the existence of whose Hebrew name, tucked away in some remote corner of Hebrew, was not known

את "ההשקפה" ו"האור", שהרבה להשתמש בהם במלים שחדש למען הרגיל אותן בפי קוראיו.

מלבד האמצעים האלה מצא נחיצות גדולה ביצירת מלון מקיף לבל אוצרות השפה בספרותה במשך התקופות השונות עד ימינו אלה ולכל המלים המחדשות על ידו וע"י אחרים למלוי המחסורים. את-המלון הזה החל לחבר בתעודה מיחדת לתחית הלשון. למען ימצא הקפץ להשתמש בלשון העברית את המלים הדרושות לו מבלי העזר במלונים כמו צרפתית-עברית, אנגלית-עברית, וכיו"ב, אמר לחבר מלון לפי הענינים לאמר כי על יד מלה עקרית אחת תבואנה כל המלים השיכות לענינה, כצורת המלון אשר חבר Littré בשפה הצרפתית. לצרך זה היה עליו להכין את כל החמר הלשוני ולעבר על כל הספרות העברית והמלונים הערבים ויתר השפות השמיות בראשונה. אך במשך זמן העבודה ראה כי תכלית יתר גדולה לפניו בחבור המלון הזה והיא הבאת מראי מקומות למלים השונות בספרות כל התקופות השונות, אשר עי"ז יתבארו כל גלגולי ההשתמשות במלים במשך הזמנים השונים, ובמלים מאחרות ידועות יתברר ג"כ מתי החלו להשתמש בהן בכלל או בהוראות חדשות. ועל יסוד זה עבד את מלונו מחדש והחל להוציאו שנית בצורתו הנוכחית.

עוד אמצעי חשוב להפצת העברית והתפשטותה בקרב העם היה ענין יסוד "ועד הלשון". חסר המלים היתר נחוצות לא נתן לב"י מנוח, וכמה שעמל הוא האיש היחיד ויגע בחדוש מלים לא הספיקה עבודה זו כמובן למלא אף חלק קטן מן הצרך. לזה היתה דרושה עזרת בעלי מקצוע מומחים אשר ישתתפו בעבודה זו. הועד הזה נוסד כאשר כבר נזכר למעלה בשנת תרמ"ט בשם "ועד הספרות" ואח"כ התפתח בתור "ועד הלשון" אשר היו לו ישיבות מזמן לזמן לדון במציאת ובהמצאת שמות לכל הדברים שלא היו להם שמות עד כה בעברית או שמציאותם באיזו פנה נדחת בשפה העברית לא היתה ידועה ומפורסמת. על הועד הזה

or not in wide use. It was the duty of this Committee to examine as much as possible of the vocabulary contained in the literature and also deal with the coining of new words from Hebrew roots and specially from other Semitic languages. The chief work, however, rested mainly on Ben Yehudah himself: he was the best equipped for such work since most of his time was occupied in editing the great Hebrew Dictionary. Obviously this Committee's labours, too, did not escape the ridicule of all those who did not recognize the necessity for these words but rested content with a language of limited vocabulary and ideas; they dubbed the Committee "The Founders of the Language", "Word Factory"; they even composed humorous poems (cf. "Poem addressed to the Founder of the Language", by "Balshan", in the early issues of *Ha-Shiloach*); and Lilienblum, serious author though he was, did not rest content until he had composed an article in *Ha-Melitz*, solely made up of the newly-coined words, in order to make them a laughing-stock. But in spite of all this the Committee continued its work, and it was ever Ben Yehudah who acted as the great source of inspiration. This was his special piece of public work and his "Holy of Holies." Normally he prepared the material on which the members of the Committee were to hold their discussions, and, although he had so firm a belief in himself and held so strenuously to his own opinion, he was often obliged to withdraw his point in face of the dissent of the majority of his colleagues. Such submission was grievously difficult to him, yet he did submit since the question of the Revival of the Language even prevailed over his strong wish that his own views be accepted.

One of his greatest causes for concern was the many verbs lacking in Hebrew. It was an easy matter to coin nouns and adjectives and introduce them into the language; but it was another thing with the verb and all its inflexions. Of the hundreds of words freshly introduced by him and the "Language Committee," he himself, unsupported by the Committee, ventured to coin but very few verbs, such as the verb *lataf* (to fondle, caress) which has been accepted owing to its beauty which so well befits the meaning, and the verb "akad" (to confirm), which is still not wholly assimilated into the language. (Obviously he never consented to use such verbs as *daqlem* "to recite," *talfen* "to telephone," *talgref* "to telegraph," etc., borrowed from European languages.) He had made—and specially in the last

הוטלה החובה לעין עד כמה שאפשר באוצרות הספרות ולדון ג"כ על חדושי מלים מתוך השרשים העבריים ומהשפות השמיות ביחוד. אך עקר העבודה היה על ב"י בעצמו. הוא היה גם יתר מוכשר לזה בהיותו עסוק ברב ימיו בעריכת המלון העברי הגדול. כמובן לא נקתה עבודת הועד הזה גם היא מלעג כל אלה שלא הרגישו את הנחיצות במלים האלה ושהסתפקו בשפה מועטת מלים ומושגים ויקראו לוועד הזה בכנויי ההתול "מניחי הלשון" ו"בית חרשת למלים". גם שירים התוליים לא חסרו (שיר ל"מניח הלשון" בחוברות הראשונות של "השלח" מאת "בלשן") ולילינבלום, הסופר הרציני לא נח עד כי חבר מאמר שלם ב"המליץ" מהמלים המחודשות למען תתן לראוה. אך הועד המשיך בכל זאת את עבודתו וב"י היה תמיד המעורר הגדול, וזו היתה עבודתו הצבורית היחידה אשר עסק בה ואשר היתה לו "קדש הקדשים" שלו. עפ"ר הכין הוא את החמר שעליו היו מתוכחים, והוא המאמין כ"כ בעצמו והעומד על דעתו בתקיפות היתר נמרצה, היה מחויב פעמים רבות לבטל דעתו מפני דעת הרב של חבריו. קשה מאד היתה לו ההכנעות ובכ"ז נכנע מפני כי ענין תחית השפה גבר גם על חפצו הנמרץ שיקבלו דעתו.

דאגה גדולה היתה לו בעבודתו בדבר הפעלים המרובים החסרים בעברית, כי שמות ותארים קל לחדש ולהכניס לשפה, לא כן הפעל עם כל נטיותיו. ומכל מאות המלים שחדש ביחד עם "ועד הלשון" העז לחדש הוא בעצמו בלי הסכמת ועד הלשון רק פעלים מעטים מאד והם הפעל "למף" שנתקבל בגלל יפי צורתו המתאים להוראתו והפעל "אכר" אשר עד היום עוד טרם התעכל. (בפעלים כגון: דקלם, טלפן, טלגרף וכו'), הלקוחים משפות אירופיות לא הסכים, כמובן, להשתמש לעולם). הוא הרבה לחקר בלשון הערבית ההמונית למען מצא בה שרידי

few years before his death—a careful study of colloquial Arabic in search of surviving fragments of primitive Hebrew, but he was not able to publish the results of this research. He sought for various devices in the coining of new words, and he did not even shrink from fashioning new words by combinations of initials, as has become the habit in recent times in European languages with the names of certain societies (e. g. “Ica”—“Jewish Colonisation Association”; “Ito”—“Jewish Territorial Organisation”), and as the custom was in Hebrew with proper names (e. g. “TaNaKh”—the Scriptures, [*Torah*, *Neblim*, *Kethubim*—the Law, Prophets and Hagiographa]; RaSHI, the mediaeval Jewish commentator [Rabbi Shelomo Yitzhaq]; RaMBaM—Maimonides [Rabbi Mosheh ben Maimon], etc.). But nouns so formed, such as *Hushmah*—“constitution” [*Huqqat Shilton Mugbal*—“the principle of limited government”], and the adjective *la’lān*—“neutral” [*Lo ‘In Lo Neged*—“neither for nor against”] were never generally accepted and were used only in his newspapers. After exhausting all sources from which it was possible to derive new words, he reached the final extremity of *creatio ex nihilo*, and he expounded this principle before the “Language Committee”, holding to his own opinion despite the opposition of all his colleagues.

He witnessed a marked advance in the growing need for the work of the “Language Committee” in everyday life; it was appealed to from all quarters for words still lacking, and especially was this so after the Palestine Government had proclaimed Hebrew one of the official languages of Palestine; the Government itself applied to the Committee to coin the necessary terms for its official departments.

So far no one had been found to collect together all the recently coined words and all those words which, though they were to be found in the hidden stores of the language, were not in common use; only as a result of the labours of Ben Yehudah and the Language Committee were these latter re-introduced into written and oral use. The matter admits of no doubt; it is only necessary to compare the present vocabulary with that in use fifty years ago to see how great is the difference between a solely literary and an actually living language. Nor should we be unmindful of the fact that side by side with the enriching of the language and attention to the varied nuances in any concept, there necessarily comes about an enrichment of thought.

העברית הקדומה, ובוה עסק ביחוד בשנים האחרונות לפני מותו, אך לא הספיק לפרסם את תוצאות עבודתו זאת. הוא חפש דרכים שונות לחדושי מלים ולא נרתע גם מיצירת מלים חדשות ע"י צרופי ראשי תבות כאשר הונהג הדבר הזה בזמן האחרון בשפות האירופיות לשמות חברות ידועות (ICA, ITO) וכמו שהיה נהוג גם בעברית בשמות פרטים (תנ"ך, רמ"בם, ר"שי וכו'). אך השמות האלה כננו השם "השמה" (הקת שלמון מַגְבֵּל) והתאר "לעלן" (לא עם לא נָגַד) לא נתקבלו ונשארו בשמוש רק בעתוניו. ובכלות כל המקורות אשר מהם היה יכול לשאב מלים חדשות הגיע אל הקצה האחרון, אל "יצירת יש מאין" בלשון, אשר על דבר זה הרצה בועד הלשון ואחז בדעתו זאת למרות התנגדות כל חבריו.

הוא ראה קדמה גדולה בהחל עבודת הועד להיות יותר ויותר נחוצה בחיים, כשהחלו לפנות מכל עברים בדרישות למלים החסרות, וביחוד אחרי אשר הכריזה ממשלת א"י את השפה העברית בתור אחת השפות הרשמיות בא"י, והממשלה עצמה דרשה מאת הועד להמציא את המלים הדרושות לצרכי בתי פקידותיה.

עוד טרם נמצא האיש אשר עסק בצבירת כל המלים המחודשות בזמן האחרון וכל אלה שהיו מצויות בגנזי הלשון אך לא השתמשו בהן בחיים, ורק ע"י עבודתו ועבודת "ועד הלשון" הוכנסו שנית לשמוש בכתב ובדבור אך אין שום ספק כי מי שישוה את אוצר לשוננו הנוכחי עם זה שלפני חמשים שנה יראה את ההבדל בכל גדלו שבין שפת ספרות ושפה חיה. ואל־נשכח כי עם עשר הלשון וההתחשבות עם כל הגונים השונים של איזה מושג שהוא בא בהכרח גם עשר המחשבה.

In conclusion we must not forget how great was Ben Yehudah's *personal influence* in the revival of the language. He himself felt, and others felt it too, that he was the "Representative of the Hebrew Language", its authorized delegate, and the symbol of the living language. Every important event he regarded solely from the point of view of its bearing on the revival of Hebrew; whatever matter came before him, he would ask himself, What connexion has it with the Hebrew language? He, more than all others, perceived the smallest matter derogatory to the language revival, and would defend its dignity boldly and defiantly, shrinking before nobody just as in his work he would shrink before nothing. Whenever he was present everyone remembered that he must speak Hebrew; it became an axiom; little by little, owing to his own personal influence, and owing to his newspapers, the Hebrew language penetrated into every school, from the least to the greatest, and on account of this there arose all that "War of the Languages" ten years ago; Hebrew found its way into all public societies so that people came to be ashamed to speak publicly in any other language; it penetrated wherever there were public speeches and performances, from the first Hebrew drama, *Zerubbabel*, produced in 1889, to the Hebrew Opera of the present year; and, in the end, with the British conquest of Palestine, it has penetrated to the highest circles, to the "Draft of the Mandate" drawn up between the League of Nations and Great Britain! This fact was Ben Yehudah's final consolation.

אחרי כל אלה אל נא נשכח כמה גדלה השפעתו האישית בענין תחית הלשון. הוא בעצמו הרגיש וגם אחרים הרגישו כי הוא בא כח השפה העברית, מורשה וסמל לשוננו החיה. על כל מאורע חשוב בחיינו הביט אך ורק מצד נקודת מבט תחית השפה. ועל כל ענין שבא לפניו היה שואל לעצמו מה יחס הענין הזה אל השפה העברית? הוא הרגיש יותר מאחרים בכל ולול קטן ביחס לתחית השפה ובעז וגם בחצפה תבע את כבודה מבלי הרתע מפני מי שהוא, כמו שלא נרתע בעבודתו מפני מה שהוא. בנוכחותו נזכר כל אחד כי עליו לדבר עברית והדבר היה כמשקל ראשון, ולאט לאט, ע"י השפעתו האישית וע"י עתוניו חדרה הלשון אל בתה"ס למקטנם ועד גדולם ובגלל דעה זו התחוללה כל מלחמת השפות לפני כעשר שנים, חדרה אל כל החברות הצבוריות עד שהחלו להתביש לדבר בצבור בשפה אחרת, חדרה אל כל מקומות ההרצאות והמחזות למן המחזה העברי הראשון "זרבל" שהצג בשנת תרס"ט ועד האופירה של שנתנו זאת, וחדרה סוף סוף אל הספירות הגבוהות אחרי כבוש א"י, אל כתבי־המגנות שבין חברי־העמים ובין בריטניה הגדולה! ועברה זו היתה נחמתו האחרונה בחייו.

THE SITE OF MIZPAH IN BENJAMIN

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(JERUSALEM)

UNTIL quite recently the identification of Mizpah in Benjamin with Nebi Samwil northwest of Jerusalem was regarded as one of the most probable results of Palestinian topographic science. Proposed originally by Edward Robinson, and accepted by the two leading geographical handbooks, George Adam Smith's *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* and Buhl's *Geographie des alten Palästina*, it was twenty years ago practically a commonplace of scholarship. Since that time, however, a gradual change has taken place, until now practically all scholars who have written recently on the subject support the claims of Tell en-Naşbeh as the true site.

The first to suggest the identification of Mizpah with Tell en-Naşbeh was apparently Raboisson, who defended it in his book *Les Maspah* (Paris, 1897). The same idea also occurred independently to Conder (QS¹ 1898, 169), while Vincent accepted the theory of Raboisson (RB 1899, 316). The hypothesis made no headway at first, however, since Clermont-Ganneau opposed it in QS 1898, 251, though admitting its possibility. Here the matter rested until Dalman took the theory up again, whether independently or not is uncertain, and two of his pupils, Alt and Baumann, wrote papers in support of Mizpah = Tell en-Naşbeh (PJB 1910, 45—62; ZDPV XXXIV, 119—137). Another pupil of Dalman's, Lohmann, wrote in support of this combination in connection with an elaborate monograph on the antiquities of Nebi Samwil (ZDPV XLI, 117—157), now super-

¹ Note the following abbreviations: PJB = *Palästinajahrbuch*, QS = *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*; RB = *Revue Biblique*; ZDPV = *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*.

seded in the main by Vincent, RB 1922, 376—402. Vincent, in the latter publication, the first thoroughly scientific treatment of the archaeological remains of Nebi Samwil, also defends the identification of Mizpah with Tell en-Naşbeh, adopting the view of Schlatter, held for a time by Dalman (but now given up by the latter) that Nebi Samwil represents the high-place of Gibeon (1 Kings 34).

The latest accession to the ranks of the Mizpah = Tell en-Naşbeh school is Phythian-Adams, writing in this *Journal*, Vol. III, pp. 13—20. He also appears to have reached his conclusion independently, since he mentions none of his precursors. The subject is treated with the vigor which we have learned to expect from this gifted scholar, but he is unable to present any new argument save one, which we will consider in due course. This paucity of new material is of course due to the fact that the arguments in favor of Mizpah = Tell en-Naşbeh have been worn threadbare by writers on this topic. As will have been suspected, the present writer is an opponent of the new Tell en-Naşbeh hypothesis, and an adherent of the now old-fashioned Nebi Samwil school. It is, however, our decided conviction that the older view is correct, and that the innovators have here been following a will of the wisp. It has been a rather amusing feature of the writer's perusal of the previous literature on the subject to note the curious way in which the various supporters of Tell en-Naşbeh propose mutually exclusive arguments, one gaily tearing down what the other builds up. This is particularly true of the different members of Dalman's school.

Since the writer has prepared an elaborate treatment of the topography of Benjamin and southern Ephraim for the *Annual of the American School*, in which some thirty pages are devoted to Nebi Samwil and Tell en-Naşbeh, it is not necessary to go into great detail. We will content ourselves here with a brief summation of the material, and a rebuttal of the principal arguments advanced by the supporters of the claims of Tell en-Naşbeh.

Our position is the following: Mizpah is Nebi Samwil; the high-place of Gibeon is on the present site of the village of ej-Jib; Tell en-Naşbeh represents the ancient fortified Canaanite and Israelite town of Beeroth. Archaeologically there is nothing against these identifications. Nowhere in the Old Testament is it stated that Mizpah was a fortified town, and the analogies are all against it,

since the other cult centers, such as Shiloh, Bethel, Gilgal, etc., were not fortified, and even Gibeah, Saul's capital, was not. The Israelites do not appear to have fortified their towns, as a rule, aside from repairing Canaanite "fenced cities," but depended upon fortresses or "towers," erected in easily defensible positions in or near the town. This principle was adopted at Shechem, Thebez, Gibeah, etc. At Nebi Samwil we have a village of Israelite date, as shown by the potsherds which the writer has collected, surmounted by a fortress, doubtless much like that of Saul and his successors at Gibeah (Tell el-Fûl). The fortress built there by Asa and doubtless repaired and enlarged by Gedaliah is represented by the large platform of rock on the summit of Nebi Samwil, now crowned by the mosque of the Prophet Samuel. Owing to the fact that the emperor Justinian built a basilica and a fortified monastery here (see Lohmann and Vincent, *opp. citt.*), it is now impossible to trace the ancient high-place (which we may safely assume); scientific exploration of so holy a spot is precluded by the fanaticism of the inhabitants. The attempt of Kittel to trace the ancient high-place on the modern platform has been justly rejected by most scholars; the platform has passed through too many vicissitudes to allow such an effort to be made with any hope of success. It is probable that a very little, careful examination will reveal traces of the pre-Byzantine fortresses under the work of Justinian, at least in places.

The high-place of Gibeon is now placed by Dalman himself at ej-Jib; his former view that it was on Nebi Samwil, about a mile distant, is now given up. While it is quite unnecessary to combine the high-place with a Christian basilica which once existed at Gibeon, the modern town offers the natural site for our high-place. The ancient Canaanite town of Gibeon is represented by a beautiful tell, situated on a spur of the hill just above the spring, which is connected with the acropolis above by a subterranean channel or *solen* (*Journal*, II, 290). The summit of the hill on which the present village is built, separated by a depression from the old town, is higher than the top of the tell, and was thus the natural place for the *bamah*, or high-place of the town. It is therefore wholly gratuitous to search elsewhere for a suitable location for the high-place in question. The source of the Nebi Samwil hypothesis of Schlatter's is a statement of Epiphanius, which has been badly misunderstood.

In his treatise *Adv. haer.*, 46, 5, this ecclesiastic, himself of Palestinian origin, says that the only hill near Jerusalem which could vie with the Mount of Olives in height is that of Gibeon, eight (Roman) miles from Jerusalem. Since Nebi Samwil is only five miles from Jerusalem we cannot take the statement to refer to Nebi Samwil, at least as it stands. As a matter of fact, however, it refers to the lofty ridge on which Rāmallāh is situated, which is nine Roman miles from Jerusalem. We are able to prove this from the *Onomasticon*, which states that Gibeon lay four miles west of Bethel, near Rama. We cannot alter this statement very well, since the Greek MSS of Eusebius are supported by the Latin version of Jerome, as well as by Procopius of Gaza. In other words, the fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries were under the influence of a theory of unknown origin, which placed Gibeon at Rāmallāh. In another work Jerome refers to Gibeon in such a way as to show that he was not unaware of another location for Gibeon, but such disagreement regarding details of Palestinian topography was common enough at the time. For instance, while Eusebius located Ramathaim, Samuel's home, at Rentis, the other writers of the Byzantine age place it unmistakably at Nebi Samwil, where a monastery in honor of Samuel was built (see above). With the correct interpretation of Epiphanius, the last shred of evidence for the transfer of the high-place of Gibeon to Nebi Samwil falls, and the ground is cleared for Mizpah.

Now let us turn to the proposed identification of Tell en-Naşbeh with Beeroth. Beeroth is mentioned, together with its gentilic, about a dozen times in the Old Testament, a fact which proves that it was a place of some importance. It was one of the towns of the Hivite (better Horite) tetrapolis, along with Kirjath-jearim, Chephirah, and especially Gibeon, the chief city of the confederation. Since the other towns were fortified,¹ we may safely assume that Beeroth was also; in other words, it must be represented by a tell. During Israelite days Beeroth was long abandoned (2 Sam. 43). According to this passage, Beeroth was "reckoned to Benjamin," that is, was

¹ Gibeon has a beautiful tell; Kefirah also has, though the tell here is very small, as to be expected from the relative unimportance of Chephirah; Kirjath-jearim (Deir el-Azhar) also has a tell, as may be seen from west of Deir el-Azhar (on which the Benedictine convent is now), while the débris of occupation exceeds five metres, as shown by the excavations of the Benedictines there.

situated near the Benjamite border, so that its tribal connection might be doubtful, especially since the Beerothites were probably of Canaanite stock, like the Gibeonites. Which border it adjoined is made clear by the fact that Beeroth is mentioned in two lists together with Ramah (er-Râm), while in a third Gittaim is collocated with Ramah, and in a fourth passage Gittaim and Beeroth are associated. Unfortunately we do not know exactly where Gittaim was located; the writer has elsewhere suggested an identification with Qalândieh. It is, however, obvious that Beeroth lay near Ramah, and was therefore situated near the northern boundary of Benjamin, which ran past Beth-aven (Burqah), south of Bethel, past Ataroth Addar (Ḥirbet 'Aṭṭārah, a mile south of Tell en-Naṣbeh), south of Beth-horon the Upper to a point south of Beth-horon the Lower, where it turned southward. Beeroth has been identified with Bireh, but there is no trace there of antiquity, to say nothing of a tell representing the ancient fortified town of Beeroth; the site is farther north of the Benjamite border than we should like, anyway. The name Beeroth, meaning "wells" or "springs," indicates the presence of abundant ground water.

If we look about for a town-site presenting the foregoing qualifications, we find only one—Tell en-Naṣbeh, the only ancient tell in the entire northern part of Benjamin, and the only site where a name like Beeroth will fit. Just below the tell, at Khân Abū Skandar, the water oozes out all over the hill-side, making the ground muddy, even in mid-summer. The water is no longer properly utilized, and seeps away for the most part into the earth again. There is an abundance of it, however. The mound itself is covered with Late Bronze and Early Iron Age potsherds, thousands of which have been examined by the writer in repeated visits with the members of the American School. In several places the old glacis, probably of the Canaanite city-wall,¹ is still intact and exposed.

Fortunately, however, we are not dependent upon mere argument from probability and analogy, but have most explicit literary con-

¹ The stone-work of the glacis is older in type than the glacis of the third fortress at Gibeah and the similar Solomonic glacis at Gezer, though apparently younger than the famous Jericho glacis, dating back into the Middle Bronze Age (not to the time of Hiel, as first supposed). It is therefore probably of the Late Bronze Age.

firmation of our theory. The confirmation comes from the redoubtable Eusebius, who has preserved so much of value to us in his *Onomasticon*, along with some chaff. In the topographical work in question, p. 48, 9—10 (ed. Klostermann) he says: Βηρωθ ὑπὸ τὴν Γαβαών. καὶ ἔστι νῦν κώμη πλησίον Αἰλίας κατιόντων ἐπὶ Νικόπολιν ἀπὸ ἧ' σημείων = (Jerome) *Beeroth sub colle Gabaon, ostenditur hodieque villa ab Aelia euntibus Neapolim in septimo lapide*. Most scholars have tried to locate Eusebius's Beeroth on the road from Jerusalem to Nicopolis, that is, the Beth-horon road, with the most absurd results. There is not a single ruin which could come into consideration, even for a conceivable erroneous identification on the part of Eusebius. The southern road, by way of Kirjath-jearim, corresponding roughly to the modern Jaffa road, is equally unsatisfactory, quite aside from the fact that, as we have seen, the biblical town could not possibly have been situated so far south. Fortunately, we are not restricted to guesses, or to arbitrary preference of Jerome's reading, since we have a clear textual indication in support of the latter. In the *Onomasticon*, ten or twelve MS lines above our reference to the Nicopolis or Neapolis road, there is mention of the Nicopolis road, on which Beth-horon is correctly placed. Now, since there is no mention of the Neapolis road otherwise for pages in either direction, there is obviously no choice between the two readings, from the standpoint of textual criticism alone. Everyone knows how words and names persist in one's mind, and insinuate themselves into one's writing wherever there is a good chance after having just been employed. This dittographic tendency explains the corruption of "Neapolis" into "Nicopolis" in the Greek text; the opposite mistake cannot be explained at all. We have accordingly to find a good site for the Beeroth of Eusebius about seven Roman miles north of Jerusalem. If we measure seven Roman miles along this road we find ourselves at Hîrbet 'Attârah, just about half a mile south of the Roman-Byzantine settlement at the foot of Tell en-Naşbeh, and immediately southwest of Khân Abū Skandar.¹ As usual, the site of the Roman town is found below the ancient town, both in a more accessible location, and nearer the water supply. The freedom from danger to

¹ This location suits the statement in the *Onomasticon* that Beeroth lay below Gibeon, i. e., below Rāmallāh, which rises 400 feet higher, less than two miles to the north.

which such a feeling of security was due, Palestine owed to the *pax romana*. It may be added that the twin villages of Ataroth and Beeroth are still referred to in Crusading cartularies as the casale of Atarabereth.

