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THE CONQUEST NARRATIVES

HAROLD M. WIENER

(JERUSALEM)

In any fresh survey of the Conquest Narratives it is well to begin with matters that are generally overlooked or at any rate overshadowed. An attentive reader will not fail to observe that he has before him materials of different dates and from different hands, often incomplete and frequently misplaced. If he studies the matter in entire detachment from all current theories of composition and authorship, he will find at least three such features which must be emphasized. First, there are some materials that antedate the age of David and Solomon; secondly, there are passages whose incompleteness can be attributed only to accident and not to any effort of conscious and intentional editing; thirdly, the materials are at present badly disarranged and their order does not correspond to any chronological or historical principle.

1. Joshua 15⁶³ runs as follows in the Massoretic Text: "And the Jebusite who (B omits) dwelt in Jerusalem (B and) the children of Judah were unable to expel them, so the Jebusite dwelt (MT adds "with the children of Judah"; these words were unknown to the pre-Hexaplar LXX and inserted by Origen) in Jerusalem till this (B that) day."

Obviously "with the children of Judah" is a gloss, and the LXX has altered "till this day"—which shows the verse to be pre-Davidic—into "to that day." There is one other variant of historical importance. Armenian codices read "the children of Israel" instead of "the children of Judah" on the first occurrence of the phrase, and c has both readings.

The verse recurs in a modified form in Judges 1²⁸ "And the Jebusite who dwells in Jerusalem the children of Benjamin (HP 16 Israel) did not expel; so the Jebusite dwelt with the children of Benjamin in Jerusalem (A and its allies omit) till this day."

It looks as if the original may have run as follows: "And the Jebusite who dwelt in Jerusalem the children of Israel were unable to expel, so the Jebusite dwelt in Jerusalem till this day," Judah and Benjamin being respectively due to the present contexts.

In Joshua 16¹⁰ we read in MT: "and they drove not out the Canaanite that dwelt in Gezer, and the Canaanite dwelt in the midst of Ephraim unto this day, and became tributary." The Greek shows slight verbal differences and in particular omits the words "and became tributary"; but it has a considerable addition to bring it into agreement with 1 Kings 9^{16f.}, according to which Pharaoh captured the place in Solomon's reign and gave it to his daughter as a dowry. The author of the addition rightly felt that the words "till this day" were impossible after the time of Solomon and sought to bring the notice up to date.

We find the statement again in a mutilated form in Judg. 1²⁰ where MT reads: "And Ephraim did not drive out the Canaanite that dwelt in Gezer and the Canaanite dwelt in his midst in Gezer." Most Greek texts there add "and became tributary." There can be no reasonable doubt that the notice comes in the first instance from a writer who lived before Pharaoh's capture of Gezer and knew the town only as a Canaanite city and not in its later rôle of a fortress of Solomon. The variants represent a number of different attempts to deal with phraseology which was no longer appropriate. At the same time they show, too, how late a date alterations were made in our Hebrew Bible.¹

¹ A few words may be added on some other indications of date.

In 6²⁵ Rahab the harlot dwells among the Israelites "unto this day". On any natural reading that statement is pre-exilic.

In 8²⁸ we read of Ai's being desolate "till this day," but from Is. 10²⁸ it would seem that the town had been rebuilt before the time of the prophet. Probably, however, the site was not the same, so that no inference can be drawn from this passage.

In 9²⁶ the Gibeonites are hewers of wood and drawers of waters "unto this day" in both the Hebrew and Greek texts, which differ in some other respects. This suggests that the passage is pre-exilic.

2. A conspicuous instance of an incomplete narrative is provided by Joshua's interview with the "captain of the host of the Lord" (Josh. 5^{13,15}). When Joshua has taken off his shoes the story abruptly ceases, and we are left in complete ignorance of the purpose and tenor of the interview. That is not a phenomenon that can

In 10¹²⁻¹⁴ we have a quotation from an old poem said by the MT to have been contained in the Book of the Upright, but as nobody knows whether this was a collection of pre-existing poems or not, we cannot date the citation. That the prose commentary on it is later than the poem which it misunderstands and misinterprets, is obvious.

The statement that Hebron belongs to Caleb unto this day (Joshua 14³⁴) is also clearly pre-exilic.

The phenomena with which we meet in Joshua 1⁴ are extremely perplexing. MT reads a phrase which was in use at a particular period—"all the land of the Hittites." BOEHL (*Kanaanäer und Hebräer*, 1911, 2, 7; cf. FRIED. DELITZSCH *Wo lag das Paradies?* 1881, 269-273) has pointed out that this phrase belongs to the late Assyrian usage which employed the term "land of the Hittites" for the western land. He justly observes that it stands in a strange position and is wanting in the LXX and the parallel passage, Deut. 11²⁴.

Whether the phrase is original or not, it comes to us from a definite historical epoch. If it is part of the true text, the passage was composed in that epoch; if it is a gloss, the glossator lived in that epoch and the text he glossed must be earlier: It can hardly be anything else than a constituent of the true text or a gloss; for it is difficult to see any other reasonably probable process that would give us a phrase so unique in the O. T. and so distinctive.

Comparison with Deut. 11²⁴ and the LXX reveals other striking features. In MT of Joshua 1⁴ we have *מהרבר והלבנון* and in Deut. 11²⁴ the same phrase (with *מן* for *מ*). In neither passage does it give the requisite sense. What is required is "from the desert even unto Lebanon," not "from the desert and Lebanon," and in Deut. 11²⁴ the Armenian and Bohairic (Lagarde and Wilkins) in fact read "*usque ad.*" It is unlikely that we should get the same error giving us the same unsatisfactory sense in both passages independently. We should rather hold that the Joshua text was edited *after* the Hebrew of Deuteronomy had suffered damage leading to the present trouble. If so, "land of the Hittites" represents a much earlier element than the editing that gave us the corruption.

The LXX here reads "the desert and the Lebanon to the great river." That is equally impossible and can only be regarded as an attempt to smoothe out the text.

Thus the most probable interpretation of the facts seems to be that a narrative speaking of the land of the Hittites has been severely edited in the light of Deut. 11²⁴ at a much later date. In the process a constituent of the original text was preserved in the Hebrew but subsequently cancelled by the Greek, which here, as in some other passages, seeks to bring the book up to date.

be explained by supposing that some editor inserted this passage from a document, deleting the rest of the story. Any responsible person who found a narrative that had not suffered damage would either have taken over the story in an intelligible form, (whether with or without alterations), or would have omitted the whole. But he could not have incorporated the introduction and left it hanging without some sequel. Consideration shows that we have here to do with an effort to preserve the remains of a fuller account which had suffered in transmission, not with a deliberate selection from a lengthier episode.

A similar remark applies to the narrative of Judges 1^b-7. Adonibezek is suddenly introduced without any notification of who he was or how he came to be with the Canaanites and Perizzites. The original narrator cannot have told his story on such lines, nor would any editor have altered it to assume such a form. We can only suppose that it once existed in a shape that explained Adonibezek's connexion with the events recounted, and the present trouble is due to accidental damage.

Another cogent example of the same evil is furnished by the Bochim narrative (Judges 2¹⁻⁵). It contains a homily evidently directed against some act of which the author of the admonition disapproved. It can only have been penned by somebody who had before him an account of that act. "What is this ye have done?" is a question that implies that a narrative of the offence precedes. And nobody who thought this worth preserving would have retained it intentionally in a mutilated form which does not permit the comprehension of the subject-matter. This is not an argument that can be met by any form of analysis into sources. Whatever the algebraic expression to which be assigned the words "What is this ye have done?" the fact remains that the man it denotes knew of a narrative of the offence and assumed that it would necessarily be before his readers. No editor would have reduced the episode to its present condition. That can be attributed only to accident.

The fact that these narratives are clearly fragmentary disposes of some contentions that have been put forward in modern times. Thus KITTEL's elaborate discussion¹ as to the non-mention of Issachar and Benjamin in Judges 1 is seen to be misconceived once it is rea-

Geschichte des Volkes Israel 6.^e. 1923, 401f.

lised that there are defects in our documents which are due merely to the normal processes of MS deterioration.

3. It is always a source of amazement that writers who carry scepticism to the furthest extreme in their dealings with the biblical narratives habitually accept the *order* of those narratives with the most unquestioning confidence. Nothing ever happened as the Bible relates, they seem to say, but it all happened in precisely the sequence of the biblical accounts! This process of reasoning is unintelligible to me, and I think it pertinent to enquire whether the Conquest Narratives as they stand are in the right order, and, if not, whether any improvements can be suggested.

The questions that can be raised as to the arrangement of the opening chapters of Joshua are relatively unimportant, but the narrative of 8^{30,34} provides food for thought. Ai has fallen and "then" Joshua is suddenly found building an altar on Mount Ebal. How did he get there? Even Bethel has not yet been taken (Judg. 1^{24f.}), yet here is Joshua with all Israel well to the north of it. And he has with him the Ark (Joshua 8³³), which has still to leave Gilgal for the yet untaken Bethel¹ (Judg. 2^{1,5}). Surely nobody can defend this arrangement, and the passage must be removed from its present position to one which will be possible geographically and historically.

The narrative then proceeds on its way till the end of Joshua 10, when we suddenly find all Israel somewhere in the far north. How did this come about? They had not yet attempted to capture Bethel or any place north of a line from Gibeon to Ai. It is difficult to see how such an arrangement can be right.

In Joshua 13ff Joshua and the people are still at Gilgal. All this narrative, therefore, must precede the bulk of the story of Judg. 1^{1b-25}. Then in Joshua 18¹ the scene changes to Shiloh and the capture of Bethel and subsequent removal of the Ark (Jud. 1^{24f. 2^{1,5}}) are necessarily presupposed. We are still in Shiloh at the end of Joshua 23, but 24¹ brings us to Shechem. Then in Judg. 1 we have narratives of expeditions which start from the City, of the Palms, i.e. Jericho (see especially 1¹⁰), and in 2¹, as already pointed out, the Ark leaves Gilgal. Whatever else may be historical, the order must frequently depart from the actual course of events.

¹ On the text see commentaries *in loc.*

We have some clues to a better arrangement of the material. According to Judg. 2¹⁻⁵ the angel of the Lord went up from Gilgal to Bethel-Bochim. This could have happened only after Bethel had fallen into Israelite hands. It follows that Judges 1²²⁻²⁵ narrates an event that is earlier in time than Judg. 2¹⁻⁵, and the departure of Judah from Gilgal recounted in 1^{1ff.} in its turn preceded the expedition of the Israelites against Bethel, for we are told that they set out as the result of an enquiry as to who should go up first against the Canaanites. Now Bethel would naturally be approached by a force coming from Jericho along a road that passed near the ancient Ai. Hence the capture of Bethel is subsequent to the fall of Ai and the connected events (Joshua 7¹⁻²⁹).

On the other hand, if Judg. 2¹⁻⁵ has any connexion with the Ark, as it appears to have, all that is recorded in this narrative must precede the setting up of the tent of meeting at Shiloh (Josh. 18¹) and subsequent events. Further, on geographical grounds it is reasonable to suppose that Bethel was in Israelite hands before Joshua and the people went to Shechem or Ebal. In any case it is impossible that Joshua should appear at Ebal (Joshua 8³⁰⁻³⁵) immediately after the fall of Ai with Bethel still unredeemed. Moreover it is hardly conceivable that the Ark was not present at this ceremony. At a solemn national covenant between God and Israel in which the priests and Levites took a prominent part, it cannot be supposed that the Ark with which the central priesthood and its bearers were so intimately connected was at Gilgal. This consideration is independent of the present form of the narrative of Joshua 8³⁰⁻³⁵ which expressly states that it formed the centre of the ceremony. While I believe this representation to be quite trustworthy, I think it best to present the argument in this form so as not to rely too much on expressions in the narrative which to some minds might appear to be editorial.

When the Ark left Gilgal it did not go straight to Shechem, but first to Bethel. Thus on all these grounds it becomes certain that the covenant of Joshua 8³⁰⁻³⁵ is later in date than the incident of weeping at Bethel-Bochim. There is another narrative with which it is closely related.

In Joshua 24¹⁻²⁷ we have a story that is misplaced and in consequence misunderstood. The preceding chapter gives us Joshua's

farewell address. As this follows it physically in the present arrangement of the text it is customary to assume that it, too, is a parting speech and a doublet of what precedes. But both internal and external grounds rebut this view. The narrative never suggests that the leader is about to retire or die, or that his mind is fixed on any kindred topic. It goes further and reports him as saying "I and my house will serve the Lord" (15). That is the language of a man who is looking forward to a further period of active life, not to imminent death. His whole procedure is directed towards leading the people to renounce the worship of other gods, and to choose the exclusive service of the God of Israel. When they agree to this he proceeds to execute a covenant, but certain ceremonies that were essential to the type of agreement here contemplated are lacking in this account. There should be the erection of an altar and one or more pillars or stones, an offering of peace-offerings and burnt offerings, and a sacrificial meal. Most of what is here missing is to be found in 8³⁰⁻³⁵ which begins with the word *אז* "then." The testimony of Deut. 27 is to the same effect. After the crossing of the Jordan a covenant ceremony was to take place in the neighbourhood of Shechem and an altar was to be erected on Mount Gerizim according to the Latin, on Mount Ebal according to the Hebrew and its allies.¹ The meal of Deut. 27⁷ is not mentioned in Josh. 8³⁰⁻³⁵, but this passage may well have suffered in transmission through editorial and other processes. Moreover, while Shechem is the inevitable place for the execution of the covenant commanded by Deut. 27, it is not a natural or intelligible scene for the delivery of a parting speech by the chief who felt he was soon to pass away. A meeting for this purpose would naturally be held either at the capital (Shiloh) or at Joshua's home (Timnath Heres), but not at Shechem. Thus every consideration combines to lend probability to the view that Joshua 24¹⁻²⁷ is not a farewell harangue at all, but the beginning of the narrative of the execution of the Deuteronomic covenant, and that 8³⁰⁻³⁵ attaches to it. In that case it will precede the move to Shiloh (Joshua 18¹) and refer to the period

¹ The alteration of Gerizim into Ebal will have been made because the former was the site of the Samaritan sanctuary. The same motive may naturally have dictated the recasting of Joshua 8^{30ff.} into its present form. Originally it will have told of an altar on Gerizim, not Ebal.

following the transfer of the Ark to Bethel (Judges 2¹⁻⁵). Probably after the northern campaign, but in any case after the capture of Bethel, Joshua summoned the tribes to Shechem and held the meeting here narrated. Then (Joshua 8³⁰) he proceeded to execute the Deuteronomic covenant in the prescribed manner.

Up to this point, then, we reach the following revised order:—Judah's departure from Jericho (Jud. 1^{16f.}); the Bethel campaign (Judges 1²²⁻²⁵); the removal of the Ark from Gilgal (Judges 2¹⁻⁵); the Shechem covenant (Joshua 24¹⁻²⁷, 7³⁰⁻³⁵); the removal of headquarters to Shiloh (Joshua 18¹). The capture of Ai falls at an earlier date.

In some recent works it has been argued that the capture of Bethel immediately followed the fall of Ai.¹ Two reasons are advanced. It is said that Bethel was so near to Ai that it is unthinkable that the narrative did not mention its fall too, and it is urged that the submission of Gibeon and its neighbouring towns presupposes the fall of Bethel. The latter contention would only possess force if the natural connexion between Gibeon and the Israelite headquarters at Gilgal ran through Bethel, but this is far from being the case. It would mean a long détour to the north to pass through this city.

As to its being unthinkable that the fall of Bethel was not mentioned in the account of the capture of Ai, the available data exclude the possibility of the two events being contemporaneous. Ai was taken by the army of all Israel: the seizure of Bethel was a purely tribal exploit (Judges 1^{22ff.}). From the beginning of the narrative of Joshua 7^{2ff.} it appears that Ai was the only objective of the first expedition (7³). This representation recurs in ch. 8. The story of the capture of Bethel is none too clear, but that there was no blockade or siege appears from the fact that the Josephite watchers saw a man leaving the city. That would have been impossible had there been an investment. It appears, then, that it was taken by a surprise attack. But the worst possible time for an attempt of this kind would have been immediately after the attack on Ai when the men of Bethel would naturally have been on their guard. The fact is that the invading Israelites were quite unable to reduce a fortified town by siege operations. That Bethel had strong

¹ KITTEL *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* i^{5.6} 418 f; cf. SELLIN *Geschichte des israelitisch jüdischen Volkes* 95.

walls was shown by the sounding made there by the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem in 1927. The invaders lacked the implements, the experience and probably also the equipment and organisation required for provisioning an investing force for a lengthy period in a poor and difficult country. The strategem that enabled them to enter Ai was useless against Bethel. Moreover while the two places are close to each other, the mountainous nature of the country renders them more separate than places at a similar distance in a plain, even if Ai be placed at Et Tell, the nearest site to Bethel.

The chronological data that we have are on the same side. Ai fell in the early days, Bethel only after Judah had set out to attack Hebron; and this did not take place until forty-five years after the spies reported at Kadesh-Barnea, i.e. probably six or seven years after the death of Moses (Joshua 14¹⁰; Deut. 2^{1,11}). The proposal to date the fall of Bethel immediately after the capture of Ai must therefore, be rejected as intrinsically improbable and in complete contradiction of all the available facts.

§ 2.

The account of Judges 1¹⁻⁸ must now be considered as a preliminary to any further investigation of the order, since some of the most difficult of our problems hinge on the relation of the events here narrated to those of Joshua 10. The book opens with the words "And it came to pass after the death of Joshua," but it is obvious from what follows that they are not in their original position, for we get an account of the leader's death in 2⁸. They come from some other place—probably the beginning of 2¹¹, and the important notices which at present follow them have been inserted where they do not belong chronologically. We must therefore put 1^{1a} aside for the purposes of our discussion.

The MT and those Greek variants that may possess historical importance are as follows:

1b. And the children of Israel enquired of the Lord saying, Who shall go up for us against the Canaanite¹ in the beginning to fight against them?

2. And the Lord said, Judah shall go up; behold. I have given the land into his hand.

3. And Judah said to Simeon his brother: go up with me in my lot, that we may fight against the Canaanite, and I in turn will go up with thee in thy lot; and Simeon went with him.

4. And Judah went up and the Lord² gave the Canaanite and the Perizzite into their hand, and they smote them in Bezek, ten thousand men.

5. And they found³ Adoni-bezek ^{5.4} in Bezek ⁴ and fought against him, and smote the Canaanite and the Perizzite⁵.

6. And Adoni-bezek⁶ fled, and they pursued after him, and captured him, and they cut off the thumbs of his hands and his feet.

7. And Adoni-bezek said, Seventy kings whose thumbs and big toes had been cut off used to gather under my table: as I have done, so has Elohim⁷ repaid me. And they brought him to Jerusalem and he died there.

8. And the children of Judah⁸ fought ⁹against Jerusalem,⁹ and took it at the point of the sword, and the city they burnt with fire.

1-1 HP 126 Sah omit. 2 A* m omit; Sah reads "Lord (? Baal) of Israel." 3. B and other texts "captured." 4-4. B*b i⁹ Eth omit. 5-5 HP 125 omits. 6. HP 125 omits 7. b Aram-Cold Lat α : presumably both readings are substitutions for "the Baal" which would be the natural expression in the mouth Adoni-bezek. 8. a, Israel. 9-9. a omits: Sah adds "and fought against it,"

It is not of very much importance historically whether the expression "in the beginning" in verse 4 is or is not part of the original text. But in 22, where we read of Joseph's going to Bethel, there is a Greek variant which should be noticed. According to MT the Lord was with them: according to A Judah (יהודה for יהוה). This scarcely appears correct.

In 4f. there seems to be a conflation of readings. One ran simply "And they captured Adoni-bezek," the other "And they found A. and he fled and they pursued after him and captured him," both continuing "and they cut off etc." Seemingly HP 125, which omits everything in 5 after the king's name, preserves a more original text: for stylistically it is superior to the Hebrew.

In 8 "children of Judah" is an unnatural expression in this context. The reading "children of Israel" seems preferable; and it is easy to understand that the preceding mention of Judah led to the change. Historically it is untrue that they took and burnt Jerusalem, but the variants suggest that the name is not original and may have

been supplied from the context after damage to the archetype had destroyed the true reading.¹

That the passage has suffered in transmission appears alike from the recorded variants and from the fact that we miss the introduction of Adoni-bezek. It presupposes a context telling the readers who he was and how he came to be with the Canaanites and Perizzites.

Where was Bezek? It is mentioned nowhere else in the OT, but in 1 Sam. 11⁸ there is a reference to another Bezek which is generally identified with Khirbet Ibzik.

This cannot be the place to which our narrative refers, for no force would have chosen so eccentric a route (using the word "eccentric" in its military sense) to go from Jericho to Southern Judaea. But in the passage of Samuel the LXXal MMs preserves a marginal note $\rho\alpha\mu\alpha$ which is the reading of $\alpha\sigma\alpha\epsilon$. Presumably the original author of this interpretation had some ground for holding that Bezek was an alternative name of Ramah (Er-Ram) or the valley it overlooks, and supposed that it was at this place that Saul mustered his army. However unsuitable this may be for Saul's Bezek, the identification fits the Judges narrative admirably. Judah for some reason apparently could not reach its natural territory by any route south of Jerusalem. We have no knowledge of this reason, but our sources clearly conceive the movement as being to the north, not the south of Jerusalem. The Jerusalem road was blocked by the Jebusites, since it is impossible to pass a hostile Jerusalem by the way from Wady Kelt. They were therefore compelled to come a little to the north and would debouch at or near Er-Ram. The valley it overlooks was the natural battlefield between them and highland tribes that desired to hurl back the invaders.²

¹ The conjecture that the whole verse is due to a redactor scarcely deserves mention, for a Jewish redactor who did not know that Jerusalem first became Israelite under David is as mythical a being as the phoenix or the chimera.

² R. KITTEL, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* i³, 406, is quite wrong in his geography when he writes „Damit wäre eine wenigstens mögliche Erklärung gegeben, wenn sich verständlich machen liesse, wie der Stamm Judah von Jericho aus auf das Gebirge Judah, als dessen Mittelpunkt wir etwa die Gegend von Bethlehem und das Land von hier bis Hebron zu denken haben, kommen konnte, ohne Jerusalem zu besitzen. Auf jenes Gebirge führt indes kein anderer Weg als über Jerusalem. Damit fällt auch die zweite Annahme: In die Gegend von Gezer, also den Westen

Who, then, was Adoni-bezek? His name is presented by the LXX for Adoni-zedek in Josh. 10 and some moderns have inferred from the fact that he was taken to Jerusalem that this was the city over which he reigned. These views should be rejected for the following reasons:

1. No probable ground can be suggested for the change of Adoni-bezek, if that had been the true reading in Joshua, into Adoni-zedek; but it is easy to understand that somebody who confused the king of Jerusalem here mentioned with the Adoni-bezek of Judges may have made the opposite change.

2. The LXX in this chapter and elsewhere in the book shows signs of alterations inspired by historical views. In 10⁵ it has kings of the *Jebusites* instead of Amorites. This is continued by dpt in verses 6 and 12. Yet there can be no reasonable doubt that Amorite is the correct reading and that only the inhabitants of Jerusalem were Jebusites.

3. That Adoni-bezek was not a king of Jerusalem appears from a number of considerations:

(i) The enemies of Judah are called Canaanites and Perizzites; Jerusalem was neither, but Jebusite. We should have expected a mention of this people had they been engaged.

(ii) The action of the Israelites in releasing a king of Jerusalem, i.e. of a city they would have been anxious to take, is difficult to understand. The natural course would have been to kill him, von Jerusalem konnte ein Angreifer erst recht nicht wohl kommen, ohne Herr jener Stadt zu sein. Unter diesen Umständen wird man sich entschliessen müssen, anzunehmen, dass Juda mit Simeon von Süden her in sein Land eindrang. Hierbei mag ihm in der Tat der König von Jerusalem als der führende Fürst des südlichen Kanaan entgegengetreten sein."

There is no difficulty in reaching the country to the north of Jerusalem from Jericho, and in the days of Joshua, when there were no long-range projectiles, a hostile Jerusalem could not by itself prevent a field army from reaching Hebron or Gezer from Gibeah or Ramah. That could only have been done if it had been supported by a superior mobile force capable of defeating the invaders.

Kittel's whole discussion of the invasion of Judah (402f.) is vitiated by the fact that he has not realised that Num. xxi 1-3 refers to an earlier date than Num. xiv which it should precede. See my articles on *The Exodus and the Southern Invasion*, N. Th. St. x, 1927, 71-81; *Rival Theories of the Exodus and Settlement*, *ibid.* 129-142; M.G.W.J. 1928, 311-315; etc. More than 2000 years ago the text suffered derangement, and the commentators have been wandering in the wilderness ever since.

or to use him as a pawn in negotiations for its surrender, but not to restore him to his people.

On the other hand if he was a king of some other city or district, they might quite probably mutilate him and let him go to Jerusalem, where he would be harmless, while they proceeded to capture and destroy his city.

(iii) When we read of a person called Adoni-bezek in connexion with a place called Bezek it is more natural to infer that he belonged to it than that the similarity is due to a chance resemblance between the name of a king of Jerusalem and a place where he happened to join battle.

(iv) It will appear hereafter that the battles of Gibeon and Bezek were two separate occurrences. Now what we are told of the fate of Adoni-zedek excludes the possibility of his figuring later in the Bezek battle, and conversely our information as to Adoni-bezek shows that he could not have been the Adoni-zedek of Gibeon and Makkedah.

§ 3.

Some of the most puzzling problems of the conquest narratives are furnished by certain portions of Josh. 10-12 and the kindred passages. According to the account contained in them a confederacy of five kings (Jerusalem, Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish, Eglon) make an attack on the Gibeonites. The latter send for help to Joshua at the camp of Gilgal. By a forced night march he succeeds in taking the allies by surprise and defeating them. The five kings are captured and hung, and Joshua takes Makkedah, Libnah, Eglon, Hebron and Debir, exterminating the inhabitants. He smites all the country south of Gibeon, leaving no single soul alive (10^{40,42}). The next chapter gives us a companion picture mainly of the north, while 12 contains an enumeration of the kings conquered by Israel.

About some of these places we possess no independent information. But in the case of Hebron and Debir and the sons of Anak we have other data which must be compared with these.

In 14^{9,15} we find Caleb forty-five years after the despatch of the spies from Kadesh-barnea, coming to Joshua, then still at Gilgal, stating that the Anakites are in the mountain country, suggesting that perhaps he may succeed in driving them out, and asking for the gift of the territory. It is duly assigned to him by Joshua, and

subsequently we read of his taking Hebron and driving out the sons of Anak and of Othniel's capturing Debir (Joshua 15¹³⁻¹⁹, Judges 1⁹⁻¹⁵). If Joshua had already exterminated the Anakites and the inhabitants of the two cities in accordance with the representations of 11^{21f.}, 10³⁶⁻³⁸, there would have been no room for the action of Caleb and Othniel; and conversely, if the latter had already performed their exploits, there could have been no participation by a king of Hebron in the confederacy against Joshua, and no action by the latter against the Anakites, Hebron and Debir. The only tenable view is that deeds that were actually executed by divisions of Israelites have been attributed, not without some exaggeration, to Joshua and all Israel.

The narrative of Josh. 10 is intimately connected with the story of the Gibeonites of which it provides the sequel. It was their agreement with Israel that led to attack on them, and it was near Gibeon that the resulting battle took place. The historical fact of the agreement is supported by the complete silence of the Hebrew records as to any other form of contact with Gibeon and by the express testimony of 2 Sam. 21², which makes it clear that they did not belong to the inheritance of the Lord, but were an Amorite people, standing in close treaty relations with the Israelites.

This brings us back again to the group of perplexing questions that are bound up with the battle of Gibeon.

We begin by clearing away one view which has been advocated in recent years. It has been suggested that Judah's action against the Canaanites and Perizzites and occupation of the South *precede* Joshua's battle.¹ Then it is pertinently urged that the participation of a king of Hebron in the league against Joshua is impossible and that Hebron and Debir had long since fallen. In reality this argument only proves that Judah's advance did *not* precede the Gibeon episode as the hypothesis assumes. The difficulties are due to a faulty arrangement of the material. If a hypothesis results in causing a non-existent king to take part in a battle and compels the capture of cities already Israelite, it must necessarily be erroneous, and we must look for a more tenable theory.²

¹ KITTEL, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* 5,6. 410, 429f., 435f.

² Other considerations tell on the same side. A great battle in the field would necessarily fall near the beginning of the conquest, not at a period when it was al-

The league of the Gibeonites with an Israel that had established itself in the Jordan valley was a menace to Jerusalem. It was inevitable that sooner or later the Israelites would endeavour to possess themselves of the city itself. Indeed, when we read that they could not capture Jerusalem, it is natural to infer that they tried and failed; for who would have thought their inability worth chronicling if they had made no attempt? It is therefore in accordance with the inherent necessities of the political position that the king of Jerusalem should have taken the lead in an effort to destroy the advantages that Israel had gained by the Gibeonite treaty.

A battle was inevitable, and, had it resulted badly for the invaders, there would have been an end of the conquest. Once expelled from the mountain land and hurled back into the Jordan valley as a defeated host, the Israelites could never have hoped to establish any real footing in Western Palestine. The whole of the subsequent history therefore demands that they should have won a victory over the Amorite confederation, and this was a condition precedent of any attempt to occupy the tribal lots.

Our actual narrative quotes a fragment of song, which according to MT was preserved in a book called the Book of the Upright (10¹²⁻¹⁴). The narrator misinterprets it and holds that the sun and the moon stood still. That is good evidence that he had before him an old poem which related to the battle, all the more so that the present context completely misunderstands it. We must therefore accept the fact as historical. The defeat inflicted on the forces

ready half completed and the tribes scattered in local undertakings. Nor would they have been able to separate and embark on isolated enterprises so long as there was a possibility of their being confronted by a large field army. The tribal stage of the conquest could not begin until the main enemy field forces had been accounted for.

Conversely the time for the southern kings to make an effort to meet the Hebrew invasion was when the strategic position began to menace their safety. That occurred when the Gibeonites made a treaty with Israel which had already won access to the mountain country, thus throwing a band of hostile territory across the land from the Jordan to the limit of the Gibeonite domains.

* Similarly the chronology favours this view. Caleb does not ask for Hebron till several years after the death of Moses, and Josh. 13¹ shows us the leader as an old man and is unfavourable to the view that he had only recently acceded to the command. It would be more natural if he had been in control of the operations for some time with only partial success.

of Hebron and the other cities of the south in the field prepared the way for their subsequent conquest by Caleb and his associates.

We have seen that the action of Judah and Simeon cannot have preceded the battle of Gibeon. There remain two possibilities: either the traditions of Judg. 1 and Josh. 10 go back to one and the same battle, or else the engagement at Gibeon preceded the fight at Bezek. That the latter alternative is correct appears from many considerations:

1. We have already seen reason to hold that Adoni-bezek and Adoni-zedek were not identical.

2. The scenes of the encounters are different, one being at Gibeon, the other at Bezek.¹

3. The invading forces are not the same. According to the fragment of song the Gibeon battle was fought by the people, while we know that tribal forces only were engaged at Bezek.

4. On the Canaanite side, too, entirely different sections of the population were engaged. In the Gibeon battle the combatants were provided by a southern league of cities, but the forces involved at Bezek were the Canaanites and Perizzites. Other passages throw light on the habitat of the tribes thus jointly indicated. Where Canaanites and Perizzite are associated alone in this way without any of the other peoples, the reference is to territory north (*not* south) of Jerusalem.² A tradition of a fight with a king of Jerusalem and southern confederates, obviously cannot be identified with a

¹ The historical character of the battle of Gibeon is supported by the fact of the treaty with the Gibeonites and the poetic citation of Josh. x 12f.: that of the Bezek fight by the difficulty of supposing that legend would invent an encounter of Judah outside its tribal lot with Canaanites and Perizzites who seem never to have been associated with its territory at all.

² Cf. H. W. HERTZBERG, JPOS vi, 1926, 216f. In Gen. 12⁷ we read in connexion with the neighbourhood of Bethel that the Canaanite and the Perizzite were at that time dwelling in the land, and in 24³⁰ Jacob at Shechem speaks of "the inhabitants of the land, the Canaanite and the Perizzite." In Josh. 17¹⁸ the Perizzites are placed in or near the territory of Ephraim in a phrase that, however, does not occur in the LXX, and from 11¹¹ it appears that they were a mountain people. The Canaanites dwelt in the plains and by the side of the Jordan (Num. 13³⁰, Joshua 11², cf. Deut 11³⁰). The Canaanites and Perizzites appear to designate the population south of Shechem in the Jordan valley and on the mountain land immediately west of the valley. Quite possibly the two peoples interlaced to some extent.

story of a battle with natives dwelling to the north.

How far does this conception of the course of events conflict with our sources? It sacrifices first the present order of the narrative, secondly the view of Josh. 10²⁸⁻⁴³ that Joshua and all Israel reduced a large number of places and extirpated their inhabitants immediately after the battle of Gibeon, and thirdly representations such as those of 11¹⁶⁻²³ and 13^{2ff.} (cf. 21⁴³⁻⁴⁵) that all the territory of Israel with certain exceptions was reduced by Joshua in war before any partition was made. Of these the first two points must be conceded without argument, for the facts that tell against the old view are overwhelming. The third follows in part from the first two, but it must also be noticed that there are a number of statements on the other side which make it clear that Israel did not capture everything in war under Joshua's leadership as here represented.

Josh. 11 tells us of a battle against a northern league near the waters of Merom. As victory is promised to Joshua "tomorrow" (verse 6), he must have been somewhere in the north, far from Gilgal. This campaign therefore belongs to a far later date than the battle of Gibeon, and must be regarded as subsequent to the capture of Bethel, perhaps also to the ceremony at Shechem (Josh. 24¹⁻²⁸, 8^{30ff.}).

For the rest we see that the order of the events was Jericho, Ai, Gibeon, and then, probably after an interval, Judah's departure from Jericho and subsequent episodes.

§ 4.

The allocation of the tribal lots west of the Jordan calls for notice. We must begin by disposing of some of the flimsy paper criticism of recent years. Kittel has well summarised it in the following paragraph.

"Freilich muss sich hier die Frage erheben: ob eine solche vorläufige Verteilung und die nachfolgende Einzeleroberung der Gebiete nicht zwei sich gegenseitig widersprechende Vorstellungen seien, die gar nicht von einem und demselben Schriftsteller erzählt sein konnten, ja ob nicht—auch diese Frage mag gleich angeschlossen werden—eine solche Vorstellung lediglich der Phantasie eines unvollkommen unterrichteten Erzählers entstamme. Man wird geneigt sein, zu sagen: gerade die Tatsache der vereinzelter Eroberung, die als gesicherte historische Erinnerung durchblicke, schliesse diejenige der vorher-

gehenden Verteilung aus. Denn hätten die Stämme so viel Zusammenhalt besessen, um die Gebiete zu verteilen, so hätten Klugheit und Pflicht geboten, auch durch gemeinsames Handeln das Land zu erobern, statt Stamm für Stamm sich selbst zu überlassen. Die vorausgehende Verteilung verfällt somit dem Verdacht, als wäre in ihr künstliches System, und die andere Vorstellung hat das Vorurteil für sich, dem natürlichen Hergang zu entsprechen. Der wirkliche Gang der Dinge würde demnach gewesen sein, dass im Laufe längerer Zeit ein Stamm um den andern den Jordan überschritt oder sonstwie im Land eindrang, jeder den ihm zusagenden oder durch die Umstände ermöglichten Gebietsteil sich erstritt und so nach Verfluss geraumer Zeit allmählich alle in Frage kommenden Stämme sich wenigstens im Gebirge des Westlandes festgesetzt hätten. Hierzu scheint es keiner Vorverteilung zu bedürfen. Ja sie scheint, als unnatürlich und durch wenig geschichtliche Analogien gestützt, schon für sich das Gepräge späterer Erfindung an sich zu tragen." (*op. cit.* 407).

A grasp of a very few realities disposes of all this. In every campaign there are tasks which require the largest forces that can be massed, and others in which the employment of great numbers is impossible or undesirable. Had a single tribe attempted the subjugation of the mountain land in the first instance, it would have been crushed by a coalition of the native states. But those were days in which campaigns in the field were generally decided in a single battle, and if the coalition once met with disaster there would be no second field army to replace that which had been overthrown. As soon as this danger had been surmounted the detailed work of conquest required forces that were proportioned to the particular tasks to be accomplished. It would have been absurd to send a column of even five thousand men to subjugate a district which contained say half a dozen open villages of from 200 to 500 inhabitants apiece.¹ And in nine cases out of ten it would have been impossible to supply such a column with the necessary water. Probably, too, the Israelite commissariat was quite unequal to the task of feeding an army in the field for any length of time. Thus we see that while it was inevitable that there should be one big engagement between the natives of the south and the invaders,

¹ Compare the view taken in Josh. 7³ as to the forces required to reduce Ai.

the subsequent operations would necessarily be conducted by relatively small forces.

Those would best be provided by the tribes that were to possess the districts to be conquered. They would have a far greater interest in reducing them than anybody else.

As to the distribution of the land before its occupation the plans of a general staff for the conquest of any territory in war form an apt parallel. And it could hardly be expected that the tribes would make much sacrifice in war without knowing what benefit they were to derive from it. Indeed, it appears from Josh. 18³ that they remained supine before they had received allotments, and the opening verses of Judges 1 which show us Judah and Simeon making an arrangement on the subject after negotiation doubtless convey an accurate impression of the general attitude of the tribes on the matter.

At the first blush it would appear as if Judah and Joseph received their allotments at Gilgal and the rest of the tribes at Shiloh; but other facts seem to show that this superficial impression needs modification.

Josh. 14⁶⁻¹⁴ is explicit in asserting that Caleb's claim went back to the time of the return of the spies, and it would seem that his choice as the representative of Judah among the spies, though he was a Kenizzite, points to a preliminary understanding even then. It must be remembered that the patriarch Judah had been specially connected with the south. We know from Egyptian sources how freely Bedouin entered and left Egypt. Some of the southern tribes may in this way have remained in touch with the Israelites in Egypt and so have kept alive a predominant connexion with particular localities. How the Kenizzite Caleb came to join Judah we do not know; perhaps it was during the Egyptian sojourn, perhaps in the wilderness, just as the Kenites then came to Moses. But in any event we do find the Kenizzites attached to Judah before and during the conquest, and we cannot but suppose that there is some connexion between this peculiar relationship and the southern allotment.

Joseph's claim to Shechem seems also to go back to patriarchal times. There is an allusion in Gen. 48²² to some episode of which the details are unknown to us: but it would appear that the

tribe's right to the city was traced back to a disposition of Jacob on his deathbed. It is perhaps partly for this reason that we find Judah and Joseph receiving their lots in the first instance at Gilgal before the rest of the tribes, but also partly because the Jordan valley was the inevitable starting point for the conquest of the territories assigned to them.

It would, however, be erroneous to suppose that the allotments to the other tribes depended on either chance or the sacred lot. This appears most clearly in the narrative of the disposition of the trans-Jordanic territory (Num. 32), but is not altogether obscured elsewhere. It is evident that Judah and Simeon were closely connected. Josh. 19^{ff.} places the Simeonite lot in the midst of Judah's. Such an arrangement could have been made only between two tribes that were very friendly. Judges 1³ shows Simeon joining Judah at Jericho on the understanding that each was to help the other in conquering its allotted territory. That points to a provisional arrangement as to Simeon's location that was earlier than the proceedings at Shiloh. We should probably understand that the general lines of the partition had been agreed upon long before the final settlement, and that in reality only the precise boundaries were affected by the latter. The sacred lot was only invoked to sanction what had been arranged in the light of the conditions of the time.

§ 5.

In Judges 1 we are back in the Jordan valley as the starting-point. Judah goes up. The Kenites set out from the City of the Palms (v. 16), i.e. Jericho. The children of Joseph also go up. (v. 22). We are therefore at the exact period of Josh. 13. And here we come once more on the chronological problem. Joshua is old—hence the partition. This is not language that would be used of a leader who had been appointed a few months previously. If these statements are to be accepted as historical, some time has elapsed since the battle of Gibeon. They derive strong confirmation from Josh. 14^{7,10} according to which forty-five years passed between the episode of the spies and Joshua's gift of Hebron to Caleb. Accordingly some seven years had gone by since the death of Moses, for thirty eight years elapsed between the stay at Kadesh-Barnea and the crossing of the Zered (Deut. 2¹⁴). What had happened meanwhile? We have seen that the conquests narrated in the latter part

of Josh. 10 had not yet been made, and it is not easy to believe that the campaign of Josh. 11 had yet taken place, for the capture of Bethel must surely have preceded any war against Hazor. Moreover, we have found that the whole of the events here narrated precede Josh. 18.

The delay between the battle of Gibeon and Judah's advance was probably due to the desire to take Jerusalem before the occupation of the tribal lots. Does the statement that the Israelites could not take the city (Josh. 15⁶³ Judges 1²¹) mean that they knew their weakness and made no attempt, or is it merely a gentle way of saying that they tried and failed?