It will hardly be necessary, after the preceding, to adduce further arguments for Tell en-Naşbeh = Beeroth; additional detail will be found in the more elaborate treatment in the *Annual*. We need hardly stress the fact that several entirely distinct lines of evidence converge in the most striking way on this identification.

We may then briefly touch the most important biblical passages bearing on the question. Since our worthy opponent has restricted his attention to these, we will begin our rebuttal at this point.

Phythian-Adams takes up first (pp. 13—17) the rôle played by Mizpah as a national place of assembly and especially as a rallying point for Israel. The argument from central position and accessibility is likely to be misleading; any place in Central Palestine was central with respect to Israel, and any point to which moderately good foot-paths led was accessible, in those days when all Israel traveled on foot or on the trusty ass, which is not baffled by anything but exceptionally steep declivities. The main qualification for Mizpah as a rallying point was that it should have the greatest possible range of visibility for the purpose of beacon fires, which took the place of Morse signalling in those days. One must not forget that fire signals and smoke signals are well-known to such primitive peoples as Bedouin and American Indians; that they were equally well-known to the Hebrews is certain from the story of the wilderness wanderings and from the Talmudic accounts of the transmission of the time of the appearance of the New Moon at Jerusalem to all districts of Oriental Jewry through the use of fire signals. The name "Mizpah" means "Look-out" or "Watch-tower," either name referring unquestionably to a height with a good view, like Scopus, which received a similar name for good reason. The proponents of the Tell en-Naşbeh theory have had a desperate time to explain this fact away, especially because 1 Maccabees 3:46 says that the Jews gathered on Mizpah over against Jerusalem (κατέναντι Ἱερουσαλήμ) in order that Judas might harangue them to effect, and excite their zeal by pointing to the Holy City, still in the possession of the impious Syrians. The view from Nebi Samwîl is marvelous;

that from Tell en-Naşbeh extends less than half a mile to the east, less than two miles to the north, less than three to the west, and is limited on the south by Tell el-Fûl and Scopus. The only view of any extent is that toward the southwest, where it takes in a small district west of Jerusalem. Since there are hills with a better view all around, it is incredible that the people of the land should have resorted to such a *lucus a non lucendo* in naming the site of Tell en-Naşbeh. From Tell en-Naşbeh one may see the tops of some of the highest buildings in modern Jerusalem, but it is improbable that a single building in the Hellenistic city was visible. It may be added that the writer speaks from repeated experience. Baumann has attempted to weaken the force of the Greek expression, after assuring himself by a thorough examination of all the occurrences in the Greek Bible that its meaning is actually "opposite, over against, facing," by referring it to the direction in which the Jews prayed while on Mizpah, but this interpretation is syntactically impossible, as recognized by Dalman himself.

Phythian-Adams next introduces us to the passage 1 Kings 15 17-22, where the rivalry in fortress building between Asa and Baasha is described. Baasha built a fortress at Ramah (er-Râm) in order to threaten Jerusalem (ostensibly to blockade the city from the north). Alarmed at the danger to his capital, Asa induced Benhadad I of Damascus to attack Israel from the north, thus diverting Baasha from his activities in the south. While the latter was thus engaged, Asa levied all the men of Judah, dismantled the new fortress at Ramah, and used the stones and beams of this fortress to build two new ones of his own at Mizpah and Geba of Benjamin. Now, it is to be noted that nothing is said here about military activities, or of conquest; Asa's measures are all defensive. If he really built a fortress at Tell en-Naşbeh, north of Ramah, he encroached on Israelite territory, since Ramah was already in the northern kingdom. In this case why did he not confine himself to seizing and holding the Israelite fortress at Ramah? The only rational interpretation of his actions, in the light of the biblical narrative as handed down to us, is that he dismantled the Israelite fortress in order to build with the materials two new fortresses in his own territory, in such positions that they would adequately control the northern approaches to Jerusalem.

If Geba of Benjamin were really Jeba' there would be some excuse for the Tell en-Naşbeh theory. But it is to be noted that, while Mizpah and Geba would then command the road from Bethel to Jerusalem (modern Nâblus road), and the road across the Wâdi es-Şweinîf, they would not command either the important and easy road from Beitûniâ to ej-Jîb and on to Jerusalem, or the frontier east of Tell en-Naşbeh, which has two roads (poor ones but passable) invisible both from Tell en-Naşbeh and from Jeba'. The writer, however, has collected materials to show clearly that the addition "of Benjamin" always implies "Gibeah" before it, never "Geba."¹ We must, therefore, look for Mizpah on a line with Tell el-Fûl, instead of on a line with Jeba', and our first choice will fall naturally on Nebî Samwil, which is in precisely the required spot. Tell el-Fûl and Nebî Samwil are by far the highest points on or near this line; they control all three roads southward—the main road, just under Tell el-Fûl; the Gibeon-Jerusalem road, which is clearly visible from Nebî Samwil; and the "Assyrian" road from Geba to Jerusalem, running between Hirbet Ka'kûl (Gallim) and Tell el-Fûl (Gibeah).

The clinching argument comes from the archaeological side. In our excavations on Tell el-Fûl we discovered four superimposed fortresses on the summit. The third dates, as shown by the masonry, but especially by the pottery, from the time of the kings of Judah, almost certainly from the early part of the divided kingdom, that is, from the period between 900 and 700. Now, IIIA (this fortress was destroyed and rebuilt) shows every sign of hasty construction. Instead of clearing the second fortress (that of Saul) systematically, the builders of the third were satisfied with finding the tops of walls, upon which they laid their own foundations, in the most careless way imaginable. The local *mizzî* stone is indeed roughly shaped in most cases into the narrow oblong blocks characteristic of the time, but it is never smoothed. Timber was employed to an unusual extent; this caused the fire which later destroyed the fortress to be exceptionally thorough in its effects, calcining and slivering the *mizzî* stone with which it came into contact. Most striking, however, was the fact that the buttress walls, inserted

¹ We must remember that the two names are distinguished only by a single letter, ג or נ. In pronunciation the difference between *Geva'* and *Giv'ah* is very slight, especially in rapid utterance, so a distinguishing appellation was needed.

against the massive inner walls of the second fortress from the outside in order to prevent them from sagging still more than was already the case, were not constructed of local stone, but principally of large cubes of fine *melekî*, hewn smooth on one or two sides, and obviously brought from elsewhere, since all the stone used in the second fortress was *mizzî* or *nârî*. Moreover, the smooth side of the stones was frequently turned in—a sure indication, if any were needed, that the stones have been reused. The damaged state of the edges indicates the same thing. A natural source of the *melekî* is the quarries near er-Râm. Everything thus points to the fact that our third fortress was built by King Asa, who built hastily, using stones and beams brought from Ramah, just as stated 1 Kings 15 22. And if one of the two fortresses built by this ruler was at Tell el-Fûl, the other cannot possibly have been at Tell en-Naşbeh, four miles further north on the same road, but must have been situated at Nebî Samwîl, where, as above noted, the traces of the old Jewish fortress have been covered or obliterated by the elaborate fortifications of Justinian.

The next passage discussed by Phythian-Adams is Jer. 41, which recounts the assassination of Gedaliah by Ishmael and its sequel. The day following the dastardly assassination of his benefactor, Ishmael committed a still more heinous atrocity—the massacre of eighty men from Samaria and the environs, who came bringing gifts to the ruined temple-service in Jerusalem. Our source relates that Ishmael, evidently wishing to rob them without exciting their suspicion and thus giving them an opportunity to escape, went out to meet them, and escorted them with treacherous words into Mizpah, where they were set upon and butchered, their bodies being thrown into “the pit which Asa the king had made for fear of Baasha.”¹

¹ Phythian-Adams stresses his view that the “pit” is unintelligible unless taken to mean “dry moat.” Unfortunately the word *bôr* is the regular Hebrew word for “cistern,” and cannot possibly mean “dry moat.” There is a special word in Hebrew for “moat” — *harîš*, found in the Zakir Stele of about 800 B. C., and probably borrowed from Accadian *harîšu*, with the same meaning. There is an immense cistern on Nebî Samwîl, the purpose of which was naturally to provide water in case of a prolonged siege, when the spring at the foot of Nebî Samwîl could not be used. The suggestion is primarily based upon the English text of our passage, which is rather misleading; the Hebrew text reads: “which Asa the King made because (*mip-penê*) of Baasha king of Israel,” and says nothing about “fear” of Baasha, as rendered in the AV.

Now, the protagonists of the Tell-en-Naşbeh hypothesis insist that since these men came from Samaria to Jerusalem, they followed the Nāblus road, which Mizpah consequently overlooked. This does not follow at all. A body of eighty men bound for Jerusalem from outside Judah would not dare to visit the ruined city before paying their respects to the new king or governor, Gedaliah, and securing his protection. They must have followed the watershed road as far as Rāmallāh, after which they branched off presumably—toward Mizpah, taking the Beitūniā—ej-Jīb road, which is excellent.

The final, practically irrefutable argument for Mizpah = Nebi Samwil is the following. Immediately after this massacre Ishmael, evidently fearing that his recent activities would cause him to “stink” in the eyes of the Jews, gathered his booty and his captives, especially the women, and set out for Ammon, naturally by the nearest route. Johanan, who was in command of the remnants of the Jewish army, heard of Ishmael’s atrocities, however, in time to give him hot pursuit. He overtook the latter “by the great waters that are in Gibeon.” The term “waters” is often used in biblical Hebrew for “fountain, stream, reservoir,” etc., and clearly applies here to the reservoir or pool mentioned 2 Sam. 2 13, traces of which (or a later restoration) can still be traced distinctly in the valley east of Gibeon, below the spring. Obviously Ishmael would not have fled from Tell en-Naşbeh to Ammon by way of Gibeon, thus making a preliminary detour in an opposite direction to that in which self-interest impelled him. But this is the only natural route eastward to Ramah, Geba, and the Wādi eş-Şweiniṭ from Nebi Samwil. *Quod erat demonstrandum.*

If anyone wishes to take up the gauntlet in defense of Mizpah = Tell en-Naşbeh the writer will be happy to meet him on the lists—provided only that he does not treat archaeological evidence like a certain *soi-disant* scholar who insisted that the reason no potsherds of a certain period had been found on a certain site was that some victorious foe pulverized all the potsherds after destroying the town (QS 1913, 39). Nor must sound philology be disregarded. The most careful supporters of the Tell en-Naşbeh hypothesis have prudently kept silence regarding the philological equation *Naşbeh* = *Mispah*. *Tell en-Naşbeh* means “Mound of the Share,” and is a name common in Palestine, with no relation to *Mispah*. Philologically, the com-

bination is impossible, even as a popular etymology, because Arabic does not obey Barth's Law (the dissimilation of *m* to *n* before a labial in Assyrian), and Hebrew *p* appears in Arabic forms of Hebrew place-names as *f*, not as *b*. The relation between the form of Hebrew place-names and their Arabic equivalents follows exact philological laws, as first shown many years ago by Kampffmeyer. The day has passed, we hope, when the student of Palestinian topography will disregard either the archaeological or the philological method. In such studies archaeology and philology are and must remain the closest allies. Thanks to the alliance between these potent sisters Palestinian topography will, we confidently expect, make prodigious strides during the coming decade.

TĀSIT ER-RADJFEH (FEAR CUP)

T. CANAAN (Dr. Med.)

(JERUSALEM)

TO the best of my knowledge, this very interesting subject has not as yet been described by any but the writer in his *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel*.¹ But as the size of that book did not allow a minute description, I take this opportunity to make a thorough study of this form of Oriental superstition. It really needs a good deal of hard work and investigation to understand every superstitious detail connected with the fear-cup, *tāsīt er-radjfeh*, for it is interwoven with all sorts of ideas.

Let us first consider the external form of the cup. It is generally made of copper, very seldom of silver. The latter metal I have seen only in one case out of the 25 cups that I have examined. The study of these 25 forms the basis of this study. The new cups have a yellow colour, while the old ones are blackish with a slight red tinge.

Most of these bowls have the form of a cup with a round elevation in the bottom.² Fig. 1. illustrates a transverse section of the usual form, where *a-b* and *a'-b'* represent the projecting rim, found in 21 out of the 25 samples. The widest rim measured 9 mm, while the smallest was 1 mm. From a study of the various rims I derive the following two conclusions:

1. The larger the vessel, the smaller the rim
 2. The newly manufactured cups possess comparatively wide rims.
- Only in one case have I noticed that the rim was turned in.

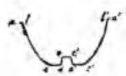


Fig. 1.

¹ Hamburg (Friedrichsen), 1914, pp. XII and 153 (see pp. 66 and 67).

² It very much resembles *al-kās*, which lies between *el-Aqsā* and the mosque of Omar.

The width of the cup at its mouth, i. e., $a-a'$ was in the new cases 13, 25—15 cm and in the old vessels 16, 25—20, 25 cm.

The curve of $b-c$ (and $b'-c'$), running obliquely inward and downward, makes the depth of the cup. This is generally 3—5 cm. In some vessels we observe that it is made of two elements, the upper part perpendicular to half the depth and the lower part a curve with its concave side inward.

There is a space $c-d$ ($c'-d'$) in most cases. We rarely find that c coincides with d (c' with d') depriving the cup of its broad bottom. In some cases, especially in the old ones, c projects inwards in a continuous ridge.

The elevation $d-e$ ($d'-e'$) which is found in all cases, may be at times rudimentary. The highest measured 4,30 cm, i. e. only 0,7 cm below the rim. Generally there is on the summit of this small elevation a circular plane $e-e'$, which is rarely transformed into a cone.

In most of the new examples of this magic cup we find a small shallow vessel screwed on top of this small elevation; the rim of this rudimentary cup is broad and has many holes, from which small elongated metal pieces hang down. The screw holding both together projects to some height, cf. Fig. 2. In modern vessels where this second cup is not found, the metal pieces hang down in one bunch from the rim $a-b$. It is curious that these pieces are met with only in the new forms.



Beside this form we meet with others, which resemble wide shallow tea-cups or plates.¹ These forms are met only in the old examples.

Turning to the inscriptions we must study: (1) the places where they are found; and (2) the meaning of the writing. The inner walls of all cups and the outer ones of the old type are covered with engravings. The second small cup is devoid of all such signs. In most cases where the cup had the usual form nothing was engraved on the lower surface $c-d-e$ — $c'-d'-e'$, even when the outer side $a-b-c$ and $a'-b'-c'$ were inscribed. The small metal pieces which hang down from the newer cups show scratches which imitate writing.

¹ The plate forms are the older ones. Although they are pretty shallow they have been used.

These writings or figures run in lines or are inscribed in cartouches.¹ The last are quadrangular, triangular, circular or



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.

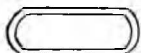


Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.



Fig. 7.

have some other outline. The cartouches in Fig. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 are typical in design.

As the writing is composed of so many characteristic elements, I think it better to try to describe each category according to the following classification:

1. Legible writing, which is composed of
 - a) Well connected sentences
 - b) Single words.
2. Magic formulas, made of
 - a) Well-known magic symbols
 - b) Inexplicable signs
 - c) Letters
 - d) Numbers.
3. Pictures.

Ad 1. Most of the sentences with which I met were verses from the *Qorân*. The following verses were used: *Sûrah* XXXVII, 1—7; S. II, 250; S. LXXXIV, 1—4; *Sûrahs* I, CXIII and CXIV. In analyzing the text of the different verses I found that they belong to one of the following categories:

1. Praise of the almighty, omniscient God
2. Pleading for help (S. LXXXIV, CXIII and CXIV).

The *âyatu 'l-kursî* (II, 250)² plays, as in many other *hidjâbat*, a

¹ I have been unable to find any explanation for the cartouches, so I think they have more ornamental than superstitious character.

² *Sûrah* II, 250: God! there is no God but him, the living, the self-subsisting; neither sleep nor slumber seizeth him; to him belongeth whatsoever is in heaven, and on earth. Who is he that can intercede with him, but through his good pleasure? He knoweth what is past, and that which is to come unto them. and they shall not comprehend anything of his knowledge, but so far as he pleaseth. His throne is extended over heaven and earth and the preservation of both is no burden unto him.

The other passages run as follows:

S. XXXVII, 1—7: In the name of the most merciful God! By the angels who rank themselves in order; and by those who drive forward and dispel

great rôle, and is believed to possess special power in curing disease. But aside from these verses of the Holy Book we find in a few (so in no. 25) the description of all diseases which are cured by this cup. Thus we read in one: "With God's permission this rare cup will cure from all poisons, and it contains many approved virtues. It is (good) for bites of the serpent, the scorpion, for fever . . . , for a women in labour, a stubborn horse, rabies, colic, abdominal pain, *šaqiqah*,¹ enlarged spleen, strength, . . . blood, to counteract charms, evil eye, (good) sight, conjunctivitis, inflammations, gases, (bad) spirits, haemorrhoids and all other ailments."²

the clouds; and by those who read the *Qorān* for an admonition; verily your God is one: the Lord of heaven and earth and of whatever is between them, and the Lord of the east. We have adorned the lower heaven with the ornament of the stars, and we have placed therein a guard, against every rebellious devil.

S. LXXXIV, 1—4: In the name . . . when the heaven shall be rent asunder and shall obey its Lord, and shall be capable thereof, and when the earth shall be stretched out, and shall cast forth that which is therein and shall remain empty, and shall obey its Lord.

S. I. In the . . . Praise be to God the Lord of all creatures, the most merciful, the king of the day of judgement. Thee do we worship and of thee do we beg assistance. Direct us in the right way, in the way of those to whom thou hast been gracious, not of those against thou art incensed, nor of those who go astray.

S. CXIII In the . . . Say, I fly for refuge unto the Lord of the daybreak, that he may deliver me from the mischief of those things which he has created; and from the mischief of the night when it cometh on; and from the mischief of women blowing on knots; and from the mischief of the envious, when he envieth.

S. CXIV: Say, I fly for refuge unto the Lord of men, the king of men, the God of men, that he may deliver me from the mischief of the whisperer who slyly withdraweth, who whispereth evil suggestions into the breasts of men; from genii and men.

All translations of these verses are taken from *Salé*.

¹ The better known name of this female demon is *qarīneh*.

وبإذن الله تعالى تشفى هذه الطاسة النادرة من السموم كلها وقد جمع فيها منافع مجربة وهي للسعة الحية والعقرب والحما . . . للمطنقة والفرس المعلقة للكلب وللمغص وللقولنج للشقيقة للطحال والقوة . . . الدم ولا يبطال السحر وللعين وللنظر وللمرمد والنزلة والرباح والارواح والبواسير للخلط البارد ولسائر العلل.

In the place of the dots were words which could not be deciphered since they were effaced.

Representing the second part of this category, single words having no connection with each other, we meet:

1. The names of the Holy Mohammedan Family
2. The names of angels
3. Some of the beautiful names of God.

By the names of the Holy Mohammedan Family,¹ an expression which I have coined, I mean the five members of the Prophet's family, which are always combined with the name of God. This combination of the Prophet (called also *al-muṣṭafā*, i. e. "the chosen"), his son-in-law 'Alī (called also *al-murṭadā*, "the one with whom God is pleased"), his wife *Fāṭmeh* (the daughter of Mohammed) and her two sons (*Hasan* and *Husēn*) comes very often in magic formulas, and it is beautifully expressed in the following verse, which may be seen hanging in many a Mohammedan house: "I have five with which to quench the heat of pestilence — the Chosen, the Pleased, their two sons and Fāṭimah".²

Among the angel names those of the four angels of praise: *Djubrā'il*, *Mihā'il*, *Isrā'il* and *'Uzrā'il* are mostly used. These four angels play a very important rôle in Palestinian superstition.³

Beside the name of God, *Allah*, which is used very frequently, we meet with some of the beautiful names of God (*asāmī Allāh el-ḥusnā*), such as: O Judge (*yā daiyān*), O Proof — (*yā burhān*), O Benefactor (*yā mannān*), O Merciful (*yā ḥannān*), etc.⁴

In very exceptional cases one may find other words, such as *'idjīl*, "calf"; *nār*, "fire," etc, as will be explained later on.⁵ In one vessel the word *as-sā'ah*, "the hour" is repeated very often. This word is used by every sorcerer when trying to drive a demon from a suffering patient. He is generally heard saying, while he is massaging or beating the affected parts of the body of the patient,

¹ This name was already used in *Aberglaube*, p. 66, note 2.

² *Lī ḥamsatun afī biḥā ḥarra l-wabā'i l-ḥātimah al-murṭadā wal-muṣṭafā walbnāhumā wal-fātimah.*

³ These angels play a very important rôle in magic and in talismans.

⁴ In different places of the Qorān we meet with the expression *al-asmā' ul-ḥusnā* (or *asāmī Allāh 'l-ḥusnā*). These names are well-known and it is said that they are 99. They represent the honorific adjectives. Doutté gives in his book *Magie et Religion* two lists, one with 102 and the other with 99 names. During a funeral we hear the sheiks repeat these names.

⁵ I have not met these expressions in other formulas.

"Go out (i. e. the demon) from his hand this hour, this hour, this hour."¹

Ad 2. Every magic formula and figure which may be met with in the *hidjābāt* may be found in these cups. Many a figure or sign can not be deciphered, while others are well known and have already been described by me in *Aberglaube*. To the latter belong certain signs which may be found together or scattered singly here and there (Fig. 8).

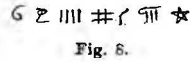


Fig. 8.

A square, subdivided into 64 small squares, where every small one contains one of these signs (which in turn are repeated 8 times) is known as the "seal of God" and is believed to be one of the most effective formulas.

In *tāsīt er-radjfeh* we never meet with this complete seal. Only one line is generally found. At the same time every one of these signs has its own meaning. Some signs which I can not explain are grouped in Fig. 9.

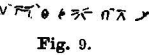


Fig. 9.

It is curious to see how often nothing but scratches of parallel and oblique lines are engraved (Fig. 10).

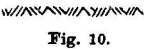


Fig. 10.

The following were the most common letters:

الم · الر · الم · ح · ص · ق · ك ه ي ع ص · ط ه · ط س م · ي س · ن

All these letters are taken from the Qorân. They head 29 sūrahs, and are taken from *al-hurūf en-nūrānīyeh* (the letters of light, as opp. to *al-hurūf ez-zulmānīyeh*, the letters of darkness).²

We find that:

ص · ق · ن	head three sūrahs
ح م · ط س · يس	are composed of two letters
الم · الر · ط س م	are composed of three letters
الم ر	is composed of four letters
ك ه ي ع ص	is composed of five letters.

The words are generally written with disconnected letters. These mysterious letters and words, which are believed to conceal profound mysteries, the certain understanding of which has not been

¹ *Uhrudj min yadihi hadihi 's-sā'ah, as-sā'ah, as-sā'ah.*

² A thorough understanding of the powers, classification, meaning and use of the letters is very difficult. In *Aberglaube* and *Magie et Religion* an attempt to classify them is made.

communicated to any mortal, the Prophet excepted, are much used in magic.

Many a cup contains numbers which are believed to have a special magic power. In most cases it is difficult to read or to explain these numbers, as they stand directly after each other, so that



Fig. 11.

it is impossible to say which belong together. In one case I saw two squares divided through two horizontal and two parallel vertical lines into nine small squares, each containing a number from one to nine (Fig. 11). I could not find the exact meaning of this seal (*hâtim*). Last but not least we come across figures belonging to one of the following classes:

1. Geometrical figures
2. Representations of animals
3. Representations of human beings.

1. I do not intend to describe the cartouches already mentioned, nor the figures used directly for magical purposes, but only such as have partly originated from the latter and show at present a comp-



Fig. 12.



Fig. 13.



Fig. 14.

licated form, and such as may be the corruption of animal representations. One cup showed at *e-e'* a six-pointed star¹ in which every two parallel lines were prolonged and then joined again by two oblique lines (Fig. 12). No inscription was found in this figure. Other figures may be seen in Figs. 13 and 14.

2. Figures representing animals are either such as stand for the signs of the zodiac, or which portray venomous animals. A beautiful example of the first, which is in my possession, shows the twelve signs of the zodiac, well finished. They are engraved on the broad margin of the shallow plate—as in the case of the *tāseh*. Representations of the second class show generally a serpent or a scorpion.

3. In two cases only out of the 25 which I have analyzed have

¹ The six-pointed star may also be found with five points. It is supposed to be the magic seal of King Solomon.

I found human figures engraved upon them. They were scratched in a very primitive way. Both cases were of the plate form.

Three cups which belong to the same category and show very curious combinations have a special interest and deserve to be described. Two of them have the plate, the third the cup form. All three have twelve circles on the inner side, and all exhibit the same idea. The cup which shows this best has in these circles the figures of the signs of the zodiac. These figures were beautifully engraved, and can be still well distinguished. The second plate shows magical formulas in these circles, while in the third, Qorânic verses fill the spaces. In the first two, two human figures can be seen in the middle of each plate. They are very badly represented, and it took time and study to discover what they meant. In the second plate one of these figures was signed with *al-idjil* (the calf) written twice in the figure itself, the other representation was marked also twice with the word *an-nâr* (the fire). These two words gave me the clue to the explanation, which was afterwards verified by several authorities. "Calf" stands for the moon, and "fire" for the sun. *Al-idjil* and *al-qamar* (the moon) are both masculine in the Arabic language, and the human figure on which *al-idjil* is written, is represented with bushy hair. *An-nâr* and *as-sams* are both feminine and the figure has no hair.

Beside these engravings very little can be deciphered. The word "calf" is repeated on the second plate nine times, while the word "fire" is mentioned only twice.

The explanation of these bowls leads us to the astrological belief in the stars which plays so important a rôle in Oriental life. It is thought that every one has a special constellation—the one which governed the month when he was born—which rules his life. The conjunction of this with other signs or planets brings him good or bad times. One must always know his own stars. But as this is difficult, he drinks in case of sickness or fright from this cup, which has the twelve signs, among which his constellation is surely found. But at the same time the water comes in contact with the two most important planets, sun and moon. This belief in the stars explains different expressions used in the Palestinian dialect; *nidjmuh d'if* (his star is weak) or *tal'uh d'if* (his ascension is weak) are used for people who are easily frightened, or who have many misfortunes.

In conclusion we must still ask ourselves:

1. What is the origin of this cup?
2. How is it used?
3. For what ailments is it used?

A legend tells us the following charming fairy tale about the origin of this wonderful cup. The good djinn were in the habit of using it when taking their bath. Once upon a time they forgot it on the side of a spring. A human being who chanced to pass the way happened to find it. In a short time the wonderful properties of this vessel were discovered. Many duplicates were made and every one manifested the same properties.

This fable shows that it is not the metal itself, but the writing thereupon which has the powerful effect. This is a fundamental element in Oriental superstition. The cure comes from the Qorân verses, names of God and the angels, from the planets, stars and magic formulas. This is the reason why the vessel is held in honour and is handled with reverence. The *tâsit er-radjfeh* used never to be touched except by ritually clean persons. If it is needed at once and the person has no time to undergo the prescribed washings a clean piece of cloth is wrapped about the hand and the vessel is thus handled. Some believe that such a cup will lose some of its power if exposed to the bright sunshine. The greater number of the new cups are brought by the pilgrims from Mekka; the present of one of them is considered a very valuable gift and is much appreciated.

Our bowl is used in the first place, as its name denotes, against the effects of fear. The Arabic names for "fear" are *hâfeh*, *hadḍah* and *radjfeh*, but the cup bears only the name of the last. It is a wide spread belief that fear—especially a sudden shock—is followed by evil after-effects: fever, nervous fits, etc. This is explained by the sudden change of the blood circulation. If a person needs this wonderful bowl and does not possess it, he tries to get it from a friend or a neighbour. Generally nobody lends his vessel without a mortgage, which is usually not less than one pound, or a piece of jewellery of this value.

This wonderful cup used to be employed also against other diseases, especially against the bites of venomous animals. At present this custom has nearly died out.

The frightened person must drink water from this vessel, which cures him through the power of the holy writings. Therefore all water which is not drunk, is thrown in a clean place. The belief in this *tâseh* is deeply rooted among the Palestinians, mainly among the Mohamedans of the cities. But I have found many Christians who believe in it, and more than one cup which was examined by me came from a Christian home.

“DAWN” AND “SUNRISE” IN ARABIC

M. ELIASH
(JERUSALEM)

THE early hours of the morning presented a particular interest to the theological schools of both Jews and Arabs. The interest in the physical phenomena may have pre-dated the theological interest and been aroused by observation and natural study of ancient man. But it is only as a matter of theological interest that one meets the question of the small hours of the morning earnestly discussed. The injunction of a morning prayer brought in its wake the necessity of ascertaining the exact time for the performance of this injunction, and observations of a natural and scientific kind followed the abstract theological discussions. Some philological peculiarities are attached to these discussions and mainly they are the subject of this paper.

There is an ancient controversy which arose in the first or second century of the Moslem era on the question of the most meritorious way of performing the morning prayer. The Schools of Law were divided on that point, and various interpretations have been given to the traditions which came down from the Prophet and in which the description of the proper time of prayer was supposed to be contained.

The controversy can be traced back to two traditions: one generally known as that of Râfi Ibn Khadîğ and the other as that of Aisha, and both traditions are to be found in the dissertation on the principles of Jurisprudence of the Founder of the Shafai school, كتاب الرساله في اصول الفقه, in the chapter on contradictory traditions. The tradition of Râfi Ibn Khadîğ is a حديث معنعن and was handed down through a proper chain of traditional transmission to Sufyan Ibn Uyayna. Râfi Ibn Khadîğ was a صحابي, one of the companions of the Prophet, and died in the year 74, and the chain

of tradition is well linked up to Sufyan Ibn Uyayna, one of the تابعى التابعين and Shafai's main source of traditional lore. The tradition asserts that the Prophet said: "اسفروا بصلاة الفجر" Perform the morning service in the early morning—this will bring the greatest reward." The other tradition is that of Aisha, the wife of the Prophet, who said: "Some women from among the Believers used to pray together with the Prophet the morning prayer, after which they would depart being wrapped up in their garments so that no one could be recognised owing to the darkness before daybreak."¹ On the other hand, the School of Abu Hanifa was for postponing the prayer until the full daylight, for at the later hour more worshippers attend. Thus, Kitab al Mabsut (I, p. 146) quotes another tradition of Abu Bakr, in the name of Bilal, the Muezzin of the Prophet, that the Prophet said اصبحوا بالصبح نوروا بالفجر او قال اصبحوا بالصبح نوروا بالفجر. Abu Hanifa adds: ولان في الاسفار تكتنيز الجماعة وفي التعليل التعليل.

A similar consideration based on the interpretation of the verse in Proverbs (14 24) ברוב עם הדרת מלך is also met with in the Talmud (*Yoma* 70a, *Pesachim* 64b), where the form of prayer which will attract the greater number of worshippers is constantly recommended. But the Shafai School prescribed very early morning prayer and considered Aisha's tradition as the more reliable. Hence the Shafai School adhered to Aisha's tradition, and as Shafai puts it in his *Risala*, considers it to be nearer to the letter and spirit of the original injunction of the Koran, for this injunction is worded حافظوا على الصلوات: "observe prayer" and the more observant of worshippers is the one who prays earliest.

Again this consideration is also to be found in Jewish sources and already the Mishna records a difference of opinion as to whether the morning Shema is to be finished before הנץ החמה or after it, and Shafai's argument is akin to the Talmudic principle, which declares: וריזין מקדימין למצות i. e. the most observant ones are early with their performance of injunctions, and which also calls the early worshippers ותיקין (*Berakoth* 25b, 26a).

Now we meet here with a good many definitions of the "Early Morning" and the necessity arose to allocate to every definition a

¹ غلس, and derivatively تغليس for this mode of prayer in the darkness.

particular physical phenomenon, which could be observed during the few hours preceding full sunlight. Sahl Ibn Saad (ob. 88) and Zaid Ibn Thabit (ob. ab. 50) and other companions of the Prophet testified to the fact that the Prophet used to perform the morning prayer before dawn, or practised the تغلييس, and the difficulty of making this agree with the general idea that the فجر is a morning prayer¹ was first of all met by dividing the فجر into two. A tradition is quoted of the Prophet, though no proper chain warrants its authenticity, which makes him say that there are two فجر: هما فجران واما الذى كانه ذنب السرحان فلا يحل شيئاً ولا يحرمه واما الفجر المعترض فيحلك الصلاة ويحرم الطعام.

Some curious points arise in connection with this tradition. The first dawn is called the "Tail of the Wolf" and apparently the second is called معترض; the word معترض denotes lying across and is generally used of a stream or a road. Of the Classical Lexicographers Al-Fayumi in his Miṣbah asserts, however, that the first dawn is called المعترض, because it appears black and lying like an obstacle without extending laterally, and is therefore also called المستطيل, whereas the second rises and spreads and is therefore called المستطير. But it appears to me that the tradition is correct in describing the second dawn as المعترض, and I again rely on Shafai's Risala to prove it: among his other arguments to explain away the Prophet's injunction of prayer in full light, Shafai says that the Prophet wanted to prevent too early prayer before the فجر الآخر and therefore said اسفروا بالفجر بعنى حتى يتبين الفجر الآخر معترضاً. The second dawn is therefore the one called معترض, and the "lying across" must refer to the steady light lying across the horizon which distinguishes it from the first. A similar mistake of too early performance is recorded in the Mishna of Yoma.²

We have further evidence from Jewish sources to ascertain the real meaning of the Arabic termini. The first dawn is called الفجر الكاذب, the false dawn; the second, or the true dawn, الفجر الصادق is also called عمود الصبح, which is the Hebrew עמוד השחר, and Maimonides in his Arabic commentary to the Mishna (*Berakoth*,

¹ The primary meaning of the root فجر leading to the explanation of the noun as "the cleaving of the darkness by the light."

² When the light of the moon was mistaken for the light of the early dawn ודמו שהאיר המזרח ושחטו את החמיר והוציאוהו לבית השריפה.

ed. Weill, p. 2) says: עמוד השחר זהו עמוד אלפגור והו' צי'א יצ'הר פי נה'ה. אלשרק קבל טלוע אלשמם בנחו מאע'ה וכמם מן סאע'ת אל'אע'ת'ר'אל. We have again a cross reference in another tradition of Aisha's on the question, in which she is reported to have said: كان النبي يصلي الفجر في حجرتي قبل ان تظهر. It will be observed that the word *يظهر* is used both in Maimonides' observations of the steady light of the morning and in Aisha's tradition. In another tradition which is to be found in Ibn Al-Athir's *Taisir* (Calcutta 1836, p. 206) we read *ثم صلى الفجر حين برق الفجر*. Now *برق الفجر* is the Hebrew *ברק ברקאי* or *ברק* of the Mishna in *Yoma* which again refers already to full daylight. (*Yoma* 28a—b.)

The other curious point is that the first dawn is called *ذنب السرحان*, or the tail of the Wolf. Lane has already called attention to the analogy of the Greek *λυκόφως*, which also denotes the twilight of the morning and is closely connected with the word *λυκος* the "Wolf", and is generally translated in Dictionaries as "Wolf Light". I think that a plausible explanation of this recurring reference to the Wolf when describing the dim morning light can be found from a Jewish source. The Mishna prescribes that the Shema must begin after the *עמוד השחר* i. e., the second dawn, and finish before the *הנץ החמה*. Now in explaining the exact time and light conditions of the *עמוד השחר*, or second dawn, Rabbi Meir (*Berakoth* 9b) says *משיבחין בין זאב לכלב*, when one can discern between the Dog and the Wolf. This allusion is obviously bucolic, and makes us think of the villager or the shepherd rising in the early morning and seeing the dim outline of something that may be either a Wolf or a Dog, near his herd. When the true dawn, *فجر الصادق*, rises it would be easy for him to discern the Wolf from the Dog, but in the very dim light of the false dawn, the *فجر الكاذب*, his fancy would be more inclined to turn every Dog into a Wolf; the anxiety for his herd whetted by the *פחד לילה*, the terror of the night, would put the first thought in his mind that it may be a Wolf stealing towards his herd, and only in fuller light would he observe the animal to be a Dog. The early, dim dawn might therefore be described as the *ذنب السرحان*, the *λυκόφως*, or the "Wolf Light" of the morning.

THE BEARING OF ETHIOPIC ON BIBLICAL EXEGESIS AND LEXICOGRAPHY

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AS indicated by the title, the writer deliberately refrains from considering the great value of Ethiopic for the comparative study of Hebrew grammar and confines himself to the lexicographical point of view. Of course, in most cases, the latter has a direct bearing on Biblical exegesis.

Certain philological features enable this South-Semitic language to yield valuable help to Hebrew lexicography, by disclosing the genuine meaning of some obscure words or in suggesting the probable etymology of others. For exactness in defining Semitic sounds it ranks second to Arabic: the Ethiopic alphabet has distinct characters for different sounds represented in Hebrew by the same sign. Thus, Hebrew ה corresponds either with the Ethiopic ሐ (h) or ከ (h); Hebrew ש corresponds either with the Ethiopic ሸ (š) or ፀ (ḏ). But the main advantage of this offshoot of South-Arabic is its having remained semantically nearer to primitive Semitic, than does Arabic. There are numerous examples in Ethiopic which show clearly the etymology of isolated Arabic words or the original meanings from which Arabic has derived secondary ones. Compare, for instance, *Ar.* مَصِيفٌ "book" and *Eth.* ጸሐፊ "to write;" *Ar.* عَوْفٌ "fortune, omen, augury" and *Eth.* ያፋ "fowl;" *Ar.* طَبِيبٌ "physician"¹ (طَبَّ "to practice medicine") and *Eth.* ጠላላ "wise, learned;" *Ar.* حَكْرٌ "to remain and keep to (a place), or حُكْرٌ "inside of apartments of women, curtain, lair" and *Eth.* ከደረ (*hadára*) "to

¹ A quite analogous derivation is offered by *Ar.* حَكِيمٌ "physician" (also "learned, wise") and *Heb.* חָכָם "wise".

dwelt." Quite often, when Hebrew lacks an equivalent in Arabic, Ethiopic provides the same word with the same meaning, or nearly so. Compare, for instance, חָבַר "to unite, be joined" and ነብረ or ነብረ; אַרְיָה "lion" and አርያ "wild beast;" שָׂרַץ "to swarm, teem" and ሠረረ (*ṣarāṣa*) "to germinate, sprout;" קָטַן "small, insignificant" and ቀጢን (*qatīn*) "thin;" חֵיל "strength" and ነይላ (*ḥāyēl*); רוץ "to run" and ሮሶ (*rōṣa*); יָרַח "moon" and ወርኅ (*wārēh*); קָרָה "to make bald" and ቀረሐ (*qārha*, rare). Much more important, however, is the further fact that sometimes Ethiopic is, of all the Semitic languages, the only one to present the exact equivalent of certain Hebrew words. Compare, for instance, שָׂחַק "to laugh" and ሠሐቀ (*ṣahāqa*); אָרַה "to gather, pluck" and አረየ (*ʾarāya*); סָפַר "to count" and ሰፈረ (*safāra*) "to measure;" נָקַץ "cleft" (of rock) and ነቃቕ (*nəqāq*). Again, a very important feature from our point of view, is the fact that the Ethiopic vocalization, as has already been pointed out by Noldeke,¹ is more clearly and surely represented than in any other of the Semitic languages, since the vowels are attached to the body of the consonants themselves.

Originating from a South-Arabic stock and transported into an African country where it was isolated in non-Semitic surroundings, Ethiopic, quite unlike Arabic, ceased the facile development of secondary meanings. Two further factors that may readily have contributed to this are (a) the fixing of this language in writing by the translation of the Bible as early as the IVth century C. E. and (b) the very scanty literary production in general. Thus we have every reason to expect valuable help for Hebrew lexicography and Biblical exegesis from the Ethiopic language. Let us, therefore, briefly examine a few cases.

The genuineness of the *hapax legomenon* מֵט Ezek. 16 47 is usually questioned by modern lexicographers and commentators, and there is no lack of conjectural emendations. It is, however, important to find that the traditional Jewish interpretation, "little"² (מֵט מֵט "a very little thing" is supported by Ethiopic which possesses the root ሙጥ. This is also the root of *Eth.* ቁጢጥ (*qūatit*) "thin," አቀጠጠ (*ʾaqūetāta*) "to make thin." The root ሙጥ is related to ጥን as the Ethiopic ቀጠጠ (*qatāta*) is to ቀጠላ (*qatāna*). There is even an exact

¹ Th. Noldeke, *Die Semitischen Sprachen*, Leipzig 1899, pp. 68—69.

² Sec Rashi and especially Qimhi.

morphological correspondence between the two languages in the adjectives respectively derived from the two roots. Thus Ethiopic, choosing the form *pa'il*, has **ቀጠን** (*qatīn*) and **ቀጠጥ** (*qūatīt*), while Hebrew, preferring here the form **פָּעַל** (comp. **הָכַם**, **הָלַךְ**), has **קָטַן** and **קָטָה** = **קָטַט** (comp. **דָּל** for **דָּלַל**, **קָל** for **קָלַל**). The right vocalization would then be **קָט**. The latter is simply a synonym of **קָטַן**,¹ and **קָטָה כַּמְעַט** means literally "like a small little" (or "like a very little thing").

Moreover **קָט** must no more be isolated. Its root **קָטַט** appears in several instances where it has been mistaken for **קָוַט**, a supposed parallel form of **קָוַן**, with the meaning "to feel a loathing." This is certainly wrong. Ezek. 6 9 **וְנִקְטְוּ בַּפְּנֵיהֶם** reveals unmistakably the root **קָטַט** in the *niph'al* form and is to be rendered exactly: "and they shall be belittled in their own sight." The same *niph'al* occurs again in Ezek. 20 43 and 36 31 where the correct vocalization ought to be **וְנִקְטְתֶּם** instead of **וְנִקְטְתֶּם** which may have been influenced by the *holem* in the former case: **וְנִקְטְוּ** Ezek. 6 9.² The fact that this verb occurs three times in Ezekiel certainly supports the genuineness of the adjective **קָט** "little, small," in the same book. The *hithpo'el* form, met with in Ps. 119 158 (**וְאֵת קֹטְמָהּ**) and Ps. 139 21 (**אֶתְקַטְמֶנּוּ**) may well be translated, in accordance with the traditional Jewish interpretation, to *quarrel*, from the original meaning "to belittle each other." Anyhow, a root **קָוַט**, synonymous with **קָוַן**, has not yet been supported by any positive philological proofs.

Ethiopic also reveals the etymology of the Biblical verb **חָתַת**, and the noun **חֲתָתָהּ** derived from it. The verb is usually translated "to snatch up," but wherever it occurs³ *fire* or *coals* (burning) is the object. Compare Is. 30 14 **לְחַתְּנוֹת אֵשׁ מִיָּקוֹר**; Prov. 6 27 **הִיחַתְתָּ אִישׁ אֵשׁ בַּחֲיוֹנוֹ**;

¹ Thus **קָט** would not be an abridgment of the word **קָטַן**, as believed by F. Perles, *Analekten zur Text-Kritik des Alten Testaments*, München 1895, p. 30.

² The same *niph'al* occurs also in Job 10 1 **נִקְטָה** for **נִקְטָה**. As to Job 8 14 **אִשׁוֹר קָוַט כְּסֵל**, as long as it could not represent a noun parallel to **אִשׁוֹר**, it would be best to consider **קָוַט** (*plene* for **קָט**) as the imperfect *Qal* of **קָטַט** and to render the hemistich as follows: "Whose hope is small".

³ The Biblical lexica (Gesenius-Rob., B. Davidson) put quite wrongly under this root **יִחַתְּהָ** of Ps. 52 7 which is evidently nothing else than another vocalization for the *hiph'il* **יִחַתְּהָ** (root **חָתַת**) "he shall shatter thee". This was well understood by the Targum **יַחְתְּבִינָךְ** (followed by *Rashi*) and, still earlier, by Aquila who gives the rendering *πτοήσει* (See Field's *Hexaplorum Fragmenta*, Oxford 1875, t. II p. 176).

Prov. 25 22 **מִחֶפֶה** אתה חתה על-ראשו. The noun **מִחֶפֶה** "fire-pan, censer, snuff-dish," denotes properly a utensil to serve as a receptacle for burning things. Undoubtedly, therefore, the root must originally have contained the idea of "burning" or "kindling." This is, indeed, confirmed by *Eth.* **ገሰ** (*hatāwa*) "to be kindled, to burn and light" (candle, lamp or the like). Starting from the basic idea of *kindling and burning*, the common term would have developed in Ethiopic as an intransitive verb ("to burn and light"), while in Hebrew it took a transitive sense, "to kindle," satisfactorily suiting the above mentioned passages.

We may, perhaps, likewise regard the Hebrew **רָגַן** "to murmur, to slander," as only a secondary meaning of the *Eth.* **ገገጸ** (*nagāra*) "to speak, to talk." For the regular metathesis of all the three radicals, compare *Heb.* **רָחַם** "to have compassion," and *Eth.* **መሐረ** (*maḥāra*). This process of derivation, which consists of particularizing the general meaning "to speak, to talk," by attaching to it an unfavorable shade, finds a good parallel in Assyrian *dabābu* "to speak,"¹ meaning also "to intrigue, to complain" and connected with *Heb.* **דָּבַה** "whispering, defamation, evil report."

As for Job 4 10 **שֹׁאגָה אֵרִיָּה וְקוֹל שָׁחַל וְשֵׁנִי כַפִּירִים נִתְּנוּ**. Duhm states confidently: **נִתְּנוּ**² is Aramaic for Hebrew **נָתַן**. This is the current explanation, though some suppose that there is here a textual error for **נִתְּנוּ**. The meaning of **נָתַן** assumed in either case seems to rely upon the Peshiṭta rendering **נִתְּנוּ** (**אתֵּתְבְּרִי**) "are broken." A brief examination will, however, prove that this etymology is unfounded. **נָתַן** does not even exist in Aramaic, and in Syriac³ it has a meaning far different from the one proposed. On the other hand, it is needless to assume a textual error for **נִתְּנוּ**. The whole verse with its

¹ For the exact meanings of this verb see references in Muss-Arnolt's *Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language*. Berlin 1909, pp. 237—238. I do not mention here the *Heb.* verb **דָּבַה**, because its etymology is still considered by some as uncertain.

² See *Das Buch Hiob*, p. 27. in Marti's "Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament".

³ Possibly Syriac **ܢܬܢ** (**נָתַן**) "to outweigh, to exceed in weight" would suit Ben-Sira 3 14: **צֶדֶקְתָּ אֲבָ לֹא תִמְחָה וְחַמּוּר חֲשֹׁמֶת הִיא תִּנְתֵּן** — "Bounty towards (thy) father shall not be wiped out and it shall *outweigh* the recompense of (thy) sin." Then, the emendation **נִתְּנוּ** suggested by the copyist in the marginal note would be superfluous.

two conjunctive *waws* seems rather to represent a single sentence having, exceptionally, dropped the usual parallelism on account of a verb common to both hemistichs; this verb must, therefore, suit all three subjects, a condition which would not be realized in the case of **נָתַצוּ**. It is, furthermore, unsatisfactory to regard the first hemistich as a separate sentence with omission of its *special* verb. Such an ellipsis is unexampled, for parallelism allows only the dropping out in one hemistich of a term mentioned in the other. Thus the structure of our verse would resemble that of verse 8 in the same chapter, with a common verb for both hemistichs: **יִקְצְרוּ** **כַּאֲשֶׁר רִאִיתִי חֲרָשִׁי אֵין וּזְרָעִי עֵמֶל**. Such a verb in our case may be the Hebrew counterpart to the Ethiopic **ነላ** (*nát'a*) "to flee" (= here "to disappear, to cease") which is synonymous with the two verbs of the foregoing verse, **יִכְלוּ** . . . **יֵאָבְדוּ**, Job 49. Our sentence ought then to be rendered: "The roaring of the lion and the voice of the fierce lion and the teeth¹ (LXX "arrogance") of the young lions — flee (= all disappear, or cease to be)."

A final example will help us to discover the true interpretation of the second hemistich of Prov. 12 27, **וְהוֹן יָקָר חֲרוּץ**, which has been much discussed and very differently rendered. Both the Septuagint and the Peshiṭta read: **וְהוֹן יָקָר אֶדָם חֲרוּץ** "and a diligent man is a precious treasure." To say nothing of the inversion implied, this interpretation offers rather a poor parallelism to the first hemistich. The Vulgate renders without inversion: *et substantia hominis erit auri pretium* "and the price of gold shall be the substance of a man." Thus Jerome read **יָקָר חֲרוּץ** "the price of gold." The English Authorized Version assumes a text **וְהוֹן אֶדָם חֲרוּץ יָקָר** "but the substance of a diligent man is precious." Wildeboer² has even suggested reading **חֲרוּץ** as an infinitive, "to be diligent;" but there

¹ The Septuagint renders **כַּפְרִים** וּשְׁנֵי **γανρίαμα δὲ δρακόντων** "the arrogance of the dragons," where Schleusner (*Lexicon in LXX*, vol. I, p. 485) sees merely a metaphorical interpretation. This is not certain. The LXX might possibly have read **שָׁנִי** = *Ar. سَنَاءٌ* "grandeur, magnificence," from the root **שָׁנָה** "to shine, be exalted, eminent," which most probably appears again in Eccles., 81: **חִכְמַת אֶדָם תֵּאֵר פָּנָיו וְעוֹ פָּנָיו יִשְׁנָא**. Indeed **יִשְׁנָא** is here parallel to **תֵּאֵר** and may well be identical with **שָׁנָה** (root **שָׁנָה**) "to shine, be bright," which is also closely related to Ethiopic **ሰንሃ** (*sannaya*) "to be beautiful, good."

² Wildeboer, *Die Sprüche* (in Marti's "Hand-Kommentar"), Freiburg 1897, p. 38.

is no other example of such a verb either in Hebrew or in the cognate languages.