It is difficult to hold that such a notice would ever have been penned if no attempt had been made. Probably nothing would have been said about the matter at all. Why should any historian stress the inability of the invaders to do something they never tried? Such gratuitous admissions of impotence are not characteristic of national records. Probably, then, they did their best and failed. It was all but vital to make the city Israelite and the failure to do so permanently weakened the communications between the various parts of the territory occupied and their defensive power: it prejudiced the fortunes of the Israelites till the time of David.

In fact geographical and strategic considerations impose upon an invader of western Palestine coming by way of Jericho the task of capturing Jerusalem if he wishes to make himself effective master of the mountain country. That is an abiding factor in the case, true of all ages, and read in the light of that the notice that the people could not dispossess the Jebusite surely means that they exerted their utmost power to do so and failed. If that be sound it gives us the solution of the chronological problem.

§ 6.

A comparison of the Septuagintal and Massoretic texts of Josh 8¹⁻²⁰ yields interesting results. As it stands in the Hebrew the passage is not homogeneous. According to 3-9 Joshua sends a body of 30,000 to form an ambush, but in 12f. five thousand men are sent for the purpose. In the Greek this discrepancy does not exist. The text is shorter, and, in addition to lacking elements that are responsible for the difficulty of the Hebrew, omits several phrases which are clearly glosses. Thus in 1 Origen added כל "all" and

ואת עמו ואת עירו "and his people and his city"; in 2 ולמלכה "and her king," in 4 לעיר "against the city" and מאד "very," and so on.

These and many other expressions should be rejected. They add nothing to the sense, but fill out the text in the manner that was dear to minds that regarded it as a duty to increase Torah. When they are removed we obtain a narrative that contains everything that is essential in our Hebrew, but in a form that is stylistically superior.

In the crucial matters the following variants call for study. In 3 dpt and the Ethiopic read three thousand instead of thirty thousand. This is presumably right, for (a) there was a constant tendency to increase numbers, (b) it is obvious from many data, and especially from the fact that in the previous attack on Ai the Israelite casualties had only been about 36 (7⁵), that the forces engaged were small, and (c) the geographical and other conditions show that the children of Israel must have been few in number at the time of the invasion. Hence the historian must necessarily favour the lowest figures as being nearest to the truth.

In 7f. the LXX seems to have read 7. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐξαναστήσεσθε ἐν τῆς ἐνέδρας, καὶ πορεύσεσθε εἰς τὴν πόλιν. 8 κατὰ τὸ ἔθμα τοῦτο ποιήσετε. ἰδοὺ ἐντέταλμαι ὑμῖν, while 9b was wanting in its Hebrew. The additional statements of the Massoretic text are all of the kind that could well have been supplied by anybody who had the rest of the chapter before him.

In 11b-14a we find the following:-

	MT	LXX
11b	And they camped on the north of Ai and the valley was between him and Ai	on the east
12	And he took about five thousand men and set them in ambush between Bethel and Ai west of the city	And the ambush of the city was on the west.
13	And they set the people, all the camp which was on the north of the city and its heel on the west of the city; and Joshua went on that night in the midst of the valley	<i>vacat</i>
14	And it came to pass when the king of Ai saw, that they hastened	And it came to pass when the king of Ai

and got up early and the men of	saw he hastened and
the city went out to meet Israel	went out to meet
to the war he and all his people	them on the plain
for the season (למועד) before the	(למישר?) to the war,
Arabah	he and all his people
	with him.

Here 9 b and 13 b are variants of the same

העם	וילן	
and	and	
העםק	וילך	being alternatives.

It may be that one corruption led to its being written in the margin as a result of a collation of the MSS and then being taken into the text. For the rest, the main variations between the two texts are due to a difference in the number of the ambush, the authority followed by MT giving 5000 instead of the earlier three or thirty thousand, and a divergent treatment of the geography.

It is difficult to understand from the narratives of Joshua why the inhabitants of the city should have come out to fight a vastly superior enemy who could make no impression on their walls. But at Et Tell the only available spring is to the north outside the city. If this were in the hands of an enemy a sortie would become necessary. Accordingly it would seem probable that in this matter the recension preserved by the Hebrew is the more correct, if Ai is rightly located at Et Tell. This is, however, doubtful, and we must wait for further light, which excavation may or may not provide.

Later in the chapter Origen did not find 20b and 26 as constituents of the early text. They may be regarded as late additions.

The facts as a whole seem to point to the existence of different recensions constructed on principles which differed from those of modern scholarship. Our present Hebrew has elements derived from at least two. Sometimes one of the recensions is the nearer to the original, sometimes the other.

The form of the earlier chapters leads us to a similar view of their composition.

In Josh. 2 there seem to be no indications that would warrant a division into sources. It is claimed that the phraseology of 3, 12f. and 18 shows duplication. In the first of these passages the Hebrew

seems to have suffered from glossing (see KITTEL, B H, *ad loc.*). In the other two there is nothing in the language to justify the claim. It is true that in 18-21 we have a conversation which obviously ought not to have been conducted where it could be overheard by the neighbours; but the argument overlooks the fact that we are dealing rather with a literary representation of what happened than with a shorthand report of an interview. The author correctly conveys the substance of the arrangement in artistic form, and it is unfair to judge his work by tests that have no application to compositions of this class.

Much the same is true of 3f. As they now stand, these chapters constitute a singularly confused account of the events narrated and cannot represent the work of a single mind. Yet while there is much repetition and displacement, the course of events stands out clearly with only slight discrepancies in matters of detail. It is not possible to disentangle the various constituents of the chapter with any probability at all, and time spent on the attempt to analyse is merely wasted. We must be content with following the main facts and recognizing that the origin of the difficulties which exist cannot now be traced with even a shadow of probability.

The Greek text of chapter 6 displays considerable variations from the Hebrew. Thus the phrase about seven priests bearing seven trumpets of rams' horns before the ark which occurs in substantially the same form in the MT of 4a, 6b, 8a and 13a is found in the LXX only in the two latter passages. This and other differences point to the probability that the original text was much shorter. Whether it was an amalgam of two or more accounts, or whether it was originally unitary cannot now be ascertained, for most of the chapter does not lend itself to any dissection that can be regarded as at all natural. The phenomena it presents could for the most part have arisen through damage to an early text followed by attempts to repair it and glossing. Whether they did so arise or not is a matter of conjecture.

Thus when due allowance is made for textual deterioration, glossing and editing, we find that we are confronted in the first nine chapters by what in substance is a single story. It may be that one written basis was expanded in two or more recensions and that some combination or collation of the two is responsible for

some of the features of our present text. There are small divergences which make it difficult to be sure of certain unimportant details. And as we know, the amount of latitude that old Hebrew scribes or editors allowed themselves in reproducing passages was entirely different from anything that would be permitted by the literary standards of the modern west.¹ But when this is taken into consideration, I can see nothing in the facts of the first nine chapters to lead to the view that we have a combination of independent accounts composed by two or more independent writers. The impression made is rather that, apart from mere glossing and commentary, we have the remains of a single written basis in a form which represents a collation of different recensions of that basis made by men whose literary practice was quite unlike our own.

On the whole, then, it would appear that with the exception of the covenant at Shechem, our materials present us with what in substance is a single account of the invasion from the death of Moses to the battle of Gibeon.

There are small discrepancies and much confused writing the origin of which cannot now be traced. The narratives of the conquest embrace materials that go back before the age of David and have undergone modification at least as recently as the making of the LXX or its Hebrew original. Between those two extreme dates lies a complicated transmission which it is impossible to trace.

After the joining of the battle at Gibeon we have materials which are not merely fragmentary but also out of order. Historical reconstruction can do something to remedy matters.

A further source of trouble is that a number of exploits of detached columns have been attributed to Joshua and all Israel. It is probable that this is due to the mentality which assumed that everything happened in accordance with the programme to be derived from the most literal reading of biblical texts and that we have to thank for this a redaction that was influenced by such passages as Num. 27¹⁶⁻²³, Deut. 30²³, 31⁷, etc.

One other point calls for passing notice. It has been assumed that the book of Joshua has been compiled from sources that are found in the Pentateuch and in later historical books. No view could be more erroneous. That the sources of Samuel and Judges 2^{14ff}.

Compare e.g. the text of Judges 2⁶⁻⁹ and Joshua 24²⁸⁻³¹.

do not appear in Joshua has been shown elsewhere.¹ As to the Pentateuch a whole battery of arguments could be brought to bear on the theory, if necessary, but one is conclusive. A moment's thought shows that there is nothing in Joshua which is comparable to the exquisite stories of Genesis, Exodus and Numbers. Their author can have had no share in the making of the narratives of the conquest. IX

¹ See my monograph, *The Composition of Judges 2¹¹⁻¹, Kings 2⁴⁶*, Hinrichs, Leipzig.

TOPOGRAPHICAL RESEARCHES IN GALILEE

AAPPELI SAARISALO

(JERUSALEM)

There is hardly any city in Palestine or in the whole world, which has seen more history than Acre, Jerusalem perhaps excepted. This is due to its geographical situation. In the beginning of the study "Geography of the Plain of Acre" (in Bull. No. 2 of the British School of Archaeology) we read the following: "The Plain of Acre extends from Ras En Nakura in the North to Carmel on the South. In shape it may be described as like the capital letter B, the coast line forming the vertical stroke, and the hill country of Upper and Lower Galilee rounding off the Plain into the two curves, while sending to the coast approximately in the centre a spur which divides the Plain into almost distinct sections. The town of Acre situated at this central point draws, as it were, the two parts of the Plain together, and affords a meeting place for the streams of commerce which converge upon it both by land and sea." And we will later note the fact that it was the terminus of the important road which is now called the road of the men of Haurân.

Tell el-fubbâr (the mound of potsherds), an imposing site, which lies east of Acre near the spring 'ain es-sitt, is a large natural hill, the northern side of which is rounded, the southern irregular in shape. On this there lies a quantity of débris, 2¹/₂ m. in depth in the south-east, but in the north and north-east deeper. In that direction the mound is higher, with steep slopes, but it descends gradually towards the south-west; on the surface and in the upper

strata Hellenistic sherds abound. The occupation originally covered the north-eastern top of the mound, but later on gradually expanded towards the spring and the plain. I found there sherds of the Middle and Late Bronze and Early Iron I, but in my large collection there seems to be a gap between 900 and 400 B.C. According to the ceramic evidence of both this tell and Acre, which does not seem to exhibit any Early Iron or Bronze, it may be suggested that the Acre of the Bronze Age and of the Early Iron, i.e. of the Egyptian and Old Testament records, was situated on *tell el-fubhār*. Afterwards the city was removed to its present site, which might easily have been an island in earlier times, like 'Athlit and Tyre.

Acre first comes into the light of history in the list of Tuthmosis III in the fifteenth century B.C. Later the Amarna letters show the position of Acre in the line of traffic between Egypt and Mesopotamia. During the time of Ramesses II Acre with the rest of Phoenicia fell under the dominion of Egypt. After this date it is not mentioned in the Egyptian documents. In the Persian period Artaxerxes Mnemon mustered his troops there in order to invade Egypt (Diodorus Siculus 15: 41). During the Greek and Roman period, as well as during the time of the Crusaders and lastly of Napoleon, Acre was distinguished as a place of military importance. About the beginning of our era it was called Ptolemais. In describing the occupation of the city by Antiochus the Great in 219, Polybius (5: 61 f.) mentions that it was then already called Ptolemais.

According to the biblical evidence Accho is never mentioned during the period of the ceramic gap, i.e. roughly about 900-400 B.C., the period of the kingdom of Israel. Before 900 B.C. we learn from Judges 1³¹ that Asher did not drive out the inhabitants of Accho. This suggests that the city had gradually declined during the Israelite period, since it was cut off from its commercial connexion with the mainland. As one illustration we might mention that the Galilean prophet Jonah did not embark from Acre but from Jaffa.

The site of the ancient Accho, i.e. *tell el-fubhār*, was also occupied, according to the ceramic evidence, through the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and according to literary evidence during the Roman period. The *Καφαραχω* which we find in Josephus (B.J. II 20: 6) is without doubt identical with the *כפר עכו* of Yebamot XII:6 which also shows that before the end of the first century of our era *כפר עכו*

was occupied by the Jews, since a Jewish teacher called Rabbi Hyrkanos was resident there at that time. Talmudic literature mentions many rabbis as residents of this place (see Klein, *Beiträge*, pp. 19-20, esp. p. 9, who would identify it with the modern 'amqa). When Rabbi Simon ben Yehudah, the resident of כפר עכו, writes that he went out of his place to Galilee (Klein, *op. cit.*, p. 20), it shows that his village was not situated in the hill country, which belonged to the land of Israel. But 'amqa and its close neighbour kefr yāsif (which is also identified with כפר ישוב, Ben Zevi שאר ישוב, p. 62) both lie inside the land of Israel and belong thus to Galilee, since all the land east of the road between Accho and Achzib belonged to the land of Israel. (According to this tradition the modern Jews of Acre still bury their dead in kefr yāsif). And the name "Village of Accho" is to be explained most naturally as the village nearest to the city, or more exactly, as the suburb of the city of Accho.

The idea has been generally accepted that Palestine was always an important bridge between the two centres of culture, Egypt and the Euphrates Valley. This highway could not pierce the wild hill country of Palestine without bringing into existence caravansaries and settlements in addition to those settlements that were already established along the route. This does not concern the isolated mountain range of southern and central Palestine but the northern part, Galilee, only, since it seems that the so called *darb el-hawārneh* serves as the easiest road across Galilee. The port of Damascus is now Beirut. But before the modern railway across Lebanon and Antilibanus not one of the ports of the Mediterranean from Tyre northwards was suitable to serve as the port of Damascus. To get to Tyre, again, the road must first pass Hermon to Baniās or Ḥasbēya and then cross the difficult heights of Northern Galilee. Accho alone was the natural port of Damascus and the easiest roads to it run through Lower Galilee. The present railway from Acre and Haifa to Damascus is built along the Nahr Jālūd via Beisān. But this line along the entire length of the alluvial plain of Accho and Megiddo to Beisān as well as its continuation along the Ghōr was not easy to traverse during the rainy season. Except for travellers who had some local business in Beisān, the road from Damascus to Accho and Megiddo via Beisān was a long unnecessary

detour. The neighbouring *wādī* (*w. serrār*) is quite impracticable with its steep rocky sides which continue all the long distance between the Jordan and Mt. Tabor.

Only one *wādī* (*w. fedjdjās*) remains to be considered, and the road through it seems to be the shortest and easiest. If the road followed this *wādī*, the ancient route between Damascus and Accho traversed the plain of Ḥaurān, came down into the Jordan Valley just south of the Sea of Galilee via *fiq* and passed on to the Mediterranean straight westwards up *wādī fedjdjās* and thence north of Tabor and through the southern edge of the plain *sabl el-baṭṭōf* via *wādī 'abellin* to Accho. The limestone country is comparatively dry even in the rainy season, since this road avoids all the alluvial plains, except for the necessary crossing of the narrow valley of the Jordan south of the Sea of Galilee. There are no difficult gorges along this road. It is true that both *wādī fedjdjās* and *w. el-mu' allaqah* have steep sides but only on the north. On the contrary their southern sides slope gently and are quite convenient for the route *darb el-ḥawārneh*.

In my study "The Boundary between Issachar and Naphtali"¹ it has been pointed out that all the sites of the Early Bronze Age existing between Tabor and the Jordan (eight in number) form a line which coincides completely with the old commercial road *darb el ḥawārneh*. There is not one Early Bronze Age settlement to be found in this region away from this route. Among the numerous early settlements there were also several, which do not lie near a cultivated plain. The early existence of settlements of this kind without a tillable plain must be due to the presence of a caravan route. Thus this road evidently existed first and then gradually the settlements grew up along its course.

But if we continue along this road westward from Tabor toward Accho the chain of Early Bronze Age settlements is cut off altogether. On the whole distance between Tabor and Accho there is only one Early Bronze Age site to be found along this road, namely *tell kisān*, on the plain of Accho, and this western part of the road is three times as long as the eastern stretch between Tabor and the Jordan. The earliest chain of settlements to be found here belonged

¹ The Finnish Academy of Science, Publications XXI, 3, Helsinki, 1927.

to the Late Bronze Age with the following names from east to west: *tell el-bedēwīyeh*, *ḥ. el-lōn*, *ḥ. el-djāḥūš*, *ḥ. eṭ-ṭireh*, *ḥ. 'aiṭāwāniyeh*, *tell kisān*.

What does this indicate? Naturally that the Early Bronze route from Damascus to Egypt did not run via Accho or the plain of Accho, but continued past Tabor via *debūrieh* and *tell el-mutesellim* (the pass of Megiddo) to the maritime plain south of Carmel and so on to Egypt. Not until the beginning of the Late Bronze Age could the *darb el-ḥawārneh* exist in its present form, connecting Damascus and the granaries of Ḥaurān with Accho, and Mesopotamia with Egypt.

That this commercial road via the plain of Accho was actually used in the Late Bronze Age as a highway from Mesopotamia to Egypt we learn from the Amarna tablets. The relations between Burnaburiaš of Karduniaš (Babylonia) and Egypt were friendly; he had given his daughter to Amenhotep III. There was much traffic between them, for we read: "The ambassadors of your forefathers came to my forefathers" (Am. 10: 9, 17.). And in one letter, addressed to Amenhotep IV (1377-1361), the king of Karduniaš complains that Zitadna of Akku has murdered the king's ambassadors and appropriated the gifts they were carrying to the Pharaoh. In another letter (Am. 8) the Babylonian king Burnaburiaš mentions the old friendly relations between him and the Pharaoh (8-12) and complains that his commercial caravan together with his ambassadors had been robbed by the people of Accho in Ḥinnatuni.¹ Since Kinahḥi (Canaan) belongs to the Pharaoh, the latter is requested to punish these robbers and take care that this banditry shall not continue in the future, since the road will otherwise be blocked.

The roads to Accho and to Egypt diverged at the western end of *wādī 'abellin*; here the road to Accho separated near the Bronze Age site of *ḥ. djāḥūš* to continue northwards east of the swamps of *nahr na'amēn*, or it ran via *tell kurdāneh* directly to the seashore and used the convenient ford of *nahr na'amēn* just as is the case with the modern automobile route, which crosses both *nahr el-muqaṭṭa'*

¹ This, the biblical Hannathon, Josh. 19: 14, is identified by ALT PJB 22 (1926) p. 63-64 with *tell el-bedēwīyeh*, since Ḥinnatuni is twice said to have been situated on a road to Accho, and according to the biblical evidence appears to lie near the head of the *wādī el-mālik*.

and *na' amēn* at the shore without bridges. In the latter case *tell kurdāneh* was the point of junction, where the highway to Egypt turned southwest in order to use the easy ford of *nahr el-muqaṭṭa'* on the shore and to continue around Mt. Carmel to the maritime plain south of it.¹

In the transition from Bronze to Iron the Israelite tribes occupied the Galilean heights. Concerning this period we read (Judges 5⁶): "In the days of Shamgar, the son of Anath, in the days of Jael, the highways were unoccupied, and the caravans moved through byways." This does not, however, imply that the caravan route was blocked through the whole tribal period, since we read in Deut. 33¹⁸⁻¹⁹ that Zebulun and Issachar call peoples unto the mountain (Tabor, the boundary between those tribes), for they shall suck of the abundance of the seas and of the treasures, hid in sand." Often this "mountain" has been understood to mean Carmel.² But if we remember the existence of the connecting link *darb el-ḫawārneh*, the contradictions between Tabor, the holy mountain of the inland tribes Zebulun and Issachar, and the mention of the sea will disappear. Also if Deut. 33¹⁸⁻¹⁹ is not enough to indicate that the Israelite tribes as a rule permitted a trade route through Galilee to exist, at any rate the entire length of the Canaanite plain of Megiddo as far as Beisān could be used as a route before the consolidation of the

¹ ALT PJB 24 (1928) identifies provisionally *tell kurdāneh* with the biblical Aphek of Asher. His starting-point is the meaning of the Hebrew name *'afēq*, "strong spring." It is true that the *nahr na'amēn* starting from this mound is a strong stream, but at any rate at present there is not one real spring to be found and all the water starts by seeping out of the ground. I tried to find one but did not succeed and the local Arabs assured me that there were none. According to ALT the name of the tell may have originated during the Arabic period but the similarity of the name to *hirdān*, "necklace," may rest on a popular etymology. The natural highway to Egypt via the plain of Accho must pass the mound *tell kurdāneh*, which was occupied during all the periods of the Bronze Age. If this site is still called by its old name, then we should locate Aphek somewhere else. Among the numerous Bronze Age sites of the northern plain of Accho there are many strong springs, especially three around two mounds near the modern village of *en-nahr* (the el-Kahweh of the Survey). The north-eastern mound, *ḫabr et-tell*, is not shown on the map. The south-western one, called *et-tell*, might be more difficult for the Asherites (Judges 1³¹) to take than *tell kurdāneh*. It also fits the literary requirements of Esarhaddon's military station between Tyre and Egypt.

² See SELIN, *Geschichte*, 1924, p. 119, "Karmel, nicht Tabor."

kingdom of Israel. The route via Beisān¹ however, was inferior to the *darb el-hawārneh*, since the former is almost impassable during the rainy season. If not commercial caravans, at least royal ambassadors passing between Babylonia and Egypt would have to travel during the winter also.

It has been generally acknowledged since the Survey was made that a Roman road followed closely along the course of the *darb el-hawārneh*, all the distance from Accho to the Jordan (one branch forked from the pass of *el-mu' allaqah* directly to Tiberias.) We know that the first Roman road in Palestine was built from Antioch to Ptolemais along the coast in the time of Nero. Now follows the question: How soon and in which direction were the new branches built from Ptolemais as a centre? Naturally we would expect that the ancient road of the men of Haurān would deserve immediate attention in order to connect the Decapolis and the troublesome eastern frontier with the military port of Ptolemais, as well as with Tiberias and Sepphoris, the two capitals of Galilee. But according to the only known milestone of this road, found by me this autumn, the road appears to have been first built about 130 A. D., i.e. about the time of Bar Cochba's rebellion. This road was accordingly built before the important one from Ptolemais to Caesarea, which was first built about the end of the second century under Septimius Severus and Caracalla, according to the few milestones discovered.² The newly discovered milestone was found half-way between *abellin* and *tell kisān* at a place called *debbet el-hān* which lies on the *darb el-hawārneh* just opposite *h. et-tireh*, on its southern side. *H. et-tireh* is found on the English map. I read the text as follows:

IMP(ERATORI) CAESARI
 DIVI TRAIANI FIL(IO)
 DIVI NERVAE (NE)PO
 TI TRAIANO HADRI(ANO)
 AVGVSTO PONTIF(ICI) M(AXIMO)
 TRIB(VNICIAE) POTEST(ATIS) XIV
 CO(N)S(VLI) III P(ATRI) P(ATRIAE)

¹ If the Aphek (*fiq*) and Beth-Yerah (*el-kerak*) route did use the Jordan Valley between the Lake and Beisān, one should expect to find at least some early sites at intervals along it, but there is only one, *tell el-'esse*.

² Thomsen, *Die römischen Meilensteine der Provinzen Syria, Arabia und Palaestina* ZDPV 40 (1917) p. 18.

X

The right edge of the number XIV is not quite clear. It could also be XIX. But because the third consulate of Hadrian corresponds to the fourteenth year of his tribunate, XIV would fit here better than XIX. The third consulate of Hadrian is 130 A.D.

During the Roman period this road passed by the city of Asochis, which Josephus often used as his military headquarters. This has been generally located on *tell el-bedewiyeh*, a strategical point on the southwestern edge of the plain of *el-baṭṭōf*, where many roads meet: the first from the west, from *šefa' amr*, the second from the southwest along the *wādi el-mālik*, the third from the south, from the capital city of Sepphoris, the fourth from the southeast along the *darb el-ḥawārneh*, the fifth from the northeast from the great plain of *el-baṭṭōf* via Ruma (mod. *rumeh*), the sixth from the north, from Kefr Menda, the seventh from the northwest, along the *darb el-ḥawārneh*.

We learn from Josephus, that "the great plain, where he lived" (i.e. the mod. *sahl el-baṭṭōf*) was called after the name of Asochis rather than after one of the numerous other cities, flourishing on it, (V. 41: 4). Further we learn that Ptolemy Lathyrus, who came from Ptolemais, took the city of Asochis and after its destruction tried to take Sepphoris also, "the site of which was not far from that destroyed" (B. I 4:2, A. XIII 12: 4). Those that were sent from Jerusalem continued their journey from Sepphoris down to Asochis and further on to Gabara (A. V. 45). Josephus resided in Asochis twice, and the Galilaeans gathered themselves on the plain in order to compel him to remain there, (A V 41) as also on another occasion to prepare an attack against Tiberias (A V 68). In conclusion we should therefore locate Asochis on the main road between Ptolemais and Sepphoris and between Sepphoris and Gabara, i.e. Garaba, (*'arrābet el-baṭṭōf*) northeast of Sepphoris.

Asochis (α-σωχί-ς) is without doubt a Hellenistic modification of the original Aramaic name *šōḥin*, which very often occurs in Talmudic literature with the later form *šihin*.¹ We learn from *Tosefta Nidda* VIII 6 that *Šihin* was near Sepphoris, and *Tos. Bab.*

¹ See KLEIN, *Beiträge, zur G. u. G. Galiläas*, pp. 63-70 and *Neue Beiträge*, p. 6.²

² We see, in *Tosefta Shabbat* XIV 9, *Nedarim* IV 57, that *Šihin* was so near Sepphoris, that the soldiers, who went from the citadel of Sepphoris to *Šihin* to help fight a fire, returned to Sepphoris the same day.

m. VI 3 that Šihin exported black egg-shaped lumps of clay, while *b. Sabbat* 120 b tells us that the pottery made in Šihin was of good quality.¹ The Aramaic name *šihin* is naturally derived from the sources of black clay for the manufacture of pottery. Aramaic *šihin* is a usual synonym in Talmudic literature for *börim* and *me' aröt*. It is interesting to note that together with the other towns of the plain of *battöf*, Roma, Rometta (mod. *r. ummāneh*) and Cana of Galilee, there existed in the time of the Crusaders also a town called Caphrahuspeth, the name of which is possibly derived from Aramaic חרופת "potsherd," which might be identified with Šihin (see KLEIN, *Beiträge*, p. 77).

According to Josephus and Jewish literature we are obliged to search for Asochis on the western edge of the plain of *el-battöf*, where only two localities have hitherto been known, Kefr Menda and *tell el-bedewiyeh*. But since the former is known to have existed during the Talmudic age also, there remains only *tell el-bedewiyeh*, which has been hitherto generally identified with Asochis. However this mound does not present any Roman potsherds, and there is a gap from the Early Iron to the Arabic age. I found last summer the remains of a Roman town, two kilometres north of *tell el-bedewiyeh* and slightly over one kilometre southwest of Kefr Menda. This site fits all the literary and archaeological requirements for Asochis. It is not known under a special name by the local Arabs but it may be called *h. el-lön*, since all the district around it is called *ard el-lön*. The Survey mentions only "Tell Seraj Alaunneh" (i.e. "the mound of the coloured ridge"), which is a natural mound, situated over three kilometres southwest of Kefr Menda and two kilometres southwest of *h. el-lön*. Thus this *hirbeh* seems to have been once known because of its export of clay for making pottery. The *hirbeh* lies on a low rocky ridge, which gently slopes eastward towards the plain just north of the beginning of the *wādī bedewiyeh*, along which

¹ In addition we learn from *Tosefta Erubin* IV 17 that the distance between Šihin and Ruma was two Sabbath-journeys, i.e. four thousand Hebrew cubits, since we read: "R. Yehudah said: It happened once that the families of "Mamal" and "Gorion" distributed dried figs during a year of famine, and the poor people of כפר שיחין came and thus made the connection (sc. the sabbath-connection between Šihin and Ruma) and in the evening-time they went out to Ruma and did eat there" (see KLEIN, *loc. cit.*).

runs the Roman road from *wādi 'abellin* to *tell el-bedewiyeh*. On this ridge there is an area of débris with a length of 270 m SWW-NEE, with quantities of Hellenistic and Roman sherds and a few of the Late Bronze Age. Among the six visible cisterns there is one specially large, bottle-shaped and well cemented. There is also a wide cave with an opening of $3\frac{1}{2}$ sq. m. The three Roman sarcophagi which are used as troughs at the spring of Kefr Menda, were transported hither from *h. el-lōn*, as I was told in Kefr Menda.

The only modern road which connects Acre with the mainland, is Acre-Şafad (Acre-Haifa is under construction). This follows the southern slopes of that ridge, which runs east-west as the boundary between the higher Upper Galilee and the less elevated Lower Galilee. The road passes *el-berweh* north of the *w. ša'ab* via *medjdel kram* and *er-rāmeb*. In the Late Bronze Age this same road seems to connect Acre with Upper Galilee, since we find the following Late Bronze Age sites along its course, starting from Acre: *tell et-tantūr*, *tell el-berweh*, *el-ba'neh*, *nahf*, *sēdjūr*. If we follow the course of *wādi ša'ab*, which seems more natural for a road in ancient times without artificial cuts, we can add two Late Bronze sites after *tell el-berweh*, namely *h. ya'nin*¹ and *ša'ab*. The narrow plain from *medjdel krām* to *er-rāmeb* with its three Late Bronze Age settlements seems never to be mentioned in historical records. This road was never an important thoroughfare; the plain lived its quiet existence apart from the restless world.

The same may be said concerning the hill-country between this road in the north and the *darb el-ḥawārneh* and the *sahl el-baṭṭōf* in the south as far as the small plain of *sahnin* in the east. This area is hydrographically an exception in Galilee; there are no springs, except two insignificant ones south of *kaukab*. The nearest springs surrounding this hill-country are: that of *ša'ab* in the north, *ed-damūn* in

¹ *H. ya'nin*, an imposing mound, which commands the narrow pass of fruitful *w. ša'ab*, may perhaps be identified with the Biblical *ne'i'el*, Josh. 19²⁷, which is mentioned in the description of the boundary of Asher between *bēt 'emeq* (mod. 'amqa) and *kābūl* (mod. *kābūl*). These three sites are all situated in a line from south to north, *ya'nin* being in their midst. 'Amqa is 10 km north and *kābūl* 3 km south of it. The name *ya'nin* may have the same Arabic ending as mod. *bētīn* (*bēt'el*), and may stand for **ya'nīl*. This name could then stand by transposition for **yan'īl*, which would be derived from the imperfect form instead of the imperative as in *ne'i'el*.

the west, *kefr menda* in the south, and *'ain el-qattāra*, east of *sahnin*.¹

If we bear this hydrographical situation in mind it is no wonder that the earliest occupation found here belongs to the Late Bronze Age in contrast to the many Early Bronze Age sites on the maritime plain south and north of Acre, with a couple of Early Bronze Age sites on the *sahl el-battōf*.² *H. 'abdeh*, the levitical city of Abdon (Josh. 21³⁰), belongs rather to the hill-country, but was occupied during all the periods of the Bronze Age. This is probably due to its strategical position and good water-supply.

I append to this paper a list of sites visited and studied in 1928, during the months of July to September inclusive. I wish to thank Dr. Albright here for helping me to identify the pottery, and for making numerous suggestions.

Abbreviations:

- E B Early Bronze Age (before 2000 B.C.)
 MB Middle Bronze Age (2000-1600)
 L B Late Bronze Age (1600-1200)
 E I Early Iron (I: 1200-900; II: 900-600; III 600-300)
 H Hellenistic (300-0)
 R Roman (0-300 A.D.)
 B Byzantine (300-700)
 B A Byzantine-Arabic (500-900)
 E A Early Arabic (700-1200)
 A Arabic

¹ The spring at Kefr Menda is called *bīr medyana* (the well of the Midianites), and *djebel deidebeh*, the high mountain north of the village, exhibits on its top a cave and enclosure dedicated to *nebī ša'īb*, i.e. to Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses. Cf. the Arabic geographer *Yāqūt*, who gives a similar account (thirteenth century): *كفر مندة قرية بين عكا وطبرية بالأردن... وفي كفر مندة قبر صفورا، زوجة موسى عم*.

Thus he identified (*Yāqūt* IV 291, line 11 and IV 451, l. 14.) *كفر مندة* with *مدن*.

² The early sites of this district are situated in a line, which follows the watershed. Between *h. qānā* and *h. ya'nīn* from south to north: *h. qānā* (Early Iron), *h. djfāl*, the site of Jotapata (Late Bronze, Early Iron), *h. djumeidjmeh* (Late Bronze), *nā'ār* (Late Bronze). On the other hand *kābūl* in the west, the tillable ground of which belongs to the maritime plain, was occupied already in the Middle Bronze Age.

Early and Middle Bronze.

The northern plain of Acre.

ḥ. el-mušeirefeh	EB, MB	zahr et-tell ¹	EB, MB
ez-zīb	„ „	tell es-semēriyeh	„ „
ḥ. 'abdeh	„ „	tell el-fuḥḥār	„
et-tell	„		

The southern plain of Acre.

ḥ. ya'nīn	EB,	tell kurdāneh	EB, MB
ša'ab ²	„, or MB	tell el-'aḏām	} „
tell el-ḡarbī (berweh)	„	tell ḥasan	
tell kīsān	„ „	tell en-naḥl ⁴	

The hill-country.

naḥf ⁵	MB	tell el-wāwiyāt ⁶	MB
kābūl	„	tell el-buṭmeh ⁶	E B

Late Bronze and Early Iron.

The northern plain of Acre.

ḥ. el-mušeirefeh	early LB	et-tell	LB, EI, II, III,
ḥ. el-'amrī ⁷	„	zahr et-tell	EI
ez-zīb	„ EI	tell es-semēriyeh	LB, EI
ḥ. 'abdeh	„ EI	tell mīmās	EI, II, III
ḥ. ḥamsīn ⁸	EI	tell el-fuḥḥār	LB, EI
ḥ. suweidjireh ⁹	„		

The southern plain of Acre.

ḥ. ya'nīn	LB, EI	tell el-ḡarbī	LB, EI, II
ša'ab	„ „	tell kīsān	„ „ I, III

¹ Situated nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ km northeast of *et-tell*; not mentioned by the Survey.

² Called *ša'ib* by the Survey.

³ Marked on the map and called by the Survey *tell eš-šūbāt*.

⁴ The Survey writes *tell en-naḥl*, translating "of drinking"; my translation "of bees."

⁵ On the plain of *medjdel krūm*.

⁶ On the plain of *el-baṭṭōf*.

⁷ The Survey: *ḥ. el-'omry*.

⁸ Also called *'ūr ḥamsīn*.

⁹ The Survey: *ḥ. suweidjireh*.

ḥ. da 'uq ¹	LB, EI, II	tell ḥiyār ⁴	LB
ḥ. 'aiṭawāniyeh ²	„	tell zubdeh ⁵	EI
ḥ. eṭ-ṭireh	„	tell el-'aḍām	LB, EI, II
ḥ. el-djahūs	„	tell el-naḥl	LB, EI
tell kurdāneh	„EI, II, III	tell abū ḥuwām	„ EI, II
tell eš-šumrā ³	„EI		

The hill-country.

tell eṭ-ṭantūr ⁶	LB, EI, II	ḥ. qānā	EI
el-ba'neh	„	tell el-wāwīyāt	LB
naḥf	„ EI	rūmmāneh	EI, II
sēdjūr	„	ḥ. rūmeh	„
nī'ār	„ or EI	tell el-butmeh	„ EI
ḥ. djumeidjmeh ⁷	„	ḥ. el-lōn ⁸	„
ḥ. djfāt	„ EI		

Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine and Arabic.

The northern plain of Acre.

ḥ. el-mušeirefeh	H, R	ḥ. ḥamsin	R, B, A
el-baṣṣeh	B, A	ḥ. el-būbriyeh ¹⁰	„ „ „
ḥ. ma'aṣūb	R, „	ḥ. suweidjireh	H, „ „ „
ḥ. el-djudeideh	„ „	el kābrī	„ „ „ „
ḥ. 'abbāsīyeh	„ „	eṭ-tell	„ „ „
ḥ. el-'amrī	„ „ „	zahr eṭ-tell	„ „ „
ḥ. el-gureib	„ „	tell es-semēriyeh	H, R, B, B-A
ez-zīb	H, R, B, A	tell mimās	H, R, B, A
ḥ. 'aitaiyim ⁹	„ „	tell el-fuḥḥār	Greek, H, R.
ḥ. 'abdeh	„ „ „ „		

¹ The Survey: *da'ūk*.

² The Survey: *'aiṭawīyeh*.

³ Situated 1¹/₂ km northeast of *djdrū*, not mentioned by Survey.

⁴ Also called *tell eṣ-ṣūbāt* by the Arabs. On the map and the Survey: *tell el-ḥiār*.

⁵ Situated beside *djdrū*, not mentioned by the Survey.

⁶ The Survey: a natural mound.

⁷ On the road along the watershed between *nī'ār* and *djfāt*, 4 km south of *nī'ār*; not mentioned by the Survey.

⁸ Not mentioned by the Survey.

⁹ Now a village called *el-ḥmēme*.

¹⁰ Also called *ḥ. el-menawūt*.

The southern plain of Acre.

ḥ. el-'aiyādiyeh	B,A	ḥ. djelameh	H,R,B-A
tell el-garbi	H.	tell kurdāneh	Greek,H,R, A
tell kisān	H,R-B,A	tell el-ḥiyār	B
ḥ. da'ūq	H,R, A	tell el-'aḍām	H,R
ḥ. 'aitāwāniyeh	H,R, A	tell ez-zubdeh	H,R,B-A,A
ḥ. et-tireh	H,R, A	tell en-naḥl	R,B,A
ḥ. el-djāḥūš	R,B,B-A	tell abū ḥuwām	H,R,B

The hill-country.

tell et-tantūr	H,R,B	ḥ. djumeidjmeh	B,A
ḥ. qabrā	„ „ A	saḥnīn	„ „
ḥ. djallūn	„ B-A	ṭamrah	R,B,A
el-ba'neh	H,R,B,A	ḥ. 'abellīn	B
naḥf	„ „	kaukab	R,B,A
sēdjūr	„ „	ḥ. qānā	R, A
ḥ. ya'nīn	H,R,B,A	kefr mendā	R,B,A
šā'ab	„ „ „ „	ḥ. el-lōn	H,R
ed-damūn	B-A	tell buṭmeh	H,R, A
kābūl	H,R, A	ḥ. rūmeh	R,EA
nī'ār	R,B,A	rummāneh	A

Natural mounds.

tell zubdiyeh ¹	tell eš-šbib ²
tell ez-za'āter ¹	tell saradj alaunneh
tell el-hawā ¹	(of the Survey)

¹ All three between *el-basseh* and *ḥ. 'abdeh*.

² Near *ez-zīb*, called *tell šubeib* by the Survey.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

ON THE NEWLY DISCOVERED JEWISH OSSUARY INSCRIPTIONS

In pp. 113ff. Vol. VIII of the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* Dr. Sukenik described a Jewish hypogeum discovered in the Greek Colony near Jerusalem in the summer of 1926. Of the ossuary inscriptions discussed in the article there is one, namely that on the lid of the first ossuary (see fig. 1, facing p. 41), which, to my mind, has not been correctly deciphered. The 16th and 18th letters are not נ and ה, but פ and ה respectively.

The vertical line of the nun of the Hebrew ossuary inscriptions of the centuries immediately preceding and following the destruction of the second Temple, does not turn towards the left but curves slightly towards the right, i.e. the mason began his chiselling from right to left, and not *vice versa*. An immediate example is afforded by the word אבונה in the same inscription בני אלקור on ossuary 7 (see fig. 2) as here reproduced.¹ On the other hand we find that the vertical line of the פ of ossuary and other inscriptions of that period generally inclines either diagonally or in hook-form towards the left. (Cf. Lidzbarski's *Nordsemitische Epigraphik*, vol. II, pl. XLVI, IIa col. 3, and more particularly plate XLIII, 6).

As to the final letter in fig. 1, deciphered by Dr. Sukenik as ה, a glance at the other inscriptions of the same group shows that no other ה therein contained in any way resembles it. The horizontal top line of the usual ה of the old square script is either straight and disconnected from the left-hand vertical line, or else forms a ring or a triangle intertwined with one of the vertical lines: in no

¹ I have to thank Père Savignac of the Ecole Biblique for kindly allowing me to make use of his excellent and clear photographic reproductions of some of the inscriptions here discussed.

case do both the vertical lines symmetrically extend beyond the horizontal top line as in the case of the letter here discussed, i.e. η . An almost exact duplicate of the η as it here appears is met with in inscription 7 of the group, in the word $\eta\eta\eta$ (J.P.O.S. VIII p. 120 pl. 4, No. 4). A similar η is also found in the Bene H̄ezir inscription (*cf.* Lidzbarski, *op. cit.* pl. XLIII, 2). This η comes nearest in form to the η of the much earlier Nerab inscription (*cf.* Lidzbarski, *op. cit.* pl. XXV, 1, 1, 9ff.). Père Savignac, in a paper read before the Palestine Oriental Society at its meeting on the 20th December, 1928, also proved that the letters here discussed are not ζ and η , but ϕ and η .

Apart from the epigraphic incorrectness of Dr. Sukenik's reading ($\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ —Dositheus our father and for his widow), there are also some philological inconsistencies involved. As Dr. Sukenik himself observes we should not expect in an Aramaic inscription such as this the Hebrew $\eta\eta\eta$ but the Aramaic $\eta\eta\eta\eta$. Moreover the insertion of the preposition η , "to" or "for" before the second member of the family only, and not also before the first, $\eta\eta\eta$, is somewhat difficult to explain. Though Dr. Sukenik has faced the difficulty his explanation is somewhat forced.

In the present writer's opinion there can be no doubt that the last eight letters of the inscription should be read as two separate words, namely, $\eta\eta\eta\eta$ —infinitive Pe'al of $\eta\eta\eta$, to open, preceded by the negative $\eta\eta$. It may not be read (as was suggested at the last meeting of the Palestine Oriental Society) as representing a single word, namely a proper name $\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$, or $\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$, or $\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$. Such a reading is unacceptable not only because such proper names are entirely unknown to us, but also because of the fact that the divine name $\eta\eta$ is never compounded with a succeeding participle or a *nomen loci* or *nomen instrumenti* with a preformative η . The present writer's view is supported by the epigraphy of the inscription itself. A glance at the inscription of the lid of the ossuary will show us that each word is separated from the one following it by a deliberately incised mark, somewhat resembling our modern full-stop. This device can be clearly seen in photograph as here reproduced and is also noticeable, though to a lesser degree, in Dr. Sukenik's reproduction. The same device can be seen again in another inscription here reproduced (fig. 3): $\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ showing a mark at the left-hand side of the

final nūn of שלמצין; and in Dr. Sukenik's pl. 4, No. 2, where a similar sign separates אנתה from אלעזר. It would only seem that the mason was not always consistent as to incising these marks on the same level, placing them variably above the line, underneath it, or in the middle of it.

The inscription would thus read: דוסתם. אבונה. ולא. לִמְפַתַּח.

The negative לא before an infinitive prefixed by ל is common in both Syriac and Aramaic (cf. Nöldeke's *Syrische Grammatik*, 1880, pp. 198-9), and in such phrases as דלא למספר and דלא להתעאה (cf. Ta'anit II, 9). This construction of the infinitive in our inscription is best rendered by "not to be opened"; just as לא לכתרמו in the Peshiṭta of Prov. 6³⁰ is best translated by "not to be wondered at," and לא למספר by "not to be lamented."

The conjunction ו before לא, which is certainly somewhat awkward, may be explained as having a special emphatic force in the context; the full meaning of this short inscription can be paraphrased: "Here, in this ossuary, are deposited the bones of Dositheus our father, and it is not to be opened."

This warning against opening the ossuary is interesting as introducing a factor hitherto unknown in inscriptions on Jewish ossuaries. Of all the 183 ossuary inscriptions enumerated by Prof. S. Klein in his *Jüdisch-Palästinensisches Corpus Inscriptionum*, and the inscriptions subsequently discovered, not one contains a similar expression. This, of course, is explicable; for in many cases ossuaries were opened and reopened in order to deposit therein the bones of other members of the family who died after the person for whose remains the ossuary had been originally prepared. But the idea involved in this formula is in full harmony with ancient sentiments concerning the dead. The dead must be allowed to rest in peace. Disturbance of the dead is sacrilege. ואל אל תפתח עלתי ואל חרנון כתעבת עשורת הדבר הא ואם פתח תפתח עלתי ורנו חרנון אל יכאן Tabnith very emphatically enjoins. In the well-known Sidon inscription (ca. 300 B.C.) Eshmun'azar, too, insists that none should open his resting place. At a later period, contemporary with the present inscriptions, we find Rabbi 'Aqiba prohibiting any disturbance of a dead body (Baba Batra, 154 a).¹ In a Palmyrene

¹ I am indebted to Rabbi S. Asaf for this reference.

sepulchral inscription of the II-III century A.D. we find the warning "not to open the niche over the deceased" followed by an admonition "he that shall open it shall have no prosperity for ever."¹ Finally, the formal Jewish point of view is best illustrated by the following quotation from the *Shulhan 'Arukh*² based on Talmudic tradition: "אין מלקטין עצמות לא מתוך הארון ולא מתוך הקבר לצד זה לקבור שם מת אחר או לצדך המקום. אסור לפתח הקבר אחר שנסתם הנולל אפילו אם קוררים היורשים לפתחו כדי לברוק אם הכיא ב שערות."

In the ossuary under discussion the device of bolting the lid described by Dr. Sukenik on p. 116 was, no doubt, resorted to in order to render a violation of the formula לא למפתח difficult.

To sum up: the above interpretation of the inscription is more in accordance with epigraphic evidence, and, if accepted, will introduce a new and important factor in Jewish ossuary literature; will remove the awkwardness of the insertion of the preposition ל once only; will render Dr. Sukenik's somewhat forced hypothesis unnecessary; and will support Dr. Peller's findings that the bones deposited in the ossuary belong to only one body, namely that of Dositheus.

ABINOAM YELLIN

¹ COOKE, *A Text-book of North-Semitic Inscriptions*, pp. 310-11.

² יורה דעה, הלכות אבילות, שסג (7,3).

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON "A JEWISH HYPOGEUM
NEAR JERUSALEM"

Soon after I published my article on the ossuaries in the Greek Colony, Père Savignac told me that in his opinion the reading of the word וְלֵאמֹנָה is not right, and that it should be read as וְלֵאמֹפְתָח. This reading he later submitted at a meeting of the Palestine Oriental Society. I could not accept his proposal to read the name אֵלֶמְפְתָח. I tried to prove in the discussion that followed that even though the form of the last letter of the inscription differs from the form of the same letter as it occurs in another part of the inscription, this is not sufficient proof that it cannot be read as ה.

Although I am to-day inclined to accept Père Savignac's reading of this inscription, I nevertheless think it worth while to give some consideration to this point as being of importance for the epigraphy of ossuaries in general. Inscriptions on ossuaries are in the vast majority of cases graffiti, written not by professional craftsmen but by the members of the family themselves, and were intended for them and not for the public. Therefore, these inscriptions are cursive, and, as in all cursive writing, the same letter may be given various forms in one and the same inscription. Thus in an inscription on an ossuary found in a family tomb in the courtyard of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem,¹ in the word יהוה the letter ה is seen in two different forms. The first one resembles the letter ה as we find it in the papyri from Elephantine, whilst the second is of a type in use several centuries later. On the fragment of an ossuary in the collection of the Benedictine Fathers in the Dormitio, there are two words incised יהוהנן בר and there is no difference between the letters ה and ח.

¹ See my report in the *Journal of the Palestine Jewish Exploration Society*, Vol. II, Fig. 25.

On ossuaries we come across groups of letters which are often very difficult to distinguish in point of form and whose meaning can only be guessed at from the context. These letters are י; ד; ר; ת; ה; ח and sometimes also ז . The letter ז also often looks like ג .

In the meeting of the Society referred to, Mr. Yellin suggested another reading, which he repeats in a Note in the present number of the Journal. Without absolutely refuting it, I should here like to point out that there are various difficulties that would arise if we were to accept this reading. As may be seen in the photograph there reproduced, or in the photograph accompanying the original article (J.P.O.S. VIII 120), we have in the final eight letters not two words, but one word only. We cannot accept seriously the theory that the points which Mr. Yellin discovered in this inscription and in another inscription from the same place were really meant to divide words. At the time when these inscriptions were incised words were no longer separated from each other by points as was customary a few centuries earlier. Instead a small space used to be left between words. There is no mention in Talmudic literature of points dividing the words. In the Jerusalem Talmud (Megillah 71) we read: *And it is necessary to leave between line and line the free space of one line, and between word and word the free space of one letter, and between letter and letter any space soever.* As will be seen, only a space between the words is mentioned, nothing more. It cannot be denied that there are points or marks on this lid. But any one acquainted with ossuaries, which are mostly made of soft stone, will know how numerous are the scratches and points. Often there is a point at the beginning of the stem of a letter (see Fig. 3¹ to Mr. Yellin's Note) caused by extra pressure of the sharp tool used for the incision of the letter. These points to which Mr. Yellin has drawn attention have no fixed position: they appear at the middle level as well as over and under the line—a state of things without parallel in scripts where words were usually divided by points.

No purpose is served by the conjunction ו before אל . It would have been enough to write לא למפתח . Nor is any special support

¹ This photograph is not of the inscription published in my article referred to above (Pl. 4, 3). In that ossuary there are two inscriptions similar in contents, but different as to script.

forthcoming for Mr. Yellin's theory in the device found on this ossuary of bolting the lid: the same device is found also in another ossuary belonging to this group (No. 8, p. 120).

But the main difficulty rests in the injunction not to open the ossuary. The collecting of bones into ossuaries was a Jewish custom practiced in the last few centuries before the Destruction of the Temple, a custom well known from Talmudic literature and confirmed by hundreds of ossuaries so far discovered. All this is a positive proof of the transfer of bones from the original position of burial to an ossuary. Any feeling that the bones of the dead should not be moved about was in those days in abeyance because of the desire of the family to bury all its member in one tomb, or because of the desire to be buried in the Land of the Fathers, or to be buried in Jerusalem. An interesting example is furnished by the story told of the members of the family of the Nasi Gamaliel (Semahoth 10): *Rabban Gamaliel had a hired tomb at Jabneh wherein they put the corpse and shut up the door of the tomb . . . and afterwards they brought it up to Jerusalem.*

We read about the *liqqut 'asamot*, "the transfer of bones," from one place to another as late as the eleventh century in the *Responsa* of the Gaonim, although at that time the bones were not transferred into ossuaries but into hollows in caves.

None of the examples from Sidon and Palmyra quoted by Mr. Yellin are wholly relevant since they refer to other classes and to other forms of burial which did not necessitate the removal of the bones of the dead from the place where they were originally deposited.

Reference is made to the words of Rabbi Akiba (Bab. Talmud, Baba Batra, 154 a), but these words do not apply since the subject of that passage is not the *liqqut 'asamot*, but the examination of a dead body in a legal case. The passage quoted from the *Shulhan 'Arukh*, compiled in the sixteenth century, must be regarded as an anachronism. The prohibition of the *liqqut 'asamot*, in the *Shulhan 'Arukh* in no way reflects Talmudical tradition in view of all the regulations (Semahoth, Chap. 13 and elsewhere) dealing with the *liqqut 'asamot*. When the *Shulhan 'Arukh* was compiled, Jewish burial customs varied considerably from those prevailing in the last centuries B.C. and the early centuries of the Christian Era, and such

regulations prove nothing for the period with which we are dealing.

Mr. Yellin's Note refers to the results of an examination made by Dr. Peller (quoted p. 17) who found this ossuary to contain the bones of one body only. But we frequently find that inscriptions on ossuaries do not correspond with the contents. Among the ossuaries found a few years ago in the Lower Kidron Valley, and published by Dr. L. A. Mayer (*Bulletin of the British School of Archaeology*, Jerusalem, No. 5), there is one with the following inscription: אכונה שמעון סבא יהוסף ברה. In this case two names are clearly given (Lidzbarski even considered that the inscription contained three names); nevertheless the examination made by the late Dr. Freud proved the ossuary to contain the bones of but one body. This ossuary clearly proves that members of family did not hesitate to place the bones of a son into the ossuary of his father who, according to the titles given, was apparently a member of the Sanhedrin.

All this need not argue the impossibility of the reading proposed by Mr. Yellin: exceptions are always liable to arise, but it shows how difficult it is to understand such a prohibition in the light of ancient Jewish burial customs and the purpose that such ossuaries served.

In conclusion, another reading may be suggested similar to that proposed by Père Savignac, but with a slightly different rendering of the name. The name may be read: לאלמפחה. Both elements in this word occur as names: the first לאל in Numbers 3²⁴, and the second, מפחה, as the name of a woman in the list of contributors to the Jewish Temple in Elephantine (Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, No. 21). A parallel to the name לאל can be found also in the Palmyrene names לשמש or לשמי and also in in Phoenician Λεασταρτος (Josephus, *Contra Apionem*). The name מפחה like the names פתחיה, יפתח, etc., indicates that the child was the first-born in the family in the sense of "opening" the womb of the mother, similar to the Greek names Αγενοχιδης, Ηγενοχιδης.¹ The name לאלמפחה is similar in meaning to the name שאול which is undoubtedly an abbreviation of

¹ Cf. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung*, Register.

שאוּל ליהוה and signifies that the first-born was dedicated to God.

Although no other example of this name is forthcoming, the fact that its two components are each known as names by themselves makes it possible that the combination of both may also be a name. This theory does away with the difficulty presented by the preposition ל.

E. L. SUKENIK



Fig. 1.

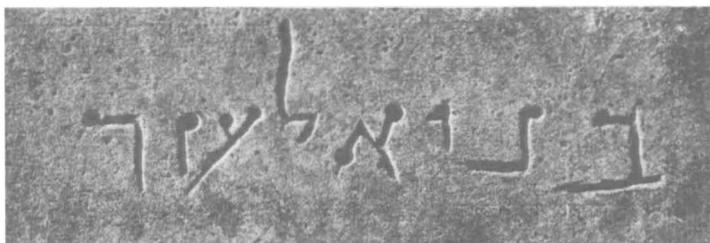


Fig. 2.

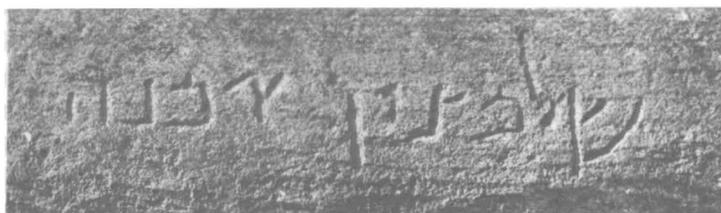


Fig. 3.

BOOK REVIEWS

HAROLD M. WIENER, *The Altars of the Old Testament* (Beigabe zur *Orientalistischen Literatur-Zeitung*). Leipzig, 1927. 34 pp.

After many years of neglect, the problem of the significance of the altar in the ancient orient, especially in Israel, is beginning to receive the attention it deserves. Three years ago appeared the useful book by GALLING, *Der Altar in den Kulturen des alten Orients* (Berlin, 1925). GALLING'S book is really based almost entirely upon the unfinished work of LOHMANN, one of the most brilliant students of the German archaeological school in Jerusalem, who was unhappily killed during the war. The principal value of GALLING'S work to the archaeologist is its extensive, though by no means exhaustive collection of material; the treatment is rather weak in places. To the Old Testament scholars it brings little but new problems for later solution. At the end of 1927 it was followed by WIENER'S monograph, which represents, as we shall see, the views which the latter has long maintained. WIENER'S work is not based upon GALLING at all. On the other hand, his work is very closely connected with the still later monograph of LOEHR, *Das Räucheropfer im Alten Testamente, eine archäologische Untersuchung*. WIENER and LOEHR represent parallel, though by no means identical tendencies in Old Testament criticism.

There can be no question in the minds of those who have followed WIENER'S work that it is the only serious attack which has been made on the standard (KUENEN-WELLHAUSEN) critical theory of the evolution of Israelite cult. We know little of early Israelite religious practise except from the side of ritual law, a condition of affairs which requires the collaboration of the jurist with the philologist

in order to solve the difficult questions which are involved. As a jurist WIENER is, therefore, exceptionally well equipped for detecting the weaknesses in a theory which is based almost entirely upon the interpretation of documents. At all events, his work, which has been maturing through a period of a quarter century, cannot be dismissed as cavalierly as has been done in the notice *AJSL* XLIV, 216. The assumptions of the writer of that notice with regard to WIENER's work are quite erroneous—a curious commentary on the danger of allowing preconceived ideas to influence one's judgement.

In the near future we may expect entirely new light on the Israelite codes, as well as upon their ritual law, from two sides. First, there are the Assyrian and Hittite laws, both dating in their present form from about the fourteenth century B.C. These codes are being supplemented by a rapidly increasing mass of ritual and juridical material from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor, material which belongs to the same general period (1500-1200 B.C.). In the light of our rapidly increasing knowledge of the essentially homogeneous culture of Syria and Northern Mesopotamia, a culture borne in both lands by a mixed Semitic-Hurrian population, the direct bearing of this material on the problem of the Pentateuch is evident. Secondly, there is the rapid development of our knowledge of Palestinian archaeology during the late Bronze and Early Iron Ages. We shall soon be in a position to relate the main phases of Israelite social and religious history to their true archaeological context.

That WIENER is correct in insisting on the need of a sharp differentiation between cairn altars and horned altars will probably be admitted by all who read his remarks on pp. 1-22. Unquestionably the lack of this distinction has led to much futile discussion on the subject of Israelite practise with regard to sacrifice. In future no student of the question can overlook WIENER's incisive criticism of current critical treatment of the altar question. However, the biblical evidence shows clearly that there was a tendency to substitute horned altars for cairn altars, accompanied (at least later) by a tendency to reduce the numbers, first of horned altars, then of all altars, regardless of character.

Mr. WIENER deserves our hearty thanks for introducing the archaeological aspect of the altar question into a discussion which has

hitherto been almost exclusively exegetical. He has reproduced and described three horned altars from Palestine, one from Gezer, published by MACALISTER, two from Shechem, published by SELLIN. All are square, with four horns, one at each corner, and the two Shechem altars have a raised ledge, or *zer* (?) around the shaft of the altar, below the top. WIENER concludes (pp. 16-7) "that the Israelite type was regarded as thoroughly distinctive in Palestine." This type he defines as follows: "Israelite wrought altars whether of sacrifice or incense were necessarily square and horned and marked by little or no adornment." I have two new occurrences of the square horned altar in the ancient orient to add to the three just listed. First is the top of a very small limestone altar with four horns, found in the B stratum at Tell Beit Mirsim in the spring of 1928. The altar was originally painted red. Its width at the top varies from 7 to 9 cm., so that the horizontal section forms a trapezium. Since the B stratum extends from about 1200 to the latter part of the tenth century B.C., it must be dated to the period between the twelfth and the tenth centuries, probably to the latter. The second occurrence is that of a small limestone altar from Nineveh, four sided, with four horns, immediately over a small ledge, like the one on the Shechem altars, but with no groove separating it from the horns. A bowl for incense, carved out of the same piece, is held in place by the four horns, a detail which appears in much later Hellenistic altars from Syria and Asia Minor. This altar comes from THOMPSON'S recent excavations at Kuyundjik, and has not been published, so I cannot give the dimensions.

From this new material it follows that the square horned altar dates back to 1000 B.C. or earlier (GALLING, p. 66, could only date it back to about 750), and that it was not restricted to Israel. This result is confirmed by the numerous examples of square horned altars from Transjordan, Syria, and Asia Minor, all of which belong to the Hellenistic-Roman period, but which evidently go back to the type found in Shechem and Nineveh. Two types may be distinguished with respect to size. The Gezer altar and the larger one from Shechem are 35-6 cm. at the top, while the smaller Shechem altar is only about 20 cm. at the top. The Nineveh altar is still smaller, while the altar top from Tell Beit Mirsim is only about 7-9 cm. wide at the top. Three categories are possible here: altars

of offering, votive altars (like most of the examples from Petra), altars of incense. The three smaller of the five altars just mentioned are certainly altars of incense; the bowl for incense was supported between the horns, as proved by the Nineveh and other examples. The two larger ones probably also belong to this category, since they are too small to suit any recognized function of the Semitic altar.

The question of altars of incense is discussed by WIENER in detail on pp. 23-31. He comes to the same conclusion as LOEHR, in the monograph referred to above (cf. also WIENER's review of LOEHR, JPOS VIII, 60); that the use of incense in Israelite ritual is very ancient, and that the WELLHAUSEN position is entirely wrong. In support of this view he cites the examples of incense altars so far discovered in early Palestine (Gezer, Taanach, Megiddo, Shechem, etc.). Unfortunately for this otherwise rather convincing argument, INGHOLT has recently discovered in Palmyra an altar of incense bearing an inscription which proves that the long-disputed word *ḥammānā* (Massoretic *ḥammān*, correct Hebrew *ḥammōn*) means nothing more nor less than "altar of incense." So far only a preliminary report of this important discovery has been made; the definitive publication will appear soon. Etymologically, this meaning is much more satisfactory than the enigmatic "sun-pillar," since the stem חם means "to be hot, to burn." But the prophetic religion of Judah condemned the use of the *ḥammānīm* in the severest terms, along with that of the *ašerīm* or *ašerōt*, etc. It follows that the incense altars hitherto discovered in Palestine probably all belong to the cult of pagan deities (*Ba' alīm*), and not to that of Yahweh at all, except naturally in so far as the cult of Yahweh was heathenized. The problem of the use of incense and of the מוכה הקטרת remains then just where it was, and the supposed archaeological evidence against WELLHAUSEN vanishes completely. The incense altars thus apparently belong in the same category as the Astarte figurines, and like them can be employed either in support of the traditional standpoint or of Wellhausenism, with equal cogency.

In conclusion, Mr. WIENER's monograph is a very important contribution to a neglected subject. Whether we agree with all his conclusions or not, we must consider his argument very carefully. The reviewer believes, as suggested above, that the WELLHAUSEN

theory of cult evolution must be greatly modified before it can be accepted. Some of the modifications may even seem to change the complete aspect of the theory. It is too early to predict its ultimate fate, since it may be transformed out of all semblance to its original form, in which case we shall only be able to say that WELLHAUSEN made important contributions to our understanding of Israelite religious history. Meanwhile we can only welcome WIENER'S vigorous and effective attacks on the very foundations of Wellhausenism.

S. JAMPLE *Vorgeschichte des Israelitischen Volkes und seiner Religion*, I Teil: Die Methoden. J. Kauffman Verlag, Frankfort a.M. 1928.

This is the introductory portion of a study of the origins of the people of Israel and its religion written from the point of view of a Jewish scholar who is in ardent sympathy with both. While we shall look forward to the sequel with pleasurable anticipation, the greater part of this first instalment scarcely falls within the purview of this Journal. It is largely occupied with a refutation for laymen of the methods of Wellhausen and Eduard Meyer, and advice to Jewish investigators of the Bible. It would therefore be out of place to deal with it at length here, but it may be said that it contains much which should be of value to the public for which it is intended.

WATER AND "THE WATER OF LIFE"
IN PALESTINIAN SUPERSTITION

DR. T. CANAAN

(JERUSALEM)

Water has counted and still counts for more in the life of the Palestinian than in that of the European. This is due to the nature of the country in which water is scarce and, since it is much needed, highly esteemed. Thus we meet with the use of water in religious procedures, magic ceremonies, popular medicine and superstition. Ideas and customs arising from the sacredness of water, known and practised in ancient times, have left so deep a mark that thousands of years with all their political changes have failed wholly to remove its trace. In the daily life of the present inhabitants of Palestine we still meet remnants of such ideas which are here collected and examined.

Water was anciently reckoned the most important of the "four elements" since on it the life of all creatures depended. It was the most perfect, since "the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters" (Gen. 1^o) or, as the Qoran says, "His throne was above the waters" (Sûrah XI, 7); it thus derived certain supernatural powers from the Almighty. Similar powers are thought to have been imparted to water through the baptism of Christ. But even at Creation water was the divinely chosen element, for from it God made man (Sûrah XXV, 54), every animal (XXIV, 45) and every living thing (XXI, 30).

"Springs which appear suddenly in the dry country and continue to pour out their running waters for the benefit of human beings and of vegetation, were and are still in their origin and in their

continuous flow a mystery to the oriental mind. This was the first reason for assigning to them some supernatural power—a numen which was finally depotentized, becoming a spirit or a demon."¹ This primitive explanation has only been modified sufficiently to adapt it to the present beliefs and customs of the Palestinian: the belief in the supernatural power of water continues.

Water served also as the medium of purification by which impurities, which separate a man from God and bring him nearer to death, are washed away. The many ceremonial rules affecting the ritual use of water in the Jewish and Mohammedan religions are too familiar to need repetition. Also in Christian ceremonies several beliefs survive based on similar ideas.

The following are examples of beliefs and customs, still known and practiced in Palestine, which illustrate this belief in the sacredness of water.

Any household utensil rendered ritually unclean by the use of unclean objects, such as alcohol or pork, must be washed seven times with water (*yitsabbū*).

The Eastern Churches have a special ceremony for purifying any cistern, object, or article of food that has been rendered unclean by means of an unclean animal or some unclean object. This rite includes prayers and the burning of incense; but the essential part of the rite is the sprinkling of water sanctified at the Feast of Epiphany.²

Every woman must take a bath after her impurity. The cleansing water makes it permissible for her to enter holy places, the abodes of God or saints, and thus to appear in the holy presence.

Men and women must wash themselves after intercourse in order to remove any consequent impurity.

Maiyeh, water, in colloquial Arabic is used also as the name of male semen, the life medium. In the Qoran it is also called *mā'* with the addition of an adjective (*dāfiq* in Sūrah LXXXVI, 6, and *mubīn*, in LXXVII, 20).³

Water if poured out at night has the power of driving away lurking demons. A like result may be attained by pouring water

¹ CANAAN, *Haunted Springs and Water Demons in Palestine*, JPOS, I, 154.

² Adjiāzmātārī Kabīr, ed. 1884, p. 488 ff.

³ A well known Arabic verse calls the male seed "the water of life":

over fire, the abode of the demons; but to prevent them from committing harm at the moment of their departure they must first be asked to leave the place, or the name of God must be invoked.

A pitcher full of water is thrown and broken when an enemy leaves the house, for he is regarded as an evil demon.¹

Ritually clean water drunk from the *ṭāsīt er-radjfeh*² counteracts the evil effects of fright. This result is due partly to the inherent character of the water and partly to the action of the *ṭāsīt er-radjfeh*.

Certain springs have a special curative action in the suppression of urine. Such springs are not, as a rule, connected with any *welt*.

An Arabic proverb says: *el-maiy biṭṭahhir el-ḥaiy ul-mait*, water purifies the living and the dead.

Water placed out of doors during the night is believed to acquire beside its intrinsic power a still greater curative action through the action of the stars.³

Water is not only essential for the living but also for the dead. As in ancient days so also now the Palestinian is accustomed to place for the dead a jar containing water; the only difference is that we often find on the tombs a shallow or deep cup-like cavity. Some believe that the soul of the dead visits the tomb and expects to find water to quench its thirst; therefore they that visit the tombs of their dead fill these cups with water.⁴

It is also believed that the souls of the dead are set free on Fridays and that they carry their water-skins to the springs to fill them with water for the ensuing week. By these two means the souls of the dead (which being freed from the body in many ways resemble supernatural powers) share the water with the living.

In many places the rain is called *rahmeh*, "blessing"—an abbreviation of *rahmet allah*.

Water is believed to possess life, and its spirit is supposed to

واحفظ منيك ما استطعت فإنه ماء الحياة يراق في الأرحام

¹ In some regions the house is swept after an enemy leaves it, in order to remove any trace he may have left.

² CANAAN, JPOS, III, 122 ff.

³ CANAAN, *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin*, 96, 126.

⁴ For other explanations see CANAAN, *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine*, 28.

sleep in the night. Therefore a passer-by should not disturb the slumbering water without saying *yá maiy má wírdik illa l-‘ašán*, “O water (do not be frightened); it is only the thirsty that has come to drink.”¹

Water inhabited by the spirits of certain saints may manifest supernatural signs. Such generally appear at the feast of the saint. Thus the stone enclosure of the opening of Bír ‘Oná has been seen dyed red on the Feast of the Virgin Mary.

Whosoever defiles a water course by making water in it is punished by the spirits (good or bad) who haunt it.

When a newly married bride is brought to the bridegroom’s house she carries on her head a pitcher full of water. In certain districts someone carries the pitcher before the bridal procession. In other districts water is poured before her when she enters the house. In this custom the water symbolizes abundant blessing and good fortune.

In the Eastern Churches water used for baptism is thereby rendered holy and so may not be thrown away, but must be drawn off into a specially provided cistern under or beside the church.

On the Feast of Epiphany the priests of the Eastern Churches (especially the Holy Orthodox Church) visit the homes of their congregation and sprinkle them with holy water in the form of a cross. The sprinkling is done with a bunch of flowers fastened to a stick.

The prophet *el-Ḥaḍr*, who is said to drink only from the water of life, once poured the rest of the water in his goblet over a tree growing near by. It happened to be a prickly pear, and, ever since, this plant has remained green and indestructible.²

Water is used more frequently than the other elements in magical rites. It is normally used in *mandal*, the act by which gifted persons can explain mysteries by gazing into certain substances.

At Epiphany the Russian pilgrims, dressed in white shrouds, immerse themselves in the Jordan during a special ceremony. The shroud, thus sanctified, is carefully treasured, and at his death the pilgrim is buried in it.

On the occasion of a death the priest sprinkles water (over

¹ Other examples are given in JPOS, I, 164; VIII, 158

² JPOS, VIII, 3.

which certain prayers have been said) in the house of the mourners in order to drive away the evil spirits which may have gathered in the room. Every corpse is unclean and renders unclean the place in which it is found; and since the demons prefer such conditions they hasten thither.

If a mother has lost all of her children during their childhood or infancy, she should bring the next one that is born to the well of *mâr Eliâs*, which is near the sanctuary cave on Mount Carmel. The child is immersed for few moments in the cistern. Since the cistern contains "living water" the child will surely live.

It is believed that the prophet Elijah, who is said to be still living, drank of this water.

Water in a cistern whose sole opening is into a dark room has specially strong magical power.¹

At the *fi'tr*, the fast of *Ramađân*, many Mohammedans break their fast by drinking a cup of water.

A bewitched person escapes from the bonds of the evil spirits which possess him if he is sprinkled with holy water by a priest.

Qisret el-Hamis derives some of its prophylactic and curative action from the holy water in which it is soaked. This is the water used by the Greek Patriarch to wash the feet of the twelve bishops on Maundy Thursday.

Even in dreams water, springs and rivers are said (so long as the water is pure and clean) to be a good omen.² They indicate prosperity, blessing, riches and many children. On the other hand salty water and the sea are considered a bad omen.³

Very interesting is the Mohammedan belief that while God's throne is above the waters⁴ that of Satan is above the sea.⁵ I think that by "the waters" sweet waters are meant. The nearness of the habitation of God to that of *Iblis* is a very old idea and is still known among all eastern people. Reference may be made to the springs inhabited by good and bad spirits at the same time.⁶ They

¹ JPOS, I, 155.

² 'Abd el-Ghanî en-Nâbulstî, *Ta'fir el-'anâm*, I, 25, 174; II, 64, 159.

³ Moĥammad bin Sirîn, *Ta'bir er-ru'id*.

⁴ Sûrah, XI, 7.

⁵ Al-isti'âdah bil-lâh min es-seiřân er-radjtn, 102.

⁶ See CANAAN *Mohammedan Saints*, 67.

are continually fighting each other.

Mention may here be made of certain Palestinian customs pertaining to the sea¹ and indicating a belief in its supernatural powers. A bewitched person can be cured by bathing in the sea. On *arba' et Aiyâh* many inhabitants of sea-coast towns and villages who suffer from skin trouble take a bath in the sea with the belief that they will be cured. Even animals suffering from scabies are bathed in the sea in this day.

A common belief compares each person's daily income with a spring of water. For a person with a large income the spring flows abundantly, while for the poor person it only drips. The following story, heard in Hebron and probably known all over Palestine,² well illustrates this idea. A poor, hard-working *fellâh* used to complain every evening that in spite of his faithfulness, his hard work and the large family which he had to support, God gave him but a few piastres.³ One night Allah sent down the angel Mikâyl who ordered the peasant to follow him. He led the *fellâh* out of the village into the wilderness. They came to a lonely valley of which the two sides were gigantic perpendicular rocks. Countless springs, one beside the other, came out from both sides. Some flowed strongly, others flowed in a trickle as thin as a thread, and still others dripped one drop at a time. "What is this?" asked the frightened man. "That is the *rizq* (daily income) of every human being; the Almighty in his wisdom has ordered every man's future according to his own knowledge." The peasant asked, "Where is my spring?" He was shown a tiny opening in the rock from which a drop of water came out every few seconds. Hoping to be able to enlarge the opening and thus increase the flow of water of his spring he picked up a dry piece of wood and set to work. But lo, the stick broke off and completely stopped the flow. He sank on his knees and wept. The angel who had left him alone for a few

¹ According to Christian belief (the prayer of Gabriâus *es-shâhid* and *adjîâzmâ-târi*) inhabited.

² The story is given in another version by SCHMIDT and KAHLE, *Volks Erzählungen aus Palästina*, 241. The Arabic transcription is full of mistakes. These authors have mentioned some stories which were already given in my *Aberglaube* without acknowledgment.

³ An Arabic proverb says *er-rizq min ('alâ) allah*.

minutes came back and seeing his pitiful plight asked of him the reason. Explaining his misdeed the *fellâh* begged the angel for mercy and for help in removing the piece of wood. He promised for the future to be grateful for any gift from the Lord.

The customs so far described show that the present Palestinian believes that water possesses special peculiarities and powers. These belong to any water, but they may be lost if the water is polluted. Fresh water has greater power than salt water. By prayers, by relation with some holy man, or by magical rites this power may be increased. Some of these rites and beliefs point directly to the idea that water has life-preserving and life-producing powers by reason of which devils are banished, or the sick cured, or barren women made fruitful, or life prolonged.

Since earliest days water has been regarded as the favoured habitation of supernatural beings, good or bad.¹ The good spirits impart some of their power to the water. This is one of the main reasons why water is so often used for cures. It is the natural conclusion that water must possess life-preserving powers since if disease is the beginning of death, water by curing disease prevents death.

Of all the water in the world that of Mecca and Jerusalem is accounted the most holy. According to Abû Hureirah² both cities are of the cities of Paradise. While Mecca is sacred only to the Mohammedans Jerusalem is holy to the followers of all the three faiths. For the Mohammedans Jerusalem was for a time the most sacred place. The belief is that every prophet turned his face during prayer towards the Sacred Rock. Even the Prophet Mohammed used to do so until he received the divine command to turn towards Mecca. From Jerusalem he was taken in that wonderful night to see heaven. From here Christ also ascended into heaven. The final judgement will also take place here.

¹ It is a very old belief that demons live in the interior of the earth, whence they at times emerge. We meet them generally in places which have a direct connexion with the lower regions: trees, cracks, caves, springs and wells. Many *djinn* were regarded, as time passed, as good spirits and thus we find that the present Palestinian knows of good and bad demons inhabiting water courses (*Aberglaube*, JPOS, I, 154)

² Mudjir ed-Din, I, 200.

The holiest site in Jerusalem is the Temple Area, Mount Moriah. East of it is the "Valley of Condemnation," called *wādi djahannam* (the valley of Gehenna). Its continuation is still known as *wādi en-nār* ("The Valley of Fire"). It is held that on the Day of Judgement it will open directly into hell. West of this valley are "the doors of repentance and mercy" which open directly into the Temple Area. On the Day of Judgement the Almighty will stretch out a rope from this sanctuary, the Temple, to the Mount of Olives. Every soul must walk from the one place to the other over this rope. Sinners who have deserved God's punishment will fall down into the Valley of Condemnation and so into eternal fire.

It is an interesting illustration of the nearness of heaven to hell. For we have seen that the Palestinians cherish the belief that Paradise lies under or near the Sacred Rock, while the adjacent Kidron valley is supposed to open directly into hell.

The most holy place in the Temple Area is the Sacred Rock, supposed to be the centre of the world. According to Ibn 'Abbās its origin is from Paradise, and from it the angel of the Lord will proclaim the Day of Judgement.

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Although the people of the Holy Land never use the term *šad-jarat el-ḥaiāh*¹ (the Tree of Life) they know and use the term *maiyet el-ḥaiāh* (the Water of Life).²

The following are some current ideas concerning the Water of Life. The belief is widespread that below the Dome of the Rock in the Sacred Area flow four rivers each to a separate point of the compass. Some of the water from them percolates to the surface. Thus we find to the east the spring of Siloam, to the north *'ēn el-Qaşleh* and *birket Hadjdjeh*, to the south *Ḥammām es-Šifā*, and to the west *Ḥammām es-Sulṭān*.³

An old belief which still survives is that *bir el-Waraqah* inside the *Aqṣā* is directly connected with Paradise. Therefore it is main-

¹ The Tree of Life has been fully discussed by the author in JPOS, VIII, 152 ff.

² A physician treating a patient with a chronic incurable disease may be heard saying *mā fīṣṣ 'indi maiyet el-ḥaiāh*—I do not possess the Water of Life.

³ Cf. CANAAN, *Haunted Springs*, 15.

tained that the water of this cistern never fails and that it has a sweet taste. The story on which the belief is based is as follows: A man once came to this well to fetch water for his friends. The bucket fell into the cistern, and when he went down to recover it he found that the well ended in a large subterranean garden in which all the trees were laden with fruit. As a relic and as proof of his discovery he cut off a leaf and brought it up.¹ This leaf never faded. Mudjir ed-Din tells us that the caliph Omar in explaining this incident averred that it was the fulfilment of the Prophet Mohammed's prophecy that a living man of his followers would enter Paradise walking on his feet.²

In the Aqşâ one is shown *mibrâb* Mariam. It is still believed that angels used to bring her from Paradise the fruits of the winter season in summer and those of the summer season in winter. The nearest way to Paradise was the well Bir el-Waraqah.

The Mohammedans assure us that the water of Zamzam and that of Jerusalem, namely *Hammâm es-Şifâ* and ' *ên Siluân*, are mingled on the tenth of *Moharram*. Some even allege that on this day all the other waters of the Mohammedan world mingle with these two springs and so derive their blessing. To prove the first belief they tell how an Indian pilgrim lost his water cup in Zamzam. A year later he chanced to be in Jerusalem and on the day of ' *Asûrah* when he was taking a bath in *Hammâm es-Şifâ*, the bath-keeper drawing water fished out a cup. This was recognized at once by the Indian as his own cup which fell into Zamzam when he was at Mecca.

Although many other springs in Palestine are used for curative purposes, the few springs and perennial wells in and around Jerusalem are the objects of the greatest reverence. Despite their insignificance compared with springs elsewhere we find that several prophets are connected with them: Job with *Hammâm es-Şifâ* and *Bir Aiyûb*, St. Mary and Balqîs³ with *Hammâm Sitti Mariam*,⁴ the angel with Bethesda, Christ with Siloam and ' *ên el-Lôzeh*, and *el-Ĥaḍḍ*

¹ The story is told in a somewhat modified version by Mudjir ed-Din, II, 368f.

² According to Bakr abî Mariam

³ The supposed queen of Sheba.

⁴ Flowers, candles and oil are sometimes offered here in honour of the Virgin.

with *Ḥammām es-Šifā*. This explains why they are such popular resorts for the sick: thus barren women take a bath in *Ḥammām sittī Mariam* where the Virgin is supposed to have taken a bath;¹ they that suffer from fever go to ' *én Imm ed-Daradj* (Siloam); inflamed eyes are washed with water from ' *én Imm el-Lózeh*; they that suffer from skin eruptions try *Ḥammām es-Šifā*, since it is believed that Job was cured here from his skin disease; children inflicted with the evil results of *el-baḏḏah* are taken to the basin (*el-Kás*) situated between *el-Aqsá* and the Dome of the Rock. Some have assured me that they have heard the rushing of running water in the cave below the Sacred Rock.

The Qoran thus describes the four rivers of Paradise. Each stream has its own characteristics: "rivers of incorruptible water; and rivers of milk, the taste thereof changeth not; and rivers of wine pleasant unto those that drink, and rivers of clarified honey."² The explanations of this as given by the various commentators are of interest. We shall see shortly how they resemble past and present ideas. According to ' *Abd el-Rahím bin Aḥmad el-Qáḏi*³ the four rivers issue from a dome made of precious stones.

According to well known traditions the four rivers of Paradise are *Sihún*, *Djihán*, the Nile and the Euphrates. They have their source in a dome of precious stones. This dome is in the garden of Eden. The Nile passes, after leaving this dome, through the "sea of darknesses" below the "mountains of the moon" and afterwards emerges in Egypt. The three others sink into the interior of the earth and afterwards reappear at their various sources.⁴ The taste and odour of the water of these four rivers have kept their heavenly quality, and each of them has marked curative powers.

A *ḥadīṭ* transmitted by Abû Hureirah says that these four rivers have their source under the Sacred Rock, which rock will show its true nature in the Day of Judgement by turning to white coral.⁵

¹ *Balqís*, the daughter of king *Šarahil* of *Ja'rib*, got rid of the hairs growing on her legs and thighs by taking a bath in this place (*Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries*, 60, footnote 1).

² *Sûrah XLVII*, 15, 16.

³ *Daqá'iq el-aḥbâr fi đikr ahl ed-djannah ua-n-nâr*.

⁴ *Ḥaridatu l-'adjâ'ib*, 154, 157.

⁵ *Mudjir ed-Din*, I, 209.

This description corresponds so closely with the dome already referred to, from which issue the four rivers of Paradise, that we may conclude that both traditions have a like origin.

An examination of further beliefs leads to a more definite conclusion :

Uns ibn Málík taught that Jerusalem is a part of Paradise.¹ This idea is well known and widely spread.