The first hemistich (לא יחרך רמיה צידו) expresses the reluctance of the slothful man to make any effort, whatever translation we may accept for יחרך — whether “to roast,” according to Syriac, or “to start,” according to Arabic. It is, however, noticeable incidentally from the point of view of textual criticism, that both interpretations are very unlikely. Neither of them can show any connexion with the ancient versions. Both, more especially Schultens’ Arabic derivation (“to start the game”) prevalent among modern commentators, evoke a vivid image of *hunting life*. This, however, was never sufficiently popular among Hebrews, especially those of a later epoch, to provide typical illustrations for current proverbs. In any case, the above image would offer rather a far-fetched example of slothfulness which the Book of Proverbs elsewhere usually illustrates by characteristic instances drawn from agricultural life, as is more natural for an agricultural people. Compare Prov. 20 4 מחרף עצל לא יחרש “A sluggard *plougheth* not in autumn” (or “after harvest”); Prov. 10 5 “A sluggard *plougheth* not in autumn” (or “after harvest”); Prov. 10 5 אגר בקיץ בן משכיל נרדם בקציר בן מביש “He that *gathereth* in summer is a wise son, but he that *sleepeth*, in harvest is a son that causes shame.” In a similar way Prov. 6 8 describes diligence: תכין “Provideth (the ant) her bread in the summer, *gathereth* her food in the harvest.”

The Jewish rendering of יחרך “to roast, to singe” is due to later Aramaic influence, when the verb חרך had penetrated into post-Biblical Hebrew. In the time of Jerome this interpretation cannot yet have been very widespread. Two weighty reasons seem to indicate that the Massoretic יחרך differs from the primitive text. First, since חרך (חרך) is common in Syriac, the Peshiṭta could not have failed to agree with the Jewish interpretation if it had read יחרך. Secondly, not only do the Septuagint, the Peshiṭta and the Vulgate differ altogether from this interpretation (which, for יחרך, would necessarily have been imposed upon them at a time when Aramaic (including Syriac) was paramount in all western Asia) but all these ancient versions seem to point to one and the same verb with the basic meaning “to gather.” This general sense, of course, had to comply with the object ציד. As it was rendered “game” by both the Septuagint and the Peshiṭta, so the former interprets the verb

ἐπιτυγχάνει, from ἐπιτυγχάνω "to reach, get, attain, obtain," and the latter gives the same meaning of the sentence with "game" as the subject, לא נסתקבל צידא (לנשלמד נהי) "game doth not *meet*" (or "occur, present itself"). But very curious and suggestive is the Vulgate's rendering of this hemistich: *Non inveniet fraudulentus lucrum*, "The defrauder shall reach no *gain*"—with no mention of hunting. This is certainly an echo, even if not quite exact, of the old Jewish interpretation anterior to Aramaic influence and still known in Jerome's time: otherwise he would have followed in the main the Septuagint. Indeed ציד has two distinct meanings of which "game" was the best known in later times, owing to the verb צוד "to hunt" which is common in the Bible. The second meaning is "food, provision," as established beyond question by expressions like לחם צידם (Jos. 9 5) "their food-supply," the denominative verb הצטיד (*ibidem* 9 12 and also 9 4 instead of הצטיר) "to supply oneself with provisions," and other instances. In our proverb, too, this is the genuine sense of ציד. As regards יחרך, the similar rendering of all the three versions seems naturally to point to a textual error for יחרף. This verb חרף would be the equivalent of Arabic حَرَفَ "to gather" (fruit) and etymologically akin to Hebrew חָרַף "harvest-time, autumn," but not to be confused with the later denominative verb of the same stem, חָרַף "to spend the harvest-time." Such a slight textual error, ך for ף, was unavoidable as a result of the misinterpretation ציד "game" at a time when, on the one hand, the correct meaning of חָרַף "to gather the fruit," was forgotten and, on the other, our now *hapax legomenon* חרך "to roast, singe" was quite usual. We may thus assume the occurrence of the above textual error about the middle of the period which elapsed between the Vulgate and the Massora, i. e. either at the end of the Vth or at the beginning of the VIth century. Finally לא יחרף רמיה צידו "The sluggard *gathereth* not (even) his *provision*" yields the best parallelism, as we shall see further, and harmonizes in spirit with the similar proverbs already mentioned. Thus חָרַף is but a synonym of אָנַר and אָסַף.

The second hemistich, as antithesis to the first, ought naturally to convey the readiness of the diligent man even for hard work, the latter leading finally to great success. In opposition to רמיה therefore, the *subject* would most probably be here הָרוץ "the diligent

man," at the *end* of the verse. The hemistich, then, evidently begins with a direct complement (object), והון, thus giving the sentence a regularly reversed construction. Accordingly, we must find the verb which rules this object הון somewhere preceding the subject חרוץ. Such a verb can be found only in our יקר, which ought to be vocalized יִקַּר (= יִקוֹר), from קור "to dig, bore." The same root as a verb occurs in one more passage repeated in two parallel documents, in Is. 37 25 and 2 Ki. 19 24: אני קָרַתִּי וּשְׁתִּיתִי מַיִם "I have *dugged* (a well) and drunk water." The identity of the verb and consequently also the correctness of this text are sufficiently warranted by the derivative מקור "spring, fountain" and the Arabic¹ verb قَوَّرَ (r. قور) "to cut a round hole in, to scoop out;" so that the suggested emendation כריתי may certainly be dispensed with. Now our present proverb, too, speaks of the diligent man *digging out* a treasure. A phrase like הון יִקַּר(ו)ר is synonymous with יִחַפֵּר מַטְמוֹן (Comp. Job. 3 21). As to the אָדָם which accompanies הון so closely (*maqgeph*), it can represent here only some qualificative of "a treasure." We may thus be in the presence of a Hebrew counterpart to the adjective **ṣḥḥ** (*adām*) "fair, pleasant, delightful, charming," corresponding in the Ethiopic version of the Bible with Hebrew² נָעִים, עָרֵב, טוֹב. Then,³ הון-אָדָם would be synonymous to אוצר נחמד Prov. 21, 20; so that the exact rendering of our hemistich יִקַּר חרוץ הון would read as follows: "and the diligent (man) *diggeth* out a *delightful* treasure."

¹ Ethiopic **ወቀረ** (*waqāra*) may present a mere metathesis of the first two radicals of our verb.

² For Biblical references see Dillmann, *Lexicon linguae Aethiopicae*, pp. 800—801, Leipzig 1865.

³ אָדָם "pleasant, fair" may, as conjectured by Gesenius (*Thesaurus* 1829, p. 24), be derived from אָרָם "to be *red*." A similar connexion is to be noticed in Russian between *krasniy* "red" and *krasiviy* (or *prekrasniy*) "fair, beautiful," both belonging to the same root. Also שָׁנִי "scarlet" may possibly be related to *Ar.* سَنَّ "to shine, flash" and *Eth.* **ሰነሳ** (*sanaya*) "be beautiful."

LE CHEIKH SA'AD AD-DIN ET LES *DJINN*, À NAPLOUSE

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QUAND le voyageur, venant de Jérusalem, veut pénétrer dans l'intérieur de la ville de Naplouse, non par la porte de l'Est ou bâb aş-şarq, mais par la route nouvelle qui, du côté du Nord, passe devant le Nadi al-arabi, il aperçoit sur sa gauche, à travers une porte étroite, avant de s'engager sous l'arcade ouvrant dans le grand bazar,¹ une cour rectangulaire ombragée par un mûrier majestueux. Au dessous du grand arceau qui se dresse au milieu de la cour, à droite en entrant, est placé un vieux divan, malpropre, sur lequel gisent pêle mêle des feuilles de papier, un Qoran, une écritote, un kalam. Dans un coin du divan, est accroupi, longueur de journée, un cheikh vêtu d'un long koumbaze; turban blanc sur la tête, barbe courte, figure arrondie; les deux yeux, à la prunelle ardente, sortent en saillie de leurs orbites: c'est le cheikh Sa'ad ad-din.

Souvent, pour entrer en ville, je prenais ce chemin et chaque fois que je passais devant cette cour, je voyais, assis sur un mauvais banc, trois à quatre individus, citadins ou villageois, dirigeant un regard tendu et anxieux vers le cheikh qui donnait une consultation. De bonne heure, le matin, les clients attendaient, et le soir, de nouveaux arrivés remplaçaient les premiers visiteurs et se pressaient à l'audience. Ce spectacle, chaque jour répété, m'intriguait. Aussi, après avoir fini de relever les inscriptions arabes de la ville, je commençais une étude sur les usages et naturellement je fus amené à m'enquérir des causes de ces réunions.

¹ Par la porte appelée *Bawâbat al-Qusarat*.

J'obtins d'abord quelques renseignements sur le personnage qui avait attiré mon attention et ensuite je fus mis au courant de la vie singulière de ce «guérisseur de maladies et de cet exorciste de djinn».

Ce personnage est le cheikh Sa'ad ad-din. D'après la tradition, son ancêtre, Sa'ad, avait été surnommé al-Djabâwy du nom de Djabâ, son village d'origine dans le Hauran. Cet aïeul bien lointain fut célèbre en son temps par son ascétisme qui groupa autour de sa personne un certain nombre de disciples. De ses partisans, quelques uns continuèrent à vivre dans le Hauran, tandis que d'autres allèrent s'établir à Damas. Ceci se passait au quatorzième siècle de notre ère. A la fin du dix-septième siècle, quelques sectateurs de Sa'ad al-Djabâwy vinrent se fixer à Naplouse et de cette localité se répandirent dans toute la Palestine où ils acquirent parmi les musulmans, une certaine célébrité sous le nom de Sa'adyah. Le cheikh Sa'ad ad-din de Naplouse est aujourd'hui le représentant le plus illustre de la secte. Je fis sa connaissance au mois d'août 1923 et au cours de plusieurs entretiens, ménagés par mon ami J. S., j'obtins du cheikh lui-même les renseignements suivants.

Dès ma seconde visite, je le trouvais en pleine confiance et tout disposé à me répondre grâce à l'ami m'accompagnait; je lui adressais donc la parole en ces termes:

«O cheikh illustre, je désirerais apprendre de ta bouche en vertu de quel pouvoir tu guéris les maladies et tu accomplis les merveilles dont tout le monde parle, merveilles qui attirent tant de gens à ta consultation.»

Le visage réjoui et les yeux brillants comme deux charbons ardents, il me répondit avec assurance:

«Par Allah, je guéris toutes les maladies. Et pourtant, les maladies n'ont pas toutes la même origine. Les unes ont des causes ordinaires, comme le froid et la trop forte chaleur; d'autres, et en grand nombre, sont engendrées par le mauvais oeil; et enfin la troisième catégorie est occasionnée par un *djinn* qui s'empare de la personne du patient.»

Les paroles de Sa'ad ad-din avaient la précision de la réponse d'un technicien et me traçait la ligne à suivre dans mon investigation.

Sur les maladies ordinaires, mon interlocuteur passa rapidement. «Elles existent, répétait-il, elles existent; elles sont soignées par les médecins qui ordonnent des remèdes; mais, tu le sais, Khawâdj, les

médecins guérissent rarement; car ils attribuent toujours à l'indisposition du malade une cause naturelle; or ils se trompent très souvent: vraiment ils sont incapables de distinguer les véritables causes. Avant hier, une personne qui souffrait de la fièvre, vint me consulter. Elle avait vu plusieurs médecins, et les plus célèbres; elle avait exécuté leurs ordonnances qu'elle m'a montrées: aucun remède ne l'avait soulagée. La fièvre persistait à la ronger. Je lui dis de s'approcher; je l'examinai et aussitôt je compris la cause de sa maladie; ce n'était ni le froid, ni la fatigue qui avait engendré son malaise; elle avait été frappée de l'oeil, *darb al-'ain*. Je lui dis: Cette fièvre ne sera guérie ni par la quinine ni par aucun autre remède; elle ne te quittera que par la vertu d'Allah. Alors je lui écrivis un *hidjâb* et lui ordonnai quelques actes à faire. Elle est venue ce matin me remercier de sa guérison.»

Etonné de cette déclaration formelle, je priais le cheikh de m'indiquer les maladies occasionnées par le mauvais oeil et de m'expliquer la manière dont il les guérissait. «Toutes les maladies, me répondit-il, peuvent être produites par une oeilade méchante et en réalité presque toutes ont cette origine; mais il faut être en état de pénétrer cette cause mystérieuse et de la bien connaître.»

Avant d'entreprendre son explication sur le talent qu'Allah lui a départi de démêler à coup sûr la maladie qui résulte du regard méchant, il m'expose la pratique funeste et détestable du «coup d'oeil, *darb al-'ain*», si répandue à Naplouse. Et ses indications confirment les renseignements recueillis ailleurs et qui seront consignés dans un autre chapitre. Retenons seulement, dans l'intérêt du sujet que nous traitons, l'affirmation suivante. A Naplouse, l'envie règne dans tous les coeurs et la haine secrète empoisonne toutes les consciences. Aucun habitant qui ne soit dévoré par ces sentiments de basse jalousie et ne soit porté par leur violence à vouloir le mal du prochain.»

Extrêmement nombreux et variés sont les cas de ce genre mentionnés par mes interlocuteurs. «*Darb al-'ain*! C'est la peste de notre ville, m'affirmait un musulman.» Il est donc d'une souveraine importance d'en pouvoir démêler les effets. Le cheikh Sa'ad ad-din possède, lui seul, ce don précieux; il l'affirme du moins.

Quand un malade se présente à la consultation, Sa'ad ad-din, en vrai praticien, procède à une sorte d'oscultation qui lui est propre.

Il place la main droite sur le front du visiteur et le presse fortement entre ses doigts. Sous cette étreinte, le malade ne manifeste aucun signe particulier, si sa maladie est purement naturelle. Mais, s'il a été victime du mauvais regard, il commence à bailler lentement, *yatahawwab*, et donne les marques d'un homme qui revient d'un profond sommeil. A n'en pas douter, il a été frappé et sa maladie n'a pas d'autre origine que le mauvais oeil. Comment le guérir?

Sa'ad ad-din écrit un *hidjâb* sur un morceau de papier préparé d'avance; il trace quelques uns des quatre-vingt dix-neuf noms d'Allah, selon un ordre déterminé, et y ajoute un passage du Qoran, passage que le cheikh refuse de faire connaître. Cet écrit ou *hidjâb* est soigneusement plié et est remis au client qui reçoit l'ordre de le placer sur la partie malade et de l'y maintenir. Mais avant de renvoyer le patient, le cheikh fait certaines frictions sur l'organe ou le membre souffrant, en marmotant des prières: peu de maladies résistent à ce traitement, affirme le cheikh.

Les maladies *sirsâm*, accompagnées de délire; *sirsâb*, maladie de tête accompagnée de manifestations frénétiques sont certainement le résultat du mauvais oeil, et ne peuvent être soulagées que par l'intervention de Sa'ad ad-din.

La paralysie partielle ou hémiplegie, *fâlidj*, est presque toujours produite par le coup d'oeil, et les malheureux qui en sont frappés soupirent après le bonheur d'être portés par leur famille auprès du cheikh. Celui-ci frictionne pendant cinq à six jours le pauvre souffrant; il lui écrit ensuite un *hidjâb* et, si Allah le veut, le malade guérit. Mais parfois la guérison n'a pas été décrétée par Allah, et le cheikh déclare au patient qu'il doit se «revêtir de patience».

Pour guérir les malades tourmentés par la goutte sciatique, *'irq an-nasa*, il emploie le procédé suivant.

Il commence par mesurer la longueur du nerf atteint de la goutte; ensuite il va chercher sur la montagne la plante à laquelle il donne le même nom, *'irq an-nasa*. Il extrait de la terre la racine de cette plante de la longueur du nerf malade. Il apporte cette racine chez lui et la laisse se dessécher. En attendant, il frictionne le malade, le soumet à un traitement spécial, lui inderdit toute nourriture forte et salée; en même temps, il écrit le *hidjâb* nécessaire qui est placé sur le corps du patient. Lorsque la racine est desséchée la goutte

sciatique disparaît. De cette manière a été traité Kâmil effendi Hâšim qui a été complètement guéri. C'est un fait notoire, ajoute le cheikh.

Artin effendi souffrait horriblement d'une sciatique. Il consulta plusieurs médecins sans obtenir le moindre soulagement. A bout de patience, il eut recours au cheikh Sa'ad ad-din qui le guérit radicalement, en quelques jours.

Une femme de Rafidia qui avait en vain fait appel à la science des médecins fut aussi rendue à sa santé primitive par ce procédé du cheikh.

Un commissaire du Gouvernement atteint de la sciatique s'adressa également à Sa'ad ad-din. Celui-ci employa ses remèdes ordinaires et guérit le commissaire qui se déclara satisfait mais ne donna point d'honoraires à son bienfaiteur. Ce dernier, irrité, chercha la fameuse racine *'irq an-nasa*, la plongea dans l'eau en lançant des imprécations contre son client ingrat et avare. Aussitôt la sciatique reprit l'infortuné commissaire qui n'eut plus aucun repos, tant la maladie était aiguë. Il fut contraint de revenir trouver le cheikh et de le supplier de le soulager. Cette fois, il paya d'avance pour obtenir sa guérison.

Arrivons aux maladies causées par les djinn.

Il est utile de dire un mot sur la croyance des Arabes aux djinn.

Les savants arabes font dériver ce mot djinn de la racine *djanna*, cacher ou se cacher, car le djinn, disent-ils, est invisible à l'oeil de l'homme alors qu'il voit tout ce que l'homme fait.

D'après une tradition rapportée dans le *Lisân al-'Arab*, et mentionnée dans le commentaire de Baydawy sur *Qoran* II 28, Allah aurait au commencement autorisé les djinn à se fixer sur la terre. Malheureusement, ils se livrèrent à des atrocités et répandirent le sang. Pour les châtier, Allah dirigea contre eux les anges, *al-malâikât*, qui les chassèrent de la terre habitable. — Baydawy dit: «Pour réprimer les djinn Allah envoya Iblis à la tête d'une troupe d'anges dans le but de les détruire et de disperser ceux qui auraient échappé, à travers les montagnes et dans les îles et ces anges auraient habité la terre à la place des djinn.»

Une tradition arabe mentionne les *djinân al-djibâl*, les djinn des montagnes; une autre affirme que le Prophète aurait interdit de faire des sacrifices aux djinn.

Les djinn furent confondus parfois avec les démons, *Šayāṭīn*. Aux yeux de quelques auteurs, Iblis aurait appartenu à la famille des djinn; c'est pour ce motif que selon une tradition rapportée dans le Qoran II 32, il aurait refusé de se prosterner devant Adam. D'autre part, une autre tradition prétend que les djinn sont une espèce d'anges, *darb al-malāikat*.

On sait que le Qoran mentionne maintes fois les djinn, et que la sourate 72 est intitulée «al-djinn». De l'enseignement du Qoran et des vieilles traditions arabes est résultée une sorte de doctrine universellement acceptée dans le monde musulman.¹

A Naplouse, le cheikh Sa'ad ad-din est célèbre pour ses rapports avec les djinn et le pouvoir qu'il exerce sur eux. Il prétend les connaître à fond et avant de me décrire ses exorcismes, il me met au courant de son savoir.

Les djinn ont une nature très subtile, invisible; ils sont comme des esprits. Ils voient les humains et comprennent toutes leurs actions. Ils sont très nombreux et habitent en tous lieux; mais ils fréquentent particulièrement les régions désertes, les puits, les sources, les ruines anciennes, les maisons abandonnées; dans les villes, ils se tiennent de préférence dans les coins obscurs, les rues étroites, les lieux d'aisance, les égoûts, l'entrée des bains et ils aiment également à se coucher sur le seuil des portes.

Tous sont connus sous le nom de djinn: mais le djinn est appelé aussi *ārid*, celui qui s'oppose, qui arrive soudain; quand il habite un endroit connu, par exemple une maison, il porte le nom de *'ummār*, habitant, résidant.

Tous les djinn obéissent à un roi, nommé *Tārīš*. Comme les humains, ils sont de deux sexes; les djinn femelles sont en plus grand nombre.

En principe, les djinn ne sont pas sympathiques aux hommes; ils leur sont plutôt hostiles et saisissent les occasions de leur nuire, soit en s'emparant de leur personne et en causant des maladies, soit en leur apparaissant sous des formes diverses pour les tromper.

La manière la plus grave de nuire à l'homme consiste à s'emparer de son corps, à le posséder.

¹ Sur cette question, voir I. Goldziher, le Dogme et la loi de l'Islam, traduction Artin, page 58 et la note. Pour la croyance des Nomades sur les djinn, voir Jaussen, Coutumes des Arabes, p. 318ss.

Les causes de la possession ne sont pas toujours les mêmes. Parfois le djinn a été offensé par quelqu'un; alors il se venge en s'emparant de lui. Fréquentes sont les indécrotesses de ce genre commises par les humains contre les djinn: marcher sur un djinn dans la rue, en allant aux bains, en rentrant de son travail; jeter des eaux sales sur un endroit où il habite: tous ces manques de respect peuvent être châtiés par la possession.

Cette possession peut être occasionnée aussi par une imprécation proférée par un ennemi, ou par le mauvais regard d'un voisin jaloux. Mais les raisons les plus ordinaires de l'entrée des djinn dans le corps humain est l'amour.

Or l'amour porte spécialement des djinn mâles à s'emparer des femmes ou bien à leur apparaître pour les tromper.

La présence du djinn dans le corps est toujours suivie d'une indisposition plus ou moins grave, qui confine à la folie. Les symptômes de la possession n'échappent pas à la perspicacité du cheikh Sa'ad ad-din. La personne qui est possédée par un djinn devient triste, fuit la société, et cherche à s'échapper dans la campagne; pendant son sommeil, elle est agitée; elle a des réveils subits, des sursauts violents. Les médecins prétendent que ces phénomènes sont la conséquence du rhumatisme. Ne les croyez pas, dit Sa'ad ad-din. Le djinn est entré dans ce corps et la santé ne revient qu'au départ de l'ennemi.

Sa'ad ad-din affirme avoir reçu d'Allah ce pouvoir extraordinaire de délivrer les possédés par une suite d'actes qu'il me décrit avec une certaine confiance: il commence ainsi.

La dénommée Farizah de la famille Za'tah resta gravement malade pendant sept mois. Les médecins de Naplouse furent tous consultés: tous déclarèrent que la patiente était atteinte de rhumatismes invétérés, mais aucun ne trouva le remède efficace pour la soulager. Ils n'avaient pas reconnu l'action du djinn. Sa'ad ad-din la remarqua et tout de suite il se mit à l'oeuvre. L'infortunée fut apportée devant lui.

Tout d'abord le cheikh écrivit les noms divins sur le front de la possédée, sur ses mains et sur ses pieds. Ensuite, il prit une feuille de papier et y traça les noms d'Allah. Cette feuille, soigneusement pliée, fut mise sous les pieds de la malade. Alors le cheikh fait apporter un brasero et jette sur le feu quelques grains d'encens, de

quzbara ou de toute autre plante odoriférante. La fumée se lève du brasier et se répand sur le malade; aussi longtemps que durera l'exorcisme, la fumée embeaumée caressera doucement la possédée; car une tierce personne veille au maintien du brasero.

Le cheikh prend en ce moment la tête du patient, et lui serrant fortement le front, il dit: «Que les serviteurs des noms retiennent le djinn dans le corps, s'il s'y trouve actuellement; qu'ils le contraignent à y entrer, s'il en est sorti.»

Pour comprendre ces paroles, il faut savoir, me dit Sa'ad ad-din, que chacune des lettres qui composent les noms divins a un serviteur qui la garde, et ainsi chaque nom divin a plusieurs serviteurs. De plus, il est nécessaire de connaître les usages des djinn. Quand ils se sont emparés d'un homme, ils ne restent pas toujours dans son corps, mais ils vont et viennent à leur gré. Or au moment où commence l'exorcisme, il est indispensable que le djinn se trouve dans le corps du malade, si non l'exorcisme n'aurait aucun effet. Car, s'il était dehors, de son plein gré, à l'heure où le cheikh veut le chasser, il ne subirait nullement l'influence de l'adjuration, et après l'exorcisme, il serait libre de revenir. A la prière du cheikh, les khaddamin contraignent donc le djinn à rester ou à rentrer dans le corps du malade. S'il est dehors, il est forcé par les serviteurs; il rentre dans le patient par les pieds et montant le long des jambes, il envahit toute la personne: cela s'appelle «revêtir le corps». Sous l'action du djinn, la peau du malade devient toute jaune. Lorsque le djinn s'est rendu maître de la tête, le possédé est saisi de vertiges, et bientôt, perdant connaissance, il tombe dans une léthargie profonde: il ne peut ni remuer ni parler.

A cet instant, le cheikh se hâte d'écrire les noms divins sur les ongles des mains et des pieds à fin de boucher toutes les issues par lesquelles le djinn pourrait s'échapper. Il est ainsi constitué prisonnier dans le corps du possédé.

Alors commence l'interrogatoire. Mais comment le malade pourrait-il répondre; puisqu'il est sans connaissance?

«Par ce que, explique le cheikh, les réponses ne proviennent pas du possédé, mais du djinn qui est en lui.

Quel est ton nom? — Le djinn énonce son nom qui sera généralement un nom musulman si le possédé est un musulman; un nom chrétien, si le possédé est un chrétien, et un nom juif, s'il est juif. De cette

façon, me dit le cheikh, je connais la religion du djinn; car les djinn, comme les hommes, ont une religion.»

L'interrogatoire continue: «Pourquoi es-tu entré dans le corps de cette personne? — Par amour. — Parfois, il répond: Pour lui faire du mal ou encore: pour me venger. —

«Par Allah; par la vertu des noms divins; je t'ordonne de sortir du corps d'un tel.» — Et en même temps le cheikh efface le nom divin écrit sur l'ongle du petit orteil. Le chemin est ouvert. Le djinn, contraint par la vertu des noms divins, sort parfois immédiatement. Le malade s'éveille de sa léthargie et se met à parler: il est guéri.