The Prophet is reported as saying (according to *Ibn es-Şámit*) that God placed the Holy Rock on a palm tree which grows on one of the rivers of the Garden of Eden.²

All fresh waters have their origin in one of the rivers running from under *es-Şábrab*.³ Hence all who drink in the night-time from any running water should say "O water! the water of Jerusalem salutes thee!"⁴

The springs of Siloam⁵ and Zamzam are supplied directly from the rivers of Paradise.

In reviewing these beliefs we see that the Mohammedan world believes that the four rivers of Paradise issue from the most holy place, from under the Sacred Rock, and that the spot is a part of Paradise.

Turning to the Old and New Testaments we find that this idea, the direct connexion of Paradise and the Water of Life with the most holy sanctuary, was also held in those times. "A river of water of life, bright as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God" (Rev. 22¹). But the likeness is still more striking if we compare Zech. 14⁸, Joel 3¹⁸ and Ezek. 47¹, where we learn that the river of life proceeds from the House of the Lord at the side of the altar, in the four directions. On the side of the river grows the Tree of Life, as well as many trees whose leaves shall not wither.⁶ In Gen. 2^{10,14} we find that three names of the four rivers that

¹ Mudjir ed-Din I, 211.

² Ibid. I, 202, 371.

³ Ibid. I, 209.

⁴ This custom also illustrates the belief that water has a spirit which sleeps in the night and therefore must be awakened gently.

⁵ On the other hand it is believed that this spring was once inhabited "by a bad spirit appearing in the form of a camel. He used to drink a lot of water from time to time, thus stopping the flow for a short period." This camel died. Its place was taken by a hen and her chicken (JPOS, I. 165).

⁶ Rev. 22¹; Ez. 47¹². In Joel 3¹⁸ we read in connexion with the stream of

watered the four regions and issued from the river which "went out of Eden," correspond with the names of three rivers that issue from under the Sacred Rock.

Going back still further to the beliefs of the ancient east we find the same idea. "Both Egyptians and Babylonians (at least in germ) evolved the theory of four rivers flowing from a common source to water the four quarters."¹ The Hindus and Iranians cherished the same belief. The mighty river whence all streams spring, was called "river creatress of everything" (also "river of fertility").²

The idea of snakes and dragons emitting water from their mouth is common in old mythology. The serpent, the wisest of animals (Gen. 3¹), was looked upon as the symbol of life and many deities were represented in the form of a snake.³ To the present day a Palestinian mother whose children die hangs around the neck of her next child the head of a snake, since a *haiyeh* (serpent) gives *haiâh* (life). Thus we see an association of ideas: water, issuing from the mouth of an animal representing life, acquires life.

The present day Palestinian considers a *haiyeh*, as opposed to a *'arbid*, the habitation of good natured saints who desire the prosperity of the human race. Many springs, houses and treasures are guarded by serpents.

In conclusion we may thus summarize the belief of the present

Palestinian about the water of life:

- 1 Four rivers issue from under the Sacred Rock.
- 2 These rivers come from Paradise.
- 3 Jerusalem is a part of the garden of Eden. The most holy place of the city being the Temple of which the most holy spot is the Sacred Rock.
- 4 Some of the water of these four streams percolates to the surface in four directions.
- 5 The water of these four rivers imparts life to every one who

life, "the mountains shall drop down new wine and the hills shall flow with milk and the brooks, etc." It here mentions three things (water, wine and milk) which flow in three of the four rivers of the Qoran.

¹ ALBRIGHT, *The Mouth of the Rivers*, AJSLL, vol. 35, p. 188.

² ALBRIGHT, *l.c.*

³ ALBRIGHT, *The Goddess of Wisdom and Life*, AJSLL, vol. 36, p. 274 ff.

drinks it.

These ideas can be traced back to the beginnings of Moham-
medan history, to biblical times and to ancient eastern mytho-
logy.

TRACES OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM IN PALESTINE

Omar es-Saleh el-Barguthy

(Jerusalem)

The *iqṭā'* (=fief; *iqṭā'āt*: feudal tenures) was land granted by the king to an *emir* in return for services rendered, or for devotion to the king's interest and régime, or in return for hardships undergone by the *emir* during a campaign. The *iqṭā'* may also be land which the *emir* conquered himself. The holder of such an *iqṭā'* was independent of the royal administration and could levy taxes, collect tithes, recruit soldiers and administer justice within his *iqṭā'*. This *iqṭā'* was also inherited by his descendants. Neither the king himself nor any other ruler in the realm could interfere with the people of the *iqṭā'*, but only the *emir*, its rightful lord.

Three degrees are found in tenure of *iqṭā'* lands:

- a) The *arāḍi 'usriyye* are lands conquered by force of arms and given as booty to the conquerors.
- b) The *arāḍi ḥarājiyye* are lands conquered otherwise than by force of arms, remaining in possession of the original owners, who had to pay a *ḥarāj*, poll-tax.
- c) The *arāḍi muqāṭa'a* are lands awarded by the *imām*, king, or *sullān* to some other than the actual conqueror, for the payment of a *muqāṭa'a* fee, a fixed sum corresponding to the tithe or poll-tax.

Iqṭā' tenure may be further sub-divided into political, administrative (or royal), social, tribal, and religious.

1 "Political *iqṭā'*" dates back to the Byzantines and the Ghassanides. It may be defined as the condition of a conquered country administered by the conquered, while the country itself remains in the hands of the conquered people, whose kings are confirmed by

the suzerain. This type of tenure resembles the emirate of 'Abdullah bin ul-Hussein in Transjordan, the sultanate of Lahj in Ḥaḍramaut and that of the other Arab princes in the peninsula.

2 Examples of "royal *iqṭā'*" occurred in the time of the 'Abbaside caliphs, who reinstated the Ṭulūnides in Cairo, the Ṭāhirides in Khorasan, the Ḥamdānides in Aleppo and the Murādides in Mosul. These were parts of the 'Abbaside empire; caliphs appointed governors for each country, creating a post to be held successively by the descendants of the respective *'āmil* or *wālī*. Moreover the governor was given a free hand in the administration of the country, while acknowledging the sovereignty of the 'Abbaside caliph whose name had to be mentioned first in the Friday *ḥuṭbeh*, while certain other similar prerogatives were preserved for the caliphs. In course of time these governors became feudal princes and virtually independent kings, only loosely bound to the caliphs in Baghdād, the general centre of administration and power. Later these kings nominated their heirs to the throne, though these needed confirmation by the caliph. But so great grew the independence of these feudal chiefs that they would even make war against their suzerain in Baghdād to compel him to accept their choice. The difference between a "political" and a "royal" *iqṭā'* is little more than formal: in the former, the holder did not own the country but had persuaded the suzerain (*imām*, sultan, or caliph) to acknowledge his tenure, while the suzerain exacted from him the oath of allegiance. In the latter cases the "royal *iqṭā'*" was originally the private property of the caliph or sultan, who had assigned it to some emir, who in his turn had succeeded in strengthening his position to such a degree as to make himself independent of the central administration. Thus a "political *iqṭā'*" is originally tenure confirmed by the suzerain, and a "royal *iqṭā'*" is granted by the suzerain as an act of royal favour to be enjoyed by the recipient and his descendants.

3 The "social *iqṭā'*" began with appointments in the highest social ranks, and descended to the lowest. We may illustrate this with the following example. A king or sultan could assign the whole of Syria and Palestine to an emir. The emir, with his seat in Damascus, would then divide the country into *ayālāt* (districts), assigning, e.g., Western Palestine to one governor, Transjordan to another, and Aleppo, Ḥums, and Beirūt to different princes. The governor of

Western Palestine would in his turn nominate sub-governors, say, of Gaza, Beersheba, Hebron, Jerusalem, Nâblus, Acre and elsewhere. Each sub-governor would divide the district under his administration among its chieftains, *mašâyeb*, each of whom would undertake solemnly to fulfil his duty in collecting tithes, levying taxes, etc. This they would do without the help of tax collectors, tithe inspectors, tithe estimators, or soldiers and policemen. Every chieftain was thus personally responsible for the carrying out of the duty committed to his charge. Yet some of these *šeihs* would openly deceive the governor and defy their superiors.

4 The "religious *iqṭā'*" resembles the *awqāf* in some respects. A king or a prince would assign villages or stretches of land for the sole benefit of a certain mosque, *zāwiyah*, *takiyah*, or *hânqāh*. The accruing revenues would be spent "for the sake of God" on the employees of these benevolent institutions as well as on the *iqṭā'* pilgrims visiting these places. This kind of feud is not true *waqf* (*waqf ṣahīh*); besides it may be revoked at any time since it was not intended originally to be *muqṭa'*, the property of the place to which it was assigned, but was granted at the pleasure of the prince. Its revenues were also spent in other ways than that indicated.

5 The "tribal *iqṭā'*" consisted in granting to some tribe land which they did not possess originally, or confirming them in places they had already possessed in consideration of valuable services rendered, or as a political concession or even only for the purpose of securing their alliance. The following instance well illustrates this. It is related that in the second half of the last century the Governor of Damascus wanted the *emir is-Ša'lân* to come to Damascus to entrust him with the safe conduct of the pilgrim caravan from that city to Trans-jordan, offering him 60,000 piastres. He sent a special "ambassador" and honoured him greatly. When the *marsûm* (letter of the governor) was read before the emir, the emir smiled, made a sign with his head indicating his unwillingness to accept such a generous offer, and told his clerk: Write O *ḥatīb*, 'His Excellency, the great Governor of Damascus, We shall not come to Damascus, we shall not conduct the pilgrim's caravan, and if you want to fight us, you are very welcome.' This shows clearly that the emir of the *Ša'lân* tribe did not consider himself under the jurisdiction of the Governor of Damascus, and therefore not obliged to carry out his orders.

Besides, he considered the passing of a large caravan through his lands as endangering his "independence." Yet he consented later to protect this caravan for a certain tax payable to him, under the express condition that he had the right of protection.

Some of these feudal systems have vanished; others may still be traced in Palestine. The tribal system was prevalent in the districts of Gaza and Beersheba as well as the surroundings of Hebron, in the *wâdi-ş-Şarâr*, the coastal region near Jaffa, the land east of Nâblus, Beisan, *wâdi-l-Hawâret* and the sub-district of Acre. The Wahedât tribe were in charge of the transport of the pilgrim caravans from Gaza to *el-'Ariş*, having their fief against which no one dared to trespass.

Likewise the tribes Żalâm, Jabbarât, Tayâha, Tarabîn, Farâzeh and Hanâşreh had their own fief, for which they were responsible to the Government and for which they paid a tax. The emîr of 'Uweisât had his fief in *wâdi-ş-Şarâr*, while the coastal region of Jaffa belonged to the Majnûn Arabs, then came into the possession of the Abu Jürmi, and was finally taken by Abu Kişk. The emîr el-Mas'ûdi and emîr I'a'ûr had their fiefs in Bilâd il-Fâre, the Ghazzawi had the upper part of the Ghôr around Beisân, while the Hinâwi held the inner part of the plain of Acre. The emîrs of these semi-nomadic tribes (*sukkân bet şâr*) were personally responsible for every act of their respective tribes and slaves as well as for every person living within their fief.

Religious fiefs have been partly abolished through successive rulers and princes converting them into *miri* lands. Yet some have remained untouched, as e.g. Nebi Samwêl, 'Ali bin I'lâyyim, and Nebi Rubin. These sanctuaries still have their old possessions and are in the care of *qâyyims*.

Of the emîrs, whose ancestors held social fiefs, and who are now living in towns, are the Beni 'Amr, and the Lahhâm in Hebron, the el-'Izze in 'Arqûb, the Dwêkât in el-Qaşsa and in the "mountain of Jerusalem," the 'Absiyye among the Beni Hassan, the 'Urêqat among the Wâdiyye, the 'Anabtâwi and Abu Ghôş in the Beni Mâlik, then the emîrs of Beni 'Umeir. In the district of Jerusalem proper there are four fiefs, *Kiswâni*, *Bêtûni*, *Birâwi*, *Diwâni*; among the Beni Hâret the Samhân; among the Beni Zeid, Beni Murrah, and Beni Sâlem the Barghûty; the Jayyûsi among the Beni Şa'b; in Jammâ'in there are the Qâsem and Rayyân; and east of Nâblus

the Beitâwy; north of Jarrâr, in the city itself the Tôqan; among the Ša'rawiyyât the Barqâwi; the emîr el-Ĥârîṭ in Wadi-l-Ĥârîṭ, Bilâd Ĥârîṭa and Jenîn, and in 'Arâbeh the 'Abdel Hâdi, and the Maḍi in the coastal region of Ĥaifa.

There were other, less fortunate princes than these, who had no issue and whose fief was thus extinguished with them. The princes enumerated above are all of pure Arab stock, none of them being Christian. Comparing the Palestinian Christian tribes with those in Syria, we note that the latter were always better off and could always compete with the Moslems in respect of the number of their administrative offices, titles, etc.

HISTORICAL ORIGIN OF THE FIEFS.

The patriarchal times, when the chieftain of the tribe was an absolute ruler when regarded from the administrative, religious, economic, and political points of view, are not so far back that the old people do not remember them well. They lived an easy life, careless, free, and independent. Only a quarrelsome neighbour or a bad deed committed by his tribe could force him to move with his people to some other place, not inhabited, where he could live again a happy life. A circumstance of this nature sometimes compelled a tribe to take refuge (*yaṭnib*) with a powerful prince or chieftain, who assigned them a district wherein to live. This rule is still followed at present. If two clans quarrel with each other, the weaker clan puts itself under the protection of a powerful emîr or tribe, emigrates to his land, and thus escapes the wrath of the aggressors or oppressors.

In the fourth quarter of the eighteenth century a clan of Ramallah emigrated to *Dêr Ghassâneh*, where a stretch of land was assigned to them for cultivation, with olive groves to tend and houses to live in, together with every necessity of life required by the poor and stranger. They enjoyed the protection of their hosts in every respect, so that, in a purely Mohammedan district, you may hear people speak of the Christian Quarter, the Christian olive groves, etc.

In the pre-Islamic age oppressed tribes were compelled to look for help and protection to some other powerful neighbouring tribe. Chieftains in ancient times protected pastures and springs, as did

Kuleib Wâ'il, forbidding their use without special permission. Weaker tribes who had thus applied for help and protection against their mightier neighbours would then fall under the permanent influence of the protecting tribe or prince.

In Islamic times the Prophet used to assign to his companions towns and stretches of land, e.g. the town of Hebron and the land of the N'eim tribe to Tamîm id-Dâri whose descendants still enjoy the *rai'* revenue. After the conquest of Syria and Palestine governing princes owned and assigned towns and villages. Thus 'Amwâs belonged to Yazîd bin Abi Şufyân, Beersheba to 'Amru bin ul-'Âş, Siloam to 'Utmân bin 'Affân. In short, most of the villages of Transjordan and the present Hebron sub-district belonged to the Umayyads and their faithful partisans.

The feud was hereditary in the line of the holder, whether in consequence of ancient rights or usage, or of royal grants to private individuals, who might be generals, ministers, poets, or even women (singers or musicians). This custom was much in vogue in the 'Abbaside dynasty, assigning provinces to princes, who transmitted the office to their sons, until eventually these princes would free themselves from the central power, forming autonomous governments of their own, and sometimes refusing even nominal allegiance to Baghdad. An instance of how feuds were indiscriminately assigned is the following story of the poet Abu Dulâma. He made a panegyric on the caliph, who was very much pleased and offered to give him whatever he asked. The poet cleverly asked for a hunting dog, then for a slave to care for it, then for a riding mule, then for a female cook, then for a house in which to live, and then for a fief on which to live. Needless to say, that caliph granted all requests, assigning him 1000 fields (or the space on which 1000 *jarib* could be sown?) of arable land and as much waste land again, a gift doubled because of his clever reply. This indiscriminate granting of feuds to appease a general, vizir, or poet led the caliphs even farther. One of them, seduced by the charms of the singer Zulfâ, assigned her a vast stretch of land. Another one while journeying granted fiefs to villages where he had been treated with unusual courtesy, in order to win their favour.

This was the state of things before the Crusades, when fiefs were changed both in the East and West into a more definite form,

quite independent of the previous system. The feudal princes of the later Arab kingdoms enjoyed full autonomy, with no relation whatsoever to the caliph, except a nominal religious dependence. In the times of the Crusades the suzerain had no real power or influence over them, and they could direct his actions how they pleased.

The two Circassian dynasties which superseded the Ayyubides started and ended with revolutions. Most of the kings of these two dynasties had no personality whatsoever, were helpless and utterly devoid of power, so that most of them were either banished or assassinated. Very few of them had an outstanding personality or a will power enabling them to overcome all the obstacles and to compel respect. It is related of the Sultan Kait Bay that on his journey to Palestine he encamped near Ramleh, where somebody stole some clothes from his tent. Unable to discover the thief he enquired of the princes, but to no purpose. Finally in his anger he punished the sheikh of the Bani Sa'b, in whose territory the theft was committed.

Such a chaotic state of affairs continued until the Turkish conquest. In the beginning the Turks ruled nominally over the subdued countries, leaving everything in its former state of feud. Therefore the princes did not resist the change, since they were little affected by the change of suzerainty. Their indifference went so far that they could hardly differentiate between the old and the new régime. The only change they saw was the transfer of the central power from Egypt to Constantinople. What could it matter, since both powers were "barbarians" (non-Arabs)? Moreover neither of these two powers interfered with the subdued princes and peoples nor tried to alter their mode of life. The Turkish governors, upon their appointment, tried to win the princes over to their side by means of persuasion, gifts, robes of honour, and the conferring of high titles. The feudal princes kept their influence as well as their independence. They were treated formally as autonomous princes, and left to rule their respective countries. As a sign of their suzerainty the name of the sultan was mentioned in the Friday prayers. Besides they had to give soldiers to the government in case of requisition and to pay taxes for their fiefs.

Recruiting was wholly in the hands of the emir. When the

government was endangered it would ask the princes for help. The latter recruited their warriors and hastened to the front, returning home after the fighting was over. At a later stage the government distributed the number of warriors required among the chieftains, whereupon these latter selected the required number of recruits and handed them over to the recruiting officer of the tribes, or district, *mufattiš id-daurah*, who sent them to the place where they were needed. On a certain occasion a chieftain had been requested to forward his contingent of men. He was at a loss whom to send, and so invited the gypsies of his district to dinner, selected from among them the number required and sent them, much against their will, to the recruiting official. Another misuse of power was that these chieftains would take two thousand men where only twenty were required of them. Thus they obtained high sums from those among their people who could afford to pay for their release. Though this abuse was known to the government it would not interfere. A reform of this unsound condition and a further step towards equity was the "white and black lot" system. Those who had unfortunately drawn a black lot had to serve with the colours. The chieftains were no longer able to oppress the people, though they tried to exempt many from service by bribery. Still later the system of dividing the recruits into active soldiers and reservists prevailed. It was finally replaced by German recruiting methods.

From a legal point of view, every chieftain ruled absolutely : there was no appeal from him. He had as counsellors a sheikh well versed in *sheria* law and another with a good knowledge of tribal and secular law, so that the chieftain himself was the executive. Very important questions were decided by the government. The execution of a sentence or the conclusion of peace between litigating parties lay with the emir or sheikh, without whose consent they did not take place, for he was supreme in his fief while the government kept aloof and intervened only to secure his submission.

The principle applied to recruiting also held for the collection of tithes and the levying of taxes. The government dealt in neither case directly with the people at large. In ancient times the emir of Syria, Egypt or Mesopotamia undertook to pay to the central government a fixed sum in tithes or taxes. After having added to it considerably he would impose this obligation on his deputies or

chieftains. The latter in their turn would extract enough from the people to pay this amount and leave them a large margin of profit. The people only acknowledged the jurisdiction of their own chieftain in this and other questions. Should a prince try to collect taxes directly from them without the intermediation of their direct chieftain, he would be unable to do so, though their chieftain might be known to tyrannize over them, collecting from them many times the amount due from them. A story is told of a prince who imposed on a village a tax of two hundred jars of oil. He was defied by the shrewd villagers despite his occupation of their village. The system of taxation was later modified, and the chieftains and sheikhs of the different districts assembled at the local administrative councils or at the governor's headquarters or those of the inspector of administration and offered a lump sum, the net profits from which they divided equally among themselves. The emirs oppressed the people and went so far as to deny that they owed allegiance to the government, opposing it whenever and wherever they could. Thus the Jeramîn emirs came up to Jerusalem and imposed taxes on the people, while the government could neither interfere nor object. All the governor could do in such a case was to employ the influence of the *'ulama* to induce this bold intruder to discontinue his practice. Such was the helpless state of the governors.

The representative of the sultan once beat some men of the Beni Zeid tribe. Their emir considered this an affront, gathered his men, attacked Jerusalem and plundered it, released the prisoners and would have killed the governor if he had caught him. Such instances are too numerous to be recounted at length. Haj Muṣṭafa Abu Ghôṣ used to appear before the governor armed to the teeth. Moreover he would sit somewhere in the city and judge the people, while no one dared to object. When he was once offended by the inhabitants of Jerusalem, he contrived to prevent all peasants of the surrounding villages from bringing *nats* (*Poterium spinosum*) into the city for fuel, until they besought him to make peace and paid him poll tax. The government held a neutral position in this as in many other affairs, as it was unable to check him or to defend itself from him.

The house of the emir was the serail, i.e. the government house. There people would be beaten and imprisoned, and everybody

could secure justice there. The emir's power was as absolute as that of a king in his own district, acknowledged by all within the reach of his influence. It is not, therefore, surprising that the government undertook to deprive the princes of their immense influence. They were summoned to Damascus, then the seat of the local government. The greater part of them were so unsophisticated that they would sit in the streets and eat and sleep in the caravanserais or mosques. Others were more cultivated and brought with them many gifts to the pasha and governor. But the inconsiderate actions and the rude behaviour of the majority of them diminished their influence with the government, which shortly after this deported some of these chieftains to Trebizond, appointing the sons or relatives of the exiles in their place. The government also tried to diminish their influence and abolished the feudal system in Palestine over fifty years ago. Instead of the sheikh a mukhtâr was appointed. Those who refused to accept this innovation were punished, so that the rest accepted the new state and order of things. Ever since, their influence has diminished and that of the government has grown, until no trace of the feudal system could be found in Palestine. Though the feudal system is still observed in Kurdistan, Mesopotamia, and Arabia it has vanished from Palestine totally. The active part which the government took in recruiting, collecting taxes, levying duties, punishing the unruly, enforcing the land law (*ṭâbu*) and many other laws had only the one object in view, namely to do away finally with the feudal system in Palestine.

DIE LANDSCHAFT BAŠAN IM 2. VORCHR. JAHRTAUSEND.

B. MAISLER

(JERUSALEM)

In meinen „Untersuchungen zur alten Geschichte und Ethnographie Syriens und Palästinas“ I (1929) habe ich nachzuweisen versucht, dass die Landschaft Bašan eine bedeutende Rolle im Kulturleben des alten Orients gespielt hat. In der vorliegenden Studie sollen die in den obenerwähnten „Untersuchungen“ allgemein gestreiften Probleme ausführlicher behandelt und vor allem auf die Geschichte Bašans zur Zeit der ägyptischen Oberherrschaft über Syrien—Palästina im 2. Jahrtausend näher eingegangen werden.— Was den Namen „Bašan“ anbetrifft, so ist er vor allem den alttestamentlichen Quellen als Bezeichnung für das nördliche Transjordanland geläufig. Nach Angaben, wie Deut. 3^{10-13f.}; Jos. 7^{12f.} 13¹¹⁻³⁰, erstreckte sich Bašan vom Ḥermongebirge im Norden bis zum Jarmuk im Süden und schloss im Osten das Ḥaurāngebirge und die Lejā (Trachonitis) mit ein. Im Westen und Süden grenzte Bašan an die Landschaft Gilé'ad, so dass „Gilé'ad und Bašan“ öfters als Bezeichnung des Transjordanlandes gebraucht wird (Jos. 17¹⁻⁵; I Reg. 4¹³; II Reg. 10³³). Geographisch zerfällt Bašan in drei Teile: die Hochebene Nūqra, das Ḥaurangebirge (Jebel ed-Druz) und die Lejā. Das Ḥaurāngebirge, welches Ps. 68¹⁵ צִלְמוֹן heisst, (bei Ptolomäus 5, 15: Ἀσσυζουζ)² und das zerklüftete Lavagebiet el-Lejā bilden den östlichen und gebirgigen Teil Bašans, der im AT den Namen „Gebirge (von) Bašan“ (הַר בַּשָּׁן) trägt (Ps. 68¹⁶, vgl. Jes. 33⁰; Jer. 22²⁰; 50¹⁰; Nahum 1⁴). Die westlichen

¹ vgl. meinen Artikel „Bašan“ in „Encyclopaedia Judaica“ III., Sp. 1127-30.

² s. WETZSTEIN, *Das Batanäische Giebelgebirge*, 1884.

Abhänge dieses Gebirges und die Hochebene Nūqra sind die fruchtbarsten und an natürlichen Bodenschätzen reichsten Gebiete des Transjordanlandes. Im AT werden die fetten Weiden (Ez. 39⁴⁸; Micha 7¹⁴) und das fette Vieh Bašans (Deut. 32¹⁴; Amos 4¹, Ps. 22¹³) ausserordentlich gerühmt, und noch heute gilt die Hochebene Nūqra als die Kornkammer Syrien—Palästinas. Die westlichen Abhänge des Ḥaurāngebirges waren mit mächtigen Wäldern bedeckt, so dass die *אילני בשן* ebenso Erstaunen erweckten, wie die Zedern des Libanon (Jes. 2¹³; Ez. 20⁶; Zach. 11²). Ein ausgezeichnetes Baumaterial liefert ferner der Basalt, der als verwitterte Lava des Ḥaurāngebirges aufzufassen ist.¹

Der Reichtum des Bodens trug dazu bei, dass hier eine hochentwickelte Kultur entstehen konnte. Wetzstein, Schumacher, Karge u. a. Forscher, die diesen Teil des Transjordanlandes durchforscht haben, wurden insbesondere auf die Megalith-Kultur des 3. Jahrtausends aufmerksam. Die Träger dieser Megalith Kultur sind hauptsächlich Semiten, die, aus der syrisch-arabischen Wüste als Schat- und Ziegenhirten kommend, sich massenhaft hier ansiedelten und allmählich zur Sesshaftigkeit übergingen.² Diese alteingesessenen Bewohner der Landschaft Bašan erscheinen im AT als Riesen der Urzeit, von denen zahlreiche Volkslegenden verbreitet waren.³ Die besondere Bedeutung, die Bašan für den altorientalischen Kulturkreis gewann, dürfte aber vor allem aus der günstigen Verkehrslage Bašans erhellen. Denn durch Bašan führten im Altertum einige grosse Handelsstrassen, vor allem diejenige, die Syrien mit dem Roten Meer bzw. mit Südarabien verband, welche wirtschaftspolitisch für den nahen Orient überaus bedeutend war. Diese Strasse führte von Damaskus über 'Astaroth⁴ nach Elath⁵ am Älanitischen Meerbusen. Der Besitz dieser Verkehrsstrasse war die Voraussetzung für die Beherrschung des südarabischen Handels, weshalb er auch von Grossmächten Vorderasiens angestrebt war. Dies erhellt vor allem aus dem historischen Hintergrund der Erzählung Gen. 14, dem zweifellos

¹ s. W. KOERST, *Geologische Beobachtungen in Syrien und Palästina*, 1924, S. 38f., ferner RINDFLEISCH, ZDPV XXI, S. 14.

² s. KARGE, *Rephaim*, 1917, S. 708f.

³ vgl. Deut. 3¹¹; Jos. 13¹² und KARGE, a. a. O., S. 632f.

⁴ jetzt Tell 'Astarā, s. PROCKSCH, *Genesis*,² S. 505f.; ALBRIGHT, *Bulletin of the Amer. Schools of Or. Res.*, Okt. 1925, S. 14ff.

⁵ über Elath s. BEN-ZEWI, *שאר ישיב*, S. 97 ff.

eine babylonische Tradition zugrunde liegt.¹ Danach hat der elamitische König Kedorla'omer einen Zug auf der obenerwähnten Strasse unternommen. Der Zug führte über Damaskus, 'Astaroth, Ham² und Šaweh-Qirjathajim³ nach Elath (איל פארן), wo er seinen Abschluss fand.⁴

Diese Quelle wirft ein Licht auf die Bedeutungen der Strasse Damaskus-Elath schon in der Zeit um 2000 v. Chr.

Es kann aber keinem Zweifel unterliegen, dass schon im 3. vorchr. Jahrtausend sich wohlgeordnete Verkehrsverhältnisse und ein Austausch von Kulturwerten mit Syrien und den anderen Ländern des vorderen Orients herausgebildet haben. Mit der Expansion des babylonischen Machteinflusses auf Syrien seit Lugalzaggizi, Sargon und Narām-Sin muss auch Bašan dem Gesichtskreis des Babyloniers erschlossen und ein reger Handelsverkehr zwischen Bašan und dem Zweistromlande sich herausgebildet haben. Auf diese Verhältnisse wirft eine Inschrift Gudeas, des Priesterkönigs von Lagaš (um 2500 v. Chr.), ein helles Licht. Aus der Stelle Gudea, Statue B VI, 3ff.⁵ erfahren wir, dass Gudea den für seine Bauten gebrauchten Basalt „aus Umanu, dem Gebirge von Menua und aus Basalla, dem Gebirge von Martu“ beschaffen liess. Umanu ist das im AT erwähnte Gebirge אַמְנָה = Antilibanos, das Gebirge Ammana(na) der assyrischen Quellen.⁶ In Basalla dagegen erblicke ich das „Gebirge (von) Bašan.“⁷ Aus dieser Stelle ist ersichtlich, dass schon um 2500 bašanitische Basalt nach Südbabylonien exportiert wurde.

Der natürliche Reichtum Bašans und seine günstige Verkehrslage haben dazu beigetragen, dass hier zahlreiche Städte entstehen konnten, die zu Mittelpunkten einer blühenden Kultur wurden. So sprechen die alttestamentlichen Quellen öfters von den „sechzig grossen Städten

¹ Dies hat schon teilweise ED. MEYER, *Gesch. des Altertums* I, 2⁸ S. 444, *Die ältere Chronologie*, S. 28 Anm. erkannt.

² jetzt Ham, s. STEUERNAGEL, ZDPV. 1925, S. 79.

³ jetzt Hîrbet Qurêjât.

⁴ Gen. 14⁶⁻⁸.—Aus V. 6 geht hervor, dass der Zug in Elath seinen Abschluss fand. Von hier aus „kehrten sie um und gelangten nach 'Ein Mišpat, d. i. Qadeš.“

⁵ vgl. THUREAU-DANGIN, *Die Sumer. und Akkad. Königsinschriften*, S. 70.

⁶ vgl. WINCKLER, KAT⁸, S. 190.

⁷ Der Wechsel von n und l (vgl. DELITZSCH, *Sumer. Grammatik*, S. 17) bzw. von š und s (vgl. Gudea, Statue B V, 53, wo die Schreibweise Ursu statt Uršu vorkommt) ist eine häufige Erscheinung im Sumerischen.

mit Mauern und ehernen Riegeln," die den חבל ארנוב Bašans bildeten (Deut. 3^{4f.} 14; Jos. 13³⁰; I. Kön. 4¹³). Von den im AT erwähnten Städten Bašans befinden sich die meisten an den grösseren Verkehrsstrassen in der Hochebene Nūqra und auf den westlichen Abhängen des Haurāngebirges und der Lejā. Zahlreiche Ruinen an der obenerwähnten Verkehrsstrasse, wie Šeḥ Sa'd, Tell 'Astarā, Tell el-Aš'arī, El-Muzerib, deuten an, dass hier eine grosse Anzahl bedeutender Städte bestanden haben.

Von diesen spielte die Stadt 'Aštaroth ('Astarā) eine bedeutende Rolle als Knotenpunkt der Strasse Damaskus-Elath und der Strasse, die von Damaskus nach Palästina führte. Zur Zeit der Einwanderung der Israeliten war 'Aštaroth die Residenz des Königs 'Og (Jos. 9¹⁰ u.ö.), der über ein ausgedehntes Reich in Bašan geherrscht hat. Im AT werden ferner folgende Städte Bašans genannt: *Edre'i*, jetzt Der'āt, ebenfalls ein bedeutender Verkehrspunkt; *Qenath*, jetzt Qanawāt im Gebirge Haurān (Num. 32⁴²; I. Chr. 2²³)¹; *Salcha*, heute Salchad (Deut. 3¹⁰ u.ö.) und vor allem *Bošra* (im AT: בּוֹשְׂרָא, Deut. 4⁴³ u.ö.), die bedeutendste Stadt des Transjordanlandes, die im Verlaufe der Jahrtausende sich immer wieder zu einem hervorragenden Handels- und Kulturzentrum emporschwang. Ferner ist wohl das im AT erwähnte „Land Tōb" (ארץ טוב, Jud. 11³⁻⁵; II Sam. 10⁶⁻⁸) nach der Stadt Tōb benannt, welche I. Makk. 5¹³; II. Makk. 12¹⁷ Τοῦβιον heisst. Diese Stadt finde ich im heutigen eṭ-Ṭajibē, auf der Strasse Der'āt-Bošra wieder.

Die ägyptischen Schriftdenkmäler des Neuen Reiches legen darüber Zeugnis ab, dass Bašan zur Zeit der Oberherrschaft Ägyptens über Syrien-Palästina eine ägyptische Provinz war. Dass die Pharaonen in diese Gegend gezogen sind, beweisen die Denkmäler, die Sethos I. und Ramses II. („Hiobstein")² hier errichtet haben.

Wir wenden uns nunmehr dem wichtigsten Quellenmaterial, das wir über Syrien-Palästina aus der Zeit der XVIII. Dynastie besitzen, zu. Aufschlussreich über die Verhältnisse in Bašan zur Zeit der Pharaonen Amenophis III. (1411-1375 v. Chr.) und Amenophis IV. (1375-1358) sind die Amarna-Briefe,³ vor allem der Brief EA

¹ Zur hellenistischen Zeit gehörte *Kanath* = Qenat zu der Dekapolis, s. SCHUERER, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel im Za. J. Chr.* II., S. 167ff.

² GRESSMANN, *Texte und Bilder zum AT* II, Abb. 90 und 103.

³ Über die allgemeine Lage Syriens zur Amarna-Zeit s. meinen Artikel „Amarna" in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* II., Sp. 553-562.

197¹. In diesem Brief, der von Namiawaza, einem Fürsten aus der Landschaft Ubi, an den Pharao gerichtet ist, heisst es (EA 197^{10ff.}): „Er (Biridašwa) hat genommen Wagen in älu Aš-tar-te und den SA GAZ gegeben. Als es sahen der Fürst von älu Bu-uš-ru-na und der Fürst von älu Ḥa-lu-un-ni, dann machten sie gemeinsam mit Biridašwa Feindschaft gegen mich und sagten: „Kommt, wir wollen Namiawaza töten und ihn nicht kommen lassen nach mātu [Taḥ ?]-še'. Ich aber entwich aus ihrer Hand und stehe in Abi (=Ube) und Dimašqa.“ Die hier erwähnten Städte liegen sämtlich in Bašan. Aštarte ist 'Astaroth und Bušruna=Bošra. Der Name Ḥalunni hat sich, wie STEUERNAGEL mit Recht hervorhoben hat, im heutigen Nahr el-'Allān (نهر العَلان) erhalten.² Dieser Brief gewährt uns einen tieferen Einblick in die Beziehungen zwischen Bašan und den Ländern Mittelsyriens, vor allem zu der Landschaft Ubi. Die Tatsache, dass Biridašwa mit dem Fürsten von Bosra und Ḥalunni eine starke Koalition gegen den mächtigen Namiawaza ins Leben rief, zeigt, dass die Fürsten Bašans einen Einfluss auf die politische Lage in der syrischen Provinz Ägyptens ausgeübt haben.

Aus einem anderen Brief erfahren wir, dass ein unbekannter-Fürst auf die Verordnung des Pharao „sämtliche Wege des Königs, des Herrn, bis nach älu Bu-uš-ru- n[i]“ zurecht gemacht hat (EA 199^{10ff.}), woraus zu ersehen ist, dass die ägyptische Macht sich um die Verkehrsstrassen Bašans gekümmert hat.

Die geläufige Annahme, dass die Amarna-Korrespondenz keine Briefe aus der Landschaft Bašan enthält, ist nicht stichhaltig. M.E. stammen die Briefe EA 201-206 aus Bašan. Dass sie eine Einheit bilden und aus derselben Gegend stammen, hat KNUDTZON³ mit Nachdruck hervorgehoben. Es handelt sich um Briefe von den Stadtfürsten von Ziri-Bašani, Šašimi, Qanū, Ṭubu und Našeba. Es kann keinem Zweifel unterliegen, dass es sich um bašanitische Städte handelt. Ziri-Bašani („Ziri in Bašan,“) welches als Drbsn bei Ramses II. wiederkehrt,⁴ ist m.E. mit der aus den syrischen, talmudischen und klassisch-arabischen Quellen bekannten Stadt Zaroi (زَروِي وِروِيَا) im südöst-

¹ Die Zitate nach der Ausgabe von KNUDTZON, „Die El-Amarna-Tafeln“ 1907ff. (EA).

² vgl. WEBER bei KNUDTZON a. a. O., S. 1292.

³ a. a. O., S. 1294, Anm. 2.

⁴ BURCHARDT, *Die altkanaän. Fremdworte und Eigennamen im Ägyptischen* II. No 1232.

lichen Teil der Lejā identisch.¹ Šašimi (= שסעם „Spalte“?) ist unbekannt. Ṭubu ist zweifellos mit טוב = Τόβιον (s. oben) identisch. Našeba ist naheliegend mit dem heutigen Našib, im Südosten von Der'at, zu identifizieren. Was Qānu anbetrifft, so kann es unmöglich mit Qana in Ašer (Jos. 19²⁸) zusammenhängen.² Ich ermute vielmehr in Qanū die Stadt Qenāth, das heutige Qanawāt.³ Wir treffen also folgende Städte der Landschaft Bašan in den Amarna-Briefen an: Aštarti=‘Astarōth (Tell ‘Astarā), Bušruna=Bošra, Ḥalunni=[Nahr el-Jallān, Qanū=Qenath (Qanawāt), Ṭubu=Ṭōb (et-Ṭajibe), Ziri-Bašani=Zaroi, Zoroa, Šašimi (=שסעם?), Našeba=Našib.

Ausser den Amarna-Briefen ist für uns von grossem Interesse die Palästinaliste Thutmosis' III. Es kann keinem Zweifel unterliegen, dass die Aufzählung der Städte in dieser Liste eine systematische Anordnung darstellt und zwar eine solche nach Landschaften, oft ohne Rücksicht auf das geographische Nebeneinander derselben. So stellen z.B. No 31ff. eine Aufzählung der Städte des östlichen Galiläa dar. Demnach müssen auch No 22-30 eine solche systematische Anordnung, und zwar wegen Tu-b-y=Ṭubu=טוב, Qai-ni-w=Qanū=Qenāth, ‘A-ru-na=Ḥalunni, ‘A-s-ti'-ra-tu=Aštartu=‘Astarōth eine Aufzählung der Städte der Landschaft Bašan darstellen. B-d-n (No 23) könnte sehr wohl mit Bušruna=Bošra zusammenhängen.⁴ ‘I-m-ša-na (No 24) möchte ich mit Motha, dem heutigen Imtan, auf der Römerstrasse, s.ö. von Salchad, identifizieren.⁵ ‘I-ni-r-pi-a (No 29) hängt sicherlich mit Pαρωγ,⁶ heute er-Rāfe, im Westen von Zoroa, zusammen. Ma-qa-ta (No 30) hat schon MASPERO mit Mazzēd (I. Makk. 5³⁶) zusammengestellt.

Wir geben zwecks Identifizierung der in Frage kommenden Städte in der Palästinaliste Thusmosis' III. folgende Übersicht:

¹ jetzt Zoroa, Ezra'.

² gegen WEBER bei KNUDITZON, a. a. O., S. 1295.

³ Der Schwund der Endung n in Qa-nu-ū (= קנה) hat seine Analogie in Aela, Aila=Elath (אֵילַת) und in anderen Ortsnamen, die auf n auslauten.

⁴ Entweder ist das r vor dem n ausgefallen, oder man kann im n die aeg. Wiedergabe des westsemit. r erblicken.

⁵ Motha=Imtān ist die aramäisch-griechische Form des älteren ‘I-m-ša-na (= אִמְשָׁן, vgl. Βουζουζα = בושׁ us, f.)

⁶ I. Makk. 5^{37,48}; JOSEPHUS, Ant. 8¹.XII,

Liste Thutmosis' III. ¹		El-Amarna Tafeln		AT und hellen. Quellen		Moderne Benennungen
No		No				
22	Tu-b-y	205 ³	Ṭubu	Jud. 11 ³⁻⁵ ; I Makk. 5 ¹³ u. ö.	טוב Τούβου	eṭ-Ṭajbē
23	B-d-n	197 ¹³ ; 199 ¹³	Buṣruna	Deut. 1 ¹³ ; I Makk. 5 ²⁶ u. ö.	בצור, Βοσσουρα	Boṣra
24	'I-m-ša-na				Motha	Imtān
25	Ma-ša-ḥa	182-184	Muṣiḥuna ²			
26	Qa-i-ni-w	204 ⁴	Qanū	Num. 32 ¹² u. ö.	קנה, Κανωα	Qanawāt
27	'A-ru-na	197 ¹⁴	Ḥalunni			[Nahr el-] 'Allān
28	'A-s-ti-ra-tu	197 ¹⁰ ; 256 ²¹	Aštarti	Deut. 1 ⁴ u. ö.	עשתרות	Tell 'Aštārā
29	'I-ni'-r-pi'-a			I Makk. 5 ³⁷ u. ö.	'Ραφων	er-Rāfe
30	Ma-qa-ta			I Makk. 5 ³⁰	Μααδ	

¹ nach der Ausgabe von PATON, *Early Egyptian Records of Travel*, IV.² vgl. WEBER bei KNUDTZON, a.a.O., S. 1280.

Wir sehen also, dass die Fürstentümer der Landschaft Bašan seit Thutmosis III. der ägyptischen Verwaltung unterstanden und mit Mittel- und Südsyrien eine politische Einheit bildeten. Die Bevölkerung Bašans war zu dieser Zeit eine gemischte semitisch-subarisch-indogermanische. So trägt der König von Šašimi, Abdimilki (EA 203), einen semitischen Namen. Dagegen ist der Name des Königs von Ziri-Bašani, Artamnia (EA 201), indogermanisch. Der subarische (hurritische) Einfluss¹ auf die Kultur Bašans tritt uns besonders in der Kunst entgegen. In dieser Hinsicht sind von besonderem Interesse die Denkmäler des 14.-13. Jhds., wie der Basaltlöwe von Šeḥ Sa'd² und das Relief von Šihān,³ die ein subarisches Gepräge aufweisen.

Die Invasion der Hebräer und Aramäer führte zur Durchsetzung der autochthonen Bevölkerung mit einer neuen Schicht. Der grösste Teil Bašans wurde vom israelitischen Stamm Manasse erobert. So erfahren wir aus den Berichten Num. 21^{33ff.}; Deut. 3^{1ff.}; Jos. 12^{1ff.}, dass das Reich des Königs 'Og, der in der Nūqra geherrscht hat, von den Israeliten erobert wurde. Dieser Teil Bašans wurde vom manasitischen Geschlecht Jair besiedelt und erhielt den Namen חַיִּיר יִמִּינֵי (Num. 32⁴¹; Deut. 3¹⁴). Qenath und die zugehörigen Ortschaften wurden vom Geschlecht Nobah erobert (Num. 32⁴²). Dagegen siedelten sich im nordöstlichen Teil Bašans die aramäischen Stämme Ma'acha und Gešur an (Jos. 13¹³ u. ö.).

¹ Über die subarischen (hurritischen) Elemente in Syrien s. UNGNAD, *Kulturfragen* I., S. 6ff.; LEWY, ZA, NF I., S. 144ff.; BILABEL, *Geschichte Vorderasiens*, S. 251ff.; GUSTAVS, ZDPV 1927, S. 13ff. und meine „*Untersuchungen*“ Kap. I, c.— Über die indogermanischen Elemente s. ED. MEYER, *Gesch. des Altertums* II,² (1928), S. 33ff.; KITTEL, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel* ^oI, S. 70.

² MDOG, No 23, Abb. 15.

³ DUSSAUD, *Les monuments palest.* 1912, S. 1ff.

ANIMALS IN PALESTINIAN SUPERSTITION¹

ST. H. STEPHAN

(JERUSALEM)

“Animal,” and its equivalent in Arabic and many other languages means, literally, an animated being. Man, furthermore, according to common belief is only an animal² with the power of speech. This idea is more fully worked out by the saying: It is a sin to hurt an animal since it has no tongue with which to complain. It is only one step towards supposing that once upon a time, in the dim past, animals also had the power to express their thoughts as clearly as man. But this dim past has been ‘telescoped’ in current superstitious beliefs, so that the epochs of Solomon, Mohammed and Adam have become confused together.

There is a story that at the time of creation God sent an angel to the animals to bid them observe both the fast of Ramadan and the five daily prayers. First they protested that their hands were not fitted to perform the ritual washing. The messenger brought back this answer to God who thereupon sent Gabriel to promise them the gift of separate fingers if they would obey. So they agreed and were given fingers instead of hoofs and claws. The first day everything went smoothly. They fasted and they prayed and they took their last meal before daybreak. But when morning came some animals found grass and ate it. God heard of this sin and said to them, “No more shall ye have the power of speech: hencefor-

¹ To save repetition examples already given in the writer's *Animals in Palestinian Folklore* (JPOS, V pp. 92, and VIII, pp. 65) are not given here. See also STEPHAN, *Palestinian Animal Stories and Fables*, JPOS, III 167.

² *al-insán haiwan nāliq* (classical).

ward ye shall be subject to man for ever; ye shall be able only to hear and understand." And so it is that if you call a beast from afar it hears and understands, yet it cannot answer.

The naive and docile eastern mind easily admits such ideas. It suffers little from the defects of the prejudices and lack of imagination which the West chooses to call the 'critical mind.'

Children imitate the twittering of birds by adding a sibilant to every consonant or syllable. This they call "the language of birds." We still believe that animals have a special language of their own,¹ though only the favoured of Allah understand it, as, for example, King Solomon or the man in the Arabian Nights in the story about the ass and the ox,² or certain holy men; and they are all under oath to keep their knowledge secret on pain of immediate death. Yet though we have no share of their full knowledge we have an accepted interpretation of some of the commonest animal noises and actions.

Like the spirits, these holy men have another privilege, not enjoyed by common mortals: they can take the form of any animal at will.³ Thus in the Arabian Nights the Caliph Harūn ar-Rašīd and his vizier were able by certain magic words to turn themselves into storks, and by other magic words to regain human shape. But if it is a privilege when the power is granted for temporary use it may be a heavy punishment when imposed for generations by Allah on the wicked. They and their posterity may be reduced to the rank of inferior animals for the rest of their lives or for generations. It is quite easy for Allah thus to show his power and to impose his fear upon mankind. One Syrian sect accepts as a dogma the idea of metempsychosis for all who during their human lifetime were not members of that sect.

One of the heaviest curses is to say: *allah yimsahak (ya-l-ba'id) ihmar (haiwân)*—May Allah transform thee (O far, absent one) into

¹ Dogs when they meet salute each other, the weaker submitting to and appeasing the stronger.

² The vernacular variant of this story refers to the power of understanding language as a special favour to this man who, according to the classical form, had reached the age of 120 years.

³ Cf. T. CANA'AN, *Haunted Springs and Water Demons* (JPOS, I 153), where this point is fully treated.

⁴ A classical story (heard also from illiterate people in Mosul) tells of the changing of the hero of the story into a donkey on the mere request of his pious mother.

a donkey¹ (or an animal)! Such an enforced transformation is irrevocable. This punishment is inflicted only rarely, as upon the monkey, the tortoise, the pig, and the lizard¹; upon the latter because it carried a stalk in its mouth to supply Nimrod with fuel to burn Abraham our lord, the Friend of Allah. Others have been deprived of but one faculty. Thus the snake, because of its fatal advice to our ancestress Eve, was deprived of feet.² The mole was punished with the loss of eyesight because of its vainglorious behaviour towards King Solomon.³ The mule has been punished with barrenness because it disobeyed the Prophet and nearly did him harm; and because of its disrespectful language to the Prophet the donkey is condemned to carry heavy loads; while the hornet suffers immediate death because it stung the son of some unknown prophet. Some have only suffered severe rebuke, like the ants who disturbed the Prophet's sleep.

The camel and gazelle, on the contrary, are honoured because it is believed that they were the only or the last animals to speak to the Prophet; therefore evil spirits cannot take their form; nor can they take the form of the ram, perhaps for the reason that it allowed itself to be sacrificed in the place of Isaac (Ishmael).

The camel's air of dignity is due to the fact that it knows the hundredth of the "beautiful names" of Allah, which it will disclose to none other. It retains its hauteur because it cannot see its crooked neck (*ma bi'iddis 'ôjit ra'bato*); yet on account of this long neck it never stumbles (*'umro ma bidda'tar*).

¹ The lizard (*hardôn*) was then a wood cutter according to another version. The *hardôn* frequents sun-warmed rocks and walls. Its colour changes slightly according to the colour of its surroundings. It has a habit of nodding its head whereupon the children say to him:

şally şalâlak ya hardôn immak w-abûk fi-l-tâbôn
abûk râh 'a-j-jabal ğallî lihyito fi-l-laban

You may say your prayer, O *hardôn*
Yet your mother and father are in the oven;
Your father is gone to the mountain,
He has dipped his beard in the sour milk.

² Cf. Genesis 3¹⁴.

³ King Solomon was given power over beasts and birds and spirits. He is reckoned a prophet and therefore a *'alaîhi -s-salâm* (Peace be on him) is always used after his name. His special bird was the hoopoe, though the owl is known as *imm islâmân*.

In the beginning Adam gave their names to all the animals. But the donkey forgot its name and returned to Adam to ask it again. But yet again the donkey forgot it and had to come back to ask for it. When this happened the third time Adam grew impatient, pulled its ears and shouted in them: *ihmār!* (donkey). Ever since the donkey has had long ears and, thinking that also other animals cannot hear a whisper, brays its name at the top of its voice.

More about the donkey's bray may be found in the present writer's *Animals in Palestinian Folklore*, JPOS, V, p. 146. The devil is said to whisper into the donkey's ear, "All the she-donkeys are dead" (*mātin in-natāya, mātin*), whereupon the donkey loudly bewails their loss. Then the devil consoles it and says, "One is still left" (*biqyit wāḥade*) and the donkey urges, Fetch her, fetch her. (*bāt-ha, bāt-ha*).

A riddle: *arba' a tar' tar', tinēn taratalli' u wāḥad bikišš id-dubbān*—Four knock continuously, two are aimless and one drives away the flies.

If its rider falls off the donkey says: *qattim*—(May you be) cut off! The mule or common horse say: *ḡūr*—Sink, be lost in the ground! The camel only calls on the name of Allah, while the noble mare goes around her rider—"she has not her equal" (*mā miṭilha*).

Another story is told (Cf. JPOS V, p. 139) explaining the barrenness of the mule. Once the mule bore young like other animals. The Prophet used to go among the animals and pick up and caress their young. The mare, the she-camel, the cow and the she-ass did not object; but the mule refused to trust the Prophet, and in its attempt to recover its young all but injured the Prophet. So the Prophet uttered the decree: *allah yiqta'ik min ḡurriyyeh*—May Allah cut off thine issue!

The dog is cousin to the jackal: *il-kalb ibn 'amm il-wāwy*. If a

¹ *Tirtalli (tirlālli)* is a corruption of the neo-Greek *tirilos*, mad.

'išrit maḥbūbi sukkar likin 'a'lo tirtalli (taralalli)

The company of my beloved is sweet as sugar,

But his mind is confused (?).

Other proverbs are: *ḡayy danab l-yhmār la byḡwal wala byḡsar*—Like the tail of the donkey, it gets neither longer nor shorter. Illustrating a state of lethargy, a lazy fellow; an unsuccessful person (?). *illi byi'mal ḥālo ḥmār il-kull byirkab 'alēh*—He that makes a donkey of himself, everyone rides on him.

jackal or a hyena enters a village only dogs of the opposite sex will attack it (Artâs). Therefore shepherds tending large flocks keep dogs of either sex in readiness for any emergency. The dog says: *allah iykattir ulâd ahli, luqmeb luqmeb mallu batni*—Allah increase my master's children! (by giving me a) bit after a bit, they filled my stomach.¹ The cat, however, is not always pleased at being played with by children, and says: *Allah yigta' ulâd ahli, dabbe dabbe qatâ u dabri*—Allah cut off my master's children! by throwing me about (or by ever beating me) they have broken my back.

The hatred between cat and dog is thus described. Once upon a time the king of beasts gave the dog a firman recommending man to use him inside the house; but the cat stole the firman and persuaded man that it was the cat for which the firman was granted, and the man believed it and kept it indoors. The dog came and protested, but in vain; it was turned out and there it has lived ever since.

A tradition runs: *akrimu-l-hirrata wa-l-hirra, li-annahum tawwafuna 'alaikum bi-l-lail*—Honour the cats, for they patrol around you by night. In February the cat calls for her mate, "Murni!" and he answers, "Yes, Mirnau, what is it?" But usually the mewling of the cat shows her hunger.

The caterwauling between cat and cat is put in this poetical form:—

wén kunti -l-léleb? wi wi wi?
fi bet il-qâdi-di-di-di
w-ês kunti tsawwi-wi-wi-wi?
Oçil baqlâwa- wa-wa-wa
lêš ma qultili- wi-wi-wi?
šu bî arrifni- ni-ni-ni?
lêš ma jibtîli má âc? wa-waw-wa?
lêš ma jiti má ây, wáy, wáy, wáy.
 Where wast thou last night. . . . ?
 In the house of the judge. . . .
 What wast thou doing there. . . . ?
 Eating *baqlâwah* [pastry]. . . .
 Why didst thou not tell me ?
 Hou could I know. . . . ?

¹ The dog of the seven sleepers of Ephesus in Mohammedan tradition retains its Greek name, the Arabic corruption of which is *qitmîr*.

Why didst thou not bring me some with thee . . . ?

Why didst thou not come with me . . . ? (Bêtjâla)

Honour is shewn to cats not only because the Prophet was fond of them : the reason is much more ancient. One dare not kill a cat not because she is the "mother of seven souls" and therefore difficult to kill, but because God would himself kill him who kills a cat : *bañit il-'uñ ma bitnuñ!*—The sin against a cat does not "jump" (i.e. will not remain unrevenged). And the classical name *al-bâssatu* (*bazzân* in Bagdâd) seems to suggest the hieroglyphic *bassûto*, to which divine honours were paid. The origin of the enmity between cat and mouse is traceable to the Flood. When Noah was in the ark the pig happened to sneeze and from its nose the mouse came into being, and it ran hither and thither and made holes all over the ark, to the danger of all. In his distress Noah prayed and Allah ordered the tiger to sneeze, and thus a cat sprang out from the tiger and chased the mouse.

Some believe that the pigs were once men. When the children of Israel disobeyed Moses and refused to fight on the other side of Jordan, Moses prayed to Allah who changed the unruly tribes into pigs and monkeys. That is why pork is forbidden.

Again we are told that a mother was once working at the *tabûn* with her child beside her. The child relieved himself, and the mother having nothing to clean him with irreverently took some bread for the purpose. In vain did the angel of Allah three times bring her seven silken cloths instead : she would not suffer the fine silk to be soiled. So when Allah saw her wickedness he changed her and her son into monkeys. That is why monkeys look so much like human kind.

A story is told of the Prophet (or Ali?) that when he was once escaping from his enemies he came upon a herd of goats and throwing himself on the ground tried to hide beside them. But the goats said, "We can offer you no shelter," and shook their short tails. So he went and hid himself among the sheep. When his enemies passed by without finding him he blessed the sheep and said,¹ *Allah yustûrkum dinya u âbreh*—May Allah guard you

¹ Some tell how the sheep once had thinner tails but these grew by reason of the Prophet's blessing. Sheep are said to live about twenty years and to bear young twice a year. Goats live only about ten years and bear young only during the first six years. A proverb relating to the kid :-

(lit. conceal you) in this world and in the world to come. But to the goat he said, *Allah yifḍāḥkum dinya u āḥreh*—May Allah disgrace you here and in the next world.

According to another version it was Pharaoh who persecuted Mohammed and tried to kill him. He hid himself first among the goats, and was nearly discovered; but the sheep gathered closely around him and spread out their tails so that they concealed him. When the danger was over he cursed the goats: *allah yifḍāḥkum mitilma faḍāḥtinni*—May Allah disgrace you like as ye would have disgraced me! But the sheep he blessed: *Allah yisturkum mitilma satarinni*—May Allah keep you safe like as ye kept me safe! In winter the sheep say to the goats: *mūt, mūt, aja 'izzi*—You may die, for now is come the time of my pride! In summer the goat says to the sheep: *mūti, mūti, ya nā'je, ya-mm-il-jazze u hādi -š-šams 'izzi*—You may die (of vexation), O ewe, with the fleece, for this sun (heat) is my pride!

In summer when the grapes ripen jackals become busy in the vineyards.¹ They call to each other and their barking is sometimes insupportable. A shot silences them for a time, but you should try and turn your shoe: this is considered more effective. It is also a remedy against the *jiwāḥ*, the howling of the pariah dog.

The jackal is also interested in cucumbers:-

<i>w-ana w-ihsēn 'a-rās il- 'ēn</i>	<i>zara' na miqtāt faqqūs</i>
<i>wa-try -l-wāwi mšārikna. . .</i>	<i>bibḥaš ma' āna bi-l-qūs.</i>
<i>ḍarabt ana w-aḥlētēh</i>	<i>w-iḥabba fi jurwa-n-nāmūs</i>
<i>ḥilī 'ala-š-šabr iynādi</i>	<i>(ya ḥisseh zayy in-nāqūs)</i>
<i>nāda iḥuteh w-iwlād ammeh</i>	<i>u dāru bi-l-faqqūs iyḥūs. . .</i>
<i>qall 'aqlak, ma-sqā' daqnak</i>	<i>fātih kisak la-l-iftūs. [Artās]</i>

When I and Hussein at the head of the spring
Planted a cucumber field,
Lō, the jackal became partner with us,
Digging with us in the ground.
I threw (a stone at him) but missed him,
So he hid himself inside his hole.

min qillit in-nās sammu-j-jidi 'abbās—From lack of men they called the kid "Abbas," a favourite name among the Shi'as, its first bearer being the ancestor of the Abbaside dynasty.

¹ Cf. Song of Songs, 2¹⁵.

He climbed a rock and cried out.
 (His voice is like a clapper);
 He cried out for his brothers and cousins,
 And they began to prow! about among the cucumbers...
 How stupid thou art! How feeble-minded!
 Still opening thy purse for the money!

In *Bêt Şafâfa* the following story is told about the mole. Every day King Solomon used to leave his palace Etam (the present *Ḥirbet 'aṭan*) to go to the Temple in Jerusalem. The mole noticed that it took the king several hours to reach the Temple and once boasted to him that it could easily burrow its way underground to the Temple in less time than the king took to reach it. So one day they had a race, and when the king arrived he found that the mole had arrived long before him. So he was very jealous, of the mole and smote it with blindness, saying that if its eyes were left it would do still greater feats.

The gazelle if followed by human beings becomes easily frightened. To stop it a women may cry out: *ya gazâl rim, rim, ma warâk illa-l-ḥarim*—O gazelle, stop, stop! there are but women behind thee. Then it will stop at once and look around it as if to see if it is true. But it will run for its life if a man calls out: *Ya gazâl ḥâs, ḥâs, ma warâk ġer ir-rişâş*—O gazelle, beware, beware! Behind thee is nothing but bullets. . . . (Bet Ḥanina)

In the beginning Allah made the tortoise a smooth, hairless creature. It suffered greatly from cold in winter and from heat in summer; so it prayed to Allah: *ya rabbi raja raja, ta' tîni tobîn ḥajar*—O my Lord, I implore thee, give me a garment of stone.¹ And so it was. But her shell is sometimes used as a child's amulet. A stone is put on its back so heavy that it cannot move; and so it dies and is eaten up by flies.² Another version is that the tortoise was a handsome woman, who refused to lend her poor neighbours the most necessary things—fire, salt, flour or dishes and plates—always denying that she had them. Then Fâtmeḥ, the daughter of the Prophet, became angry and caused her to be turned into a tortoise. And therefore it is that the tortoise hears and understands all that

¹ Bet Ḥanina

² A riddle: *râkîb u markûb u râso maqbûb*—Riding and ridden yet its head is hidden.

is said but cannot answer.

The snake is cursed, because Allah once asked her: *inti bitu uqsi u bitmāti willa bitu uqsi u bitmawati?*—Dost thou sting and die, or dost thou sting and kill? The snake answered: *lā'a, ba'qas u bamawwit*—No, I'll sting and kill. Then Allah said: *rāḥi, māskanik (bētik) il-barāb u mā'kalik (aklik)il-trāb'*—Be gone! thy dwelling (house) shall be in ruined places, and thy food shall be dust. [Hebron] Many firmly believe that the snake lives only on dust. Since to whistle at night time brings out the snakes this should not be done. Children put sloughed snake-skins in their school books so they can memorize them better.

Like other animals snakes have their own law-courts. Once a woodcutter was brought before one of these courts of which the members were all snakes, presided over by their queen. He was charged with killing a snake. He pleaded guilty, but defended himself on the grounds that he avenged his son who had been bitten by that snake. After much deliberation the queen declared him free of guilt, set him at liberty and gave him a precious pearl. But as a rule snakes try to avenge their fellow-snakes.

In Mesopotamia they repeatedly drive a flock of sheep or goats over any field where snakes are known to be. This serves to block up their holes and bring about their destruction.

The cock is held in high honour as the unpaid village *muezzin* who summons the pious to prayer. In the morning it crows (*biqéqis*):

qis, qiqi qis. ḥil' in-nhār qūm ṣalli, ya muḥtār
w-inma ṣallēlīs ya muḥtār aṣbāḥt int miṭil-l-iḥmār

Kis-kiki-kis! the dawn is risen.

Arise, O muḥtār,² and pray!

For if thou prayest not, O muḥtār,

Thou wilt become like the donkey. (Bet Ḥanīna)

In lonely and mountainous regions the spirits which guard hidden treasure take the shape of a cock. A hen about to lay an egg cackles (*iṣāḥi*):³

¹ Genesis 3¹⁴.

² Village chief.

³ Cf. the rhyme *djāli bitqāqi fi'l iḥ-ziqāqi bēlba zaqāndah*—My hen clucks like the dropping birds (?); her eggs are three score. *zaqāndah* is a corruption of *ḫāndah*. I owe this explanation to Professor ALT, who also drew my attention to a certain *hirbet zaqāndah* near Hebron.

Allah yá ĩini, allah yá ĩini,

allah iyşabbirni 'ala ĥamilti, limma tinzal min şurumti.

Allah give me (patience)! Allah give me (patience)!

Allah make me patient to carry my burden

Until it comes down from my back. (Bet Ĥanina)

A person of no importance is compared to a hen: *zayy ij-jáje, btuĥkumši 'ala beđitha*—Like the hen, she cannot even dispose of her egg. A fixed habit is thus illustrated: *ij-jáje ĥattúĥa 'a-şálibt il-qamĥ, ákalat u şib'at u dárat tif'al. qálúĥa: allah yĥrib bétik, 'a-şálibt il-qamĥ!! qálat: (šu), 'asán šabi'ti adaşşir şani'ti?*

They set the hen on the grain-heap. She ate and was filled and relieved herself. They said to her, What! would you do so on the grain heap? She said, What! because I am filled must I give up my habit?

The pigeon is called *ĥamám 'uşşaq ('aşşága)* because it falls in love with some place where it does not happen to be. Some pigeons when they coo are said to call on Allah: *ya karim*—O Generous One! They are said to praise Allah. Others are supposed to fast during the first three days of Ramadan, or even the whole month in Mecca.¹

If you say to the starling: *midd ĥablak ya marĥud (rahóđ)*—"Draw thy rope, O unsteady one!" it will fly in a straight line from, say, Hebron to Nablus, as if along a rope. The same applies to the cranes which are supposed to obey the order at a simple word. The stork also is very obedient: if you say, "O stork, fly to the east or to the west," it will do so. God created the stork only because of the locusts, and though it goes all through the year without performing one good deed, *tált is-şaneĥ bala ĥasaneĥ*, yet its arrival foretells a good crop. According to a riddle the stork is blacker than coal, whiter than fat, longer than the sickle, and straighter than the spindle (its name in Egypt is *abu magázil*).

aswad min-il-faĥme w-abyaq min is-şahme,

w-ařwal min il-minjal w-a'dal min il-miğzal.

In Trans-Jordan the Arabs believe that if a raven crows once, it foretells the death of a local notable; and if twice, the tribe must

¹ Its name is *ĥamám istét*. The following proverb refers to it *şar: la-mm istét bét u la-l-qar'a qřún*—The yellowish turtle dove has (at last) a house, and the hairless woman plaits of hair (lit. horns).

shift its camp; if three times, it is a sure sign that the tribe will be attacked and driven off.

If you are in the open field and you hear the voice of the owl you may be sure that there is someone near you.

The finch's advice to the married man is: *udrub ḥamâtak ṭalaq* Shoot thy mother-in-law! The green bird of paradise (sometimes called the hoopoe) is accounted a good omen because of its connexion with King Solomon.

*ya ḥâdirin küllikum rabbi yihannikum
fi waṣṭi bistân tēr iḥḍar iynagikum.*

O all ye present ones Allah give you joy!

Within a garden may a green bird sing to you!

*Hûdhud ya tēr iḥḍâri, hûdhud ya hada tmâhhal
hûdhud ya ḥâdi bitkâḥḥal...*

Hoopoe, O green bird, O hoopoe, be patient!

Hoopoe, this girl is still painting her eyes with kohl...

Allah asked the bee: *btûqurṣi u bitmâti willa btûqurṣi u bitmawwti*—Wouldst thou sting and die, or wouldst thou sting and kill? she answered "I would sting and die." And so she has her way.

Locusts are Allah's army, *jêṣ allah*, which he sends against those who provoke his anger. The older locusts carry their young on their backs but with reluctance and they tell them that they cannot be carried about and fed at the same time; so they hasten to get off their parents' backs and leap to forage for themselves.

Ants are cursed by the Prophet (*mashuṭ*). The Prophet once slept in the open and the ants, not knowing him, got into his clothes and troubled him; so he called out, *allah yisḥatak*—"Allah be angry with thee" (or transform thee!). Therefore the ants remain so small. When he woke up the ants protested, "How can we live if thou art angry with us and dost transform us?" So the Prophet thrust his stick into the ground three spans deep and said, "Here shall ye stay your life long." The ants went into that hole and there they have lived ever since. They have mills there where they grind the corn which they have gathered.¹ (Bet Ḥanîna)

In summer the cricket says: *wizz, wizz, wizz* (i.e. it is content with its life), so that the ants may hear whilst they are busily gather-

¹ Of them it is said: *ḥmûle timṣi sawiyye, mā ṭîla'3 il-'ajâz min is-ṣabtyyeh*—Loads walking together, wherein the old women does not differ from the girl.

ing grain for the winter. It does no work summer or winter but lives on the dung of the donkeys; so the ant says to it:

*inte fi-š-šēf bitqul wiṣṣ, u bi-š-š-ita tahtak biṭṭiṣṣ
amma ana fi-š-šēf bāt'ab u fi-š-š-ita baṭrab,*

You chirp in summer and brake wind in winter;

Whereas I weary myself in summer and rejoice in the winter.

King Solomon once asked the ant how much it ate in a year, and it said, three grains only. So he took it and put it in a small box, (*buqq*) leaving with it only three grains. After a year he looked into the box, and lo, the ant had eaten one grain and a half. The ant explained, "When thou O son of Adam, didst imprison me, I feared lest thou should forget me, and saved a portion for another year."

There is no end to the wickedness of the spider; it was created only to annoy. When it stings a child he cries out and faints: then his parents should dig a hole in the ground sufficient to cover up his body. When they do this they must be ritually clean. Then someone must ask the child: *ya 'ankabūti, tihiyi willa tmūli?*—O spider, wilt thou live or die? The question must be asked an odd number of times. If the child answers, "I will live," however faint his answer, they may unearth him at once for there is full hope of his recovery; but if he answers, "I must die," he is surely lost. If he does not answer at once he may be asked up to seven times: and if he does not answer then he will certainly die. The "helping" person must lay himself on the body of the child in the manner told of Elisha.⁴

⁴ Heard at Bet Hanina. The writer has had no opportunity to verify it.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

DIE NEUENTDECKTEN JÜDISCHEN OSSUARINSCHRIFTEN (cf. p. 41-49)

Die von Yellin gebotene Lesung scheint mir die einzig richtige zu sein. Es handelt sich wahrscheinlich um die Ausführung einer letztwilligen Verfügung des Verstorbenen, der wünschte, dass sein Sarg nie mehr geöffnet werde. Ohne eine derartige Verfügung wäre dieses nämlich in gewissen Fällen erlaubt. Darüber gibt es folgende Halacha von R. Jehuda: „Der Mann darf beerdigt werden mit seiner kleinen Tochter und die Frau mit ihrem kleinen Sohne und mit ihrem kleinen Enkel.“¹ Da hier die gemeinsame Beerdigung von Mann und Frau nicht erwähnt ist, so erscheint es ausgeschlossen, dass im fraglichen Ossuar des Dositheus auch die Knochenreste seiner Witwe beigesetzt worden seien. Auch eine andere Halacha schreibt vor, dass beim Sammeln der Knochenreste die Gebeine des Vaters und der Mutter in besonderen Tüchern gesammelt werden.²

Der erste Teil des Zitates aus dem Schulchan Aruch (Jore Dea 363 §3) ist von Yellin mit vollem Recht angeführt worden. Es handelt sich um eine Halacha aus dem verlorengegangenen Ebal Rabbati, welche besagt, dass Knochenreste nicht an die Seite des Ossuars geschoben werden dürfen, um für neue Knochenreste Platz zu gewinnen. Die Fortsetzung der Halacha sagt aber, dass es Orte gab, wo man dies wohl gestattete.³ Unser Dositheus wollte offenbar ein

¹ Zitat aus Ebel Rabbati in Tur J.D. 362.

² S. BRUELL, *Jahrbücher für jüd. Geschichte u. Literatur* I, 22 : של אביו בסודר אחר :
ושל אמו בסודר אחר.

³ BRUELL a. a.O., 22 oben Nr. 3 : מקום שנחגו לעשות כן עושין. מקום שנחגו שלא לעשות :
כן אין עושין. . . .

derartiges Vorgehen nicht gestatten.—Dagegen bezieht sich der zweite Teil des Zitates (§ 7) auf die Untersuchung des Körpers eines Beerdigten und hat mit dem Ossilegium nichts zu tun.

[Under date of 22-4-29 Professor Klein wrote as follows to the Editor:] Als Ergänzung meiner Darlegungen betreffs der Dositheus-Inschrift sei noch auf Folgendes hingewiesen: LIDZBARSKI, *Altsemitische Texte* (1907) Nr. 64 wird eine punische Inschrift gebracht:

קבר . . . אכל לפתח (= בַּלְּפִתְחֵהוּ)

Das ist genau so, wie ולא לפתח in der Dositheus-Inschrift, und nun sieht man, dass die Formel nicht einzig dastehend ist.

S. KLEIN

BOOK REVIEW

FERRIS J. STEPHENS, *Personal Names from Cuneiform Inscriptions of Cappadocia* (Yale Oriental Series, Researches, Vol. XIII, 1). New Haven, Yale University Press, 1928. XI+98 pp.

The proper names of ancient Western Asia which are preserved for us in cuneiform business documents form one of the main sources of our knowledge concerning the movements of peoples in those remote ages. Since most of the business documents recovered by the hundreds of thousands are otherwise only of value for economic history, it is not surprising that the personal names have been seized upon with eagerness by students of political and racial history. One of the desiderata in the field of cuneiform personal names has long been the publication of the names found in the Cappadocian tablets, owing to their extraordinary interest and importance.

With a few doubtful exceptions all the cuneiform business documents from Cappadocia have been found in the ruins of the bazaar of the ancient city of Kaniš (or Ganiš), now Kül Tepe, in western Cappadocia. Most of the excavation on this site has been surreptitious, but recently an organized expedition, under the direction of Professor Hrozný of Prague, has been working there, with very important results, not yet published in detail. Kaniš was apparently the seat of an Assyrian merchant colony (a *kárum*) in the twentieth century B.C., before its destruction, probably by the Hittites. How much older the colony was remains uncertain; the tablets suggest a duration of not over a century or a century and a half. The personal names in the contracts from Kaniš (always written *Ganiš* in our texts) are mostly Assyrian, showing close resemblance to the Babylonian names of the First Dynasty of Babylon. A large minority of names are certainly or probably Cappadocian, such as *Balḫazia*, *Berwahšu*, *Dudḫalia*, *Ḫašušarna*, *Ḫištahšu(šar)*, *Niwahšušar*, *Šakriašwa*,

Šubeaḫšu(šar), *Šubunaḫšu*, *Udgaria*, *Zuḡalia*. *Dudḫalia* is later found as the name of a number of Hittite kings, and perhaps is identical with the Biblical *Tid'al* (for **Tudghal*), as suggested by Sayce. The name *Šakriašwa* reminds one of *Biridašwa*, name of the prince of Yanô'am in the Amarna Tablets. Other interesting names are *Duruḫna* (cf. the town name *Garabna* and perhaps *Kinabna*, Canaan) and *Tarḫuna*, which perhaps contains the name of the god Tarḫu or Tarqu. A very few Hurrian or Subaraean names occur, but presumably belong to merchants or other immigrants from the confines of Armenia and Mesopotamia, over which territory the caravans from Assyria had to pass. The clearest of these Hurrian names are *Agabsi* (cf. the Kirkūk names *Agabše*, *Agabšewa*, *Agabsenni*), *Agia-Akia*, (the *mediae* and *tenues* interchange in Hurrian), and *Arsih* (cf. *Aršehli*). There are also a few names which appear to be Amorite, though it is often difficult to decide whether a given name is Amorite or Old Assyrian. The names *Hanānum* and *Hanūnum* (Hebrew *Hanān* and *Hanūn*) are almost certainly West Semitic ("Amorite"). The name of the Amorite moon-god *Eraḫ* or *Iraḫ* also appears in the two names *Iraḫ-ḫulūli*, "Iraḫ is my protection," and *Puzur-Iraḫ*, "Ward of Iraḫ." These names are both written *NI-ra-aḫ*, i.e. *Iraḫ* (the note on p. 91 is to be corrected accordingly).

Professor Stephens is to be congratulated on his careful and apparently complete list of the names now available. The philological study of these names is still in its infancy, so that there is room for much difference of opinion. For example, *Garia* (p. 82b) is a non-Semitic name, and cannot be connected with *ger*, "client." Nor can *Talia* (p. 95a) be combined with Aram. *ṭalyā*, "youth." Nor can the element *wadāku* (p. 80b) be derived from *elēqu*, but it evidently comes from *wadū* (cf. *taklāku*, from *takālu*). However, points like these do not seriously impair the value of his work, which will be welcomed by all students of ancient Asia Minor and Syria.

W. F. ALBRIGHT

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS¹

E. T. RICHMOND

(JERUSALEM)

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I am as conscious of the honour done me in inviting me to act as your President this year as I am of any inability to approach my predecessors in this chair either in literary skill or in learning. Nor shall I attempt to do either in the few words that I have to address to you.

A Director of an Antiquities Department is primarily concerned, and must for the most part content himself, with such contribution to archæology as can be made by administrative action.

Among those who, during the last nine years, have presided over your Society my immediate predecessor in this chair, the Reverend Père Mallon, Director of the Pontifical School in Jerusalem, occupies a distinguished position. As you all know Père Mallon's activities extend over a wide field, and include, in addition to Palestinian archæology of the historic period, Egyptology, Coptic Studies and pre-History.

To pre-History he has made notable contributions. He has written on Flint Instruments and Megalithic Monuments; he has described his journeys of discovery in Palestine and its borders; he has visited, perhaps all, of the known pre-historic sites in this country, and no one has a wider knowledge or a keener appreciation than he of the opportunities that are here offered for pre-historic research.

¹ Held on the 16th May, 1929.

My last meeting in the field with Père Mallon was when, during the heats of last summer he was working with Monsieur René Neuville in one of the many caves in the Valley of St. Chariton near Bethlehem.

It is, I need hardly say, a great advantage for the administration of archæology in this country to be able to profit, as we always are able to profit, by the specialist knowledge possessed by learned individuals and bodies who have been established in Palestine for some time; and I am glad to acknowledge our indebtedness for the help which is at all times given, often, I fear, at the cost of not a little inconvenience and of much valuable time, by members of this Society, by the learned Fathers of the Dominican School of Biblical Studies, the Directors of the American School of Oriental Research, and of the British School of Archæology, and all the members of the Archæological Advisory Board.

You will not, I am sure, consider it other than appropriate that I should, in this connection, make a special reference to the Reverend Père Vincent O.P. and to Dr. Albright.

Père Vincent, as we all know, has to our great regret been unwell during the last few months. We are all glad to know that he is now back in Palestine, and that he is well on the way to recovering his health. It would be superfluous for me to comment on Père Vincent's work. I may, however, remind you that the volume of that work and the tax which is imposed upon his energies are far from being wholly reflected by his researches and his publications, though those alone would be enough to occupy more than fully the energies of one man.

We have learnt with much regret that Dr. Albright, the Director of the American School of Oriental Research is shortly leaving Palestine to take up, I understand, important work in his own country. Palestinian archæology will doubtless continue to profit by his researches, although those researches will no longer be conducted in this country. The value of his co-operation and the willingness with which it is given are sincerely appreciated and will not be forgotten by those who have enjoyed the privilege of working with him, and of discussing with him the manifold problems that arise in the course of our work.

The archæological problem in Palestine, presents, when regarded

as a whole, a two-sided character - on the one hand there is the side that relates directly to research, and, on the other hand, there is the administrative side. The latter is of course the affair of the Government, while the major part of the actual work of research must be carried out by private persons or bodies.

The object aimed at by those engaged in both forms of activity is, of course, identical and may briefly be defined as to increase our knowledge of Palestine's past. In that task the Administration has as essential a part to play as have those who are engaged more particularly upon the actual work of research, and it will not, I hope, be without interest or utility if I attempt to say something of the Administrative side of the work, of its relation to excavation, of the objects aimed at and of the progress made.

In saying what I am going to say I am aware that I shall be referring to matters that are already familiar to many of you and and that I risk the charge of emphasizing the obvious. But is that always to be deprecated, and is it not what is called the obvious rather than what is not so obvious that is most easily forgotten and even ignored?

We hear of the machinery of administration. An administration, however, is not to be compared to a machine; for a machine is not used for its intended purpose until the making of it is finished, until it is complete in all its details. But an administration is a living organization and as such it has its small beginning and its time of growth; also as such, it begins work before it is fully developed for its ultimate purpose, sometimes even before that purpose has been fully appreciated in all its bearings, and almost always before the conditions to which adaptation is necessary are fully known and recognised. The period of development may be long or it may be short. The length of time depends not only on the means that may be available, but also on how soon a clear conception of the main objects to be aimed at can be formed.

The primary objects to be aimed at by an Antiquities Department may, I think, be stated shortly, and in general terms, as follows:- to prevent damage, destruction or wastage of any link in the archaeological field; to establish and to maintain such conditions as will ensure that the greatest possible crop of knowledge be reaped from that field by those who are competent to take

advantage of the conditions set up; and lastly to arrange and to classify the knowledge so gained in such a manner as will render it most easily accessible to students and to the general public.

To attain these objects in all their manifold implications a great deal of work is needed. To begin with, before effective steps can be taken to prevent damage in the archaeological field we must make ourselves acquainted with what that field contains. The preparation of some sort of archaeological survey is therefore essential, and this alone is a large undertaking. The hills, the valleys and the plains of Palestine have, I need not remind you, been inhabited and, in some periods, thickly inhabited, not only during the few thousands of years that form the historic period, but also during the tens of thousands of years that preceded it.

During the historic period the inhabitants were under the influence of, and to a large extent shared in, the activities of the great civilisations that surrounded them, and in which they were an element. Thus this country has without any doubt been the scene of an amount of production in the form of buildings and of objects, religious, domestic and for purposes of war and agriculture, enormous in volume and much in excess of the production, in the remoter ages, of some of the countries with which many of us are more familiar. So great indeed has the bulk of this production been that it is enough to walk or to ride over any part of Palestine to be able to recognise, without the light shed by excavation, that not even the passage of time and the destructive capacities of man, which seem to have been very fully exercised in this country, have been able to remove the traces of what was done by the countless generations that have preceded us. Those traces cover the land wherever we may go. They take many forms, mounds representing deserted settlements or towns, rock cuttings that have been made for tombs, caves that have been inhabited, lines of masonry and remnants of architecture, marking all that is left above ground of ancient structures, ruins still standing but uninhabited and unused, and structures that still have their uses, religious or secular. When all this is remembered and when it is also remembered that the term antiquity is defined in the Mandate for Palestine as including all products of human activity prior to as late a date as the

year 1700 A.D. it becomes clear that to make a complete survey of all archaeological sites is, in spite of the substantial basis already provided by the Survey of Western Palestine, and by other works, a task for which many years are needed, and that to make even a list of them such as will meet immediate administrative needs, describing in a few words their general character and the position of each is a sufficiently formidable undertaking. Such a list once prepared is of course subject to constant revision and addition as our knowledge increases. A revision of the lists which have been issued by the Department from time to time has occupied the last two years, and is shortly to be published. It contains nearly 3,000 items, and, though not final, contains every category of antiquity site. To investigate all these "Tells" or mounds, all these "Khurbahs" or ruined settlements and all these monuments, both those that are already visible and those that still lie buried, will tax the resources of many generations of archaeologists. For we have to remember that we are not only working in the interests of this present time, but also of the future. Meanwhile the sites must be preserved. For the monuments that stand upon, and the objects that lie buried, in these sites, constitute the only material evidence left over from a remote and somewhat cataclysmic past for the investigation of this and of future generations. If any of that evidence is lost it cannot be regained. It is gone for ever. If this loss is to be prevented there are many dangers to be guarded against.