D'autres fois, le djinn résiste aux sommations lancées contre lui et déclare qu'il ne quittera point la place. Le cheikh est alors obligé d'insister, de recommencer les adjurations, même pendant plusieurs jours; en voici la preuve dans un fait.

Sa'ad ad-din fut appelé, peu de temps avant la guerre, au Ghôr Mas'ad, dans l'ouady Fara. Une bédouine y était gravement malade. Elle était, disait-on, atrocement tourmentée par de violents accès de rhumatisme. Sa'ad ad-din arrive et après l'avoir examinée, ne tarde pas à s'apercevoir que cette infortunée, qui gisait presque sans mouvement sous la tente, était possédée par un 'ummâr. «Toute la maladie de cette femme provient de la présence du djinn, déclara le cheikh; depuis longtemps le djinn s'est emparé de son corps, et avant de la quitter, il opposera une forte résistance.»

Pourtant, le cheikh, cédant aux prières des parents de cette infortunée, commence à épeler les noms divins et à les écrire; il trace également quelques phrases du Qoran, selon le procédé ordinaire. A ce moment la femme se roule à terre et ne donne plus signe de vie. «Elle est morte, s'écrie l'assistance.» — Prenez patience, répond Sa'ad ad-din. Et il commence les interrogations. La patiente est sans mouvement, mais le djinn est obligé de répondre. «Comment t'appelles-tu? — Danhaš. — Quelle est ta religion? Muslim. — Pourquoi es-tu entré dans cette femme? — Je l'aime. — Par les noms divins, je t'ordonne de sortir. — Je ne sortirai pas; je suis chez moi.»

A cette première séance, en effet, le djinn refusa de s'en aller. Le cheikh fut obligé de recommencer plusieurs fois les adjurations et ce fut seulement au bout de 17 jours d'exorcisme que la femme put être délivrée. Elle fut guérie, et maintenant encore elle jouit d'une parfaite santé.

Lorsque un djinn mâle entre dans le corps d'une femme, il n'est pas rare qu'il ait avec elle des rapports sexuels, aboutissant à la conception.

Le cheikh me rapporte à ce sujet le trait suivant.

Auprès de Salt, en Transjordane, un Bédouin prit en mariage une jeune fille. Le jour des noces, il la trouva violée et l'abandonna dès le lendemain, décidé à la répudier, suivant l'usage. Sa'ad ad-din se trouvait alors en tournée, dans la région. La fille lui fut amenée par ses parents qui expliquèrent leur embarras. Interrogée, la jeune mariée répondit: «Un être étrange s'est emparé de ma personne et a commis, malgré moi, certains actes; et maintenant, dit-elle en sanglotant, mon mari veut me répudier, mais je ne suis pas coupable.»

Le cheikh a compris la cause du mal: il conduit la malheureuse sous une tente, fait les exorcismes d'usage et la délivre du djinn. Il explique ensuite au bédouin que la nouvelle mariée avait été victime de l'agression d'un djinn mais qu'aucun homme n'était entré chez elle. Le mari ajouta foi aux explications du cheikh et garda sa femme.

Sa'ad ad-din me raconte encore la guérison à Jaffa d'une femme possédée depuis 3 ans et 4 mois.

Un djinn apparut à cette femme sous la forme d'un jeune homme à l'aspect très beau, et très aimable, et entra en conversation avec elle; il la séduisit. Ensuite il s'empara de sa victime. Le djinn voulut avoir pour lui seul cette femme qui était mariée et il persuada à son mari de la répudier. Livrée en secondes noces à un autre homme, elle fut de nouveau répudiée à cause des agissements du djinn. Elle était du reste souvent malade et se livrait à des actes excentriques. Sa famille, après avoir en vain, fait appel à tous les médecins, informa le cheikh Sa'ad ad-din et le pria de se rendre à Jaffa pour délivrer la malheureuse du mal qui la rongea. Dès son entrée dans la maison, le cheikh entendit le djinn se plaindre de son arrivée. A cet indice et à d'autres marques indubitables, il comprit la cause de la maladie: il avait devant lui une femme possédée. Il commença le rite de l'adjuration. La femme perdit connaissance et tomba dans un sommeil léthargique. Sommé de parler, le djinn répondit qu'il était entré dans le corps de cette femme par ce qu'il l'aimait et aussi par ce que cette femme l'avait aimé. Et en ce moment, il supplia le cheikh de ne pas le chasser du corps de son amie; mais la vertu des noms divins prévalut et contraignit le djinn à quitter la place.

Dans les exemples précités, c'est une femme qui est possédée par un djinn; il n'est pas rare cependant de rencontrer des hommes qui tombent sous la puissance de ces êtres invisibles. Voici plusieurs cas de notoriété publique, dit-on.

A Naplouse, un enfant, nommé Sayyad, de la maison de Hadj Loutfy, fut tout à coup saisi d'un violent mal de tête. La maladie résista plusieurs jours à tous les remèdes ordonnés par les médecins. Sa'ad ad-din voit le pauvre enfant et reconnaît la présence du djinn. Il commence aussitôt l'exorcisme. Le malade s'affale devant lui sans connaissance. Alors débute l'interrogatoire. «Quel ton nom? — Danhaš. Quelle est ta religion? — Juif. — Pourquoi es-tu entré dans cet enfant? — Par ce qu'il m'a marché dessus quand j'étais assis sur le seuil de la porte.» Le cheikh fit remarquer au djinn que l'enfant n'avait pas eu la mauvaise intention de lui manquer de respect; il l'obligea à laisser sa victime tranquille. Sayyad est aujourd'hui un tailleur bien connu à Naplouse.

A Toubaz, un ârid s'empara d'un homme et se mit à le tourmenter; il l'empêcha d'avoir des rapports avec sa femme. L'infortuné, réduit au désespoir, ne trouva de salut que dans le pouvoir de Sa'ad ad-din qui parvint à le débarrasser de son tyran.

Chez les Bédouins du ghôr Fara, un certain Azza an-Némer devint la proie d'un djinn très mauvais qui le rendit muet. Sa parenté, attristée de cet accident et n'en connaissant point la cause, informa Sa'ad ad-din. Celui-ci se rendit dans la région, se fit amener le malheureux muet. L'exorcisme dura neuf jours avant d'opérer le résultat désiré; mais finalement, le djinn partit et le muet parla.

Le djinn chassé du corps de sa victime ne se tient pas toujours pour battu; il essaie de revenir et réussit assez souvent à rentrer dans la place dont il a été expulsé. Une nouvelle intervention du cheikh devient nécessaire.

Cette fois, après avoir accompli le rite déjà connu; le cheikh plonge dans l'eau un papier sur lequel sont écrits les noms divins, et avec cette eau, il asperge le patient. Les gouttes d'eau tombent sur lui comme des dards enflammés qui le contraignent à la fuite.

Il arrive que le djinn revient une troisième fois dans le corps du possédé. Le cheikh a recours alors à une incantation nouvelle qui aura pour résultat de tuer ou d'emprisonner le *Ujinn*.

Ayant accompli exactement le rite ordinaire, le cheikh au lieu de commander au djinn de sortir, façonne une petite statue de cire, la place devant lui, récite «sur elle» les noms divins. Ensuite, il ordonne aux khaddamin de saisir le djinn et de l'introduire de force dans la statuette. Au moment où il y pénètre, il y imprime une agitation «comme s'il lui infusait une âme». Le cheikh prend alors une paire de ciseaux sur lesquels sont écrits les noms divins et s'en sert pour décapiter la statuette: par cette action, il décapite également le djinn.

Au lieu de décapiter le djinn, le cheikh le constitue parfois prisonnier. Voici comment il procède.

Il prend un petit pot sur l'ouverture duquel il pose le pouce de la main droite. Il ordonne aux khaddamin d'introduire de force le djinn dans le pot. Quand le cheikh a senti que l'adversaire a été enfermé dans le vase, il en bouche l'ouverture avec de la cire et grave les noms divins sur cette cire; ensuite il entoure le pot d'une bandelette sur laquelle il trace également les noms divins. Le djinn est constitué prisonnier, il ne peut plus sortir et le cheikh enfouit le pot dans la terre.

Sa'ad ad-din raconte d'autres guérisons opérées par lui. Une femme âgée de trent ans, de la maison Khâin à Naplouse, fut possédée par un djinn et délivrée par le cheikh, l'année dernière.

Une autre femme de la famille Abou Semâin ainsi que la fille de Sâleh Qarwarita ont été délivrées du djinn qui les tourmentait.

Cette année même, dans une tournée exécutée au delà du Jourdain, Sa'ad ad-din affirme avoir chassé les djinn de corps de six personnes à Amman et de quatre à Salt.

Au reste, le cheikh tient à maintenir son influence et sa renommée, car son métier est lucratif. Il demande 4 à 5 livres pour expulser le djinn d'un possédé.

On ne saurait nier que la renommée de Sa'ad ad-din ne soit considérable. Avant la guerre, le Gouvernement turc lui amenait les fous et les confiait à sa garde. Il avait toute liberté de pratiquer sur ces infortunés ses exorcismes, de réciter ses formules d'incantation. Le Gouvernement actuel ne lui a pas laissé la même liberté. Cependant j'ai rencontré chez le cheikh un fou originaire d'un village voisin: il avait été amené par le président de la municipalité. Le cheikh l'a gardé trois jours, attendant les honoraires promis. Ne recevant point d'argent, il laissa partir le malheureux.

Les nombreuses personnes qui viennent le consulter chaque jour augmentent ses recettes. J'entre un matin au moment où un fellah lui donnais 50 piastres. Ce pauvre paysan souffrait de la tête, avait des étourdissements et demandait un remède; le petit papier écrit par le cheikh fut payé une demi livre égyptienne. Pendant les quelques minutes que je passais ce jour là dans la cour, je vis cinq femmes venir consulter le cheikh pour différents motifs: chacune avait ses 10 ou 20 piastres dans la main.

Les *djinn*, d'après Sa'ad ad-din, ne peuvent pas toujours s'emparer de la personne de l'homme. Quand ils ne réussissent pas dans cette entreprise, ils efforcent d'épouvanter les humains ou de les induire en erreur et leur apparaissent sous les formes multiples de: chiens, chacals, vieilles femmes etc.; mais ces apparitions appartiennent à un autre chapitre du folklore.

Sa'ad ad-din a la réputation à Naplouse et aux environs de guérir les maladies et de chasser les *djinn*. Il affirme lui même avoir ce pouvoir et son affirmation est admise par le public. Les détails donnés ici, destinés à prouver son assertion, ont été écrits sous sa dictée. Lecteur! à toi de juger.

ON THE DATE OF THE "BLESSING OF MOSES" (Deut. XXXIII)

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AS the remarks which follow will involve the story of Israel's conquest of Canaan it is essential at the outset to state that the present writer finds no reason to reject the Old Testament tradition of a joint entry made by the twelve tribes under Joshua. Theories which limit this entry to that of the Joseph tribes alone, which make Judah arrive in South Palestine by way of the Negeb, which pre-suppose Simeon and Levi as having occupied Shechem before the conquest and as having been driven thence in a decimated condition southwards, theories such as these cannot be discussed in detail here. It must be sufficient to observe that they seem to be based less on evidence than on guess-work and that the burden of upholding them against the immemorial traditions of Israel may be left without further ado to their ingenious authors. The position taken up in this paper is that in its essential outlines the Israelite tradition is a true one and that the twelve tribes who claimed descent from Jacob possessed their national unity *before* the conquest of Canaan and carried out that conquest (at least in its opening stages) as a whole and not as a number of independent and isolated units.

This having been posited we may proceed at once to the subject offered for discussion.

There are three poems in the Old Testament which must inevitably be studied together, the Blessing of Jacob (Genesis 49), the Blessing of Moses (Deut. 33), and the Song of Deborah (Ju. 5), of these the first is the least relevant to our present purpose, but it will serve as a useful contrast to the other two and cannot therefore be altogether neglected.

Although "not a perfect literary unity"¹ and containing unmistakable signs of the establishment of the Davidic kingdom it nevertheless embodies references to a much more distant past and displays a remarkable silence on the "tribal topography" of the Promised Land. Reuben, Simeon, and Levi, the three eldest sons, are reproached for deeds of violence done by them before the entry of Israel into Egypt; as a result Reuben (49 4) shall "not excel", and Simeon and Levi shall be "scattered in Israel" (ib. 7). The curse on Levi is especially noticeable and it is hard to conceive when it can have been composed if not at the date ascribed to it by tradition, *i. e.* before the Exodus, for whatever be the connection between the Levi of Genesis and the priestly tribe or caste of later Israel, there is certainly no evidence of any such ferocity or misdemeanour in the latter's behaviour in Palestine. The blessing of Judah which follows next (in its natural order) is generally recognised as composite. Judging by those which follow and allowing for the ancient insignificance of this tribe, we may suggest that the oldest form of the blessing referred simply to it as the "Lion's whelp" (ib. 9). In any case there is no allusion to the position occupied by the tribe in Palestine and this with one exception may be said of all the other tribes. Issachar is described as a "bony ass" who saw that "the land was sweet" and "bent his shoulder to bear" (ib. 14-15); Dan will 'judge' (a mere play upon the name) and is also a "serpent on the way" (ib. 16); Gad shall "raid" (another etymological play on the name) (ib. 19); Asher's bread shall be fat and he shall yield dainties for kings (ib. 20); Naphtali is a branching terebinth (or a 'hind') (ib. 21); Benjamin is a "ravening wolf" (ib. 27); finally the house of Joseph naturally receives the longest and most affectionate blessing but there is still no reference to any historical details of its future career. Zebulun, the exception mentioned above, is to "dwell" (probably another play on the name) by the shore of the sea (ib. 13) and though this apparently came to pass, the allusion may be no more than a coincidence. In fact when we examine the Blessing of Jacob closely, we discover little more than punning allusions to the names, or futures prophesied by inference from the animal emblems of the various tribes. The date of this ancient "oracle" does not concern us here (except that it *is* ancient)

¹ SKINNER, *Genesis*, 1912, p. 510.

but it is worth noting that apart from the possible interpolations in the Blessing of Judah, there is not a word which might not reasonably have been uttered by Jacob himself while it is difficult to conceive why anyone writing at a much later date should have confined himself to enigmatic and empty generalities.

When we turn to the Blessing of Moses we find an astonishing difference of outlook. The first blessing does not make this at once apparent:—

“Let Reuben live, and not die;
But let his men be few.”

(Deut. 33 6.)

But we shall see reason to think differently a little later.

“Hear, O Jehovah, the voice of Judah
And bring him to his people:
With his hands he hath contended for it,
And be thou a help from his adversaries.”

(ib. 7.)

This is the next blessing. Judah is evidently isolated by enemies from the rest of Israel but is making efforts to get back amongst his brethren.

The next blessing is that of Levi. (Simeon, it may be noticed, is passed over without a word.)

“Thy Thummim and thy Urim be for the man, thy godly one . . .
Who saith of his father, and of his mother, I have not seen him . . .
For they keep thy saying and observe thy covenant;
They show Jacob thy judgments,
And Israel thy Law;
They set incense in thy nostril,
And whole-offerings upon thine altar:
Bless, O Jehovah, his might,
And favour the work of his hands;
Smite through in the loins those that rise up against him,
And them that hate him, that they rise not again.”

(ib. 8-11.)

Here the Levites are described as being in charge of the sacred Oracle of the Lord, of dispensing impartial justice in cases brought before them, and of maintaining the service of the Altar. Yet even in this sacred calling, they appear to be exposed to enmity and acts of violence.

The Blessing on Benjamin may be deferred for the moment. That on Joseph is drawn in part from the Blessing of Jacob and, while showing the importance of the two tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh,

contributes nothing to our present purpose. It is otherwise with the Blessings on Zebulun and Issachar.

"Rejoice, Zebulun, in thy going out,
And, Issachar, in thy tents:
They call peoples to (the) mountain,
There they offer sacrifices of righteousness:
For they suck the abundance of the sea
And the hidden treasures of the sand."

(ib. 18-19.)

This can only mean that Zebulun and Issachar are pictured as living side by side, and we may assume, as is commonly done, that the Mountain is Carmel and that the "abundance of the seas" most probably refers to the purple fisheries and the "treasures of the sand" to the glass manufacturies on the River Belus.

Gad is blessed as being "enlarged" by the Lord. At the first he reserved a "commander's portion" for himself (East of Jordan) but none the less he crossed over with the other tribes to help them in the conquest of Canaan.

"He came with the heads of the people
He executed the righteousness of Jehovah
And his ordinances with Israel."

(ib. 20-21.)

Dan is described as a lion's whelp, leaping from Bashan (ib. 22) and Naphtali as "full of the blessing of Jehovah" and possessing the lake (of Chinnereth) and the "south" (Darom) *i. e.* presumably the parts bordering on it (ib. 23). Asher is to be "blessed above sons."

"Let him be the acceptable one of his brethren
And (let him be) dipping his foot in oil;
Thy bolts be iron and bronze;
And as thy days, so let thy strength be."

(ib. 24-25.)

The only distinct reference here (if it be one) is to the rich olive groves of the hills of western Galilee.

Finally we come to the blessing of Benjamin which we have left to the last as providing the crux of the whole situation:

"Of Benjamin he said,
The Beloved of Jehovah dwelleth securely beside him:
He encompasseth him all the day,
And he dwelleth between his shoulders."

(ib. 12.)

What do these mysterious words mean, and do they in any way give us a date for the whole Blessing?

The theory now commonly held is that "the Beloved of the Lord" is the Temple in Jerusalem which according to Josh. 15 8, 18 16 lay within the territory of Benjamin, and the paeon of praise and thankfulness to God with which the poem closes has been compared to the "bright and happy spirit of the earlier narratives of Kings," a possible date for composition being thus either "shortly after the rupture under Jeroboam I." (c 931 B. C.) (hence the allusions to the isolation of Judah) or to the "middle and prosperous part of the reign of Jeroboam II." (c 780 B. C.) (DRIVER, *Deuteronomy*, p. 387).

What we have now to consider is whether this view is really tenable. In the first place it must strike even the casual student as curious that Jerusalem and its Temple should be ascribed to Benjamin. True, Benjamin is allotted Jebus at the first but we are expressly told that they could not "drive out the Jebusites" (Ju. 1 21) and we know in any case that it was captured by David and owed its new name and glory to the tribe of Judah:—

God "Chose not the tribe of Ephraim;
But chose the tribe of Judah,
The Mount Zion which he loved.
And he built his sanctuary like the heights."
(Ps. 78 68-69.)

Furthermore, it is a matter of common knowledge that at the disruption of the kingdom, when the tribe of Benjamin alone remained with Judah (1 King 12 23) it did so because it had by that time become almost absorbed in the larger unit (cf. 1 King 12 20). In any event, it would have been quite impossible for a native of the northern kingdom to write of Benjamin as being blessed with the possession of the temple while *at the same time* he described Judah as isolated from Israel in terms of affectionate compassion. Had he omitted to mention Judah altogether, we might have been able to imagine him as placing the temple in Benjamin (though that is surely difficult enough) but to speak of Benjamin and Judah as divided in their fortunes, and of Jerusalem as belonging to the former at either of the dates which has been suggested can only be described as fantastic. In other words, whatever the blessing on Benjamin means (and it may be, we shall never know for certain) it assuredly can *not* refer to Solomon's temple on Mount Moriah.

It appears then that we must consider the situation afresh, and the dominant point seems to be just the one which we have been discussing, viz. that Judah *is* treated in isolation from Benjamin.

Now in the narrative of the conquest as related in Joshua and Judges we are told that Judah and Simeon combined to attack the Hebron hills and the Negeb and that they ultimately settled in these regions side by side. Judah was clearly a small tribe (Josh. 19 9) and Simeon must have been still smaller, a point which will account for its disappearance from the Blessing. On the other hand the allotment of territory to Benjamin seems to have followed the occupation of Mt. Ephraim by the tribes of Joseph (cf. Josh. 18 1 and 11 ff.; Ju. 1 22) and to have been worked from north to south. Thus the border between Benjamin and Judah ran past and close to Jerusalem, a city which at the moment neither tribe could capture. It follows then that in the early days of the occupation Benjamin was more closely connected with its brethren of Ephraim than with the more independent people of Judah. Is this borne out by any further evidence? Here the Biblical student will immediately think of the Song of Deborah where we find exactly these conditions. In that poem neither Judah nor Simeon is mentioned and it is clear, as they are not even rebuked, that no help could be expected from them. Benjamin, on the other hand, *is* mentioned and that in the most marked way by the simple but effective recitation of its famous war cry (Ju. 5 14; cf. Hos. 5 8).

But this is not the only parallel. Reuben is rebuked by Deborah for sitting still among his sheep-folds (Ju. 5 16). In the Blessing of Moses, the tribe seems to have at some time in the not very distant past incurred the anger of Israel. "Let him live but his men be few."

Dan is described as "remaining in ships" (Ju. 5 17) which can only refer to his new home by Lake Huleh, for in his old territory he was never allowed even into the plains (Ju. 1 34). In the Blessing of Moses he is already in "Bashan."

Zebulun and Issachar are named together in the Song (Ju. 5 14-15); they are closely united in the Blessing.

Finally it cannot escape our notice that the prologue to both poems is markedly similar. In each we see the Lord going forth in His Majesty:

"Lord when thou wentest forth out of Seir,
When thou marchedst out of the field of Edom."

(Ju. 54.)

"The Lord came from Sinai
And beamed forth unto them from Seir."

(Deut. 332.)

In short, not only the political situation but (if we make allowance for the difference of purpose) even the spirit of the two poems must strike us as being extremely near to one another in point of time.

This is not to say that they are in an exact sense contemporary. There are minor differences as well as major resemblances. The Asher of Deborah is very clearly living by the sea, though this does not conflict with the Blessing, as it does not prevent Zebulun from doing the same at the same period. The blessing of Gad, too, does not reflect the spirit of the Song (Gilead abode beyond Jordan), unless the absence of direct reproof in the latter can be taken as suggesting that the tribe was in some measure helpless. On the whole, especially if the references to Reuben are to have any weight, we should be inclined to look for a date posterior to that of Barak's victory but anterior to the rise of Judah under David's leadership.

Such a date we seem to find in the period of peace which for Northern and Eastern Israel followed on the defeat of Ammon at the hands of Jephthah (Ju. 11) a defeat, it should be noted, in which Gad (Gilead) played a large part but to which the tribes on the West of Jordan, as we gather from Ephraim's protest (Ju. 12) expected to contribute their share.

There are two further points which make this date a likely one. As has often been pointed out, there is good reason for believing that the first Philistine "oppression" fell upon Southern Israel (Dan and Judah) at about the same time as that of the Ammonites upon Gilead (cf. Ju. 106, 131). If this were the case, it would be quite possible for northern Israel to enjoy a period of at least half a century's peace and prosperity before the weight of the new enemy made itself felt in these remoter parts. The Philistine centres lay in the south of the maritime plain and their progress inland must have been at first by the valleys of Elah and Sorek, two paths which converged upon Jerusalem and the plain of Rephaim, where in later days David was forced to fight them. North of this point lie the forbidding hills of Benjamin and though in the 1st Book of Samuel

we find Philistines in occupation of Benjamite fortresses we have no warrant for assuming that they had been in possession of them for long. Benjamin's warlike and even savage reputation must also not be overlooked: no better tribe could be found to hold a mountain frontier against invaders from the South.

And here another point may help us. It has been generally assumed that the "Beloved of Jehovah" in the Blessing on this tribe alludes to Benjamin itself. But why should this be so? It would at any rate be quite as possible to assume that it referred to some third person or thing which "dwelt securely" beside Benjamin, was "encompassed by him daily," and "dwelt between his shoulders." Grammatically this interpretation can even boast an advantage over that commonly accepted (Driver points out that "ל = *beside* is rarely said of *persons*," a difficulty which ceases to exist if we think of the "*person*" as a mountainous tribal territory) and the only question remaining would be the identification of this "Beloved". Is there any objection to our suggestion that this is "Levi" himself or more particularly a holy place with which the Levites were at that time specially connected?¹ We should remember the religious note which dominates the whole of this Blessing and more particularly the eulogy of the priestly tribe itself. Who else would be inclined to speak of Benjamin in phrases which must in any event allude to the worship of Jehovah rather than in terms which recalled the valiance and military ardour of the little clan? But if this is so, why (on our interpretation) is Benjamin described as guarding securely or "encompassing" even a special part of Levi? The answer may possibly be found in that obscure and certainly much re-edited and adapted story of the vengeance inflicted by Israel on Benjamin itself, which we find in Judges 19—21. In the text as we have it there appear to be at least two distinct sources (MOORE, *Judges*, p. 407) one of which (the older) names Mizpah, and the other Bethel, as the assembly place of Israel. It can hardly be disputed that the basis of this story is historical and it is interesting therefore to find that, whether at Mizpah or at Bethel, the people are represented as consulting the oracle of Jehovah before proceeding to battle

¹ Cf. Ps. 84 1. Where יִדִּי (translated here "Beloved") is actually used of the Lord's Tabernacles.

(20 1, 18, 23, 26, 27; 21 1, 5, 8). Moreover, if the narrative can be trusted so far, the religious centre at Shiloh had either temporarily ceased to be, or was not yet in existence (cf. Ju. 20 27-28 and 21. The Rape of the Shilonite women). In any case both Mizpah and Bethel were historically towns of Benjamin, both were famous as holy places, and the former re-appears under Samuel as the gathering point of Israel "unto the Lord" (1 Sam. 7 5), just as it had been apparently in the time of Jephthah, that is, at the very period which seems best to suit our problem (Ju. 11 11).