The main danger is not from natural decay, but from destruction either wilful or due to ignorance; to innocent blundering; to indifference to the interests of historical knowledge; to an assumption, far from uncommon, that the past can have no real concern for us. All this leads, at the worst to a wholesale obliteration of evidence, and, at the best, spares only such material objects as may be sold to the curious, though divested, owing to unrecorded provenance, of archaeological value. All who have studied this problem are alive to the danger and are agreed that it can only be warded off by an assertion of the Government's authority. The importance of Palestinian archaeology to the world in general, and the need for organised control over the country's antiquities receive full recognition and expression in the terms of the Mandate for Palestine. In that document it is not only laid down that there shall be an Antiquities

Law, but the rules for framing that Law are given.

It is hardly necessary for me to refer in any detail to the ways in which archaeological sites may be damaged or destroyed and the evidence they contain scattered. I may, however, mention a few. A mound representing an ancient settlement may be regarded as affording conveniently situated material whereby improvements, desirable in themselves, may be effected at a small cost. For example, the mound might be used for providing material for building or for other purposes, for filling a neighbouring marsh, or for raising the level of neighbouring land. It might also be regarded as an obstruction to a contemplated improvement and is in this case also exposed to the danger of reduction, perhaps of complete removal.

Similarly cliff faces containing evidence of ancient habitations, partially ruined monuments and traces of ancient walling or aqueducts may form useful quarries, and even monuments of much more obvious historical value may be razed to the ground, as has often happened in Europe and elsewhere when they appear to stand in the way of some commercial or other project.

It is in the face of such dangers as these, quite as much and even more than against petty pilfering, that precautions must be taken and that the law necessitated by the Mandate must be observed if Palestinian archaeology is to be preserved from the same fate that, in varying degrees, has befallen similar interests in other countries. To make a desert of Palestine's past would, moreover, be a singular disaster for Palestine; for it is her past that gives to Palestine in the eyes of the world her peculiar and unique attraction. Our present law dates from 1920. It has lately been revised in the light of increased experience and a new law will shortly be promulgated. It provides for the protection of antiquities from damage or destruction; forbids unauthorized search for them; encourages the reporting of any chance discoveries that may be made, and provides for rewarding the finder. It lays down that licences to excavate shall only be granted to qualified individuals or bodies; and, by establishing equitable conditions governing the division between the Administration and the excavator of the objects found, encourages foreign assistance in bringing Palestine's past to light. Palestine herself has neither the means nor the men to carry out the heavy and expensive task of disclosing by excavation the evidence of her

past and it is in the interests not only of the world in general but also of Palestine that that work should be done.

The principles upon which the law is based have been formulated, as Sir Frederic Kenyon the Director of the British Museum pointed out in an article that appeared not long ago in an English periodical, by the highest archæological authorities in England and have moreover been approved by representatives of foreign countries in the Union Académique Internationale. The Law, then, that is about to be published reflects the opinion and has the support of the world in general and, I may add, its terms have met with the approval of representative archæological opinion in this country.

There is an operation—the division of the finds between the excavator and the Administration—to which I should like to refer at this point. This operation must always be a little difficult and has even been described as “harrowing.” But if the problem is so presented that it can be studied by the Administration in the light afforded both by their own knowledge of the Museum’s needs and by the knowledge provided by the excavator in the form of a complete list of his finds, rendered scientifically useful by adequate description and by references to the place, level and circumstances of their discovery, a fair and rational division that takes account not merely of the quality of each object as an isolated unit, but also of its scientific or association value, can without any doubt be made.

This takes me to the last of the aims which I have mentioned as those to be attained by an Antiquities Administration. Having provided for the protection of antiquities and for the scientific excavation of antiquity sites it remains to dispose the material and the literary results which illustrate and embody the knowledge that has been so gained, in such a way that knowledge is rendered easily accessible to students and to the general public.

For this two things are needed—a museum and a library—a museum in which to house and to exhibit the objects that have been discovered and acquired, and a library to contain the reports written by excavators as well as a collection of books dealing with Palestinian archæology. Time will not allow me, even if your patience did, to enter into details of museum or library arrangement and though a good deal of consideration has already been given to this question the means necessary for giving effect to our

proposals are not as yet fully available. Hence both the museum and the library are still in the earlier phases of development. But there is a promise of more rapid growth in the near future. Each year sees a large number of excavators in the field and their number is still increasing. More and more antiquities of a movable character are coming to light and are reaching the museum and it is already difficult if not impossible to find adequate accommodation for them, and for the literature that explains and vivifies them. This difficulty will however be overcome, thanks largely to the generosity of Mr. Rockefeller, during, the next two years.

The plan for the new museum, the construction of which has already begun, provides, in addition to the accommodation needed for the Administration, galleries for exhibits and accommodation for subsidiary museum-services such as a chemical laboratory, a repair shop, a photographic studio; and, for the library, a reading room and ample storage space for publications, reports, books and all forms of archæological records. It also provides a lecture theatre to hold about 300 people and a smaller class room for more specialist purposes. The new building will thus be an important contribution to the cause of Palestinian archæology.

It will be both a storehouse of knowledge and a treasury of archæological remains.

There is one other point which I should like, if I may, to touch upon. It is not only the movable antiquities, such as are preserved in a museum, but also the immovable antiquities of the country, that is to say the historic monuments, which must be conserved if the whole field of Palestinian archæology is to receive the complete attention that is its due. These monuments like the movable antiquities show a tendency to increase. New ones are being annually brought to light by the work of excavators. For the proper care and conservation of historic monuments special provision is recognised as necessary in all countries; and, so far as means have allowed, provision is made here in Palestine. It is however far from being all that is required. This problem has for some time been engaging the attention of the Government and there is a reason to hope that a satisfactory solution may be found.

In the circumstances I have described in this rapid and general review of our aims and progress you will I hope agree that, without

indulging in any undue optimism, there are some grounds for anticipating a favourable development for Palestinian archæology in the advancement and encouragement of which your Society plays so prominent and important a part.

ADDITIONS A LA LISTE DES STATIONS PRÉHISTORIQUES DE PALESTINE ET TRANSJORDANIE¹

R. NEUVILLE

(JÉRUSALEM)

Depuis que le P. Mallon dressa la liste des stations préhistoriques de Palestine, les recherches tant en surface qu'en profondeur se sont considérablement multipliées. D'autre part, grâce aux efforts persévérants d'un certain nombre de savants, parmi lesquels il faut nommer en tout premier lieu le R. P. Bovier-Lapierre, la préhistoire palestinienne est passée du domaine de la simple collection à celui de la science.

Aussi ne croyons-nous pas prématuré de récapituler brièvement les résultats obtenus ces dernières années, afin de rendre plus aisées les recherches futures ainsi que l'étude des trouvailles déjà faites.

¹ P. ALEXIS MALLON, S. J., *Quelques stations préhistoriques de Palestine*, Beyrouth 1925, p. 25.

Les stations mentionnées dans la présente note qui figurent déjà dans la liste du P. Mallon sont précédées d'un*

Sauf indication contraire, les stations sont des gisements de surface.

Indications bibliographiques :

- I. D. BUZY, *Les stations lithiques d'El Qeseimeh*, dans *Revue Biblique*, 1927 p. 90.
- II. D. BUZY, *Une industrie mésolithique en Palestine*, dans *Revue Biblique*, 1928, p. 558.
- III. D. BUZY, *Une station magdalénienne dans le Négeb*, dans *Revue Biblique*, 1929. p. 364.
- IV. D. A. E. GARROD, *Excavation of a Paleolithic cave in western Judee*, dans *Palestine Exploration Fund Quaterly Statements*, Octobre 1928, p. 184.
- V. A. MALLON, *op. cit.*
- VI. A. MALLON, *Notes sur quelques sites du Ghôr Oriental*, dans *Biblica*, 1929, pp. 94 et 214.
- VII. P. TURVILLE-PETRE, *Researches in Prehistoric Galilee*, Londres 1927.

Nous nous bornerons, d'ailleurs, à compléter la liste du P. Mallon, mais en y apportant, pour certaines des stations qu'il cite, les additions ou corrections que nous semblent imposer le développement des études préhistoriques en Palestine ou les recherches complémentaires effectuées dans les gisements.

*ABL.— *Acheuléen supérieur*, Cf. VII, p. 115. (M.J.).

AIN DOUK.— A 6 km. 200 au nord de la Jéricho cananéenne. Sur les pentes, au-dessous des grottes, au nord du village. *Éléments moustériens* (N.).

AIN-MOUSSA.—Entre Bethléem de Galilée et la route de Nazareth à Caïffa. Cf. VIII. Belle station *acheuléo-moustérienne*. (BN.-B).

*AIN QEDEIRAT.— A 7 km. à l'est Aïn-Qešeimeh. cf. III. A notre avis, il ne peut être question ici de Magdalénien, comme le voudrait le P. BUZY (III); en l'absence totale d'industrie osseuse, on peut seulement dire de cette industrie, qu'elle appartient au *Paléolithique supérieur*; son faciès est d'ailleurs plus aurignacien que magdalénien. (N.-B.-IBP.-SE).

*AIN QEŞEIMEH.— Presqu'île du Sinaï,¹ au nord-ouest de Qadès Barnéa. Cf. I. *Paléolithique supérieur* analogue à celui d'Aïn-Qedeirat; les pièces avec plan de frappe à facettes semblent ici plus nombreuses. (N.-IBP.-B.-SE.)

*AIN SALEH.— *Énéolithique moyen*: hachettes, pics et ciseaux à tranchant poli (pièces parfois en dos d'âne), nombreuses flèches, rares racloirs en éventail (B.).

AIN ZAOUATA.—Nord-est de Naplouse. *Éléments énéolithiques*. (N.)

ASLUDJ.— Station du Négeb, à 20 km. au sud de Bersabée. Cf.

VIII. R. NEUVILLE, *La grotte d'Oumm-Qatafa* (en préparation).

Indication des collections où les stations sont principalement représentées :

B	Collection Pères de Bétharram, Bethléem
BN	„ „ „ Nazareth
IBP	Institut Biblique Pontifical, Jérusalem
IPH	Institut de Paléontologie Humaine, Paris
MJ	Musée de Jérusalem
N	Collection Neuville, Jérusalem
NDF	Collection Notre-Dame de France, Jérusalem
SA	Séminaire de Sainte-Anne „
SE	Ecole Française d'Archéologie, Jérusalem
SJ	Collection S. Jaurrieta, „

¹ Quoique situées hors des frontières de la Palestine, cette station et la précédente ne peuvent être séparées des autres gisements du Négeb.

VIII. *Acheulto-moustérien*. (N.-B.-IBP.)

*BAQAA.—Les pugiloïdes à faciès nettement *chelléen* sont rares; il s'agirait plutôt d'un *acheuléen* grossier. Industrie d'ailleurs mélangée d'éléments beaucoup plus tardifs. (NDF..IBP.-B.)

BIR IKSAL.—Sud-ouest du Mont Thabor.— *Eléments néolithiques ou énéolithiques* particuliers à la Galilée. (BN.-B.)

DEISHUN.—Galilée. Cf. VII, p. 110, *mésolithique* (?) grattoirs ronds, en museau; racloirs, pointes. (M.J.)

*EL-KHADER.—Sud-ouest de Bethléem, cf. VIII. *Moustérien* grossier très roulé, rares pugiloïdes. (B.-IBP.).

HALLET EL-HAMEH.—Est de Bethléem. Cf. II, p. 574, *Mésolithique*; grattoirs ronds en grand nombre, petites lames à dos rabattu, quelques croissants de type tardenoisien. (B.)

HALLET-EL-LOZ.—Est de Bethléem. Cf. II, p. 562. *mésolithique* (?): microlithes. (B)

*JAFFA-SUD.—La station s'étend de la ville à l'ouadi Roubin (elle continue au sud de cette rivière, mais les espaces libres de sable sont beaucoup plus rares), sur dix kilomètres. Le mélange apparaît un peu partout, mais des sections relativement pures permettent des déterminations assez sûres.

1° *Moustérien* (un peu partout, particulièrement au 8° km. de Jaffa), assez évolué, dépourvu de pugiloïdes; belles pointes, souvent retaillées sur les côtés, facettes multiples; lames; racloirs en D; burins sur pointe moustérienne (cf. VIII);

2° *Paléolithique supérieur* (surtout dans les environs de l'ouadi Roubin), caractérisé par un grand nombre de burins. Industrie difficile à séparer du

3° *Mésolithique* (dans la même région), auquel appartiendrait une abondante industrie microlithique, où les trapèzes et les croissants sont très rares; les microlithes comprennent surtout de fines lamelles en pointe et à dos finement rabattu, des petits nuclei simples, nuclei-burins, grattoirs ronds ou nucléiformes, poinçons minuscules;

1° *Énéolithique* (ancien ?) (surtout au Nord); rares pics, ciseaux et hachettes, le plus souvent avec polissage du taillant, scies à crans profonds simples et doubles, rares racloirs en éventail, flèches variées, éléments de faucille peu nombreux, lames et couteaux à arête dorsale adroitement enlevée. (N.-IBP.-B.-S.J.)

KEFR-TAS.—A 11 km. au Nord de Jérusalem, en bordure du

champ d'aviation de Qalandieh, au sud des ruines d'un établissement peut-être cananéen. *Néolithique tardif ou énéolithique ancien*: hachettes et pic bombés et à taillant poli, rares pièces en dos d'âne; éléments de faucille, perçoirs et poinçons extrêmement abondants; grands racloirs ronds; racloir prototype de celui en éventail; absence totale de flèches. (SJ.-N.)

KHIRBET BEIT-MIZMIR.—Entre Jérusalem et Aïn Karim. Industrie à *faciès campignien*; pics et hachettes sans polissage intentionnel. (IBP.-N.)

KHOULDEH.—Sud d'Amouas. Cf. VIII.

1° *Énéolithique*, sur les pentes autour du puits, particulièrement au sud. Industrie tardive exclusivement composée d'éléments de faucille et de couteaux hâtivement finis. (N.);

2° *Acheuléo-moustérien*, au nord de la piste de Naaneh; pugiloïdes assez rares et très disséminés; nombreux galets très martelés, parfois partiellement taillés en pugiloïdes. (SJ.-N.)

LOUBBAN.—Sur les hauteurs au sud-ouest de la source. Eclats grossiers à plan de frappe uni appartenant à un *Paléolithique* difficilement déterminable. (N.)

MOTZA.—“Au pied de Qolonyeh, sur le bord de l'ouadi Beit Hanina.—*Néolithique*.” Cf. N. SHALEM, *Une station néolithique à Motza*, dans *Yerushalayim*, Jérusalem 1928.

*MOUGHARET EL-EMIREH.—Dans l'ouadi el-Amoud, au nord-ouest du lac de Tibériade. Cf. VII, p. 7. Dans les dépôts: *Moustérien* évolué et *Paléolithique supérieur*. (MJ.)

MOUGHARET EL-MASA (Grotte de St.-Chariton). Ouadi Khareïtoun, rive droite. Sondage:

1° *Moustérien ancien* (N.)

2° *Bronzes I et II*: silex et poterie (N.)

MOUGHARET EL-OUAD.—Est d'Athlit. Fouilles Garrod (inédites). *Moustérien ancien*. *Paléolithique supérieur*, *Mésolithique*, *Bronze I*.

MOUGHARET ET-TAOUAMIN (Grotte des Pigeons).—Au sud du village de Djerash, dans l'ouadi Saïd. Cf. VIII.

1° *Bronze I ancien*. Hachette à *faciès campignien*, éléments de faucille; scies à crans profonds et flèches à retaille oblique; perçoirs; couteaux, dont un retaillé sur les deux faces avec polissage intentionnel (cf. VIII); lames; casse-tête en roche grise; poinçons, aiguille et pendeloques en os; poterie; disques percés en basalte et en terre cuite (N.)

2° *Bronze II*. Quelques lames et éléments de faucille en silex. Poterie très abondante. Fragment de vase en albâtre. (N.)

MOUGHARET EZ-ZOUTTIYEH. Dans l'ouadi el-Amoud, au nord-ouest du lac de Tibériade Cf. VII, p. 21. Dans les dépôts: *Moustérien* supérieur, avec pugiloïdes, qui pourraient appartenir (cf. VIII) à une industrie plus ancienne, et éléments de *Paléolithique supérieur*. (M.).

MOUGHARET OUMM-QALAA.—Ouadi Khareïtoun, rive gauche. Cf. VIII. Dans les dépôts: poignard en silex de 318 m.m. de longueur, probablement *énéolithique*. Tessons des Bronzes I et II. (N.)

MOUGHARET OUMM-QATAFA.—Ouadi Khareïtoun, rive gauche, à 600 m. à l'est de la précédente. Cf. VIII.

1° *Acheuléo-moustérien* (micoquien) typique, très abondant dans les diverses couches quaternaires; faune tempérée avec éléments chauds (*Rhinoceros Mercki*);

2° *Bronze I* ancien. Industrie lithique et osseuse; mobilier en roches diverses; poterie très abondante; trois squelettes humains. (N.-M.J.-IPH.)

MOUGHARET OUMM-NAQOUS.—Ouadi Khareïtoun, rive droite. Dans un sondage à l'intérieur de la grotte et en surface à l'extérieur: *Moustérien* ancien et moyen, sans pugiloïdes. (N.)

*MOUGHARET SHOUBAH.—Est de Lydda. Cf. IV. Dans les dépôts:

1° *Moustérien* supérieur;

2° *Mésolithique* (microlithes);

3° *Bronze*.

(M.J.).

OUDI ESH-SHOMAR: Est de la route de Jérusalem à Naplouse, km. 18. cf. VIII.

1° *Acheuléo(?) -moustérien*. Éléments de *Moustérien* évolué avec pugiloïdes, dont les types indiqueraient une survivance tardive. Fond de la vallée, en surface et dans les alluvions;

2° *Moustérien* moyen, représenté par un grand nombre de nuclei typiques, les éclats correspondants étant à peu près absents. Est de la section précédente.

3° *Paléolithique* (supérieur?). Outillage exclusivement composé de lames et pointes sans retouches et à plan de frappe uni.

(N.-S.J.)

Belles enceintes mégalithiques au sud-ouest de la 3° section.

OUDI KHAREITOUN. Sud et sud-est du Djebel Foureïdis (Mont

des Francs). Cf. VIII. Sur les hauteurs et les pentes de la vallée :

- 1° *Acheuléo-Moustérien* ;
 - 2° *Moustérien* ancien et moyen ;
 - 3° *Mésolithique* (microlithes) ;
 - 4° Eléments à *faciès campignien* ;
 - 5° *Énéolithique*,
- (N.-B.)

OUADI FARAH.—Haute-Galilée, cf. VII, p. 109. Forts pics à *faciès campignien* ; grattoirs, pointes, lames.

OUADI NIMRIN.—Transjordanie, au km. 40 de la route d'Amman.

- 1° *Moustérien* genre Tell Mistah ;
- 2° *Énéolithique* : petites flèches genre Mougharet et Taouamin ;
couteaux.

(N.)

OUADI SALHAH (Grotte).—Haute Galilée. Cf. VII, p. 111. Dans les dépôts : *Bronze I*, ancien et moyen. Silex et poterie.

OUADI TAHOUNEH.—Sud-est de Bethléem. Cf. II. Industrie très abondante à *faciès campignien* avec nombreux éléments *énéolithiques* (flèches, pièces à retaille oblique, etc.). Haches polies en roches diverses, particulièrement en dolomite ; polissoirs ; pilons ; broyeurs ; etc.

Certains nuclei et grattoirs ronds pourraient seuls appartenir au *Mésolithique*. (B.)

*QARIAT EL-AINAB (Abougosh).—*Énéolithique* : flèches, couteaux, lames, burins. (N.-IBP.-SJ).

Grand nombre de haches, ciseaux et pics (un bon nombre en dolomite), certains étant uniques en Palestine par leurs dimensions¹ ; vases en pierre, broyeurs casse-têtes, etc. (Coll. Pères Bénédictins, Abougosh).

RAFAT.—Sud d'Amouas. *Énéolithique* (B.).

*RAMLEH.—Nous avons pu reconnaître, dans l'enchevêtrement des industries :

- 1° *Acheuléo-moustérien* ;
- 2° *Moustérien* divers ;

¹ Cf. VIII et II p. 560 : ces objets auraient été recueillis à une soixantaine de centimètres en profondeur par les Pères Bénédictins. Deux sondages effectués dans le champ que les Révérends Pères ont bien voulu nous indiquer comme étant le lieu exact des trouvailles, ont donné un résultat absolument négatif.

3° *Paléolithique supérieur (?)*;

4° *Mésolithique (?)*;

5° *Énéolithique*.

(IBP.-B.-N).

REHOBOTH.---A 400 m. au sud de la gare, à droite de la route de Nes-Siona. *Mésolithique*: microlithes, type de Jaffa, lamelles, petits nuclei, grattoirs sur bout, petits pics ou retouchoirs à faciès campignien. (N).

SAHL EL-KHOSSIN.---Ouest de Sébastiyeh.

1° *Néolithique tardif ou énéolithique*, sur les bords d'un petit ouadi, à gauche de la route de Djenin. Hachettes larges soit plates, soit massives; pièces plus petites en dos d'âne et à tranchant poli; pics du genre campignien et grosses pièces à section triangulaire; couteaux en D à dos rabattu; couteaux à arête dorsale supprimée; grands racloirs ronds ou ovales, très épais ou plats; quelques perçoirs et éléments de faucille. Industrie assez différente de celle des stations analogues de la Judée; (B.-IBP-N-SJ);

2° *Achéulé-moustérien*, sur un plateau à l'ouest de la section précédente. Industrie du type de Mougharet Oumm-Qatafa. (B-IBP-N-SJ-MJ).

SHEMOUNIYEH.---Haute Galilée. Cf. VII, p. 110. Fortes pièces à *faciès campignien*.

TELEILAT GHASSOUL.---Transjordanie. Cf. VI, p. 217 et VIII. *Bronze I* ancien en surface: ciseaux le plus souvent en dos d'âne ou à section carrée, à tranchant poli; éléments de faucille; petits couteaux; scies à petites dents; perçoirs et racloirs en éventail très abondants; pas de flèches ou de couteaux à arête dorsale supprimée; moulins, vases et casse-têtes en roches diverses; disques percés en pierre et en terre cuite; poterie très abondante mais fragmentaire. (IBP.-N-SJ).

*TELL EL-FOUL.---Mêlé à la belle industrie à *faciès campignien*, haches *entièrement polis*, en roches diverses, particulièrement en dolomite, du type robenhausien (N-B).

(IBP-N-SJ-B).

TELL ES-SOMA.---Nord de Jérusalem, à l'est du village de Shafat. Sur les pentes sud: *néolithique tardif ou énéolithique* ancien genre Kefr Tâs, avec quelques pièces en dolomite. Industrie mélangée de grattoirs ronds qui pourrait appartenir au Paléolithique supérieur.

(SA-N).

TELL HAZOR.—A l'ouest de Taybeh, au bas des pentes sud-est. Éléments *éolithiques*: ciseaux en dos d'âne, éléments de faucille.

(N).

TELL IGNEIMEH.—Haute-Galilée. *Paléolithique*. (Musée d'Acre).

TELL IKTANOU.—Transjordanie. Cf. VI, p. 230, *Bronze I* en surface: racloirs en éventail; lames; tessons de poterie. (IBP).

TELL MISTAH.—Transjordanie. Cf. VI, p. 97.

1° Dans une couche moyenne *Bronze I* moyen: grand racloir en éventail; lames; couteaux; poterie; pilons et broyeurs; vases en basalte et autres roches. (N-IBP).

2° Contre le rocher à l'est-sud-est du tell: *Moustérien* ancien; lames et pointes à plan de frappe à facettes multiples. (N-IBP-NDF-B).

CONICAL SUNDIAL AND IKON INSCRIPTION FROM THE
KASTELLION MONASTERY ON KHIRBET EL-MERD IN THE
WILDERNESS OF JUDA.

(With four figures on two plates and two figures in the text)

A.E. MADER

(JERUSALEM)

The wilderness of the Holy City (ἡ ἔρημος τῆς ἁγίας πόλεως) is commanded in its eastern slope toward the Dead Sea by the *Munṭār* (526 m. high). From this mountain lead numerous ravines to the north, the east and the south. Of these ravines the most important and the most deep-cleft is the *Wādi Kāṭar*. This *Wādi* in its further course goes by the name of *Wādi Abu Sha'le* and during the course of barely 3 km. between cavernous cliffs (100 m. high) it tumbles into "the little plain" *el-Buké'a*. On the southern border of the gorge towers the conical peak of *el-Merd* (338 m. high). The peak has a perfect spurlike situation and is connected with the surrounding mountains on the west side by a narrow pass, 50 m. deep. A vertical rocky wall crosses this pass and carries an aqueduct built in stone. This aqueduct comes from two mountain tunnels and conducts the rain-water from the western heights into the fortress. The steep slopes of the mountain show still here and there some remains of ruins. But more particularly the flattened summit of the mountain is surrounded by a double rampart which still rises everywhere above the foundations and has an irregular oval shape of 95 m. length and 60 m. breadth. The whole of this area is covered with ruins of the Roman and Byzantine periods, the unravelling of which is not possible without excavating the locality. There

are on the northern and southern sides two cisterns cut into the rock, 9-10 m. deep and carefully cemented.

It may now be regarded as certain that the ruins of *Khirbet el-Merd* belonged to the Kastellion Monastery founded by St. Sabbas in 492. In the same place most probably the great "Patriarch of the Monks," ST. EUTHYMIOS, had already in the year 421 built out of older ruins a *laura* with chapel and altar as we shall see below.

On five different visits to the lonely tell I made various little discoveries of some of which I will give here a description.

(1) CONICAL SUNDIAL

(see plate I, fig. 1 and fig. 5 here in the text).¹

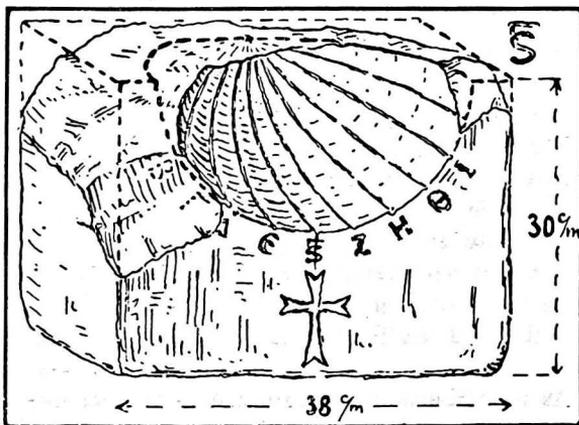


Fig. 5. Design of the Conical Sundial
on *Khirbet el-Merd*

It is concavely worked into a square limestone-block in the form of a quarter-globe of 38 cm. in breadth and 30 cm. in height. Its ten radial meridians are marked by the Greek figures [B] ΔΕΣΖΗΘΙ. An engraved cross under the dial of the height of 12 cm. with the arms branching towards the outside is a proof of its Christian manufacture. To my knowledge there exist in Palestine only two specimens of a similar sundial: The first comes

¹ The design of fig. 5 has been drawn by the Rev. Father MAURITIUS GISLER O.S.B. I would like to express here my grateful thanks for his competent advice and for his many unselfish services.

from *Bir es-Seba'* and was published by Rev. FATHER ABEL in the *Revue Biblique*, 1903, p. 430, with a sketch but without any description.¹ Here also the dimensions of the stone block are similar (31×38 cm.) and there is an engraved cross under the meridians but only with the two gnomon figures, Γ and Δ . There exists, however, this difference that on this dial Δ is on the right hand whereas on the dial of *Khirbet el-Merd* it is on the left. The second specimen was discovered at the excavations by the Palestine Exploration Fund on Ophel, Jerusalem. This, however, does not exhibit any sort of symbol or figures designating the hours and its dimensions are considerably smaller, $3\frac{5}{8}$ inches high, 3 inches broad, and 2 inches in maximum thickness.² The gnomon rod belonging thereto was placed horizontally in the groove worked into the stone so that its shadow could pass over the meridians. This dial stone differs from that of *Khirbet el-Merd* and *Bir es-Seba'* also by its socle sketched in profile. Unfortunately the excavators do not tell us whether the dial is Roman or Byzantine, i.e. Christian.

The pocket sundial found by MACALISTER in his excavation at Gezer³ is not of Palestinian manufacture but comes from Egypt, probably from an Egyptian traveller who visited Gezer. It is carved in ivory and is only $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches long and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick. Whilst the back side shows ten meridians without figure or mark, the front is ornamented with a "scene of adoration": In the solar back there is enthroned the god Ra-Harmachis who represents one of the Egyptian forms of the sun-god Ra, not however Thot as MACALISTER thought.⁴ As is indicated by the cartouches on either side, the king kneeling before the god and offering to him is Mer-en-Ptah (Mernephtah). Now as this Pharaoh reigned from 1225 to 1215 B.C., the dial belongs most probably to the 19th Dynasty.

Two other sundials from Egypt now in the Museum of Berlin

¹ Reproduced by CABROL, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie: "Cadran solaires,"* vol. II, 2, p. 1541, fig. 1824.

² R. A. S. MACALISTER and J. G. DUNCAN, *Excavations on the hill of Ophel, Jerusalem.* (P. E. F. ANNUAL, IV, 1923/25), p. 154 f. with the fig. 144.

³ R.A.S. MACALISTER, *Excavation of Gezer*, London, 1912, I, 15; II, 331 and fig. 465. Cf. E. J. PILCHER, *Portable Sundial from Gezer*, PEFQS 1923, pp. 85-89.

⁴ See G. MOELLER, "Eine Sonnenuhr aus der Zeit Mernephtahs," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, LVI (1920), S. 101. L. BORCHARDT, "Eine Keisersonnenuhr aus Ägypten," *ibid.*, XLVIII, S. 9.

are described by BORCHARDT.¹ A third of wood was found by J. GARSTANG in the Lion-Temple of Meroë.²

On the hill *Umm el-'Awāmid* near Tyre has been found a Phœnician sundial also in conical form worked on a stone-block and provided with a Phœnician inscription which says that the dial is consecrated to a Tyrian deity.³

Lately a specimen from Syria has also been discovered.⁴ It was found on *Tell el-Bise*, 12 km. north of *Homş* and it consist of only one stone-slab with a chiseled half circle which is provided with 12 meridians each consisting of five subdivisions (12 minutes). The hours themselves are marked by the first 10 letters of the Syrian alphabet and by the ligatures of the tenth with the first and the second hour. Judged by the character of the writing the dial dates from the fifth century after Christ.

Scholars thought it curious that on the ancient Christian sundials no inscription or symbol is found analogical to the Phœnician and the Egyptian dials which would dedicate it to Christ "The Sun of Justice" or "The Sun of Salvation,"⁵ although this attribute of Christ was well known and very popular in ancient Christian times.⁶ However one may mention in addition to the sundial of *Bir es-Seba'* that of *Khirbet el-Merd* on which the cross under the dial in all clearness points to Christ the Lord.⁷

Our sundial of *Khirbet el-Merd* is a further important proof that the Kastellion Monastery was established there in the year 492

¹ L. c., XLVIII, p. 9.

² J. GARSTANG, *The city of the Ethiopians*, Oxford, 1911, p. 22, pl. XXII, fig. 1; reproduced also by PILCHER, *PEFOS*, 1923, p. 87, fig. 4.

³ Now in the Louvre at Paris; cf. RENAN, *Mission de Phénicie*. Paris, 1864, p. 729; illustration by VIGOUROUX, *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, "Cadrans solaires," Vol. II, A, p. 26.

⁴ Syria, VIII (1928), fasc. 1, p. 80.

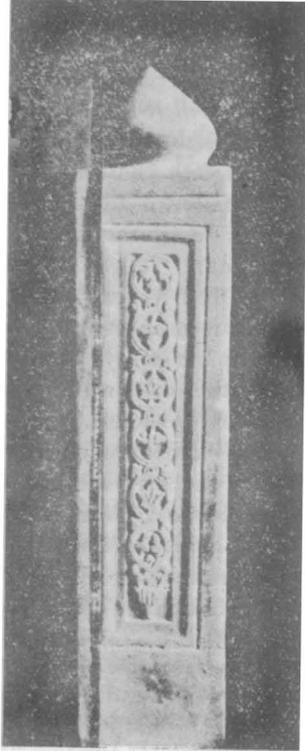
⁵ CABROL, l. c., p. 1543: "Il ne semble pas que les fidèles aient songé souvent à tracer sur ces appareils un symbole, une formule, un signe quelconque qu'on eût été d'autant moins surpris d'y rencontrer que les allusions semblaient devoir se présenter d'elles mêmes avec le Christ, soleil de justice, suivant l'épithète qui lui est si fréquemment appliquée à l'époque qui nous occupe."

⁶ Cf. FRANZ DOELGER, *Die Sonne der Gerechtigkeit. Liturgiegeschichtliche Forschungen*, II, Münster in Westf., 1918, S. 100-110; und "Sol salutis," 1925, S. 379-410.

⁷ On a sundial from Carthage the cross is placed between the letter A and Q, CABROL, l. c., III, 1, p. 1514, fig. 2862, after *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 1911, p. 575.

by St. Sabas, this Sundial manifestly having for its office the regulation of the liturgical hours and the domestic horarium of the monastery.

To the same monastery, or rather to its basilica, belong also various pieces of architecture which I found among the ruins and some of which by myself and by Pantalemon, a dear friend of mine, a brother of the Monastery of *Mâr Sâba*, have been put in the tomb-cave on the upper edge of the rock of the Tell. I would like to mention in particular a baptismal font worked from a single stone block, 65 cm. high and with a diameter of 1 m., in the centre of which there is a round basin of 32 cm. in depth with a diameter of 57 cm. and the frontispiece of which bears a cross in relief. Besides this a base of a column, fragments of shafts of columns, marble slabs, pieces of mosaic with partly coloured and highly polished cubes, a door lintel with a cross, a Byzantine tomb-lamp with an inscription and cross, a marble cover of an ossuary 25,5 cm. in length, 12 cm. in height with a saddle-roof and at the four



corners four horns, 6 cm. high with a vertical opening in the middle of the ridge and a Byzantine cross on the fore roof wall, but specially a magnificent hermula (post of a choir-chancel) of Greek marble with an ornament of vine-branches which rise from a two-handled vase (See Fig. 6 in the text.)

Fig. 6: Post of A Choir-Chancel on *Kbirbet el-Merd*

It is the finest specimen of its kind known in Palestine and one may deduce from it the extremely fine decoration of the monastery

church. The same vine-branch ornament is found on a hermula of *Béi Djibrin*, which is now in the Palestine Museum, but the execution of its relief work is incomparably inferior to that on the hermula of *Khirbet el-Merd*. A similar very richly worked vine-branch ornament may be seen on the door-posts of the Jeremias-Monastery of *Sagqara* near Memphis in Egypt which dates from the latter half of the 5th century.¹

A Greek Stone-Graffito. (See plate I, Fig. 2)—In the above mentioned tomb-cave of *Khirbet el-Merd* I found also a stone, 26 cm. high and 35 cm. broad, which is cut off at the top, at the bottom and on the right side. The faulty inscription engraved by an awkward hand reads:

MNHCOHTH K[YPI]E
TOYΛON COY M[O]N[A]X[OY]A
[N?] PAΩ THC [MÓNHC?]

Transiation: "Remember, O Lord, thy servant, the monk Andrew (from the Monastery?)."

The first line is clear and correct except for the spelling of H for I at the end of Imperative. The formula *μνήσθητι, κύριε* occurs already in the *Didache* 10,5 (*μνήσθητι, κύριε, τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου τοῦ ρύσασθαι αὐτήν*), but more frequently in the Greek liturgies; for ex.: *μνήσθητι, κύριε, τῶν καρποφορούντων καὶ κλλιεργούντων ἐν ταῖς ἀγίαις ἐκκλησίαις κ.τ.λ.* and in Greek inscriptions; for ex. from the Mount of Olives; *Revue Biblique*, 1892, p. 573 f.; *ZDPV*, 1921, p. 101.

At the beginning of the second line the writer puts TOYΛON instead ΔΟΥΛΟΥ, resp. ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ. The ligature MNX for MONAXOY need not surprise us since in the first word of the first line the three letters MNH are contracted. The vertical stroke after the ligature for MONAXOY may have been caused by the slipping of the style, somewhat like the stroke between O and X in TOY at the beginning of the line. The last letter of the second line is undoubtedly A.

The first letter of the third line is doubtful; it may be perhaps N. In the *Vita Euthymii*, p. 25² there is mention of a monk Andrew of the Euthymios-Laura who later became Hegumenos. If

¹ J. E. QUIBELL, *Excavations at Sagqara* 1907-08. Cairo, 1909, pl. XXX; reproduced by CABROL, *Dict.*, III, 1, p. 538, Fig. 2602.

² Greek edition by AUGUSTINOS, Jerusalem, 1913.

the spelling of the name is correct we have not the Dative Ἄνδρῶν from Ἄνδρῆας but the Dative Ἄνδράω from Ἄνδράος (arabic أَنْدَرَاوُس). We meet with the construction of μνήσθητι with the Dative also on an architrave at *Halbân* in northern Syria and it is perhaps to be ascribed to the influence or to the confusion of the much employed βρηθεῖν. The ligature at the end of the third line is very doubtful; it is possible that by the three vertical and two horizontal strokes the letters MNH of the word MONHC are intended.

It will be somewhat difficult to date the graffito, but if the Kastellion Monastery did not survive the Persian and Arabic invasion (see further below), the inscription may be ascribed to the 5th or 6th century.

(2) GREEK IKON INSCRIPTION

(See plate II, Fig. 3 and 4)

My dear old friend Pantalemon visits frequently the ruins of Kastellion and has erected a little oratory in the tomb-cave amid the bones of the old monks. For this purpose he brought various ikons from *Mâr Sâba* and hung them up in the cave. One of the most beautiful ones of these and the most important one from an historic point of view represents the Pantokrator with Mary and John on either side and the twelve Apostles round about in a circle.

Evidently in a conflagration the left upper border was burnt and the whole picture considerably blackened. The Inscription on the back, composed in faulty Greek by a monk named Paulos, is more legible on the original than on my photograph, and it runs as follows:

Line 1: † Ἡ ΠΑΡΟΥΣΑ ΕΙΚΟΝ ἘΛΗΦΘΗ ἘΚ ΤΗΣ

ΜΟΝΗΣ

„ 2: ΤΟΥ ΚΑΣΤΕΛΙΟΥ Ἡς ΦΕΡΙ Κ ΤΗΝ ἘΠΟΝΙ-

ΜΙΑΝ ΤΩΝ

„ 3: ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ἈΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ † ἘΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΛΑΪΡΑΝ
ΤΟΥ

„ 4: ἉΓΙΟΥ ΣΑΒΒΑ Ἰνδικτιόνος ΙΕ' ἘΤΟΣ ΑΠΟ

ΚΤΗΣΕΟΣ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ

road,¹ where the REV. D. J. CHITTY found in 1928 the Euthymios Church with mosaics and in 1929, as it would seem, also the empty tomb of the Saint.²

On the other hand it is on *Khirbet el-Merd* that we must look for that Euthymios Laura which was established chronologically and topographically between the foundation of the Theoktistos Monastery on the north and the Aristobulias Monastery on the south (today *Khirbet Iṣṭabūl*, 7 km. south of Hebron, where I found the monastery and the church.³ Kyrillos tells us that in the year 421 Euthymios went with his disciples Domitian from the Theoktistos Monastery into the wilderness Ruba towards the South in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea (probably near *Naḥb er-Rub' ai*, north of the mouth of the Kidron). Thereupon he ascended a mountain which lies apart from the other mountains and is called Marda.... As he found there a well and ruins of buildings, he erected a chapel and an altar, which remain to this day, and he dwelt there for a time."
 ... τῆ πρὸς νότον ἐρήμῳ τοῦ Ρουβὰ παρὰ τὴν νεκρῶν θάλασσαν, ἀφικνεῖται. Εἶθ' οὕτως εἰς τι ὄρος ὑψηλὸν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὄρεων διεστηκὸς, τοῦ Μαρδὰ καλούμενον ἀνεισι... ἐν ᾧ φρέαρ, εὐρῶν, καὶ οἰκοδομὰς, εἰς ἕδαφος καταβεβλημέναις, ναὸν (Var. ἐκκλησίαν) τε ἀνεγείρας, καὶ θυσιαστήριον ἰκεῖσε πηξάμενος; ἃ δὴ καὶ εἰς δεῦρο ἐστήκασι. διατρίβει μὲν τινα χρόνον ἐν αὐτῷ.⁴

The description of the place coincides strikingly with the ruins of *Khirbet el-Merd*, which not only retains the ancient name of Marda but which, as we have seen above, on the north, east and south side tumbles into the deep-cleft valleys and is also on the West side separated from the mountain massif by a deep pass. The ruins of buildings which Euthymios found probably dated from the ancient Castle Hyrkania which Herod the Great had constructed together with Alexandreion and Machærus for the safety of the country against the incursions of the Bedouins.⁵ According to

¹ *Vita Euthymii*, chapt 118; P. FÉDERLIN, *La Terre Sainte*, 24 (1907) p. 177-182; von Riess, *ZDPV*, 15 (1892) p. 217-223; R. GÉNIER, *Vie de St. Euthyme le Grand*, Paris, 1909, p. 298 f.; A. E. MADER, *Altchristliche Basiliken und Lokaltraditionen in Südjudaä*, Paderborn, 1918, pp. 168-176.

² *PEF QS*, 1928, pp. 175-178; 1929 pp. 98-103.

³ See A. E. MADER, l.c., pp. 168-176.

⁴ *Vita Euthymii*, c. 28, MIGNÉ, PG, 114, 620.

⁵ FL. JOSEPHUS, *Ant.*, XIII, 16, 3; XIV, 5, 2-4; *Bell. Jud.*, 1, 8, 2-5; 19; 1.

E. SCHUERER¹ the site of Hyrkania is unknown, but the Marda mountain with its characteristic spurlike situation and its double rampart can hardly be compared with another hill of the Desert of Juda which could be taken for the Castle Hyrkania. If the monastery founded by St. Sabas was called Kastellion this name undoubtedly points to the fact that there was an old ruin on the top which invited the construction of a monastery-castle. Rhétoré already² stated the possibility of the localization of Hyrkania at *Khirbet el-Merd*.

(3) HISTORICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL NOTE ON THE KASTELLION MONASTERY

In the 54th year of his life St. Sabas spent Lent there for the first time. The mountain was situated 20 Stadia (20×190m.=3800m.) north-east of the Sabas Laura. It was dreaded and shunned even by the Bedouins on account of the great number of demons that haunted the place. Only after St. Sabas had besprinkled the mountain "with oil from the Holy Cross" did he spend Lent there, but he was for a long time tormented by the demons. They appeared to him in the form of hideous serpents, ravens and all kinds of wild beasts in order to force him to abandon the place. However he won the day and put the whole diabolical host to flight, so that one night they flew away from the mountain-caves in the form of a swarm of black ravens. After St. Sabas had celebrated Easter in his Laura with the brethren, he returned to Kastellion with several fathers, purified the place and erected cells from the building material there at hand. They found among the débris "a palace vaulted in with wonderful stones. Forthwith they excavated it and turned it into a church with the intention of erecting there a Koinobion; the which they also did."³

Against the localization of the Marda Foundation of Euthymios on *Khirbet el-Merd* P. DELAU,⁴ S VAILHÉ⁵ and P. ABEL⁶ raise the objection that Kyrillos in his account of the foundation of Kastellion

¹ *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, I (1901), p. 339, Note 3 and p. 370, Note 67.

² *Revue Biblique*, 1897, p. 462.

³ *Vita Sabae*, chap. 27.

⁴ *Bulletin de littérature eccl.*, I (Paris 1899), pp. 273-281.

⁵ *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, 111 (1908), p. 182

⁶ *Une Croisière autour de la Mer Morte*, Paris, 1911, pp. 123-125.

does not say anything about the Euthymios Chapel erected there previously. On the contrary he calls the Marda Mountain a "heap of ruins infested with devils." One should, therefore, so the argument runs, look for the Euthymios Foundation on *Tell es-Sebbe* (Masada) which among the inhabitants of the Syrian tongue could very well have been called also "Marda" (Hebr. Masada), since both names signify "fortress" like the Greek *ἄστυ* with which FL. JOSEPHUS¹ designates Masada. The City of David (Macc. 1,33) changed by the Syrians into a marda is nothing else than the Masada of *Chron.* 11,7 that received the name of "City of David." Like Kastellion, so also *Tell es-Sebbe* could have been called Marda in Byzantine times, especially as there is question of two Herodian fortresses (Hyrkania and Masada) and now-a-days in many cases the general names *Kaştal*, *Burdj*, *Kal'a* have taken the place of the proper names of former times. Masada however lost its original name on account of its greater distance, whereas in the case of *Khirket el-Merd* it was preserved through the centuries by the monks of *Mâr Saba*.

Against this ingenious conjecture however arise some serious considerations. First of all there is the fact that *Khirket el-Merd* has kept the old name of Marda. Now whether this word signifies "fortress" and was called also Masada is possible, but by no means proved. As a matter of fact we know of a village Marda in Samaria 7 km. north west of *Lubban*, which, besides marks of an ancient christian basilica, shows no remains whatever of an ancient fortification and it probably owes its name to an ancient proper name.² That Kyfillos, who wrote 143 years after the Euthymios foundation should not mention the Euthymios chapel in his report of Kastellion but rather stigmatise it as a nest of demons, may indeed seem striking, but is quite intelligible. P. ABEL even remarks that the Euthymios foundation was not a permanent settlement of the monks but merely served as a occasional Lenten abode where they assembled on Sundays for the celebration of the Synaxis. Inhowfar a place, even after the settling of the monks, could still remain an arena of demons we can read on every page of the biographies of the anchorites from Paulos and Antonios to

¹ *Bell. Jud.*, VII 8,3.

² CONDER, *PEF QS.* 1876. p. 196.

Hilarion, Euthymios and Saba, whose "Lives" are veritable repertoires of the most awful demon stories. To combat with demons in visible form was considered a privilege of the higher perfection.

Delau affirms that Masada would fit better into the itinerary of Euthymios than *Khirbet el-Merd*. But precisely the contrary is the case: Euthymios ascends from the wilderness Ruba to Marda. Now if Masada had been the goal of his travelling, it would have led the Saint first through the wilderness of Kutila which lies south of the wilderness of Ruba. But for Kyrillos both these wildernesses are so familiar that he would have called Kutila the intermediary way if Euthymios had ascended over this to Masada.¹

In the 6th century, it would seem, the Kastellion Monastery reached the zenith of its prosperity. Kyrillos adds to his account of the Euthymios foundation effected in 421, that in his time (about 555) the chapel and the altar of the Saint were still standing, and the above mentioned hermula, as also the sundial and the various other pieces of architecture seem to belong to this period. Even at the beginning of the seventh century Kastellion seems to

¹ I take this opportunity to thank the Rev. D. J. CHITTY, St. George's Cathedral, Jerusalem, for the interest he took in my article and for his great kindness in correcting it. In doing so he made some observations against the sojourn of Euthymios on *Khirbet el-Merd* and he appeals to the Vita Euthymii published by Augustinos according to the text of the Sinai-Codex (Βίαι και πολιτεία τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἡμῶν Εὐθυμίου τοῦ Μετρίτου καὶ Κυρίλλου τοῦ Σαββατοπόλου καὶ τῆς ἡλικίου πόλεως Σαυκίτου χριστογράφου ε.α. ἀδελφῆς ἡγουμένου καὶ ἐπισκόπου τῆς Καστελλίου ἰουδαίας. Αἰγυπτίου Μουχίου Ἰερουσαλίτου, ἐκ Ἰερουσαλῆμ. Ἐκδοτικὸν ἔργον τοῦ Παναγιώτου Τύχου, 1913), in which the above mentioned passage about the journey of the Saint from the Theoktistos Monastery to *Μαροῦθ* reads as follows: κατήλθεν εἰς τὴν Ῥουβῶν, καὶ τὴν ἐπιπέδου δεσποσύνης ἔρημον παρὰ τὴν Νεβέρου ὄρειαν, ἣν καὶ εἰς ἄρα εἰρήνην. . . According to this wording it would seem that *Μαροῦθ* is to be looked for on Masada (*Tell es-Sebbe*) and in this sense CHITTY says: "Surely this must mean, not" The desert of Ruba "that lies to the south of Ruba." *Merd* could not be called to the south of Ruba; also it could not be called "alongside" (παρὰ) of the Dead Sea, from Ruba or from *Mukellik*."

But first of all it is to be noted that the wording in the above cited Simeon Metaphrastes-text (Migne, PG, 114, 620) does not designate a particular region further south of Ruba in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea, but in the contrary it localizes the wilderness of Ruba as south of the Theoktistos Monastery near the Dead Sea (. . . καὶ πρὸς νότον ἔρημος τῆς Ῥουβῶν παρὰ τὴν νεκρὴν ὄρειαν ἀγρυπνίτου which in fact is quite correct as a glance at the map will show. Which reading)

have been still the centre of a *laura*, for Johannes Moschos, who died in 619; saw anchorites living "on the very high *Μαρῆς*" (Latin translation: *Mardes*).¹

After all this one may be tempted to date the 36 paintings of saints which I found in the tomb-cave of *Khirbet el-Merd* and which represent almost exclusively anchorites of the wilderness of Juda, to the period preceeding the Persian and Arab invasion, that is to say the beginning of the seventh century. But as I pointed out before,² this date is purely problematic and Father Vincent³ has rightly called into question such an early date. Precisely the above mentioned ikon inscription of 1355 makes it clear that the monastery ruins and its caves were over again visited and inhabited for a longer or shorter period by the monks of the mother-house or *Mâr Saba*, as is the case in some respect even to-day. It is quite possible that the monastery revived at the time of the Crusaders and that the frescoes in the Byzantine tomb-cave date from this

is to be preferred, I cannot tell; but in any case the wording of the Sinai Codex in itself cannot constitute a conclusive proof. As a matter of fact Augustinos himself, the editor, saw no contradiction between his text and the Simeon Metaphrastes text, which he compared with great care, for on page 20 he refers expressly to the text in question regarding the identification of *Μαρῆς* with *Khirbet el-Merd*. The wording of the Sinai-text, moreover, need not necessarily conduct Euthymios to Masada, even if he continued his wandering south of Ruba along the Dead Sea, for we must not represent to ourselves the journey of the Saint with his disciple Domitianos, like that of the hasty traveller who makes straight for his goal. On the contrary *διδασκαλίας* means simply "to wander about" with a longer or shorter stay here and there. Such wanderings to and fro are quite typical in the lives of all anchorites, and the Saint, after having journeyed from the Theoktistos Monastery to the wilderness of Ruba situated in the south, could very well have turned to the west and ascended *Khirbet el-Merd*. Those who have seen Masada and *Khirbet el-Merd* must confess that the latter place is not less lonely than the former though it is not so far away from the border of civilization as the former. The *φρέαρ ὑδάτων* can be understood just as well of the great cisterns on *Khirbet el Merd* as of those on Masada.

CHITTY cannot believe "that the *ἐκκλησία*, with *βασίλειον* which was till preserved in Cyrill's time, would have been passed over in the Life of St. Saba, if *Merd* had been the place." But the *argumentum ex silentio* is always suspicious if the statement cannot be proved in some other way. And where is the proof that Kyrillos in the *Vita Sabae* must mention the chapel or church and altar of Euthymios?

¹ *Pratum spirituale*, 158; Migne, *PG*, 3, 3025 f.

² *Das Heilige Land*, 1928, pp. 48-50.

³ *Revue Biblique*, 1929, p. 159.

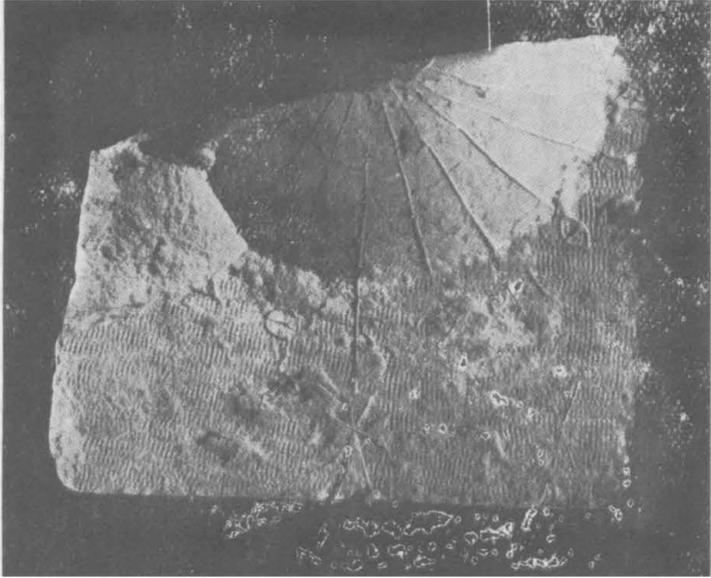


Fig. 1. Conical Sundial from the Kastellion Monastery on Kirbet el-Merd in the wilderness of Juda

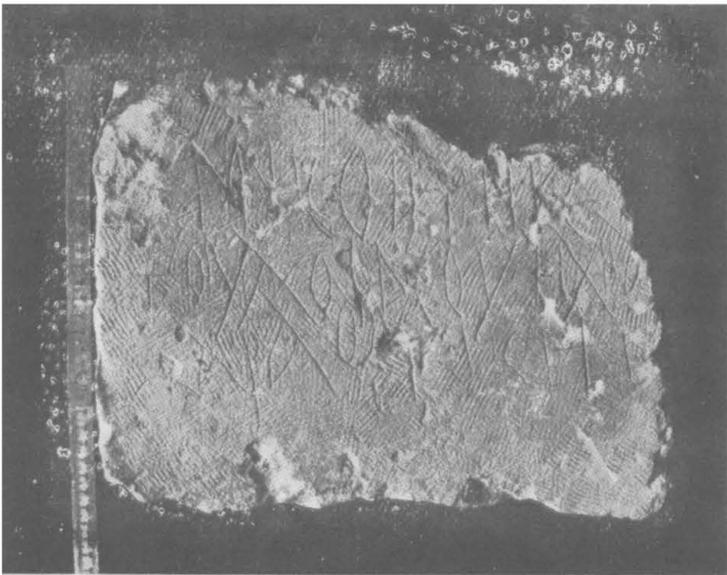


Fig. 2. Greek Stone-Graffito from Khirbet el-Merd

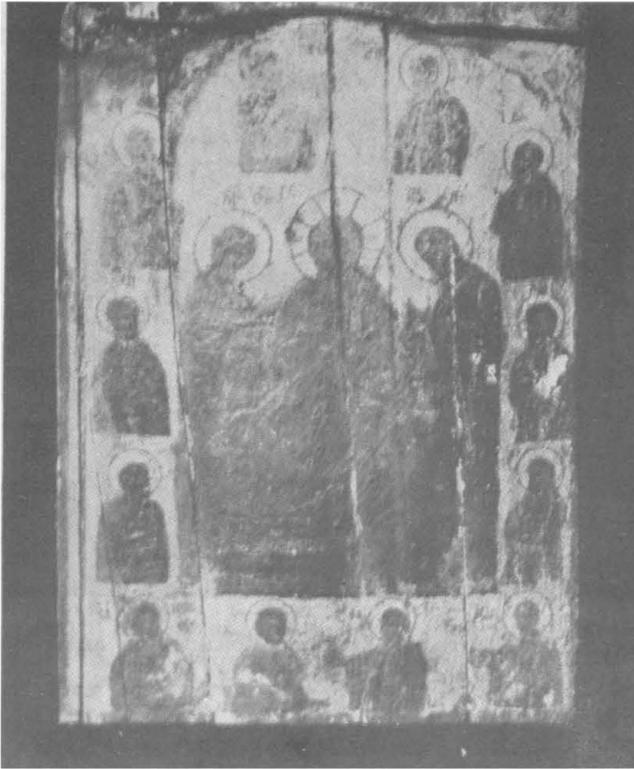


Fig. 3. Ikon „The Twelve Apostels” from a Tomb-Cave of Khirbet el-Merd

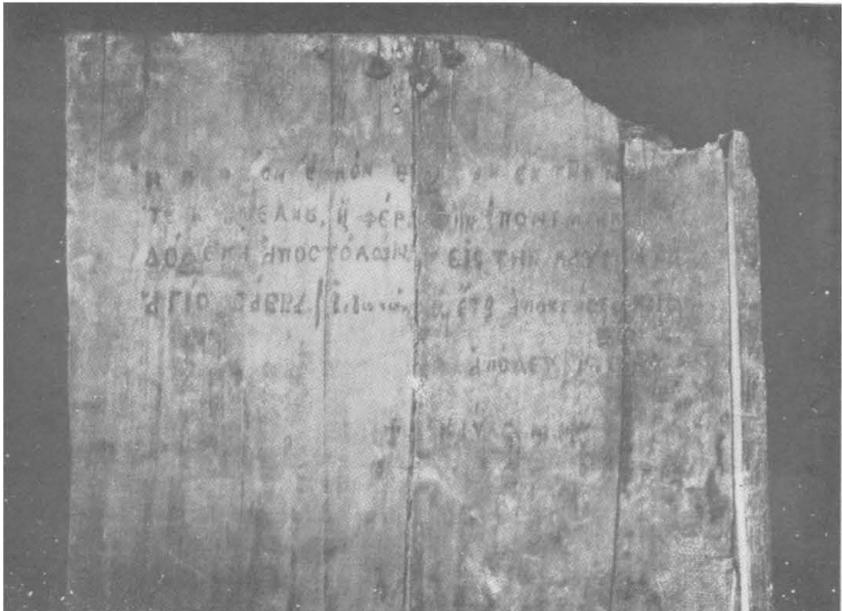


Fig. 4. Greek Inscription on the back of the Ikon „The Twelve Apostels”

period, but it is very striking that we should hear nothing about the monastery either before, during, or after the Frankish dominion, whereas the other great monasteries of the wilderness of Juda are again mentioned. Even Phokas, who in 1177 on his return-journey from Jericho to Jerusalem went via *Mâr Sâba* and the Theodosios Monastery, perhaps even followed the old *Nebi Mûsa* road through the *Bukê a* at the foot of Marda Mountain, leaves this latter entirely unmentioned, although he enumerates with predilection all the monasteries of the wilderness of Juda, that existed at his time.

No wonder that this Kastellion buried in the remotest recesses of the wilderness should more than any other monastery be exposed to the attacks of the Bedouins and should after an existence of 164 years (490-638) disappear in the darkness of history. Only the monastic establishment of *Tell es-Sebbe* (probably destined for Lenten abode only) lay still further aloof in the immediate neighbourhood of the Dead Sea, but it did not survive the first Arab invasion. If other Koinobia of the wilderness of Juda could later on be erected, they owe it manifestly to their position on the border of the wilderness in greater proximity to inhabited districts such as the Sabas and Theodosios Monastery, or to the proximity of much frequented places and roads, such as the Euthymios Monastery at *Khân es-Sahl*, the Khoziba-Johannes and Elias Monastery near Jericho. But what heavy storms and frequent evacuations during centuries even these more protected hermitages suffered can be gathered from their long and bloody history and especially from the fact that even these, such as the Khoziba-Johannes and Gerasimos Monastery, could rise from their age-long slumber only in the last decades of the 19th century.

STUDIES IN THE TOPOGRAPHY AND FOLKLORE OF PETRA*

T. CANAAN

(JERUSALEM)

MEMBER OF THE MOND EXPEDITION TO PETRA, 1929.

I. PHONOLOGY OF THE ARABIC DIALECT OF PETRA AND METHOD OF WORK.

To help me collect the Arabic names of the different localities in Petra, I took several guides. A *Bdûl* bedouin, *Muṭṭlaq*, 45 years of age, was my first regular guide, and I employed on different occasions other *Bdûl* bedawies, as well as some of the tribe of the *Liâtneh*, to revisit with me those same localities which I had already visited with *Muṭṭlaq*. After exploring a region, I would sit in the evening with a very bright young *Léti* (sing. of *Liâtneh*) of the *Beni 'Atṭiyyeh* named *Zéfallâh*, the son of *Slîmân*, or with the young *šêḥ* of the same tribe (*šêḥ Bšîr*) and ask them to give me the names of the different *wâdîs*, mountains, plateaus, monuments, etc. of the region explored that day. Any difference in the names, pronunciation, etc.—and there were always such—were noted down, and several Bedouins of different tribes were asked about the name in question.

At the same time exact lists of the different names used by

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Musil,¹ Dalman,² Brünnow,³ Kennedy,⁴ the Dominican Fathers⁵ of Jerusalem, Moritz⁶ and Szezepanski⁷ were made for comparison. The expressions used by other authorities (Robinson,⁸ Libbey and Hoskins,⁹ Wiegand,¹⁰ etc.¹¹) are very few, but they have also been considered and studied. Whenever one of these authorities gave a name different from that which I had heard it was noted and a thorough enquiry was made to find the real and correct expression or expressions. It is probable, that even after so much care, some names may still be lacking. Owing to the fact that our expedition employed 25-50 workers daily it was easy for me to investigate any doubtful expression.

Whenever the exact consonant or pronunciation could not be definitely determined as for instance between *ṣ* or *s*, *k* or *q*, etc. several Bedouins were asked to pronounce the word. In no case whatever, when the name of a locality had to be determined, or an investigation made into different names, did I pronounce the Arabic word; but the place was described and the Bedouins were asked to say the name. At the same time my friends, Europeans and Palestinians, were asked to state how they heard it. Sometimes such *Liātneh* as knew how to write were asked to write down the word. Examples which illustrate the difficulty of understanding a name correctly at the first hearing are *Siq* and *Ṣiyyagh*, which are often pronounced *Sik*

¹ ALOIS MUSIL, *Arabia Petraea*, II, Edom, 1917, will be referred to only as MUSIL.

² GUSTAF DALMAN, *Petra und seine Felsheiligtümer*, 1908 (referred to as DALMAN I); and G. DALMAN, *Neure Petra Forschungen*, 1912 (DALMAN II).

³ BRUENNOW und DOMASZEWSKI, *Provincia Arabia*, vol. (BRUENNOW).

⁴ Sir Alexander B. W. KENNEDY, *Petra its History and Monuments*, 1925 (KENNEDY).

⁵ JAUSSEN, SAVIGNAC, LAGRANGE, and VINCENT have written different articles in the *Revue Biblique*. The author and the number of the *Revue* will always be given.

⁶ B. MORITZ, *Ausflüge in der Arabia Petra*, *Mélanges de la Fac. Orient.*, 1908, 395-399 (MORITZ).

⁷ LADISLAUS SZCZEPANSKI, *Nach Petra und zum Sinai* (SZCZEPANSKI).

⁸ G. L. ROBINSON, *Die Kultusstätten in Petra*, ZDPV, 1909, 1-15.

⁹ W. LIBBEY and F. E. HOSKINS, *The Jordan Valley and Petra*, 1905.

¹⁰ TH. WIEGAND, *Wissenschaftliche Veröff. des Deutsch-Türkischen Denkmalschutz-Commandos, Petra*, Heft III, 1921.

¹¹ Other works on Petra have been studied, but they were not of great value for the topography. Some are: A. FORDER, *Petra, Perca, and Phoenicia*; ST. ERSKINE, *Vanished Cities of Arabia*; FR. JEREMIAS, *Nach Petra!* PJB, 1907, 135ff.; BARNABÉ MEISTERMANN, *Guide du Nil au Jourdain par le Sinai et Petra*, 1909.

and *Siyyagh*, and have in fact therefore been put down by several writers in the last form.

It is further of great importance to note that the *Bdül* know and use many more place names in Petra than the *Liátneh* who live at *Eldji*. Nearly every small valley and every mountain has a name according to the *Bdül*. Such a name may not be old and fixed, but a changing one, based upon an important incident in the tribe's history.¹ Such incidents may in our view be entirely unimportant, but for the small tribe of the *Bdül* they constitute an important landmark in its history. Examples of this category will be given later on. These Bedouins know more names than others because nearly all of them spend the whole of their lives, from the cradle to the grave, year in and year out in Petra. In the cold winter months they live in caves situated near the banks of a valley; in the spring they move to one of the rocks near a *wádi* and the summer is spent on the top of some mountain.²

Very often the names of the smaller valleys, mountain or hills are coined in such a way as to indicate their relation to an important neighbouring locality. Thus, for example, a small valley joining the upper part of *wádi el-Hiṣeh* from the west, is called *wádi Ḥarrábet el Berkeh* after a carob tree known as *Ḥarrábet el-Berkeh*.³ Others call the tree *Ḥarrábet el-Hiṣeh*, as it grows on the mountain *Ḥamret el-Hiṣeh*, and the valley is therefore also known as *wádi Ḥarrábet el-Hiṣeh*. The large valley separating the mountain ridge *el-M' ḩsarah eš-Šarqiyyeh* in the south from *Ḥamret el-Hiṣeh* in the north is generally known as *wádi Ḥamret el-Hiṣeh*; others call it *Raqbet et-Turkmániyyeh*, because it joins *wádi et-Turkmániyyeh* just above the *Turkmániyyeh* tomb.

Attention has to be called to the fact that some mountains have derived their names from the colour or the character of the rock. It is natural therefore that we should meet with different places bearing the same or nearly the same names. This is especially true where the red colour of the sandstone predominates. Thus we have: *el-qunb el-Ḥamar*, a hill situated between the valleys of

¹ Examples of this category will be given later on.

² DALMAN and MORITZ had only *Liátneh* guides.

³ The carob tree itself is attributed to a basin cut in the rock, and situated nearby.

Farasah and *Harrûbet ibn Djraïmeh* (*wâdi el-Habis*); *er-rqêbeh el-Hmêrah*, a small hill to the north of *'Arqûb el-Hiseh*; *el-qunb el-Hamar*, a small ridge lying to the north-east of *Moghâr en-Naşârá*, etc. In the same way we have several places called *el-Far' et-Tawil* and *wâdi el-Hrâbeh el-Hamrah*.

It is natural that Bedouins of different tribes should often use synonyms in combination with a proper place name, to denote one and the same locality. Such an example is: *Zarnûq, wâdi* or *šú b edj-Djarrab*, all used for one and the same valley. In the same way *qunb* and *šú b*; *sidd, far' et, zarnûq, šuqq* and *wâdi*; *'arqûb* and *djabal* may be used in place of each other. There is a slight difference between the different synonyms, which will be explained later.

One and the same place may have several names, and the *wâdi* running close to the same, or the mountain connected with it, will naturally be called differently by members of different clans. Thus the valley close to "Pharaoh's treasure" is known by the names *wâdi edj-Djarrab* and *w. el-Qaş'ah*, the first being the most used.

It is a mistake to find fault with the transcription and the pronunciation given of one and the same word by different authors, for every one of them may have had as guide a Bedouin of a different tribe. Thus I heard *Hiseh* and *His*; *'Ollêqah, 'Öllêqah*, and *'Lêqah*; *Nmêr* and *Mêr*;¹ *Bređ i* and *Brêđ i*; *Dfêleh* and *Deflâyeh*, *Umm 'Elêdih* and *'Aldâyeh*. The more exact pronunciation of each of these words is in every case the first rendering. Not seldom the *ظ* is pronounced like a full "z," as in *Mozlem*, while in other words it is spoken more like a "z," as in *Mirmađ* (مرماظ); *umm Rađmeh* (ام رظمة), etc. In *M'esarah* the "s" is often pronounced as an "s." For *م* I heard *umm, imm* and even (but seldom) *aum*. Nevertheless some very gross mistakes have been made on different occasions, especially in words like *Hubtah* and *M'arraş*. The first was written as *Hubzu, Ghubta* and *Hubta* and the other as *Mar'as* and *Ma'sereh*.

After collecting so much data one realises that it is surely a great mistake to criticize harshly the supposed or real errors of others in pronunciation as well as in nomenclature. Even if a visitor has not heard *'Idlâh* for *dj. el-Mađbah* or *wâdi 'Idlâh* for *wâdi el-Mahâfir* still he has no right to condemn these expressions as wrong. My

¹ MORITZ is wrong in saying that *Mêr* is more correct than *Nmêr*.

*Bdāl*¹ guide insisted every time we passed that region, and when he was cross-examined, on the correctness of this name. My *Léti* guide assured me on the other hand that this expression is unknown and wrong. But passing one morning from *wádi Mūsá* to *es-Siq* with several *Liátneh*, an old Bedouin of the same said that formerly all used to know and use this expression. The *Bdāl* kept it, while the *Liátneh* now use *dj. Zibb 'Atáf* for the mountain and *wádi el-Maháfir* for the valley. At this point it is important to state that primarily this expression *Zibb 'Atáf*, was used only for the obelisks and not for the mountain. The story current among all the Bedouins which is mentioned elsewhere also proves this conclusion.

From the above it is clear how difficult it is to use a common nomenclature. If we remember further that the Bedouins and the people of the East in general like to please every European with whom they have to do and at the same time do not appreciate the value of their statements, it is no wonder that they often coin a new name for a locality for which they have never used a proper name, or whose name they do not know. This explains why some authors heard different names for one and the same place. Thus Dalman gives for *wádi Umm ez-Zu' qéqah* the names *w. umm Šéhán* and *w. er-Ramleh*; Kennedy and Brünnow heard *w. en-Nasárá* and Musil gives *sidd el-Híseh*. With the exception of the name *umm Šéhán* all can easily be explained. The guides, not remembering the correct name, gave this valley the name of one of the nearby mountains, which are: in the west *'Arqúb el-Híseh*, in the east *Moghár en-Nasárá* and in the north *er-Ramleh*. This example explains that although some of the names given by the Bedouins are correct, from a descriptive standpoint, yet they are neither generally known nor commonly used. Thus one hears for *zarnúq* or *sidd Enkíh* and *šuuq el-'Adjúz* the expressions *wádi Hubtah es-Sarqi* and *w. Hubtah el-gharbi*, but these expressions are only coined in an attempt to describe the particular spot (*Verlegenheitsausdrücke*).

It is a great pity that some authors have neglected to follow in their transcriptions the most simple rules of grammar, rules which are followed even by the Bedouins. Thus the "l" of the article "l" should be assimilated to the first letter of the following noun,

¹ The more correct pronunciation of *Bdāl* is *B(e)đál*.

when this letter belongs to the so called "sun-letters." They wrote *el-Djarrah*, *el-Šarqiyyeh*, *al-Šiyyagh*, etc, instead of *edj-Djarrah eš-Šarqiyyeh* and *eš-Šiyyagh*.¹

It is further to be regretted that the writers of some authoritative works like Kennedy² have not taken any pains to differentiate a long from a short vowel, or to distinguish between consonants of similar sounds, such as *š* and *s*, *d*, *ḏ* and *ḍ*, etc.³ Undoubtedly Dalman in this respect has paid the greatest attention and given the most exact transcriptions.

Many tombs and caves bear the names of persons who once used or still use the same as dwelling places. In such cases I tried to find out to which clan the person belonged. A list of these is given below. While most place-names are of Arabic origin, there are some which are doubtless earlier. Surely an analysis of such non-Arabic names would be of great interest, as it might throw some light on the past history of Petra. Such a task remains to be undertaken by philologists.

The explanation of some expressions which are used repeatedly in the topography of Petra will be of help in understanding the exact terms. In the following list I give such words:⁴

- Zarnāq*, (water furrow, rivulet) a deep and short gorge.
sidd, (barrier, dam, rocky valley retaining water) a narrow, small gorge.
šū b,⁵ (path in the mountain, underground water course) a small, not deep valley.
šūqq,⁶ (crack, furrow) a very narrow, deep and small gorge like split in the mountain.
naqb, (mountain path) a small mountain or ridge.
qunb, (not known as a topographical expression) a mountain or a low, small ridge.

¹ The transcription of these words is given with the exception of the "l" (of the article) correctly, although the original transcription of the authors presents many mistakes.

² BARNABÉ MEISTERMANN, who has given a faulty transcription, has taken all place-names and maps from Musil.

³ Some writers have never used in their transcription *‘*, *gh*, *ḏ*, *t*, *ḏ*, *š*, *ḥ*, etc.

⁴ I have given in parenthesis the classical meaning of the word.

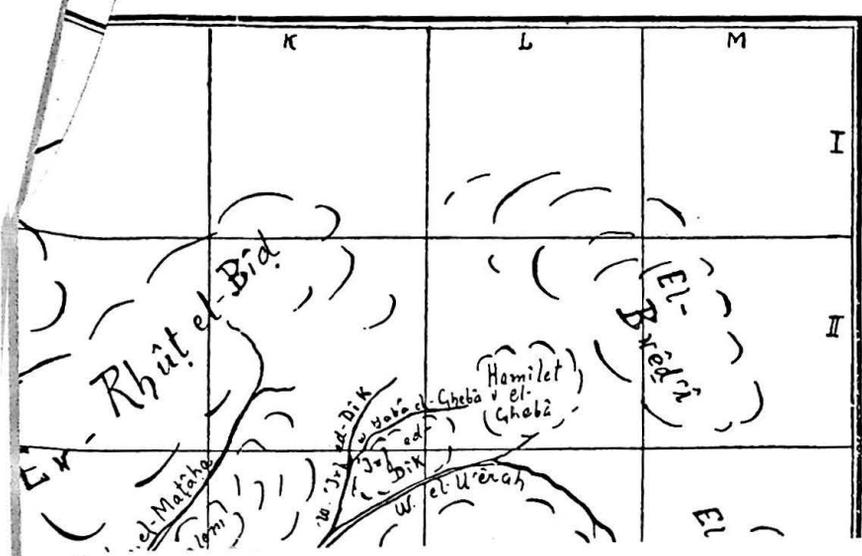
⁵ Pronounced at times *šūb*, more seldom *šūb* and *sūb*.

⁶ Pronounced at times *šūqq*.

- '*arqûb*, (winding road up a mountain) a mountain road; a winding part of mountain.
- rqêbeh*, (a small neck) an elongated protruding part of a mountain.
- far'*, an elongated long mountain.
- nadjr*, (fashioned wood, etc.) a perpendicular cliff, the smooth side of a mountain.
- bmêlib*, (sunk ground fit for cultivation) a small plain between or on the tops of mountains.
- hrêrib*, an irregular, colloquial plural of *harrûbeh*, carob tree.
- hrâbeh*,¹ (not known in the high Arabic dictionaries) a large artificial cave.²

¹ LAGRANGE, RB, 1897, 218-2-230, transcribes *Kharbet*; Moritz corrects *Hrâbeh* into *Harâbeh*, which is wrong. In the Sinai peninsula *hrâbeh* is used for a small cistern (ZDPV, vol. 51, 99). SOGIN (ZDPV, 1899, 37) gives *herâbi* as the plural of *hurubbe* and *hrubbe*. I heard *hrâbeh* as the singular of *hrâbât*.

² DALMAN, II, 6, gives the correct explanation.



II. MONUMENTS WITH ARABIC NAMES AND BEDOUIN STORIES OF THE MONUMENTS.

In the following paragraph a list of the monuments with Arabic names is given. Most of them are connected with names of persons, who as a rule, have used them as winter dwellings. Whenever possible I have mentioned the tribe to which the person connected with a monument, belonged. Every story told about a monument, a cave or a mountain, is given in the same form as was told to me. The numbers in parenthesis point to the respective numbers on the map. The following abbreviations are used:

b=*Bdūl*, *L*=*Liātneh*, *h*=*hrābeh*, *w*=*wādī*, *dj.*=*djabal*.

- . *el-Qazā*¹ (1). The Bedouin family which inhabited it belonged to the *'Bēdyyin*, *L*.
- . *Rašid* (2). *'Alāyā*, a subtribe of the *L*.
- . *ibn Djrāymeh* (3). A Pylon tomb. *B*.
- . *Salāneh* (4). The name given to the lower part of the Obelisk tomb. *Banī 'Aṭā* of the *L*.
- . *eṣ-Šuklāt* (5). The upper part of the last monument. *Banī 'Aṭā L.*²
- . *Ršūd* (6). South of *sēl edj-Djrēdi* (also pronounced *Djreidi*). *'Bēdyyin*, *L*.
- . *'Awaḍ* (7). In the *Ṭnūb*. *Banī 'Aṭā*, *L*.
- . *ed-Dalandjī* (8). West of the last, *'Alāyā*, *L*.
- . *ed-Dabālki* (9). South of the *wādī*, half way up the mountains. *Banī 'Aṭā*, *L*.
- . *Hauwās* (10). South of *Bāb es-Siq*. *Banī 'Aṭā*, *L*.

¹ Pronounced often *el-Qaḍā*. *H. umm Bābēn* lies to the northwest of the latter.

² This *b*. and the preceding one are called by MUSIL *al-Djraydī*.

h. Nôfal (11) and *h. Umm Tanbûr*. These lie to the north of *Bâb es-Siq* and to the east of the junction of this valley with the tunnel. The last is a Pylon tomb.

el-Hân, h. el-Hârrubeh (13) and *h. Umm Bâb* (14). On *er-Ramleh*.

h. 'Adris (15). High up in the mountain to the south of the wâdî. I could not find out if *'Adris* stands for the so-called prophet or for a Bedouin.

h. (or Umm) Maqâriş Slém (17) Situated on *dj. 'Atûf. Slém*, of *'Arab Zôghân*, is said to have been bitten by a serpent and died in this cave. While this is the name known by the L, the B call the same *Mamât* (or *Umm*) *Ḥassân*.¹

edj-Djarrah (8) Also called *el-Qaş'ah, es-Srâdjeh* and *Ḥaznet Far'ôn*.² It used to be believed by the Bedouins that Pharaoh had hidden all his treasure in the urn and so they fired at it, hoping to break it open. The impressions of the bullets are to be seen. Often it is called simply *el-Ḥazneh* (treasure).

h. el-Ḥazneh.³ (19). Used also by some L as the name of the next monument lying directly to the west of "Pharaoh's treasure" and opposite the large Triclinium. This name, *el-Ḥazneh*, has its origin in the following story. A European lady who is said to have come to Petra a long time ago, lived in the above mentioned Triclinium. One evening she sat on a stone at the door and turning her face to the monument *el-Ḥazneh* (19) began to read aloud while incense was burnt beside her. Slowly she became more and more excited, the tempo of her reading was accelerated and greater quantities of incense were thrown on the fire. As soon as it grew dark she ordered her guides to leave the place, and scarcely had they moved away, when a thunder-like noise was heard and a large rock in the mountain wall opposite the Triclinium fell down. The Bedouins, frightened to death, and observing that the woman had not moved from her place nor stopped reading nor burning incense, were

¹ Not *Ḥasân* (MUSIL),

² Musil thinks that the names *el-Ḥazneh, el-Qaş'ah* and *Ḥaznet Far'ôn* originate from the dragomen. I do not think that this statement is correct, for the name *Far'ôn* is connected with several other monuments, and several stories are told about him.

³ This name is known only to few Bedouin.

assured that she was an awful sorceress. They fled away. She went down, took all the treasure of the tomb and disappeared in a mysterious manner. Next day the Bedouins found that the tomb was completely rifled.¹

b. Şubh (20). The next tomb on the same side. *Şubh* was a renowned thief of *Bani 'Atâ*, L. During the daytime he hid himself in the upper room of this tomb and when it grew dark he went to the village to rob the stores of the Bedouins.

b. el-Fransâwi (21). The second tomb to the west of the last. The theatre is called *Hôş marâh ghanam Far'ôn*. The B— from whom I heard this expression—believe that during the night Pharaoh used to keep his goats on the steps of the theatre. They think therefore that he must have had a large flock.

The character of the Urn Temple (outer *Siq*) and the Three-storied monument (as well as the Corinthian tomb) account for the names *Umm el-'Qûd* and *Umm es-Şenedîq* (25).²

No explanation could be found for the name *Zibb Far'ôn*, the last standing column of the temple on the western side of ez-Zantûr.

Qaşr el-Bint, also known as *Qaşr Far'ôn* and *Qaşr bint Far'ôn* (27) is the temple situated to the east of *el-Habis*. The following story is told about its origin.³ The unmarried daughter of Pharaoh, who was not allowed by her father to leave the palace, announced one day that she would marry the man who would lead the water of some spring to her dwelling. Two young men sat to work and succeeded in bringing the waters of two springs, on one and the same day, to the *qaşr*. The first brought the water of 'én *Barrâq* and the other brought the water of the more distant spring 'én *Abû Hârûn*. She asked the first: "How did you bring the water in such a short time?" He answered "(i)bhêli u'hêl (i)rdjâli," "With my power and the power of my men."

¹ Harriet Martineau (perhaps the first European lady visitor) was at Petra from March 19-24, 1847. On March 23 she wrote that the whole facade of this monument had fallen the day before. See BRUENNOW, p. 233.

Some memory of her presence at that time may be the origin of this story. (A.C.)

² It is rarely pronounced *es-Şenedîq*.

³ MUSIL, 108, gives a variation of this story.

The second answered to the same question “(i)bbél ’allah ubhéli ubél (i)rdjâli uidjmâli.” “With God’s power, my power and the power of my men and that of my camels.” She married the second, as he showed more trust in God. As the princess was making her decision the wing of a locust fell into the aqueduct made by the first man and completely stopped the flow of water. No person could remove this impediment, although it was so tiny and insignificant. The accident was a divine proof that she had made the right choice.

h. et-Turkmâniyyeh (29). On the western shore of *w. et-Ṭurkmâniyyeh* (*w. el-Hiṣeb*).

h. ed-Dêr (30). Also called *h. Faṭṭimeh*,¹ who is said to have been a gipsy. She is believed to have once come to Petra and amused the Bedouins by her charming dancing at this spot. *Faṭṭimeh* disappeared later in a mysterious way.

h. Umm Laṣfab (31), *h. Umm Sdéd* (32) and *h. Umm Ṭanṭûr* (33). These lie between *w. Nmêr* and the western branch of *w. Farasab*.

h. Umm Slâleh (34). Situated at the base of the mountain *Umm Hrêrib*.

h. Haṣât ed-Dûdeb (35). Its name is derived from a rock nearby, and around which a loose serpent was seen to have wound itself. Several Bedouins coming that way fired on the serpent, and caused depressions in the rock which are still shown. That part of *w. el-Mgharrîq* opposite to the rock is called by some *w. Haṣât ed-Dûdeb*.