The reference in the Blessing to the oracular Thummim and Urim will thus gain an added significance and the allusion to acts of violence against the defenceless Levites may not unreasonably be set by the side of the very story of outrage and its punishment which we have called as evidence for the ancient sanctuaries of Israel.

In short, the whole "Blessing of Moses," just as certainly as it cannot have been written by the Lawgiver himself (cf. Deut. 33 4), so and not less certainly seems to reflect one phase and one phase only of the early history of Israel, the phase which we call the period of the Judges. At what exact point within that period it falls cannot be stated without considerable hesitation, but we have seen reasons for placing it at the close of the Ammonite oppression and for believing that with our present evidence there is no other point of time which suits its requirements so well.

PALESTINIAN ANIMAL STORIES AND FABLES

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THIS but a first instalment of tales collected from the nurseries and firesides of Palestine. Originally they were intended to form the conclusion of my article "Animals in Palestinian Folklore," now in the press, containing other such stories. There are other current versions of each of the following stories and fables. One, the fable of the raven and the fox, is given in Aesop. The story of the donkey and the ox (originally from the Arabian Nights) is known in not less than five versions.

I. THE COURAGEOUS GOAT¹

There were once three goats, *Siksik*,² *Mikmik*³ and *Jrêbôn*,⁴ who went out one fine day to graze on a mountain. A hyena met them and they were scared to death. The hyena came first to *Siksik* and said to him: "*Siksik*!" He answered: "Yes, sir." "What have you got on your head?" "These are my hornlets, sir." "What is this on your back?" "My little flakes of wool, sir." "Why then are you trembling?" "I'm afraid of you, sir." The hyena sprang upon him and swallowed⁵ him. Then came the turn of *Mikmik*. He behaved

¹ I have to thank Mr. *Jirius Hûri Ayyûb*, of St. George's School, Jerusalem, for his kindness in giving me this variant of the story from his unpublished Arabic Reading Book. As in the case of nearly all of the following stories and fables, there are different versions of the stories, two of which I have treated as separate forms.

² *Siksik* is a young kid (also a family name) and is generally applied to kids.

³ *Mikmik* is also an appellative for kids, given by the shepherd, who often likes to give names to nearly every sheep or goat. Such names are derived from the colour or other peculiar signs of the animals. Genesis 33 12 and St. John 10 3 illustrate this.

⁴ *Jrêbôn* "the little scabby" (sc. goat).

⁵ Literally: "ate him up."

in the same manner and was also eaten up. The hyena proceeded then to question *Jrêbôn*: "*Jrêbôn!*" *Jrêbôn* answered: "What do you want?" and cursed him.¹ The hyena: "What is that on your head?" "Two swords."² "And what is that on your back?" "Two shields."³ "Why then are you trembling?" "It's out of anger, for I'm going to attack you and kill you."⁴ So the hyena was very much afraid,⁵ and ran for his life. But *Jrêbôn* followed him, gored him, slit his belly and removed *Siksik* and *Mikmik* from inside, and lo, they were still alive. He went along with them to their master, who appreciated his deed and gave him the medal for valour, by hanging a tiny bell⁶ around his neck.⁷

II. THE GOAT AND THE *GHOUL*

There lived once⁸ a goat with her three kiddies: one of them was *Sqêq*,⁹ the other was *Murjân*¹⁰ and the third was *Âwar yd-Dajjân*.¹¹

¹ The curse is: *wâja' yiqta' dâhrak ya-l-ba'id* (May illness cut your back O far one!). The phrase "*O far one*" is, as it were, the "quotation mark" when making statements which might offend the hearer.

² Pronounced here: "*sîfên*" for the usual "*sêfên*."

³ *dir'ên*.

⁴ Lit. "*lûtlî' rôhak myn(bên)'ynêk*"—I'll take your soul from (between) your eyes.

⁵ *yn'âta' 'âlbo*—his heart ceased (sc. to beat) or dropped.

⁶ Bells are often given to animals which have "distinguished" themselves in some way or another.

⁷ In another version which deals with two goats only, the following dialogue takes place: The hyena: "What is that? What are you doing here?" The fat goat: "I'm grazing." The hyena: "What have you got here?" pointing to the goat's horns. Answer: "My hornlets." "And this?" denoting the ears. Answer: "My little ears." "And this?" pointing to the eyes. Answer: "My little eyes." "And this?" showing the mouth. "My little mouth." "Why then are you trembling?" "I'm afraid of you." The hyena then devours it and proceeds to inquire the same of the meagre goat: "Why are you here?" "I'm grazing." "What have you got on your head?" "These are two bent swords." "What is that hanging down?" meaning the ears. "Two clubs with iron nails." "And what is that blinking?" "Two lit candles." "And what is this thing open?" These are two open caves." "Well, why are you then trembling?" "I would like to devour you." And the hyena ran away. This is the Artas version, whereas the one in the context comes from Northern Palestine.

⁸ Lit. There was here "*kân fî hân ha-l-'ânze ...*"

⁹ *Sqêq* is a name for a kid.

¹⁰ *Murjân*: coral; also a masculine personal name.

¹¹ From *â'war* "one-eyed"; *dajjân* (or better and more classical: *dajjâl*) impostor. This word is also a nickname for one-eyed persons.

Every day she went grazing, leaving the kiddies at home. A'war yd-Dajjān, the youngest, was still unable to stand or sit. Therefore his two brothers played with him while the mother was out grazing. In the evening she returned, carrying grass between her horns, and her udders distended with milk. She knocked at the door and said to them: *iftahūli ya-wledāti*¹ *w-yl-ḥalibāt by-bzēzāti*² *w-il-ḥašīšāt*³ *by-rūnāti*⁴ (Open the door to me O my kiddies, for the milk is in my swelling udders and the delicate grass is between my hornlets). They then opened the door to her, ate the grass and sucked the milk. Thus they lived every day. A *ghoul*⁵ used to live next door to her. One fine day he made up his mind⁶ to eat the kids. So he rose to his feet⁷ and made for the house of the goat during her absence.⁸ Knocking at the door he repeated the words of the mother to the kids. But the smallest one⁹ said to his brothers: "This is not your mother's¹⁰ voice. Surely it is that of the *ghoul*." But the latter goes on knocking and knocking at the door.¹¹ At last *Murjan* the eldest, descends and bids him to show his tail. Feeling that it is bristly he remarks: "No, my mother's tail is sleek and smooth."¹² The puzzled¹³ *ghoul* leaves him, but determines to devour the kiddies.

¹ *ulēdāt*, lit. children, diminutive, as are also ² *ḥalibāt*, a little milk, and

³ *bzēzāt* for *bzāz*, *ḥašīšāt* analogous to *ḥalibāt*, and ⁴ *y'rūnāt* little horns. These are used in this form for the sake of rhyme.

⁵ A *ghoul* is a monstrous animal, which is supposed to speak and to have (in addition to general human features) oblong, vertical "slit eyes."

⁶ *ḥatt (y)b-ʿālo* lit.: he put in his mind.

⁷ *ḥāmal ḥālo* lit.: he carried himself.

⁸ *ḥallāha u-ḥi gāybe* lit.: He let her to be absent.

⁹ It is a well-known fact in our household tales (also in those of the Arabian Nights), that the youngest, usually the third son, is the cleverest among his brothers. As marriages usually take place when both parties are still young the third or fourth child is usually bodily and mentally the fittest (as seems to be proved by statistics). Although people in general are aware of the fact, they cannot account for it.

¹⁰ It is an Arabism to use in such a case the *pronomen possessivum*. A somewhat similar passage we find in St. Luke 15 30.

¹¹ *dāmmo i(y)dūqq* lit.: kept on knocking.

¹² *ḥālsa, mālsa*, feminine form of *āhlas, āmlas*. These words are found elsewhere together, e. g. in the saying: *bārak allāh fi-rājul yl-maš'arāni u-fi-l-māra-l-ḥālsa-l-mālsa*. "May God bless the man with the hairy body and the woman (whose body is) sleek and smooth."

¹³ *imbūha*^c, *ithāyyar*.

He goes to the old woman.¹ "O my mother's sister,² O old woman," he begins, "I want you to make my tail sleek and smooth so that I may devour the kiddies³ of the goat." And he asks her: "What do you need for that purpose?" She says: "An egg." He goes in search of an egg to the hen and begs: "Pray,⁴ my mother's sister, O hen, give me an egg, for the old woman wants to make my tail sleek and smooth so that I may devour the kids of the goat." But the hen is unwilling to fulfil his desire unless he brings her tares.⁵ So he continues his voyage to the peasant and asks him for tares for the same reason. And the peasant promises to meet his wish if he will give him a plough. The ghou then wanders till he reaches the blacksmith, and he asks him to give him a plough for such and such a purpose. The blacksmith is ready to consent to his wishes if the ghou will procure him charcoal.

Then he comes to the charcoal burner⁶ and asks him for some charcoal, which the man readily gives.⁷ The blacksmith willingly forges him a plough and kindles the fire which flames up. And he tells him: "I don't give you the plough unless you fetch me some water to extinguish the blaze." The ghou arises to fetch him some, but is at a loss where to get it. Quite far from them there flows a river. The ghou runs quickly to it, fills his mouth⁸ with water and spits⁹ it on the fire. As a reward for extinguishing the blaze the blacksmith hands him the plough. He brings it to the peasant, receives tares from him, brings them to the hen, and gets an egg in exchange. With this he hurries to the old woman, who besmears¹⁰

¹ The old woman, 'ajūze, 'ajūz, is the type of the tricky (in both senses) person who is always willing to help.

² yā hāṭṭy. This to denote close relationship. Cf. the proverb: *tultēn il-wālad la-hālo*: "two thirds of the child are (like) his maternal uncle," which is largely true, but which cannot here be discussed.

³ ulād: children.

⁴ dāḥḥik.

⁵ zawān, *Lolium temulentum*.

⁶ fahhām.

⁷ To oblige him and because *ghouls* could endanger his life in the mountains.

⁸ The *ghoul* is not merely carnivorous but also eats human flesh, therefore he is supposed to have a specially big mouth. Women with untidy looking hair are, vulgarly, compared to the *ghoul*.

⁹ bybūḥḥ, bubūḥḥ.

¹⁰ dāhnat danbato.

his tail and makes it sleek and smooth. While his tail is still wet he makes for the house of the goat. There he imitates her voice¹ and says: "Open the door to me, O my kiddies. For the milk is in my swelling udders, and delicate grass is on my hornlets." *Sqêq* and *Murjân* come down to see him. They bid him show them his tail and find it as sleek and smooth as that of their mother. They then open the door to him and he swallows them instantly. He makes his way home but he is unable to walk and reels from one side to the other, and he throws himself down to sleep.²

The goat returns in the evening and in her usual manner asks her children to open the door for her. *A'war yd-Dajjân* answers her: "O mummy, the *ghoul* came and devoured my brothers." She gives him milk to suck and grass to eat and lulls him to sleep. Then she goes straightway to the roof of the *ghoul*'s house. He asks from inside: "Who is that on my roof, who is breaking my glass?" She answers:

âna -l-'ânz -l-y'nûzîyye u-y'rûni ḥadîdiyye
w-illi akâlli -ulêdâti iylâ'îni fi-l-barrîyye.

"I am the goat, tried by misfortunes, My horns are of iron.
He, who has eaten up my kiddies, Let him meet me in the desert."

At first he denies his wicked deed, saying that he has never seen nor eaten them. But at last he must go and meet her. Still reeling he goes to meet her, unable to walk. Both fight and fight until she gores³ him with her horn, slits his belly⁴ and finds her two kids still alive. She licks them and takes them home with her. Here ends the story of the goat and the *ghoul*.⁵

¹ As he has a deep, sonorous voice, he "makes it sharp" *byrâffî* *ḥisso* or *ṣḍto*.

² *byrmi ḥâlo, bytlâggaḥ.*

³ *bytbūtto.*

⁴ *bytsuqqûllo, (bytsu"illo) baṭno.*

⁵ At the end of every tale is generally added the following phrase: *tu-tu-tu-tu ḥâlṣat il-ḥaddûtu* . . . The story is finished; or this one:—

yḥkâyi ḥakêtha yb-'ûbbkun ḥattêtha
târ yt-têr w-ytmâssu by-l-ḥêr!

"I have told (sc. you) my story, I have put it in your bosom,
The bird flew away . . . Good night (or, good evening!)"

III. THE GOAT AND THE *GHOUL*¹

Once upon a time there lived a goat with seven kids.² The youngest of them was lame and used to sit in the corner, just behind the earthen jar.³ Every morning when the goat went out to graze, leaving the kids at home, she shut the door behind her and warned them to take care of themselves and not to let anybody in. In the evening she returned, knocked at the door and said: "Open to me, my little kiddies, for the milk is in my udders, the wood is on my back and the soft green grass is between my hornlets."

iftahûli ya-wledâti *w-il-ḥalibât by-bzêzâti*
u-il-ḥatabât 'a-ḏhêrâti *w-il-ḥašîšât 'a-'rûnâti.*

They then opened the door to her, sucked the milk, ate the fresh grass and went to sleep. Thus they lived happily every day.

There was a *ghoul* next door to them. One fine day he said to himself: "I must devour the kids of the goat at all costs."⁴ So he went to her house, knocked at the door, and, trying to imitate the voice of the goat, growled: "Hm,⁵ open the door to me my kids, for the milk is in my udders, the wood is on my shoulders, and the soft green grass is between my hornlets." But the youngest said to his brothers: "Beware, this isn't mother's voice, it's more like that of the *ghoul*." And the latter went on knocking and knocking. The biggest of the kids went down to see about it and bade him to show his tail, and he showed it from under the door. But feeling it rather bristly they answered: "No, this isn't our mother's tail, for her's is sleek and smooth." The *ghoul* was very much puzzled and could only mutter: "Hm." He therefore went to the witch⁶ and said to

¹ This version is from Northern Palestine, and is said to be known also in Syria, whereas the former version is from Jerusalem.

² This is just a lucky number. Actually the goat has only one to three kids in one year. Seven kids: *sâb' yjdayyân*.

³ *ḥâbye* in which the corn is put. It is a permanent feature of every village house. The root *ḥby* = to hide.

⁴ *'ûla kull ḥâl, eš mâ šâr iyšîr*.

⁵ To imitate the growling of the *ghoul*.

⁶ There is no such idea as "witch" in the Arabic tales. We merely think that every old woman in the tales must needs be a very clever but, at the same time, tricky person, according to the classical verse which elucidates this point excellently:

her: "O granny,¹ I want you to comb my tail and to make it sleek and smooth, so that I may devour the seven kids of the goat." The old woman carder (*maṣṣāta*) asked him to fetch her a comb. So he went to the grocer and said to him: "O grocer, give me a comb, for the carder wants to comb my tail so sleek and smooth, that I may devour the seven kids of the goat." And as the grocer required an egg from him he went to the hen and asked this favour of her with the same remark. But the hen was unwilling to fulfil his desire unless he brought her some grains. So he continued roaming until he came across the thresher, who promised to meet his wishes, if he would water his pair of oxen at the spring. He therefore went with them to the spring and asked for water. But the spring said: "Go and get me a stalk of sweet basil."² And the ghou! wandered until he came to the sweet basil herb,³ which demanded for its favour some dung. On wandered the ghou! until he met the dog. The dog wanted some crisp bread (*zanjāle*).⁴ Where could it be found but in the oven?⁵ But the oven asked for some wood. He went to the forest in search of wood. And to every one he repeated the same story and his reason.⁶ Finally he succeeded in getting wood from

تعلمه الخديعة عن سكوت	عجز نحس ابلّيس براها
اذا ركضوا بخيط العنكبوت	تقود بمكرها سبعين بعلا
'ajūzu nāhsyn iblīsūn barāha	tu'allimuhu-l-ḥadī'ata 'an sukūti
taqūdu bimākriha sab'ina baḡlan	ida rākadu byḥāṭi-l-'ankabūti.

"An unprosperous, inauspicious old woman, created by the devil,
(Who himself is taught by her tacitly, silently the tricks,)
Leads back through her wickedness (trickery) seventy mules
If they run away, (drawn away only by) a single cobweb."

¹ This is just a term of affection.

² Lit. a leaf only.

³ *ḥabāqa* or *riḥāne*, *Ocimum basilicum*.

⁴ This is supposed to be small pieces of bread, which fall from the loaf when being thrown at the wall of the oven.

⁵ *ṭābūn*.

⁶ So at the last stage his "verse" would be: "O forest, please give me some wood, which I require for the oven in order to get some crisp bread from him. This I'll give to the dog, who will give me dung for the sweet basil. And a leaf from the sweet basil I have to bring to the spring in order to be allowed to water the yoke of oxen for the thresher. He will give me some grain for the hen, and the hen will give me an egg, which I'll hand to the grocer and take from him a comb for the carder woman, that she may comb my tail and make it sleek and smooth, like that of goat, to enable me to devour the kiddies of the goat."

the forest and returned with it to the oven, which gave him some crisp bread. The dog in his turn was only too willing to exchange it for some dung which the *ghoul* brought to the sweet basil herb. The stalk of it he took to the spring and was then allowed to water the yoke of oxen.¹ And the thresher² consented to give him some corn, which he gave to the hen in exchange for an egg. The grocer gladly gave him a comb for an egg, so that the old carder could comb the *ghoul's* tail, and it became like that of the goat, sleek and smooth. With his tail still wet, he made for the house of the goat. Knocking at the door, he repeated in a soft voice, like that of the goat: "Open the door to me my kiddies, for the milk is in my udders, the wood is on my shoulders and the soft green grass is between my hornlets." They bade him show his tail and lo, it felt rather smooth and sleek, just like that of their mother. So they opened the door. The ghou! entered and swallowed all of them, with the exception of the lame youngest one, who was hidden behind the big earthen jar, far in the corner: and leaving the door ajar, the *ghoul* went reeling home.

Upon returning home the goat was puzzled at finding the gate open and the kids missing. But the small lame one crept from behind the earthen jar in the corner and said: "O mummy, the *ghoul* came here and swallowed all my brothers." Thereupon the enraged goat made for the ghou!s roof and started to tread heavily³ on the tiles. The ghou!, growling from inside said:

"Hmm, who is that tramping on our roof,
Breaking our tiles?
Our tiles are really not ours,
But they belong to our neighbour."

mîn byḥabbṭ 'a-ṣṭūhna? kassâr(y)lna⁴ fuḥḥârna!
fuḥḥârna myšŷlna fuḥḥârna la-jârna.

And the distressed goat answered:

"It's I, the goat, tried by misfortunes,
And my horns are of iron.

¹ Yoke of oxen: *faddân bâqar*.

² Thresher *darrâs*. Both words seem to be onomatopoeic.

³ *ḥabbat*.

⁴ "He broke *us* our tiles." Arabism.

Let him, who has eaten my kids
Meet me in the desert."

āna-l-ʿānze l-(y)nūziyye or (l-ynēziyye) uī-rūni hadīdiyye
w-illi akālli ulēdāti iylāʿini fi-l-barrīyye.

The *ghoul* looked up and saw that her horns were very sharp and pointed so he was somewhat afraid and said:

"lā šufthun w-āla akālthun"

"I haven't seen them nor have I eaten them."

That day the goat was very sad and went home. But on the morrow she returned to the roof of the *ghoul* and challenged him, as on the eve before, to a grim fight. The *ghoul*, who had made himself horns out of bran, admitted his guilt upon being questioned again and agreed to follow her to the desert for a fight. They met there in the open, on the bank of a river, and fought a grim and prolonged duel with their horns. The goat, redoubling her efforts, broke the grit horns of the *ghoul*, gored him, slit his belly, and took out her kiddies, which she found still alive. She then licked them, washed them, dried them in the sunshine, and took them triumphantly home to their lame brother. So ends the story of the goat and the *ghoul*.

IV. THE FOX ON PILGRIMAGE¹

The fox once took it into his head to make the pilgrimage to Mecca.¹ He put a rosary² around his neck like a dervish, and walked with a pious air, reciting prayers along his way.³ He came across a cock, who was greatly surprised to find him so pious, and asked him whether he had really "repented of his wicked ways." Upon the fox's swearing that he really had repented, the cock asked if he might go with him on such a pious journey.⁴ He was gladly allowed to join. Both then continued on their pilgrimage. A pigeon

¹ The pilgrimage to the Holy Places in Mecca is one of the five principles of Islam (cf. *Arbaʿūn an-nāwawī*, Hadīṭ No. 2 and 3).

² To recite the one hundred "holy names of God," *"asmā -ul-lāhī -l-husna."*

³ There are prayers for every conceivable occasion, which can be looked up in the revelant religious books, such as *Makārymul-aḥlāqī* by *Raḍiy-uddīn abī Nāsr . . . at-ṭabārasy* and many others.

⁴ Pilgrims to Mecca consider it a merit to have performed the pilgrimage, and people come and welcome them in their homes to "share their blessings."

happened to see them and asked the fox: "Are you really willing to undergo the hardship and privation which will surely befall you on a pilgrimage?" "Yes," he answered sanctimoniously. She also was anxious to join them and the three went together. The hoopoe saw them going. After the same enquiry and the same answers, the hoopoe too went with them. When the sun went down the four found a shelter, which the fox had pointed out to them. The birds crept in but the fox watched outside so that nothing might disturb them. In the night he began to pray and to rebuke the cock for his evil life and his utter unworthiness to go on such a pilgrimage. He could find no other way to make him pay for his sins than to kill him and eat him. Then he went on to scold the pigeon for her scandalous amours and found her also guilty. She too had to pay for her manifold sins with her life.¹ When the hoopoe's² turn came he said to the fox: "Alas, uncle,³ I am fully aware of my sins and well deserve punishment. But I implore you to allow me to pray before my death." When he was given permission he asked the fox to stand aside a little from the hole, so that he could see the right direction⁴ for his prayer. The fox agreed and stood aside and at the same instant the bird flew away, saying as he went: "Only a fool could ever believe in your mock repentance and your pious intentions."⁵

V. THE UNGRATEFUL DONKEY

A fox, a donkey and a dove once came together, ploughed a field near the seashore and sowed it with barley. They then decided that each one should look after it in turn. When the first blades began to sprout the dove took her turn watching it. Then came the turn of the fox. The donkey watched, when the ears were ripening⁶ but he could not resist the temptation to eat them.

¹ Sexual intercourse is prohibited on the pilgrimage. The fox rebukes both for this transgression.

² The hoopoe, being the bird associated with King Solomon, is said to be very clever.

³ This is an endearing term. Cf. the proverb: "*illi bi'tāz ilkalb bi'ullo: 'yā 'āmm!*" He, who needs the dog addresses him with "uncle."

⁴ One who prays must turn to Mecca. (Cf. 1 Kings 8 48.)

⁵ The story recalls vividly Goethe's "Reineke Fuchs."

⁶ *sābbal*.

At harvest time the three gathered and found that the field had been grazed. They began to suspect each other. The dove said: "If I have eaten the corn, let me fall into the sea." She then rose and lo, she fell smoothly on a heap of corn. The fox said the same, jumped and landed safely among some chickens.¹ And the donkey said: "If I have eaten the corn, let me fall into the sea." No sooner had he said this, than he jumped and fell into the sea, and began to drown. "Oh brother," quoth he, imploring the fox, "save me from this danger. I'll give you all good things to be found in earth and heaven." And the fox's heart was moved and he saved him on the condition given. "Now let me see what good things you have in store for me." "Come just behind me," said the ungrateful donkey. And when the fox stood behind him, as he told him to do, the donkey kicked him suddenly with such force that he fell into the sea and only narrowly escaped from drowning.

VI. THE CAMEL AND THE DONKEY

Once a camel and a donkey escaped from their owner's house, where they had very much work and very little to satisfy their hunger. After long wandering and suffering from lack of food and water they reached a meadow rich with green pastures and flowing with limpid water. They satisfied their hunger and quenched their thirst to their heart's desire, undisturbed and unmolested. They stayed there until they had recovered their strength and fitness. One fine day, when they were grazing, in the green pasture, the donkey, now plump and fat, out of wantonness,² could not restrain the wish to give free vent to his braying.³ But his more cautious friend interrupted him and said: "My dear, we are here enjoying our life in freedom, eating, drinking and doing nothing. Why then do you want to disturb our peace and draw attention on us by your unseemly, noisy braying?" For a while this reasoning kept the donkey quiet. But one day he found it impossible to refrain any longer from

¹ Both were rewarded for their innocence.

² *bāṭar*, which afflicts donkeys, mules and horses, when they have eaten too much barley, or the like.

³ Cf. the proverb: "*fi rās l-yhmār sôt, ḥalaf l-yhmār illa yiz'ûq*. There is a voice (humming) in the donkey's head. The donkey has given his oath, he must bray it."

following his desire, and, throwing all good advice to the winds, he started to fill the air with his raucous braying. It was not long before their owner, attracted by the well-known noise, appeared on the spot. After thrashing them both soundly with a big stick, he drove them home. And from that day they had far more work to do than ever.

VII. THE TWO MICE

Two mice living quietly in a house found among other delicacies a jar filled with oil. The first mouse, having lost its tail by some accident, said in a sanctimonious way: "No, I won't touch this oil." But the other dipped its long tail into the jar, and drawing it out, soaked in oil, liked it very much. "Don't spoil the oil!" said the first. Whereupon the second retorted: "You would surely have done so too, if your tail were not cut off."—Which illustrates the well-known adage.¹

VIII. THE MULE

People were once badly in need of salt. As every animal had its own duties, the mule was singled out to fetch salt. He refused and would not be persuaded to take up his task. At last he went most reluctantly in search of salt and soon returned without bringing any. "Where is the salt?" they asked. "There was none," said he, shrugging his shoulders. So someone else had to go instead. But for his disobedience and unwillingness to help in time of need the mule was punished by having no issue whatsoever.²

(IX.) THE MULE

There is another explanation for the barrenness of the mule. Nimrod, the "great hunter before the Lord" had determined to burn the Prophet Abraham. All animals, when ordered to carry wood and straw for that purpose, refused to obey, with the exception of

¹ The proverb is: *mym qûsur dêlak yâ -z'ar!* It's owing to the shortness of your tail, O dwarf (sc. that you cannot do or obtain something).

² Hence the proverb, about somebody who wants something ardently, but has not the opportunity: *zâyy-il-bâğyl, bymût u šâhuto fi dâhro*.—Like the mule, who dies away and yet his *libido* is not satisfied (lit. still in his back!)

the mule, who willingly carried heaps and loads of wood. But Nimrod did not succeed in his plan as the fire was not able to hurt the Prophet. For its readiness to do evil to others the mule was rightly punished with perpetual barrenness.

(X.) VANITAS VANITATUM!¹

The fly stamped with her foot on the wall and said: "[I wonder,] O wall, how high you are!" The wall answered: "What is all my length and height to me, when the mouse picks holes in me?"²

So she went to the mouse and said: "I admire your power of making holes in the wall."³ "Alas," said the mouse, "I'm afraid it's of little use to me, as long as the cat eats me up."⁴

The fly went on to the cat and said to her [reproachfully]: "How can you like to eat [mice?]"⁵ The cat said: "That won't help me in the long run,⁶ since the stick beats me."

Off went the fly and said to the stick: "O stick, [I wonder,] why you are so fond of beating!" "What's that to me?"⁷ retorted the stick, "In the end the fire will consume me."

The fly continued her way to the fire and admired its power to consume everything.⁸ "But that's of little help to me," was the answer "since the water extinguishes me."

So the little fly came to the water and expressed her astonishment over its power of extinguishing fire. "It would be all well and good,"⁹ said the water, "if the horses did not drink me."

¹ Owing to the difficulties in translating this fable, I have rendered it more freely than the others, giving at the same time the original expression with its literal translation. The brackets denote words necessary to give sense.—The dialogue first makes an exclamatory statement rendered in the Arabic by the *modus quantitativus* (form: *âf'ala*). The person addressed, repeats the same word in interrogative form.

² *il-fâr byun'urni*.

³ *m-ân'arak!* How you like to pick holes!

⁴ *ybtākūlni*.

⁵ *m-ôkālak!* How greedy to eat you are!

⁶ *šû mōkālūni?* What do you mean by my greed for eating? (or the like).

⁷ *šû m-aḍrābni?* What is the point of my constant beating? (or my liking to beat).

⁸ *m-âḥra'ik!* How you like to burn! (fem. form!)

⁹ *šû m-atfāni!* What good my power to extinguish!

The fly went to the horse and said: "O horse, [I wonder], why you are so fond of drinking water." "Well," retorted the horse,¹ "that's nothing,² since the man rides on me."

And the inquisitive fly came to the man and exclaimed: "O man, I admire your ability to ride³ [horses]!"⁴ "Oh," was the answer, "that's not worth while mentioning. For it won't help me a bit when the angel of death visits me" . . .⁵

XI. THE REWARD FOR TELLING THE TRUTH

I cannot exactly remember the time, but long, long ago⁶ there lived a tribe (some people say it was the Bani Zêd tribe) which was forced by the scarcity of food and the absence of water to look for new pastures. They sent in search the raven, the partridge and the dove. Off they went. But the raven returned immediately with the bad news⁷ that there was absolutely nothing but desert and not a single stalk could be found for the cattle. In due course the other two returned and reported that they had found an excellent grazing-place with plenty of water. "The grass is so soft," they said, "that a new-born baby would hurt it." Thereupon the tribe moved to the place to ascertain which was right. They found that the raven had told a black lie, so they painted him black all over his body. But the dove had her feet coloured with henna,⁸ and the partridge had his eyes painted with kohl,⁹ because they told the truth.

¹ *m-üşrabak!* How you like to drink water!

² *šû ma-šrâbni, w-il-insân byirkâbni!* What is my liking for drinking since the man rides me?

³ *m-ârkabak!* How you like to ride!

⁴ A saying runs as follows: *talât maladdât il-hayâ: âkl-il-lâhym u-rûkb il-lâhym u-idhâl yl-lâhym fi-l-lâhym*. Three are the pleasures of life: to eat meat, to ride on flesh (horses etc.) and immissio carum in caro vivium, *i. e.* at cohabitationem.

⁵ The Angel of Death is 'Azrâil, 'Izraîn, who is called *qabbâd ir-rûah* "killer of the souls."

⁶ Equivalent term in such tales are: *kân fi qadîm iz-zamân* or *kân ya ma kân* . . .

⁷ A bringer of bad news is called a raven, according to the proverb: *zâyy l-yğrâb bîyn' a' fi-l-ḥarâb*.—Foretelling disaster, ruin, desolation, like the raven.

⁸ Hýnna, *Lawsonia inermis*, from the leaves of which a reddish dye is extracted, used for colouring the hands (and, rarely, the feet) of the bride, in the countryside. Children also have their hands dyed on this occasion. Women use it to colour their hair reddish, and I have seen Shi'ite sheikhs in Mesopotamia, and especially in Persia, applying it to their beards.

⁹ Kohl is applied with a "pencil" (*mîl*) to embellish the eyes and give them the appearance of being wide, so as to resemble the eyes of the gazelle.

XII. MISS SCARABEE AND HER SUITORS¹

There lived once a scarabee,² who had a daughter scarabee. She dressed her in fine apparel³ and put on her all her jewels. And young scarabee was very much pleased, enjoyed her life and sat in the house-door.⁴ It happened that the camel passed by, liked her and asked her: "Little scarabee, O my cousin,⁵ will you marry me?"⁶ She said: "Put your gold in my sleeve⁷ and I'll go and ask mother what she says." And she said to her: "O mummy, his head is very big;⁸ his eye is very, very big; his mouth is very, very big; in short, mummy, everything about him⁹ is very, very big." "Ah," said the mother, "this is the camel, my dear. If he kicks you, you will be crushed to the floor at once." So the camel had no luck. And the donkey passed by and asked her: "Little scarabee, O my cousin, will you marry me?" She said: "Put your gold in my sleeve and I'll go and ask mother what she says." And she told her: "O mummy, his head is very, very big; his mouth is very, very big; his ear is very

¹ Cf. No. 175 in my article: "Palestinian Nursery Rhymes," giving the Arabic original. This version is that of Jerusalem.

² *hîn(u)fse* scarabee, is a term given to unimportant, ugly people who, notwithstanding their inferiority in beauty, have a high opinion of themselves.

³ *labbasâtha hâlâ'âtha u šalabâtha*: Lit. She let her put on (or put on her) her earrings and (other) beautifying things . . .

⁴ To attract the passers by.

⁵ The teller usually inserts after this and other animal names the words "*ismâllah 'a-âdrak!*" "May God's name be on your personal worth," in order to show the listeners that they are honoured. This is good manners. Scarabee is called cousin to earn her favour. We like to address older people as "uncle" or "aunt," since this brings each one into nearer contact with the other.

⁶ This idea of proposing direct to the girl is uncommon.

⁷ Girls in the countryside, as well as women, have very long sleeves, which they tuck up when working. Besides she does not want to come in too close a touch with him, as this is not desirable for many reasons. One of them can be illustrated by the fact, that begging Mohammedan women never show their stretched hand uncovered. If a man intends to marry, he must first prove his ability to support a family. Money is also needed for the bride's family, who must be "compensated" for the "loss" which they incur by giving her away. Marriages cannot be concluded without money. But he, who has it in plenty, may fairly well ask for the best girl he knows. Cf. the proverb: *Illî buhûtt yflûso bînt is-sultân 'arûso*. "He who pays, may (hope to) have the daughter of the sultan as bride." Also: He who pays, gets the thing asked for.

⁸ The description here is *kibîr*, *kibîr* for *ykbîr yktîr*.

⁹ Lit. All of him.

big; his tail is very, very big." "Ah," said the mother, "this is the donkey, deary. If he kicks you, you will be at once as dead as anything." After a while the mouse passed that way and asked: "Little scarabee, my dear cousin, will you marry me?" She answered: "Put your gold in my sleeve, and I'll go and ask mother what she says."

She went and told her: "His eye is very, very small; his mouth is very, very small; his head is very, very small; in short, O mummy, everything about him is very, very small." "Ah," said the mother, "May God bless your cousin-husband, the mouse." And the mouse married her¹ and she went off with him.²

Little scarabee once had a washing day. So she said to her husband: "My cousin, I need some soap." The mouse went to the grocers to steal soap while little scarabee took the pitcher to the sea. And she fell into the water. There passed a young man on horseback. To him she said:

yâ rākȳb frāsak, ya mtāntyn yjrāsak
'ul l-al-fār ybn-yl-fawwār, hnēfse wȳ'at ft-ly-bhēre.

O rider on the horse,
 With the tiny bells ringing,
 Tell the mouse, son of the mouse:
 'Your wife fell into the lake.'

The rider went to the grocer, his friend, and told him the story from beginning to end, just as it happened³ and added: "I was much frightened." The mouse was in the shop, overheard it and ran to the lake. He said to little scarabee: "O my cousin, give me your hand and follow me!" She answered: "I am afraid that you will fail and let me drown, but just let your tail hang down and draw me out." So he let his tail hang down and rescued her. And off they went home.

¹ Lit. *aḥādha*: he took her (sc. for a wife).

² Marriages are concluded with the consent of the parents and relatives, since the people suppose that a man is not worried by his wife so much as by her relatives.

³ Children are always impressed with the lesson of making themselves useful in helping others in need.

XIII. THE STORY OF LITTLE SCARABEE AND HER SUITORS.¹

Little scarabee (*ḥūnyfsāne*)² was once walking in the road. She met the cowboy and he said to her: "*ḥūnfus, ḥūnfus*, get out of the way or the cows will trample you." She said: "*Ḥūnfys!* indeed. Your mother is a scarabee,³ and the black girl⁴ is surely your cousin; but I am of a noble house⁵ and my eyes are full of stibium (= *kōhl*)."⁶

*(il-ḥūnfys, ḥūnfys ymmač w-ys-sāmra binit 'ammač.
āna bint ir-rdēni w-il-kūḥul mālu'ēni.)*

So he said to her: "Marry me." She said: "Put your gold in my sleeve, and I'll go and ask mother what she thinks." And she told her mother: "His head is so big, his eye is so big, his feet are so big!" "We don't want him," said the mother. Little scarabee came back and sent this suitor about his business. Soon afterwards, she was again on the road and met the camel-driver. He spoke to her like the cowboy did; she rebuked him like she did the cowboy, and refused in just the same way. Soon afterwards little scarabee was again on the road. The horse-drover⁷ met her and spoke to her like the cowboy did; she rebuked him like she did the cowboy, and when he proposed to marry her she went to her mother and told her that he had a big head and clumsy feet. The mother said:

"My dear, this is the horse-drover and the horses,
who will trample you under their feet. We do not want him."

*(ya yamma hāda rā'y-l-fāras w-il-fārfasānne⁸
taht ijrēha bydhassāne [bydhassānič] abydnāš iyyāh!)*

So this suitor too was sent about his business. She goes on walking in the road. The shepherd meets her. Just the same thing

¹ This is the Artas version.

² *Ḥūnyfsāne* is the *fellah* name of *ḥūmfse*.

³ Cf. Note 2 to No. XII. Here it denotes his low origin.

⁴ It is a matter of taste whether one prefers "darkskinned" or "white" girls. Besides "cousin" the word may convey the meaning of wife.

⁵ *rdn*, long sleeve. Beduins have long sleeves like those of women.

⁶ This means that her father is so wealthy that she can afford to paint her eyes with stibium, a 'great aid to beauty.

⁷ Lit.: The shepherd of the horses.

⁸ *fārfasānne* is not the plural of *fāras*, but it is so construed for the sake of the rhyme.

happens as before; but the mother does not want a son-in-law with big eyes, big head and big feet. At last she meets some mice. And the biggest warns her not to walk in the road lest the mice tread on her. She answers him as she did the others. He asks her to marry him, and she says: "Put the gold in my sleeve and I'll go and ask what mother thinks."

She says to her mother: "O mummy, his head is very small, his eyes are very small, his hands are very small, his feet are very small and his tail is very small." And the mother says: "Take this one!" Little scarabee went to the well to get water. She fell in the well and there was no one to rescue her. A rider happened to pass by. To him she said: "O owner of the horse and the horses, whose tiny bells (on the feet) are tinkling: tell the mouse, son of the mice, that scarabee is fallen into the well. If you do not tell him, you (far be it of you) shall stick at the straw mat."¹ This man went to the guest-house and forgot all about it. But when he tried to rise to his feet, he could not move, for the charm bound him. He at once remembered what had happened and told it to those present. And the mouse, who was in its hole, overheard every word. He went to the well and said to scarabee: "Are you really there?" She said: "Yes, I have fallen in." So he let down his long tail and drew her out.

XIV. THE TWO BIRDS

Of all the birds you see over there, two once tried to fly to Beersheba. The first one said: "If it pleases God, we shall be there this afternoon." But the other replied: "If it please him or not, we shall get there." But he became lame and stayed over there on the hill where you may see him; and the first one reached Beersheba long ago.

XV. THE RAVEN AND HIS FATHER

When it is going to rain the raven caws: "Hello! good tidings to all concerned!" If people ask: "Why does the raven caw?" They

¹ *ya rā'i l-fāras u-il-farfassāne* *yālli hjūlha harḥašānne*
 qūll la-l-fār ybn-yl-fīre *ḥūnfys wīq'at fi-l-bīre*
 Lyn ma qultlīšše *willa bytlāzzyq al-ḥašīre.*

"Ya l-ba'id" "O far one," the rider, and not the listener, is meant.

will get the answer: "Because his father is pawned for a basketful of water." "How is that?" they ask. "Because he once stole and denied it to King Solomon, so he was punished in this manner." The rain now pours in streams. Somewhere two persons try to help the old raven. But whenever they try to lift the basket filled with water, it becomes empty at once! And the poor raven must go on hoping for the next year.

XVI. THE COCK

There once lived a cock who found a grain of corn and brought it to the woman at the mill,¹ asking her to grind it for him. When she had done as he wanted, he thought of another way and asked for the grain back. She gave him another grain, which he refused on the ground that it was not the one which he had given her. He pestered her so much that she thought the best thing to do was to give him some flour and to bake a loaf of bread for him. Off he went with the loaf to the gardener and gave it to him. But as soon as he had eaten it, he asked for it back, pretending that he had only given it by way of a joke. The gardener was at first at a loss how to return the loaf to the cock. And since the cock was urgent, he thought of offering him a bunch of green onions,² which the cock readily accepted. With this in his beak he went into the field, where he saw at noon some shepherds watching their flocks. He saluted them and asked them whether they would like some condiments to their bread. So they ate his onions and thanked him for his kindness. But he protested that he had never consented to their eating his onions. What could they do? The best they could do was to give him a kid. He took it and went to the next village. At the guest-house (*maḍāfe*) he stayed the night, and offered his kid for the evening meal. They slaughtered it, prepared it for the guests and everybody present was satisfied. On the morrow the cock quarrelled with the villagers about the kid, which, he pretended, he had never

¹ This is the handmill. Matth. 24 41.

² Green onions are very much liked. Cf. the following verse, which is sung with the *sāḥje* dance (*Betjāla*):

ya binit 'āmmi, ya ḥūdn-il-bāṣal l-ḡḥḍar
aḥaḍūc minni uḡāllu l-qālib yithāssar . . . !

O my cousin, you armful of green onions,

They took you away from me, and thus let the heart sigh . . . !

given to them. And since the villagers could not consent that a guest should leave them in displeasure they gave him a calf instead of his kid.¹ And the cock, rejoicing over his trick, went with the calf to another village, where they were holding a wedding feast. He entered in boldly, congratulated the people and offered his calf for the evening meal.² They accepted it with thanks and killed it. But the cock rose early in the next morning and pretended to search for his lost calf. And he rebuked the bridegroom, accusing him of baseness because he had killed the only calf of a poor guest. The bridegroom, who was a generous and rich man, and was very much pleased with his bride, ordered his people to give the cock a buffalo. He now left for another village, where he stayed as the guest of a poor man, who had a large family and very little money. The cock gave him the buffalo. The man in his joy made a feast and invited all his relations and neighbours. So they all ate and were greatly pleased³ with the generosity of both the cock and the man. But after staying a while the cock wished to go home. So he told the man to give him back the buffalo. The poor fellow urged that the cock had given it to him. But the cock denied it flatly and began to quarrel. The airs which the cock gave himself made the poor man feel uneasy. So after long thinking he said to him: I have nothing to give you for your buffalo. But if you will be pleased to take one of my seven daughters, I should feel very grateful to you. The cock willingly accepted this offer, chose the best girl and took her home. When he reached home, he ran to the dung-heap, and crowed with all his might: "Kikikeeki!! I am the rare cock, I am the clever cock! For the grain I got a loaf, and for the loaf I got a bunch of onions, and for the onions I got a kid, and for the kid I got a calf, and for the calf I got a buffalo, and for the buffalo I got a bride..."

<i>āna -d-dāik yn-nādri</i>	<i>āna-tlī'yt šātri!</i>
<i>ilqāmha jābātli irgīf,</i>	<i>w-ir-rgīf dūmmet bāṣal</i>
<i>w-il-bāṣal jābli sāhle</i>	<i>w-is-sāhle jābat 'ijil</i>
<i>w-il-'ijil jābli -j-jamūs</i>	<i>w-ij-jāmūs jābli-l'arūs . . .</i>

¹ A guest is always honoured, and the rules concerning hospitality are still strictly observed in many places.

² It is customary to give the newly married couple some present. The big meal is in the evening; cf. the parables in the Gospels.

³ Cf. St. Luke 15 23.

XVII. THE EAGLE

The first of all birds to go to prayer is the eagle, and he is also the first to leave.¹ They once said to him: "O eagle, you must appear before the court; it is King Solomon's order." The king asked him: "Why is it, that of all birds of prey,² you are the first to come to prayer and the first to leave?" He said: "O king, promise me that you will not kill me³ and I will tell you the truth." The king promised.⁴ The eagle began: "My father is more than a thousand years old. He is very aged and all his feathers have fallen out. Therefore I am afraid that the other birds will attack him and 'bite'⁵ him. That is why I come early to prayer and leave early." The king ordered the eagle to go and fetch his father. But the old bird refused to come: he had no feathers and was ashamed. So the son said to his father: "I will cover you with my wings." So they went to the court. The king put his hand on the old bird's head, but the old eagle fearing that the king might hurt him, lowered his head. Then the king passed his hand gently all over the body of the old eagle, and lo, new feathers came out; but his head, which was not touched by the magical hands of Solomon, remained bald. When the king had given him the feathers he said: "You will become a bird fourteen years old." So now the eagle never grows old because of the word of King Solomon.⁶ The king then said to the eagle: "I want to benefit from your long experience and knowledge. Tell me about the wondrous things you have seen during your long life." The old eagle said: "I know of a town which is entirely made from brass, the mosques are brass, the minarets are brass, the markets are brass, the streets are brass; in short everything is brass. And the king asked: "Do you still know where it is?" The eagle answered: "Come, I will carry you there." When they were far from the spot the eagle said: "The town has been swallowed up by a huge

¹ Birds are also supposed to pray.

² *ṣḡūr*, pl. of *ṣāḡr*, eagle.

³ *a'ṭīnī l-amān!* Give me the assurance of security (sc. for my life).

⁴ *ammano 'āla nāfso*. He gave him the assurance of security for his soul, person.

⁵ *yintiš*.

⁶ Cf. the Psalm 103 s and Isaiah 40 s1, which both seem to refer to a similar belief.

snake." They descended to the ground on a big dung hill. The eagle said to King Solomon: "We are over the town. But do not kill the snake, though in the middle of her back is a speck on her skin,¹ which is her vulnerable point.² For the time being order the winds to blow." The king first ordered the West wind, then the Egyptian (South) wind, and then the Northern wind, but all in vain. Then they said: "Give way to *umm 'āwad*," which is the East-wind.³ And it approached with such a force that king Solomon and all the hosts of birds which had accompanied him were frightened, and he rose suddenly to his feet. After the wind had blown for but two hours from the East, the town shone like a yellow light. Then King Solomon said to the big snake: "Come out of your cave!" And she said: "Alas, my lord, promise me⁴ that you will not kill me." The king promised, and the snake crept along for three days and one third of a day, when the white spot on her back appeared. And the King struck her a fatal blow on that spot. The big snake said: "O king, you have betrayed me, my lord!" He answered: "I did not hit you on your head." The snake died and the king ordered her to be burnt. They burnt her there and threw her ashes in all directions. And all the gnats, which you see now coming to life about Pentecost, come from the ashes of that huge snake. Therefore they say that the gnats are poisonous?⁵

XVIII. THE DISOBEDIENT OWL

King Solomon once said to the owl: "Go, tell the woodcutter woman, to cut wood and ride on it. And tell the girl at the spring to fill her jar and to ride on it. And tell woman at the mill to fill the basin with flour at once." The owl went to the woodcutter woman and said to her: "It is the will of my lord the king, that you carry the wood on your back." Then the owl went to the girl at the spring and told her to fill her jar and carry it on her head. Then the owl went to the woman at the mill and said: "My lord wishes

¹ *nāmaš*.

² *Tendo Achilles*.

³ The so-called scirocco, which blows from the desert and is dry.

⁴ *a' tīni mandīl il-amān!* Give me the "kerchief" of assurance for my life.

⁵ Because they sting and infect the body.

you to grind the corn as slow as possible." The king soon found out that his orders had not been given correctly and he cursed the owl and said: "May God revile (*yisha'*) you from among all birds, because you pervert everything, thus worrying the women." Then the beak of the owl became very small, so that its face is now like the face of a cat; whereas beforetime she was called "*um galiun*," mother of the pipe.¹

XIX. THE OWL

The owl sent an old woman² to the wife of King Solomon to say: "Why are you content with this house of yours? Why do you not ask the king to build you a fine palace out of the feathers of the ostrich which shall be neither on the earth nor in heaven?" And Lady Barqis (*sitt Barqis*)³ remembered it and when king Solomon returned home she did not look at him nor did she go to welcome him. He marked her indifference and said: "O, the Merciful One, the Provider of all, the Helper of the weak! (*ya latif ya kafi, ya-bu-d-da'afi!*) What has happened?" And his queen said to him: "Thou art a mighty king, obeyed by all; all is thine that thou desirest, yet am I allowed to sit here in a house like this! Why dost thou not give me a house built out the feathers of the ostrich, since I see nobody and nothing?" And the king said: "Is that all thou desirest? That is easy."

Then sent he for all the birds. They came all to him. He asked *umm-ysliman*,⁴ the owl, saying:⁵ "Tell me, who is the best and finest bird among these assembled here?" And he mentioned all the most comely birds. But the owl said: "None of them is fair save my own son." And he said to her: "Hadst thou answered differently, I would have surely cut off thy head." Then he continued to ask her: "Which are more numerous, the dead or the living?" She answered: "The dead, for they who sleep are also dead." Then he asked: "What is longer, day or night?" And she said: "The day, because a moonlit night is also day." The third question was: "Which

¹ I. e. the owl at first had a long beak.

² The owl shared the general dislike and tried to do her harm.

³ The classical name is *Bilqis*, Baucis (?).

⁴ People like to be called after their first-born son.

⁵ He first puts her cleverness to the test.

are more numerous, men or women?" And she said: "Surely the women, for every man who follows his wife is also a woman. Now you, O king, have obeyed your lady Balqîs and intend to build her a house between heaven and earth. And who is the cause of all this trouble? Surely that cursed old woman, who is nothing but a fox's skin turned into a bag, and likes to sow dissension. (... *ya na'île ya jîld wâwi şannafûh jrâb*). When you build your lady a palace to walk in, surely you will fall and break your neck and all your splendour and kingdom will vanish." And he asked her: "What then am I to do?" She said: "Burn that old woman and put her ashes at the foundation of the new palace and everything will be straightened." And he ordered her to be burned. Then he turned to the owl and said to her: "O owl, your daily provision will come to you regularly, one bird in the morning, another in the noon and the third in the evening."¹ Don't you notice how the small birds fly to and from, and give no peace till they become the prey of the owl?

¹ *riżqiĉ biĵiĉi la ħiżqiĉ i. e.*, your "portion" will come to your nest (lit. hole) so, that she need have no anxiety.

EMEK HA-BAKHA: BEKHAİM

DAVID YELLIN

(JERUSALEM)

BOTH words *Bakha* and *Bekhaım* are found in the Bible on two occasions only. *Bekhaım* (the plural form) occurs only in 2 Samuel, 5 23, 24 (repeated in 1 Chron. 14 14, 15). The commentators differ, but most think it is the name of a tree. *Bakha* occurs only in Ps. 84 7, and is variously explained as a proper name, or as a common noun meaning weeping. It is possible that *Bakha* is a textual corruption of *Bekhaım*; note that the following word begins with *m* (*ma'yan*).

The questions which arise are: 1) Is the *Emek ha-Bakha* an actual place or not? 2) In the former case is it identical with *Bekhaım*? 3) If yes, where is the place in question? 4) What is the etymological meaning of *Bakha*, and can any evidence be found in the present Arabic name of the place?

The present writer believes that both passages refer to a real and identical place. This, the passage in Samuel tells us, is near to the *Emek Refaim*. The passage in the Psalms is (so the present writer thinks) a description of an actual route for pilgrims coming to Jerusalem from the South for the Passover celebration. The route passes first the *Emek Refaim*, then the *Emek ha-Bakha* or *Bekhaım* itself. The *Emek ha-Bakha* I identify with the hollow which starts just South East of the *Birket Mamilla Road* and runs into the Hinnom valley (*Wadi Rubabe*). This hollow contains the *Ein Hattannin*, now called *Birket es-Sultan*. To such a place the epithets *ma'yan* and *berekhoth* (according to the reading of the LXX) are appropriate on account of the heavy flood-like accumulation of rain water which fills the *birkeh* in the winter. The route would then cross the valley along the edge of the pool, as at the present day. After this the pilgrims would pass the various city ditches (*mi-hēl 'el-hēl*), go round

the north of the city wall in solemn procession, and end at Zion itself. This would be entered on the east, where was the principal approach to the Temple (Ezek. 40 6; 43 1,2; 46 1).

This identification explains the military operations in the Books of Samuel. David was in the fortress of Zion. Instead of going straight to meet the Philistines up the valley of Hinnom and across the valley of *Bakha*, ascending to 'the *Emek Refaim*, he, at God's command, did not "ascend" (*lo ta'aleh*) but went round the north of the city (in a direction the reverse of that of the pilgrims) in order to get opposite Bekhaim (*mul bekhaim*). It is also possible, though not mentioned in the actual text, that he had sent another party to lie in ambush in the valley of Bekhaim itself. Compare similar tactics in Joshua ch. 8 and Judges ch. 30. When he received a signal (*Qol*) that the latter party were ascending (*sa'ada* as in Arabic) to the top of the hill at whose foot the valley lay (*rāshē ha-bekhaim*), he was to attack simultaneously. This interpretation of *rāshē ha-bekhaim* (compare *Targum of Jonathan: bēreshē de tūrā de baykim*) makes unnecessary all the far-fetched explanations to which commentators have been driven to support the interpretation: "when thou hearest the sound of marching in the tops of the mulberry trees" (R. V.).

As to the etymology of the noun *bekhaim*, all the authorities interpret it as the name of a tree, though they differ greatly as to what tree. The place with which I have identified it is now called in Arabic *Wady al meis*. *Meis* is the collective of *meisa*, and *meisa* is the name of the very high *nettle* tree, still common in the near neighbourhood of Jerusalem. The fact of its being the name of a *tree* strengthens the evidence in favour of the identification. Note too that both languages have a plural. There are various instances of places being now known by the *Arabic translation* of the old Hebrew name, e. g., *Tell el Kadi* for *Dan*, and I think we may assume that the *bakha* tree is the *meisa*.

JEWISH COINAGE AND THE DATE OF THE BAR-KOKHBAH REVOLT

(The late) SAMUEL RAFFAELI¹
(JERUSALEM)

A problem yet to be solved is when the Bar-Kokhbah war against Hadrian took place, when the last Jewish stronghold at Bittir was captured, and Jewish revolutionary activities against the Romans ended.

The date generally accepted is 132 C. E. to 135, relying on Dion Cassius (XIX 12) who writes: "In Jerusalem he (Hadrian) founded a city in place of the one razed to the ground, naming it Aelia Capitolina; and on the site of the Temple of their God he raised a new temple to Jupiter. This caused a war that was not slight nor of brief duration, for the Jews deemed it intolerable that foreign

¹ Samuel Raffaeli, the writer of this paper, died in Jerusalem on Nov. 15th, 1923, on the day when he was announced to read the present paper before the Sixteenth Meeting of the Palestine Oriental Society. He was a numismatist of considerable learning and had an unrivalled knowledge of ancient Jewish coinage. He wrote in 1913 *Matbe'oth ha-Yehudim* ("Coins of the Jews"), a most useful compendium of his subject,—and contributed many articles to various scientific journals on Jewish coins and other subjects connected with Biblical Archaeology. He was always a most active member of the Palestine Oriental Society, and during the last three years he acted as Conservator of Coins in the Palestine Museum. Mr. W. J. Phythian-Adams, the Director of Palestine Museums, thus writes of him: "The passing of Samuel Raffaeli has inflicted, I may say, an irreparable loss not only upon Palestine but upon the whole world of scholarship. Here especially in the Government Museum I miss daily not only his learned collaboration but his warm friendship and I can never remember without emotion how sadly his wish to work on here amidst his own magnificent collection of coins has been for ever frustrated by his untimely death. The Palestine Oriental Society will, I know, always treasure the memory of this genial man and indefatigable scholar as that of one who stood high above the petty interests of the world and laid his life and talents unreservedly upon the altar of Science."

racés should be settled in their city and foreign religious rites be planted there." This episode is dated by Dion Cassius in the year 866 after the foundation of Rome, namely 132 C. E.; and this date has been accepted by modern historians as a fixed guide. Thus Schürer (*Geschichte*, I, 674) dates the foundation of Aelia Capitolina in the year 130; Juster ("Les Juifs dans l'Empire Romain" II, 191 n. 3) agrees with him. The outbreak of the war Schürer assigns to 132; Schultz ("Leben des Kaisers Hadrian," p. 76) assigns it to 130; and Juster to 131.

But Eusebius has quite a different story to tell. According to him Aelia Capitolina was founded *in consequence* of the revolt. St. Jerome states that the fall of Jerusalem and its surrender to Hadrian was fifty years after the conquest of Titus (70 C. E.); the Alexandrian Chronicles (see Hamburger, „Die Münzprägungen während des letzten Aufstandes der Israeliten gegen Rom“) state that Hadrian, while consul with Rusticus, left for Palestine to suppress the Jewish revolt. Hadrian's consulate with Rusticus was the second, and could not be later than 120 C. E.

Jewish sources, again, disagree with the accepted date 132. The *Midrash B'reshith Rabba* tells how Hadrian promised the leaders and elders of the Jews to rebuild the Temple, but owing to representations made by the Samaritans, the enemies of the Jews, Hadrian withdrew the promise; this act almost provoked a revolt which was temporarily quietened by R. Joshua; but before long Bar-Kokhbah took the lead, and the revolt broke out in full force, headed by Bar-Kokhbah and R. Akiba, his staunch supporter. The Talmud gives no hint that Jerusalem was given any foreign name before the fall of Bittir. In the Jerusalem Talmud (*Taanith* IV, 5) R. Jose, a disciple of R. Akiba, Bar-Kokhbah's chief supporter, says that Bittir was destroyed fifty-two years after the Destruction of the Temple. This agrees closely with St. Jerome's account that it was fifty years after Titus' conquest.

To the same R. Jose is attributed the early Jewish historical work *Seder Olam Rabbah*, and the shorter *Seder Olam Zutta*, and in both works he gives the same year, fifty-two years after the Destruction, as the date of the fall of Bittir, namely 122 C. E.

To come now to the numismatic evidence—the coins re-struck by Bar-Kokhbah or some other leader of this last Jewish revolt. These coins are silver denarii, didrachmae and bronze coins, and several

imperial Roman coins of Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Nerva and Trajan, all of them emperors prior to the time of Hadrian; there are no re-struck coins that provide proof that the leaders of the Jewish revolt had in their hands coins later than 120 C. E. So far as the evidence of coins is acceptable, we must conclude that the War and the re-struck issues are to be assigned to a date very shortly after 120 C. E. It is not possible to think that twelve years could have intervened, and so bring the date of the war to 132.

There is, therefore, a discrepancy of eleven or twelve years between the date given by Dion Cassius and the date afforded by the other available sources. The fragments of Dion Cassius were edited by Xiphilinus in the eleventh century. Hamburger has shown that these fragments contain an error of reckoning, so that, according to Dion Cassius, the date should not have been 866 after the foundation of Rome, but 855, namely 121 C. E. or the beginning of 122.

Further numismatic evidence is available. Assuming the correctness of Eusebius' statement, that Aelia Capitolina was founded in consequence of the Revolt, namely about the year 125 or 126, we might expect to find in Jerusalem a bronze coin of Hadrian and Sabina, with "Augusta" as the latter's title, struck in 128 (see de Saulcy p. 86, Madden p. 251), two years after Sabina obtained this title.

Yet another item of support is forthcoming. Mr. William D. Gray, of Smith College, U. S. A., published in the *American Journal*, Chicago July 1923, a paper entitled "The Founding of Aelia Capitolina," arguing in favour of the date 131 or 132. He discusses a certain papyrus (*Rylands Collection*, 189, published in 1914), a simple business document giving, as is the way with such papyri, historical information in a very indirect fashion. It runs: "The Associate Collectors of Public Clothing for the Guards acknowledge in this receipt issued to the weavers of Socmopae Nesus, the delivery of nineteen tunics and five white cloaks for the needs of the soldiers serving in Judaea." The date given in the document is equivalent to 128 C. E. Now we know that, after the revolt, a Roman garrison was stationed in Judaea, a fact proved by the inscription discovered at Bittir in 1874 by Clermont-Ganneau, showing that detachments of the Fifth Macedonian and the Tenth Claudius legions, summoned from the Danube, were the forces which suppressed the Bar-Kokhbah revolt. Owing to its strategic position Bittir was, long after the war, the station of the

Roman garrison (Clermont-Ganneau, *Academie des inscriptions*, 1894, pp. 149 ff). Owing to the disturbed condition of the country, troops remained in Judaea for a considerable time, and it is not, therefore, a matter for surprise to learn from the papyrus that, in 128, several years after the war, Roman troops still remained there.

The weight of available evidence goes, therefore, to show that the date given by St. Jerome and rabbinical authorities is correct—that the struggle at Bittir began in 122, ended in 125; and that the colony of Aelia Capitolina was founded as a result of the War, as reported by Eusebius.

GIDEON'S FLEECE

S. TOLKOWSKY

(JATFA)

“And Gideon said unto God, If thou wilt save Israel by mine hand, as thou hast said, Behold, I will put a fleece of wool in the floor; and if the dew be on the fleece only, and it be dry upon all the earth beside, then shall I know that thou wilt save Israel by mine hand, as thou hast said. And it was so: for he rose up early on the morrow, and thrust the fleece together, and wringed the dew out of the fleece, a bowl full of water. And Gideon said unto God, Let not thine anger be hot against me, and I will speak but this once: let me prove, I pray thee, but this once with the fleece; let it now be dry only upon the fleece, and upon all the ground let there be dew. And God did so that night: for it was dry upon the fleece only, and there was dew on all the ground” (Judges VI, 36—40).

It has been observed that between the miracle stories of the oldest times and those of more recent periods there is one great fundamental difference: whereas the miracles ascribed, for instance, to Elijah and Elisha represent acts or happenings which are, almost without exception, in direct conflict with the physical laws of nature as we know them (viz. the multiplication of foodstuffs and drinks, the raising of the dead, etc.), the cycles of miracles centering around the figures of the Patriarchs, Moses, Joshua, and the Judges are composed of deeds or events of which the mechanism can as a rule be explained quite satisfactorily by natural agents, their miraculous character being due not so much to the fact that such and such a thing did happen at all as to the fact that it did happen precisely at the moment when it was needed (viz. the ten plagues of Egypt, the damming of the Jordan, etc.).

How does the miracle of the fleece conform to this general rule?

The story comprises in reality two distinct happenings, occurring at different times. During the first night Gideon having spread his fleece out on the threshing floor, the dew that falls on the bare rock around it is small in quantity and is quickly evaporated again through the effect of the warmth of the subsoil rising to the surface; but we know that the thinner and longer a leaf or any other object is, the greater is its capacity for bringing about the condensation of dew on its surface, and that is why the fleece, composed of long thin hairs, attracts such a large quantity of moisture which is not again evaporated because the leather of the fleece itself and the lower part of the wool keep the condensed dew insulated and protected from the warmth of the soil. This first experiment is, therefore, quite in accordance with the physical laws of nature. The experiment of the second night, however, is in direct conflict with the same natural laws; and in view of the remarks made above with regard to the miracle stories of the Bible generally, one is tempted to ascribe to a much later date the origin of the second phase of the story of Gideon's experiments. Burney (*The Book of Judges*, 1918, p. 204) says: "it thus occurs to Gideon (*after* his first test) that the phenomenon may after all be nothing in the nature of a portent. The reversed condition of things—a dry fleece upon the wet rock—will be much more unexpected; and therefore more reliable as a sign of supernatural intervention."

Some time ago, whilst engaged in gathering information about the methods adopted by pre-historic man for the collection of dew as a regular supply of water for agricultural purposes, I was surprised to learn, from a statement in a book called "*Neolithic Dew-Ponds and Cattle-Ways*" by Arthur John Hubbard and George Hubbard (London 1916, p. 115), that on one of the islands called the Desertas, *i. e.*, Desert Islands, which are situated near Madeira in the Northern Atlantic Ocean, which are streamless and springless and on which it is believed that rain never falls, the few fishermen who are its only inhabitants "live by water obtained by spreading out fleeces in the evening, and wringing the dew from them in the morning."

There is no reason why a similar method of collecting water from dew should not have been used at some remote period of history in the highlands of Palestine, and I am now tempted to see in the

story of Gideon's miracle of the fleece a proof of the fact that this has actually been the case. It may even be that the story in question represents nothing else than a modified version of a very old legend ascribing to Gideon the invention or discovery of a method of obtaining comparatively large quantities of water from dew; a version due, in its present form, to a later age which had forgotten that such a thing actually existed and could therefore see in the old legend but the account of some miracle wrought by God at the bidding of the Ephraimite hero.

GENIZAH FRAGMENTS IN THE JEWISH NATIONAL LIBRARY

ABINOAM YELLIN
(JERUSALEM)

SOME thirty years ago, before the great Fustat Genizah was discovered by the late Prof. Schlechter, a small collection of fragments was brought from that Genizah to Jerusalem, and sold to the Jewish National Library by Rabbi S. Wertheimer, a Jerusalem scholar. Small as this collection is, it represents almost all the various branches of the Genizah.

Here I will only deal with some of the important letters, contracts and *responsa*, as also with the fragments of the works of Saadia Gaon el-Feyumi and Maimonides contained in this collection.

The letters throw some light on the history of the Jewries of Egypt, Morocco and Palestine. There are also references to Ladaqiyah and Aden. The letters may be dated roughly between 1050 and 1150 C. E. They are written in Arabic, and, with two exceptions, in Hebrew characters. Some bear directions.

The name of R. Naḥrai b. Nissim is found in two letters, one of which is dated 1052 C. E. He was a scholar of some repute, but was also, as is evident from many other Genizah fragments, engaged in business. The other letter is from Naḥrai to a certain Abu Yaḳub Yusef Alfasi in Tyre. The Cambridge Taylor-Schechter collection also contains a letter from Naḥrai to the same Alfasi, who has been identified by some as the father of the great talmudic commentator, Isaac Alfasi. If this be correct—and the dates coincide—we have in our letter more material for the history of this great family. We learn that Alfasi spent a short time in Ramleh, and then went to Tyre. Business relations between him and R. Naḥrai appear to have been quite intimate. We also learn how important Egypt was as an

intermediary between India on the one hand, and North Africa, Palestine, and Syria on the other.

An autograph signature of Mazliāḥ Hakkohen Gaon, the head of the well known Rabbinical School "Yeshibath Geon Yaqob" at Fustat, is found on a contract dated 1444, Seleucian Era=1132 C. E. The genealogy which he attributes to himself almost entirely corresponds with that mentioned in the Taylor-Schechter collection (*T-S.* 24., 26).

An historically interesting document is a letter sent by the heads of the Ḳaraaite community in Jerusalem to their brethren in *al-Qahira* (Cairo). Unfortunately the year is not mentioned, but it seems to belong to a period when the Ḳaraaites were still in power; for we see that the heads of the Rabbinic community comply with all their wishes; they discharge the community "Shoḥet" from his post, and even excommunicate him simply to appease the Ḳaraaites.

Of Rabbinical *Responsa* suffice it to say that the collection contains a question addressed to one who is undoubtedly Abraham Maimuni, who succeeded his father, the great Maimonides, as Gaon about 1205, shortly after Maimonides' death. This document must therefore be dated between 1205 and 237, the year of Abraham Maimuni's death.

Fragments of works of Saadia Gaon and Maimonides have also found their way to this small collection. A small booklet contains Saadia's introduction to his *Tefsir* (translation) of the Pentateuch, as also the translation itself of the first sixteen verses of Genesis. The variants from the *Editio princeps* (ed. Derenbourg) are not very important.

One parchment leaf, in old Hebrew square writing, contains an Arabic commentary on Leviticus, IX 20—25; my father, Mr. David Yellin, judging by internal evidence, believes it to be Saadia's. When comparing the verses translated in the fragment with Saadia's translation of Leviticus I found them to correspond. Other chapters of Leviticus with Saadia's commentary are extant. To my knowledge no other MS. of his commentary on Leviticus XIX has hitherto been published.

One paper leaf contains an Arabic commentary on the book of Lamentations. I have not yet ascertained whether this too is Saadia's; MSS. containing his commentary on this book are very rare. Our fragment deals chiefly with the literary form of "lamentations" in general.

Of his philosophical works, a fragment of his *Kitab al Amanat w-al Itaqadat* in its Arabic original is found in this collection. The variants are not important. •

Two paper leaves, containing the Arabic commentary of Maimonides on chapter II 14-15, and III 4-7 of *Pirḳē Aboth* (Ethics of the Fathers) are written in beautiful Hebrew square characters. On the whole it corresponds to the Berlin MS. (ed. Baneth).

An important fragment is that containing an Arabic translation of a part of *Hil'khot Yom Tov* (religious laws appertaining to the Jewish Festivals) of his (Maimonides') great work *Mishneh Torah*, or the *Hayyad Hahazaqah* (the Mighty Hand). In Maimonides' epistle to a certain Yoseph b. Gaber of Bagdad who requested him to translate the *Hayyad Hahazaqah* into Arabic, we read that he refused to do so, because the book would lose all its beauty. It is therefore very unlikely that the book was translated during his lifetime or the lifetime of his immediate descendants who, too, enjoyed the greatest prestige in Jewry. The book must have been translated not earlier than about the fourteenth century.

BOOK REVIEW

W. H. WORRELL, *The Coptic Manuscripts in the Freer Collection*.
Pp. XXVI + 396 (8 vo.); The Macmillan Company, New
York, 1923.

Dix années ont suffi pour mener à terme la publication du lot de manuscrits que M. Ch. Freer avait acquis en 1906 d'un Arabe nommé 'Aly. Que le notable Américain avait eu la main heureuse, c'est ce qu'ont déjà prouvé les publications du professeur Sanders de l'Université de Michigan. Outre un Deutéronome et un Josué d'après les Septante, le lot comprenait un Psautier grec vraiment remarquable dont la plus ancienne partie (jusqu'au Ps. 142) remontant au V^e siècle présente de nombreuses leçons qui lui sont particulières ou ne se trouvent que rarement ailleurs. On aurait là un des meilleurs types du Psautier chrétien primitif. A ces textes s'ajoutent un manuscrit des quatre évangiles rangés dans l'ordre occidental: Matthieu, Jean, Luc, Marc, qui soulève mainte question de critique textuelle et prend place avec le sigle W à côté des plus vieux onciaux, puis un manuscrit contenant des fragments des épîtres de saint Paul. Écrit en Égypte au VI^e siècle, ce codex se rattache à la famille Alexandrine et, selon M. Sanders, en serait un représentant beaucoup plus pur que le *Vaticanus* et le *Sinaiticus*.

C'est à M. William H. Worrell, naguère membre de l'Institut américain de Jérusalem, qu'a incombé la tâche de publier les manuscrits coptes de la collection Freer, à savoir un Psautier sahidique fragmentaire qui se date approximativement entre le V^e et le VIII^e siècle et n'est guère qu'une réplique de celui que Budge a édité, un fragment de Job divergent du texte de Ciasca seulement par des variantes orthographiques, et deux homélies: l'une sur l'archange Gabriel, attribuée à Célestin, archevêque de Rome; l'autre sur la Vierge, prononcée soi-disant par Théophile d'Alexandrie, à l'occasion de la fête de l'Assomption.

Nous devons dire, pour être juste, que la collection Freer n'a fourni qu'un complément au volume qui contenait primitivement ces deux morceaux d'éloquence chrétienne et qui figure au *British Museum* sous deux numéros de la section orientale. On saura gré toutefois à M. Worrell d'avoir profité de l'occasion pour donner le texte complet et la traduction de ces homélies lesquelles, si elles ne sont pas évidemment gènes, offrent un certain intérêt tant au point de vue de l'histoire des dogmes qu'à celui de l'évolution du genre homilétique. Elles sont conçues suivant un procédé familier à la prédication égyptienne de l'époque byzantine et peuvent aisément être mises en parallèle avec *l'encomium* de l'archange Michel édité sous le nom de Théodose, patriarche d'Alexandrie, par Wallis Budge en 1894. Après avoir, dans une première partie, énuméré les titres de gloire de son héros (pour S. Gabriel ce seront ses divers messages dans l'histoire de Daniel, d'Ézéchiél, de l'Exode et des débuts du Nouveau Testament), l'orateur s'étend ensuite avec complaisance sur des prodiges dus à l'intercession de son personnage, ce qui donne lieu à une série d'historiettes assez naïves parfois que le populaire devait goûter extrêmement. Ordinairement, cette partie narrative concernait le sanctuaire où l'éloge était prononcé. En tout cas, pour ce qui regarde notre volume, le colophon final déclare qu'il a été déposé dans l'église du saint archange Gabriel à Esneh.

En dépit de certaines allusions à Rome, à l'Empereur et au Sénat, on ne pourrait soutenir raisonnablement l'attribution du panégyrique de S. Gabriel «à l'honoré patriarche qui devint l'habitation du Saint Esprit, Aba Celestinus, archevêque de la grande cité de Rome.» L'œuvre est empreinte d'un cachet égyptien incontestable. Il y est fait mention de la crue du Nil et telle légende qu'elle rapporte reparait dans le Synaxaire de l'Église copte. La question de lieu ne se pose pas relativement au sermon sur la Vierge puisqu'il est mis sous le nom de Théophile, oncle de saint Cyrille dont on ne manque pas de faire l'éloge en passant. Le pontife s'y donne comme le fondateur d'une grande hôtellerie dans le quartier du *Caesareum* à Alexandrie. La réflexion de l'auteur concernant ce caravansérail «et il subsiste encore de nos jours» laisse transparaître la main du faussaire. Faussaire est peut-être un trop gros mot, car l'attribution d'une œuvre anonyme à un auteur célèbre ou à un personnage plus connu était d'un usage courant dans l'antiquité.

D'après un premier colophon le volume édité par M. Worrell date de 974 de l'ère chrétienne. En voici la teneur: «Je suis Jean, l'humble prêtre, fils de Kollothos, du [monastère de] St.-Merkourios et économiste de [l'église de] l'archange Gabriel. Intercessions et prières! Ce fut écrit le 4 du mois de Paremhot, 2^{ème} indiction; en 690 après Dioclétien, dans l'année [des Sarrasins] 363.» Il est évident que nous n'avons affaire ici qu'à la date de la copie, moins probablement de la traduction, et que la composition de ces œuvres remonte à plusieurs siècles antérieurs au dixième, sans qu'on puisse aboutir à une époque très précise.

La publication de M. Worrell s'achève sur un texte magique rédigé en dialecte de la Moyenne Égypte sur feuille isolée. Ce document, si restreint qu'il soit, n'est pas à dédaigner. Il peut servir à démontrer la dépendance des amulettes abyssines qui foisonnent vis à vis d'une tradition copto-arabe, aujourd'hui disparue. Les invocations qu'il contient ont cependant une tenue religieuse que l'on rencontre peu dans les incantations et horoscopes des papyrus grecs quoiqu'il use (mais avec modération) des vocables occultes: «Aucun autre Dieu que toi ne répand l'inondation, Adonaï, Abrathona, Jô, Jô, le grand Dieu qui la dispense, qui chevauche les Puissances, qui chasse les démons ..., toi qui es bienveillant pour quiconque invoque ton nom: Jaô, Adonaï etc.» Qu'il nous suffise de ces quelques aperçus pour mettre en relief l'intérêt de ce volume X des «University of Michigan Studies» que relèvent le luxe du papier et de l'impression, de lucides introductions et douze phototypies qui forment une heureuse contribution à l'étude de la paléographie copte.

F.-M. ABEL O. P. (Jerusalem).

REPORT OF THE TREASURER OF THE PALESTINE ORIENTAL SOCIETY

(July 1922—December 31st, 1923)

Receipts

<i>Balance in hand June 30th, 1922</i>	£ E. 323 PT. 02.2	
Life subscriptions	10	00.0
Annual subscriptions for 1923	222	22.0
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Total:	£ E. 555	PT. 24.2
	<hr/> <hr/>	

Expenditure

Postage	£ E. 10	PT. 90.0
Stationery	1	18.0
Refreshments	4	46.0
Printing of programmes and circulars	4	75.0
Transport of Journal	5	71.6
Printing of Journal and Reprints (including cost of delivery):		
Offizin W. Drugulin	151	75.0
Beytu'l-Makdes	56	25.0
<i>Balance in hand, December 31th, 1923</i>	320	24.2
	<hr/>	
Total:	£ E. 555	PT. 24.2
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¹ This list has been corrected up to December 31 th, 1923. Members are asked to notify the Secretary of any change of address or any other inaccuracy.

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