Qbûr ’Iâl ’Awwâd (36). A *brâbeh* which owes its name to a Bedouin of the *Ammârin*.

h. et-Ṭaffeh Umm Hôṣ (37), *h. el-Mî râ* (38) and *Ṭbâlet en-Nhâleh* (39). Situated at the base of *Umm el-Biyârah*.

Zibb ’Aṭîf is the name given to the two obelisks on the mountain *Idlâb*. The Bedouins tell the following story about their origin: Two of the wives of Pharaoh who happened one day to be with their babies on this mountain, dishonoured God’s greatest gift to the human race, bread, in using some

¹ Not *Faṭûm* or *Faṭîma*. Musil (in Brünnow II, 332) writes it correctly, but as he does not put a *šalâh* (.) on the *l*, he transcribes wrongly.

loaves to cleanse their babies from their dirty excretions. As a punishment they were changed into two stones. Although the fundamental idea of this story is known all over Palestine it does not explain the name "Zibb" (penis) given to the obelisks. I have often heard Bedouins speak of carved obelisks as "Zibb." May the use of this word not indicate the old practice of Phallic worship?

U' érah is said to have been inhabited by a very powerful nation, which did not respect anybody, not even the Almighty. They used to open the gates of the city in the morning and close them in the evening. Nobody could enter this fortified place without their knowledge and permission, until once when the inhabitants were returning from work, a stranger, not knowing this custom, entered, unobserved with them, just before the gates were closed. As usual the supper, which was prepared in a common kitchen, was distributed to the inhabitants, and behold one remained without a share. The chief of the city ordered that every one should return his share. Distributing the food for the second and even for the third time ended in the same way, i.e. one remained without a share. Thereupon the chief called aloud: "There is a stranger, let him come forward!" The stranger stepped forward and said that as he was a guest he begged for the rights of hospitality. The tyrannical chief ordered his persecution and death. Immediately on the same day God punished the people of this nation for their pride, brutality and inhospitality by destroying their city. Since that moment the mighty, fortified and beautiful city sank in desolation and oblivion.¹

There are some monuments which are named after the nearest mountain or valley: *h. en-Nmér*, *h. eš-Šiyyagh*, *moghâr en-Naşârâ*, *moghâr el-Matâḥah*, etc. Most of these expressions stand for several tombs.

Mountains, rocks, valleys, etc. bearing the names of persons have still to be considered. The *Djilf* ridge is divided into *Djilf Ḥamdân* (a Bedouin of the *Hlâlât*, a subtribe of the ' *Bédyyin*, L) and *Djilf abū Qâdir* (from the *Ḥasânât*, ' *Bédyyin*, L). *Tôr el-Ḥmédi*

¹ This legend may be an echo of the time when *el-U' érah* was a Crusader castle. The main access was by a great gate over a gorge on the east.

is named, according to the B, after a person of *eš-Šrūr*, L. *Hallet* and *Far'et el-Bdāl* are at times specified as *Hallet* and *Far'et Slimán el-Bdāl*. Different members of this clan have given their names to localities. I found the following which have not yet been mentioned: *Slimán* (to *Rás Slimán*), *Ḥammād* (to *Maqṣar Qa'ūd Ḥammād*), *ibn Djráymeh* (to a *Ḥarrúbeh* at the junction of *w. el-Ḥabis* with *eš-Šiyyagh*, as well as to *w. el-Ḥabis* itself), *Sálim bin 'Id* (to a tributary valley of *w. el-Hiṣeh*), *'Audah* (to the Klausenschlucht of Dalman) and *Ḥadrá* (to *Qabr el-Ḥadrá*, a mountain to the south of *w. eš-Šiyyagh* and opposite *w. Mirwán*).¹ It is said that while she was grazing her flock of goats a severe wind threw her down the mountain to the valley, where she was found dead.²

The names of the following members of the tribe of *el-'Ammárin* are perpetuated: *ibn Djme'an* (for a hill where his tomb is said to be), *er-Rif'ah* (in *Maghaṭṭ er-Rif'ah*, a tributary of *Abū 'Olléqah*) and *'Auwád* (in *Ṭaffet 'Auwád*, a small hill at the base of *Umm el-Biyárah*).

The following *Liátneh* have also given their names to monuments: *'Atá el-Fléḥát* (*Hós 'Atá* being another name for *er-Rsášiyyeh*), *el-Fqūli* (for *tal'et el-F.*, situated between *w. Umm Rattám* and *Rás Slimán*), *Ḥamdán* (for *M'arraṣ Ḥ.*, mountain and valley) and *Manšúr* (for *Mamát M.*, a small mountain near *w. el-M'ésarah el-Gharbiyyeh*).

Rafidet el-'Abd is the name given to two rocks which lie in the eastern part of *es-Siq*. It is said that a negro after killing a Bedouin took refuge in the *Ḥubṭah* mountains thinking that the relatives of the killed would not find him. One day he was surrounded by his persecutors and finding no way of escape he preferred to commit suicide by throwing himself down to the *Siq*. The two large rocks rolled down with him.

A tributary of *w. el-Hiṣeh* and a mountain close to the same are called *Marmá l-Barqá*; the name has its origin in the story that a Bedouin killed a boar on this mountain with an old type of gun, which gun is called *el-Barqá*.

In the neighbourhood of the *ed-Dér* monument are the tombs

¹ It is pronounced at times *Marwán*.

² Some *Bdāl* thought that this *Ḥadrá* was a member of the tribe *el-Ṭarbusiyyát*,

and the mountain of *el-Mqāṭa'ab*.¹ It is said that the male members of a small clan of this name fled from their enemies to this mountain. They were followed by their persecutors, who are said to have been *Liātneh*, and killed.²

It was impossible for me to find out the origin of the remaining persons who are perpetuated in other place names. Even in the cases where the tribes and subtribes were assigned I can not be quite sure that all statements are correct.³

¹ It is also pronounced *Mqāt'ab*,

² Heard from my B guide, *Muṭlaq*.

³ Many of the above mentioned stories are known only to the B.

III. TOPOGRAPHY

“There has, unfortunately, been a great difference of opinion between the principal explorers as to the names of the different parts of Petra and its neighbourhood.” Thus writes Sir Alexander Kennedy in his book “Petra, its History and Monuments” (page 26) after studying the most important Petra literature.

During my stay in Petra (from March 28th to April 18th 1929), as a member of the Mond Expedition, I found that this difference in nomenclature makes it difficult for a student who has studied one book about Petra to understand the names given by another authority. I therefore made it my first duty to collect all the different Arabic place names, and put them on a map. Different names for one and the same place were noted down on a list. As I am not an archaeologist, the monuments bearing no Arabic names were not marked on the plan. But they can easily be located by any student.

The areas outside Petra proper were exempted from this study. The accompanying sketch map is founded upon Kennedy’s “Index map to Aeroplane maps.” The Index map based, though not quite accurately, upon the Air Survey, supersedes all previous maps, which are hopelessly incorrect. Since several tributaries of the main wādies, as well as different smaller groups of mountains belonging to one and the same ridge, and some hills, are not marked on Kennedy’s map and could not be differentiated on the aeroplane photographs, I had to supplement these on my plan. In such cases I tried to follow the courses of the zigzag and narrow gorges and to climb the hills and mountains in order to give their situation, direction, and relation to neighbouring places as correctly as possible.¹ But I should like to emphasize at the outset the fact that I have not

¹ The courses of *el-Mozlem*, *su‘b Qés* and the *wādīs* of this region differ in my sketch-map from Kennedy’s map. I believe that the latter is incorrect.

taken trigonometric measurements. The mountain ridges have only been marked roughly on the map. For the first and main purpose of this study is to give the Arabic place names and to make a comparative study of the same.¹ Although I do not pretend to have gathered all the place names, the most important and more current ones have been tabulated. After studying the topography of Petra, its mountains and valleys and comparing the results with the research work of scholars, I find that A. Musil has given most attention to the local names and to the topography.² Dalman, on the other hand, has not only given the most correct transcriptions, but also, in most sections, a minute description of the topography. From the list of names given later, one can see that Musil has named some places wrongly in a number of instances.

Petra is called by the Bedouin *Wádi Mūsá*, after the name of the large valley which runs through it from east to west. Sometimes the bedouin guides use the expression *al-Baṭrā*,³ which word they have picked up from tourists and dragomen. But this name is not known to the mass of *Liātneh* and *Bāil*. The basin—*el-ghór*—of Petra is surrounded on all sides by mountain ridges, which rise, particularly in the east and west, to great heights. They end in more or less perpendicular walls and thus make Petra inaccessible from these two sides.

The visitor usually approaches *Wádi Mūsá* from the east, following *sēl ed-Dārā*, which valley lies between the *ed-Dārā*⁴ mountains on the south and *er-Ramlah* on the north. Before reaching *Bāb es-Siq* (the entrance to the gorge) this valley bears, for a short distance, the name *sēl* (or *wádi*) *edj-Djrédi*. *Bāb es-Siq* lies between *et-Ṭnūb*⁵ and the western part of the *edj-Djrédi* mountain. A small

¹ The transcription of the Arabic words in my article "Impressions of Petra" (The Jerusalem Men's College Magazine, vol. III, No. 3, pp. 9-11) is faulty. I never saw the proofs.

² The transcriptions of MUSIL are in many places not quite exact. In the following pages some are noted down. In BRUENNOW, II, 325, 335 he invariably writes *طعة* instead of *طلة*. The first is known in the Arabic dictionaries, but the Bedouin use and pronounce the latter, which is also a high Arabic word.

³ The high Arabic expression is *al-Baṭrā'*, and *al-Baṭr'ā*.

⁴ DALMAN places this mountain to the north of the *wádi*; actually it lies to the south.

⁵ The only writer who has noted down this expression is SAVIGNAC (RB, 1913, 440-442).

valley in *er-Ramlah* and called *w. er-Ramlah* joins *wādi ed-Dārā* east of *Ṭahūn ibn Djrāymeh*,¹ *et-Ṭnub* is the name given to the s.w. corner of *er-Ramleh*. This ridge consists principally of white sandstone. The eastern and southern sides are neither as rough nor as ragged as the NW section which has numerous deep valleys and gorges. The rain water drains mostly in this direction into the tributaries of the *Maṭābah* valley. To the west of *et-Ṭnub* and between it and *el-Qnētrah*, (also called *el-Qanṭarah*) which is the southeastern corner of *el-Huḫṭah*, lies the artificial valley between *Bāb es-Siq* and the *Mozlem* valley. The name *el-Qnētrah*, is derived from the arch which once stretched over the *Siq*, but it is not known to all bedouin.

The *Siq*² is a gorge 5-10 m wide and about 2 km³ long, which winds in a zigzag line from east to west. The bordering mountains rise on both sides to a height of 70-80 m. Those mountains, enclosing the first and eastern part of *es-Siq*, are made of white sandstone, while further on the colour changes into different shades of red. The ridges through which the *Siq* runs, and by which they are divided into northern and southern sections, belong, in reality, to one and the same mountain formation. This is well shown by the direction of the deep cuts in the northern and southern ridges, where those of the one side are a continuation of those of the other. They are very narrow and steep; some are short and all carry their water in torrents to the *Siq*.

Beginning from *Bāb es-Siq* and going westwards we meet with a small valley on the right side, called *Umm Dfēleh*,⁴ which separates

¹ *Ibn Djrāymeh* is often pronounced *Djreimeh* and *Djreimeh*.

² *Siq* is not known in *Bustānī (muḫīl el-muḫīl)*, BELLOT, HAVA and WAHRMUND. *Sīkah* according to the first dictionary means a passage leading from a ditch to the surrounding elevated terrain. DOZY does not know *siq* in this sense. M. I. DE GOEJE (ZDMG, 1900, 336) and H. L. FLEISCHER (ZDMG, I, 153) take this word as being derived from the Greek and explain it as "Kloster, Tempel, Zellengalerie." DALMAN (Petra, I, 8) thinks that it may be another form of *sūq*. A. SOGIN (ZDPV, XXII, 48) does not try to explain its origin, but translates it as "gorge."

While the Bedouin pronounce it with a *ṣ* the following writers have always transcribed a *ṣ*: WIEGAND, LAGRANGE (RB, VI, 218-130 VII, 165-182), SAVIGNAC (RB, XII, 280-291), BURKHARDT (442), LIBBEY and HOSKINS, BARNABÉ MEISTERMANN, ADELAIDE SARENTON-CALICHON (Sināi, Ma'ān, Petra) and E. H. PALMER (The Desert of the Exodus, II).

⁴ BRUENNOW and MUSIL give 2400 m, DALMAN counted 1614 steps from the beginning of the *Siq* to *edj-Djarrab*.

⁴ Pronounced at times *Duflāi*.

the *Qanṭarah* (or *Qunṭrah*) section of *el-Huḫṭab* from the main ridge. A short distance further there is *ṣiqq el-ʿAdjūz*. Opposite to it and running through the *el-Madras* mountains is a short gorge which forms the continuation of the northern deep cut of *Ṣiqq el-ʿAdjūz* in the ridge to the south of the *Siq*. The name given to me, for this gorge was *w. edj-Djelf*. But I think the name *w. el-Madras* proposed by Dalman¹ is not only more suitable, but probably more correct. This *w. edj-Djilf* is the largest of the three bearing the same name. The others are short and unimportant. Separating *el-Madras* from the *ʿAtūf*² mountain,³ both lying to the south of the *Siq*, is *Wādi el-Hrēmiyyeh*.⁴ It starts from *el-Madras*, pours into the *Siq* and is in its lower half absolutely impassable owing to a series of steep falls and the blockage of large rocks. This fissure is continued in the northern ridge of *el-Huḫṭab* by *sidd Fnēkah*.⁵ Near *ed-Djarrab* we find *w. ed-Djarrab* coming from the southeast and *wādi Umm ʿAmr* (or *umm el-ʿAmr*) from the northwest. They join the *Siq* at approximately the same point. Between this last valley and *sidd Fnēkah* there is a small gorge known generally as *ṣuʿb Huḫṭab*.⁶ The direction of the courses of *sidd Fnēkah* and *sidd umm ʿAmr* is not parallel, as shown on the map of Musil, but beginning not far from each other the valleys diverge. They start not far from *zarnūq* (or *wādi Huḫṭab*)⁷ which runs in a northwestern direction and joins *el-Maṭāḫab*.

W. edj-Djarrab, also called *w. el-Qaṣʿab*, is formed by the junction of two wādiēs at the beginning of its course. The eastern one *w. el-Hmēdi*, which consists of several small wādiēs begins at *Ṭōr el-Hmēdi*.⁸ The south western branch, *w. el-Qanṭarah*, begins in the *el-Qanṭarah* mountains and runs between these and *Ṭōr el-Hmēdi*. Between *w. edj-Djarrab* and *w. el-Hrēmiyyeh* lies the cave which is

¹ DALMAN, I. 13.

² This mountain and the name *ʿAtūf* have nothing to do with the Obelisk mountain or with the obelisks. I heard this expression used by the *Bdūl*.

³ A very rare but still known name of this mountain is *Umm* or *Mamāt Hassān*.

⁴ Not *el-Hrēniyye* as used by MUSIL. It does not separate *el-Madras* from *Hamāyl Djemʿān*.

⁵ MUSIL calls it *sidd el-Maʿdijib*.

⁶ The name is not put down on the sketch map.

⁷ Dalman's plan shows the relation of these three valleys to each other well.

⁸ A small wādi of this tributary begins in *Hamāyl Djemʿān*.

known by the *Liâṭneh* as *maqâriṣ* (or *maqrās*) *Slém*. The *Bdûl* call it *Mamât Ḥassân*, which *hrâbeh* gave its name to the mountain also. *W. el-Hrêmiyyeh* is very seldom called *w. 'Aṭaf*. *W. el-Qanṭarah*, *wâdî Ḥmêdî* and the first part of *w. el-Hrêmiyyeh* are comparatively broad valleys which may have been used for cultivation by the old inhabitants of Petra. As soon as they begin to penetrate the mountains they turn into narrow, deep gorges. In going westward we reach *w. el-Mahâfir*, also called *zarnûq 'Idlah*.¹ It drains *en-Nadîr* and *Zibb 'Aṭaf* and joins *w. Musâ* east of the theatre. The number of gorges draining the north and south ridges, give an idea of the enormous quantities of water which rush through the *Sîq* after a storm.

The bed of *wâdî Musâ* widens and at the theatre it makes a curve to the north. At *el-Ḥêṭ el-'Imrî*,² an old wall surrounding that part of the *Umm 'Lêdeh*³ mountain which projects to the bed of *w. Musâ*, the valley turns at a right angle to the west. *Umm 'Lêdeh* is called by Dalman "Theaterberg." This mountain is of no great height and passes gradually into the ridge of *el-Madbah*,⁴ also called the mountain of *Zibb 'Aṭaf*.⁵ Most probably this low ridge of *Umm 'Lêdeh* was the connecting link between *Ḥublah* and the ridges south of *es-Sîq*. Time and the water torrents have divided the ridges. The bed of *w. Musâ* is at this point comparatively narrow. Soon afterwards the Moses Valley is joined, from the north, by the *wâdî el-Maṭâbah*. Between the junction of this tributary and the bed of *w. Musâ* at *el-Ḥêṭ el-'Imrî*, two small *wâdîes* join the Moses valley. *w. Umm Snêdiq* from the north and *w. er-Raşâṣah* from the south. The name *w. Musâ* (the valley of Moses) is given to the main *wâdî*, which continues its course to the west until it reaches the western ridge of mountains, and is there known as *wâdî* or *Sêl eṣ-Şiyyagh*.⁶ Close to the point where the

¹ MUSIL notes *zarnûq Kudldh* which may be a mispronunciation of *'Idlah*.

² This name is only known to the *Bdûl*.

³ Pronounced by a few *Umm 'Aldeh* and *'Elêdih*.

⁴ This mountain ridge is wrongly named by BRUENNOW as *en-Nedîr* and by EUTING as *dj. el-Qanṭara*. The mountain with the last name is situated between *w. el-Qanṭarah* and *Hallet Qbûl*.

⁵ Not *zebb*.

⁶ I do not think that Moritz is right in stating that *el-Sîaq* is more correct than *el-Siagh*, although the last is not the accurate pronunciation which should be

wādi Musā reaches this western ridge two large *wādies* join it from the north, the *wādi Abū 'Olléqah*¹ and the *w. M'arraṣ Hamdān*, also called *w. ed-Dér*, all these empty themselves into *sél eš-Šiyyagh*.² The last part of the Moses valley is shallow and broad.

W. eš-Šiyyagh,³ which is a canyon broader than *eš-Siq*, runs in a S. W. S. direction until it reaches *w. el-Barrā* and then turns to the N. W. N. It is bounded on both sides by high ragged mountains which fall perpendicularly in many places to the bed of the valley. Such perpendicular walls are generally called "*nadjr*," and I have gathered the names of the following *nadjr* of *w. eš-Šiyyagh*: *n. (nadjr) ed-Dér*, *n. eš-Šiyyagh* and *n. Umm el-Biyārah*. Its largest tributary, which still belongs to our area is *wādi Harrūbet ibn Dj(a)rāymeh*.⁴ I never heard the name *w. eš-Tughrāh* applied to this part of the valley. Smaller tributaries of *w. eš-Šiyyagh* are, from the north: *sidd el-Mrériyyeh*, also called *sidd eš-Zétūneh*,⁵ and *sidd Ḥrērib 'Iāl 'Audeh*. The first lies between *dj. Umm Zétūneh* and *dj. el-Mrériyyeh*, the second runs between *dj. Ḥrērib 'Iāl 'Audeh* and *ed-Dér*. It has its source in *Mārāḥ ed-Dér* and is called by Dalman "Klausenschlucht." From the south we have *w. Qrē* and *w. el-Barrā*. The western boundary of the area investigated for Arabic place names is *w. Mirwān*, which is a large tributary of *eš-Šiyyagh* draining *šūḥ el-Bédā*. Its first tributary from the east is *w. Naq' ed-Dér* coming from the mountains of the same name.

A short description of the basin of Petra may now follow. The expression *el-Ghór* is not only used for the course of *w. Musā* alone, but for the non-mountainous area situated on both sides of the valley. Thus *el-Ghór* is only one part of the basin. This is about one kilometer wide and four kilometers long.⁶

The city area is roughly bisected from east to west by the channel

eš-Šiyyagh. Very many authors have transcribed this word with س, DALMAN, KENNEDY, MORITZ, BRUENNOW, and BURKITT (Palestine in General History, III, Petra and Palmyra, Schweich Lectures, 1929, p. 95).

¹ I heard also *Abū 'Léqah*.

² MUSIL (in BRUENNOW, II, 332) writes السبخ.

³ BRUENNOW gives it also the name "westlicher Siq." *Siq* is never used by the Bedouin for *eš-Šiyyagh*.

⁴ This name is only known to the *Bdūl*.

⁵ Not shown in the map of MUSIL (Petra Arab., II Edom).

⁶ DALMAN, I, 15.

of *wādi Mūsā*, on either side of which the alluvial debris of the surrounding hills is piled up in undulating masses. To north and south this alluvial mass rises from the central line to the *Bēdā* and *Ṣabrā* watersheds; and each of these watersheds contributes through the medium of several valleys, which are sometimes of considerable depth,¹ to the volume of water carried by *wādi Mūsā*.

That section of the basin lying to the north of the Moses valley falls from the north to the bed of *w. Mūsā* and is cut by three valleys forming three separate regions. The smallest is the western one which is known as *M'arraṣ Ḥamḍān* and through which the valley of the same name runs. The bed of this *wādi* was probably never a part of the built city area. The second part lies between the last course of *wādi Abū 'Ollēqah* and *wādi el-Maṭāḥah*. The apex of this triangular area, lying between the junction of *w. Abū 'Ollēqah* and *w. Mūsā* is known as *et-Ṭāḥaneh*.² The terrain rises to the east and northeast in two small hills, of which the eastern is the higher one. Both are called *Qabr Djme'an*. They rise gradually to the mountainous ridge *'Arqūb el-Hiṣeh*, which does not belong to the basin of Petra.

The third part of the northern basin lies between *w. el-Maṭāḥah* and the mountains of the eastern ridge (*el-Ḥubīyah* and *Umm el-'Amr*), and bears the name *ridjm Umm Snēdiq*. To the north of it is the small plain *Umm el-Ḥardjal*, which is bounded in the north by *Zarnūq Ḥubīyah*.

The southern basin has a continuous series of hills surrounding it on the north as well as on the south. It is bounded in the south by the *Farasah* valley. The small hill at the bottom of *el-Ḥabis* is known by some as *rqēbet el-Qsēr*,³ while the highest hill to the east of *Zibb Far'on* is called *ex-Zanṭūr*. The southern sloping part of *ex-Zanṭūr* is known as *el-Ktūteh*.⁴ The terrain between *ex-Zanṭūr*, the mountain *Umm 'Lēdah* and the Moses Valley is called by the *Bdūl Ḥōs er-Raṣāṣah*⁵ and by the *Liāṭneh Ḥōs 'Atā el-Ghnēmāt*. The first name is the oldest one.

¹ KENNEDY, 7.

² The name seems to be known only to the *Bdūl*.

³ An expression which I heard from the *Bdūl* only.

⁴ The area marked with this name on the map of Musil is much larger than it should be.

⁵ LAGRANGE is the only author who gives this name (*Umm er-Raṣṣas*, RB, 1898, 165-182). It is pronounced also *er-Raṣṣiyyeh*.

The mountains surrounding the basin of Petra are best described under the following headings:

1. The eastern,
2. The southern,
3. The western, and
4. The northern mountain ridges.

These ridges are more or less continuous forming an uneven couch around the basin. The eastern ridge differs from the western in being less elevated and in its northern sections of a more uniform appearance without outstanding pinnacles and summits. The northern extremity of this ridge is deflected westward from the head of *el-Maṭāḥah* to that of *el-Turkmāniyyeh* forming the northern watershed of the city area.

1. The eastern ridges are in reality one large mass of mountains which have been divided by the gorge of *es-Siq* into northern and southern sections. To the north of the *Siq* we have *al-Huḫṭāh*,¹ *er-Ramlah* and *el-U'erah*. *Er-Ramlah* lies to the east of *Huḫṭāh* and is separated from it by *wādi el-Mozlem*. *El-U'erah* is situated to the northeast of *er-Ramlah* and is surrounded by deep gorges. To the east and north of this mountain extend the ridges of *el-Bréd'ah*² and *Rhūt el-Bīd*.

The small but deep gorge of *sidd Umm el-'Amr*, which joins the *Siq* opposite *ed-Djarrab*, and the *ẓarnūq Huḫṭāh*, which runs in a northwestern direction joining *wādi el-Maṭāḥah*, divide *el-Huḫṭāh*, from its triangular southwest corner. The part is known by the name *Umm el-'Amr*. Other parts of *el-Huḫṭāh* which bear special names are: *el-Qanṭarah* (already described), *Umm Dfēleh*, *Rasf el-Huḫṭāh* and *el-Huḫṭāh eš-Šghīreh*. *Umm Dfēleh* lies to the west of the first part of *w. el-Mozlem*. Going northwards we find *Rasf el-Huḫṭāh* and *Huḫṭāh eš-Šghīreh*. *Wādi Huḫṭāh eš-Šghīreh* runs between the last two. *El-Huḫṭāh* is crowned by many domed summits all of white sandstone and divided from each other by irregular small flat areas, which according to Kennedy may have been garden plots. The highest domed summit is 3608 ft.³ and lies somewhat to the

¹ V. MOLLOY and A. COLUNGA (RB, 1906, 582-587) transcribe *Huḫṭe* and state that it probably comes from الخيرة, possibly from الغيبة. MORITZ heard wrongly *Ghubṭah* الغيبة, SZEZEPANSKI and several other authors write it with ج.

² Often pronounced *el-Bréd'eh*, and *el-Bréd'ah*.

³ KENNEDY, 12; Musil gives the height 1100 m.

east of the centre of the ridge.⁴

Er Ramlah "forms an easy transition from the cretaceous ridge to the sandstone folds. . . Remnants of a cretaceous covering are still to be observed here and there on the summits of this tract."² It shows rounded dome-like summits but they are smaller and not so numerous as those on the *Huṭṭah*.

Parts of *er-Ramlah* which have been named are: *eṭ-Ṭnūb* (which has been mentioned), *djabal eṣ-Ṣreiyy'*, *Ṭōr el-Far'ah el-Bēdā* and *el-Far' eṭ-Ṭawil*. The first lies between *wādī eṣ-Ṣreiyy'* and *wādī el-Far'ah el-Bēdā*. These two *wādies* empty themselves into *el-Mozlem*, opposite its *Qattār*. The second ridge lies north of *w. el-Far'ah el-Bēdā* and *w. el-Far' eṭ-Ṭawil*. The last ridge *el-Far' eṭ-Ṭawil* is between the valleys of *Su'eb Qēs* and *el-Far' eṭ-Ṭawil*.

The connecting link between this northern part of the eastern ridges and *el-Brēd'ah* and *er-Rhūt el-Biḍ*, are *dj. el-Mozlem* (situated between the last course of *w. el-Mozlem* and the valley of *el-Maṭāḥah*); *'Irf ed-Dik* (between *el-U'erah* and *w. 'Irf ed-Dik*) and *Ḥmēlet el-Ghabā* (to the east of the last mountain). To the east of *el-U'erah* and *er-Ramlah* are *el-Brēd'ah*³ and *el-Qararah*.

The southern complex which stretches to the south of the *Siq* is one large mass of mountains cut into different groups. It differs from *el-Huṭṭah* in having an irregular corrugated outline, no dome-like elevations and in being composed mostly of coloured sandstone. These groups from east to west are: *edj-Djilf*, *el-Madras*,⁴ *'Aṭūf*, *en-Nadṣr* and *Dj. Zibb 'Aṭūf* or *'Idlāḥ*. The northern part of *edj-Djilf* is known as *Djilf Ḥamdān* and the southern as *Djilf Abū Qāḍīr*. That part of *edj-Djilf* which descends to *Bāb es-Siq* is called *edj-Djirēdi*. *Dj. 'Aṭūf* is also known as *Mamāt Ḥassān*. While the last name is used only by *Bdūl*, the first was told me not only by them, but also by the *Liātneh*. To the S. and S.W. of this ridge are *Ḥamāyl Djem'an*,⁵ *Ṭōr el-Ḥmēdi* and *dj. el-Qanarah*. *En-Nadṣr*,⁶ also called *Ṭabaqāt en-Ndṣr*, is continued southwards by *el-Maḥāfir*⁷

¹ DALMAN, I, 9

² KENNEDY, 14.

³ MUSIL (BRUENNOW, II, 330, 333) writes wrongly البرضة, it should be البريدة.

⁴ EÜTING, (BRÜNNOW, II, 330) and BARNABÉ MEISTERMANN transcribed *el-Madras*.

⁵ DALMAN also gives this region the name *el-Hrémiyyeh*.

⁶ MUSIL gives this name for the mountain plus the Obelisk ridge.

⁷ This is more correct than *el-Mehāfir*.

and *Hallet Qbûl*. The name 'Idlâb for *dj. Zibb 'Atâf*¹ is known to the *Bdûl*.² Only a few *Liâṭneh* knew it. A corruption of this name is noted by Musil for *w. el-Mahâfir* (also known as *w. 'Idlâb*) which he calls *w. Qudlâh*. 'Idlâb is not an Arabic word. *Dj. el-Madḡbah*, which is surely a new appellation, is used at present to denote the same mountain. This ridge is continued southwards in a group of lofty mountains separated from each other by different tributaries of *wâdi Harrâbet ibn Djrâymeh (w. el-Habis)*. To the south of *el-Madḡbah* are *dj. el-Farasah, el-Barrâqât, Nmér*³ and *Umm Rattâm*. *El-Farasah* is continued to the northwest by the low ridge *el-Qunb el-Hamar*. *Umm Laṣfah* and *ṣu'b el-Hrâbeh el-Hamrah* connect *el-Qunb el-Hamar* with *el-Barrâqât*,⁴ which mountain rises between and slightly behind *el-Farasah* and *en-Nmér*. Between *el-Mahâfir* and *el-Barrâqât* is a small basin, *Hallet el-Bdûl*. The southern part of *Amm Rattâm*⁵ is known as *Minzât el-Ḥṣân*,⁶ and is often abbreviated as *el-Minzâh*.⁷

2. The ridges enclosing the Petra basin to the south are not as high as those on the east or west. Part of the lip is made up of *dj. en-Nmér* and *dj. Amm Rattâm*, but the main mass consist of *Râs Slimân* and *el-Tuḡhrab*.⁸ The first slopes northwards and is separated from the lower ridge of *Râs el-M(a)gharriq* by *Tal'et*

¹ VINCENT (RB, 1902, 441) and SAVIGNAC (RB, 1903, 280-291) write it in one word instead of two: زبطوف (*Zabe'atouf*). G. L. ROBINSON (ZDPV, 1909, 1-15) calls this mountain *en-Nedje*, which word must be *en-Nedjr*. Not this mountain but another in this area bears this name.

² MORITZ gives this mountain the name *en-Nedjr*, this is incorrect.

³ MUSIL places the mountain *en-Nmér* too far to the SE.

⁴ DALMAN, KENNEDY, and MUSIL in their plans connect this mountain with *dj. el-Farasah*. Dalman gives a short description of the same on p. 14 of 1. The mountain *ṣu'b el-Hrâbeh el-Hamrah* (high Arabic *Ḥamrâ'*) is not shown on the map.

⁵ Not *Ratâm* or *Ratam* (KENNEDY and DALMAN). MUSIL writes in correct Arabic, but without a *šaddeh* on the "t". He therefore falls into the error of writing it *Ratâm* (BRUENNOW, II, 330) instead of *Rattâm*. *Umm* in *Umm Rattâm* is more often pronounced *Amm*, and the two words are connected; so much so that for a time I heard and understood *amr el-tâm*.

⁶ MUSIL notes *el-Menza'* which appellation I have also heard.

⁷ On MUSIL's map the *Menza'* is placed to the NE of *w. Amm Rattâm*, which he calls *w. el-Mahâfir*, while this mountain as well as *dj. Amm Rattâm* are situated to the south of this valley.

⁸ MUSIL places this mountain to the west of *w. el-Tuḡhrab*, which valley he calls *w. el-'Emeyrât*, whereas it lies to the south of this wâdi and to the west of *Râs Slimân*.

el-Fzūlī (pronounced *Fdūlī*), from which a small *wādī* runs to *wādī Amm Rattām*. To the south of *Rās Slīmān* and *dj. et-Tugbrah*¹ stretches the plateau *es-Sūh* (or *Sūh Šabrā*) surrounded by the following mountains in semi-circular formation from *dj. Umm Rattām* to *dj. Hārūn*: *el-Maqšar* (or *Maqšar Qa'ūd Hammād*), *ed-Dibleh*,² *Imm Mtēldjeh*,³ *Abū Šaq'ah*, *Qal'et Ghrāb*, *en-Naqrāt* and *el-Faršeh*. Several valleys run through *es-Sūh* from E. to W. and all have to be crossed to reach *wādī Šabrā*. From north to south these are: *w. Umm Salāleh*, *w. Mbērib*, *w. el-Maknūn*, *w. Ghrāb*, *w. el-Ḥallah*, and *w. el-Baṭāhī*.

3. The western ridge which separates Petra from *w. el-'Arabā* drops with extraordinary abruptness to this valley. It runs from its highest summit Mount Hor (4280 ft.) to the *Bēdā* ridge in the north. As seen from east, it forms an unbroken barrier of high and splendid mountains between Petra and the abyss beyond, though in fact, there are several breaches of continuity,⁴ the most important being the central gorge of *es-Šiyyagh* which divides this mountain chain in two groups.

The names of the southern group from south to north are: *Umm Ḥrērib*, *et-Ṭaffah*,⁵ *el-Barrā*, *el-Qrē'* and *Umm el-Biyārah*.⁶ The small ridges of *et-Ṭaffah* and *Umm Ḥrērib* belong to the large mountain mass of *el-Barrā*, although they are separated from each other by small canyons. These two names are not known to all bedouin. *El-Barrā* and *Umm el-Biyārah* stretch from the western bank of *w. Ḥarrābet ibn Djrāymeh* (*w. el-Ḥabis*) to *sēl es-Šiyyagh*, the highest mountain of all in this group being *Umm el-Biyārah*, which is 3609 feet.⁷ A small hill at the base of *Umm el-Biyārah* is known as *Ṭaffet irdjūd 'iāl 'Auwād*.⁸ This mountain group is continued to the west along the southern shore of *sēl es-Šiyyagh* by *Umm 'Amer*,

¹ MUSIL calls it the rocks of *es-Sūh*. In my opinion this is incorrect.

² Abbridged from *Diblet el-Qrēn*.

³ DALMAN heard *Umm et-teldje*, BRUENNOW *umm el-teldj* and MUSIL *el-midēlādje* (BRUENNOW, II, 332).

⁴ KENNEDY, p. 8.

⁵ Also pronounced *et-Ṭaffeh*. MORITZ calls the mountain which lies to the south of *el-Barrā*, *el-Ḥalālī*, an expression which I have not heard.

⁶ MUSIL notes of these mountains only *el-Qrē'* (= *Qrē'*) and *el-Barrā*. *Et-Tugbrah* is placed in the same line. This is incorrect. By mistake it is written on the map *Biyārah*.

⁷ KENNEDY, p. 9.

⁸ It could not be marked on the sketch map.

Umm (el-)‘Amad, Tōr er-Raqabah, Qabr el-Ḥaḍrā and ‘Atad. A heap of earth which has fallen from *el-Barrā* to the bank of *es-Ṣiyyagh* is known as *el-Kaḥrīrah. (el-Kaḥrīreh)*

The northern group consists of the *Dér* ridge. The western part of this chain which slopes down to the angle formed by the junction of *sél es-Ṣiyyagh* and *wādi Mirwān* is known as *Zanqar ed-Dér*. To the north west of the *ed-Dér* monument lies the mountain *Naq‘ ed-Dér*, from which rises the *w. Naq‘ ed-Dér*, a tributary of *w. Mirwān*. The southernmost summit, overlooking *sél es-Ṣiyyagh*, and which is separated by *Ḥrērib ‘Iāl ‘Audeh* from the mass of the *ed-Dér* mountains, bears the name *Ṭaraf (Ṭarf) ed-Dér*.¹ A large rock which has fallen down from *ed-Dér* to the bank of *es-Ṣiyyagh* is known as *Nṣēb el-Lsmeyr*.² To the south east the *Dér* ridge is continued by the ridges of *Ḥrērib ‘Iāl ‘Audeh, Ḥrērib el-Mrēriyyeh* and *Umm Zētāneh*.³ The north east corner of the last, which lies at the bend where *w. ed-Dér* turns to the west, is known by the name *Ṭaffet ed-Dér*. In the north east *ed-Dér* joins *dj. el-Mqāf‘ah, dj. el-Qaṭṭār, Umm Ḥrērib, Umm es-Sésabān* and *dj. en-Naṣī*. The last is reckoned by some as a direct part of *djbāl el-M‘ēsrāt*. To the east of *Umm el-Biyārah* and to the south of *Umm Zētāneh* stands the solitary high mountain *el-Ḥabis*, which is surrounded on three sides by valleys. It is called at times by the *Bdāl el-Qṣēr*. This name is not known to the *Liātneh*.

4. The ridges constituting the northern boundary of the Petra basin and which connect the *Dér* mountains with those of the eastern ridge, are *djbāl el-M‘ēsrāt*,⁴ the mountains around *w. et-Turkmāniyyeh* and their continuation to *w. el-Maṭāḥah*. The different parts of *djbāl el-M‘ēsrāt* which are separated from the low flat ridges of *el-Bédā* by *w. el-Mḥaṣṣib*,⁵ are *M‘arraṣ Ḥamdān, dj. el-M‘ēsrāh el-Gharbiyyeh* and *dj. el-M‘ēsrāh es-Ṣarqiyyeh*. *El-M‘ēsrāh el-Gharbiyyeh* is continued northwards in *Umm Razmeh* (pronounced generally *Umm Raḍmeh*)

¹ This appellation is not widely known. ‘Audeh is also pronounced ‘Odeh.

² MORITZ calls the southwest part of the *Dér* ridge with *Amm el-‘Arābit*, which should probably be *el-‘arābit* = serpents.

³ This mountain is placed by MUSIL too far to the south.

⁴ KENNEDY, p. 11, groups all the mountains to the north of *es-Ṣiyyagh*, to the east of *w. Mirwān* and to the west of *w. et-Turkmāniyyeh* as *djbāl el-M‘ēsrāt*.

⁵ This valley which ultimately joins *w. Mirwān* is called by KENNEDY *w. Manaṭf‘ ed-Dīb*. But only a small part of it bears this name.

and *Bêdât el-M'êsrâh*. To the west of *Umm Razmeh* lies the small mountain group known as *Mamât Manşûr*.¹ *Dj. el-M'êsrâhes-Şarqiyyeh* which lies between *w. el-M'êsrâh es-Şarqiyyeh* in the west, *w. 'Abû 'Ollêqah* in the east and *dj. Hamret el-Hîseh* in the north is continued upwards in *Umm Harrâm*. North of *dj. el-M'êsrâh es-Şarqiyyeh* lies the mountain ridge *Hamret el-Hîseh*. The two south-western parts of the latter are known as *Râs et-Turkmâniyyeh* and *el-Far' et-Tawîl*. The eastern bank of *wâdî el-Hîseh* ('*Abû 'Ollêqah*) is bounded on the south by '*Arqûb el-Hîseh* and *er-Ramlah* and on the north by the mountains of *Umm Şêhûn*. The last stretches to the east and meets *er-Rhût el-Bîd*, by what is called *Drâ' Umm Şêhûn*, and thus closes the basin of Petra to the north. That part of *er-Ramlah* which lies directly over the *wâdî el-Hîseh* is known as *Raqbet er-Ramlah*, while the highest point of '*Arqûb el-Hîseh* is called *Râs el-Hîseh*. The mountains of *Umm Şêhûn* and *Hamret el-Hîseh* are continued northwards in several small groups, which are separated from each other by various wâdies, all joining to form *wâdî el-Hîseh*. They are from east to west *Marmâ-l-Barqâ*, *dj. Mhannat* (*Maḥannat*) *er-Rafiqah*, *Râs Mlêh*, *dj. el-Harm* and *dj. Madmagh bint ibn Djme'ân*. To the north these ridges stretch to *Şah el-Bêdâ*. The mountain ridges connecting '*Arqûb el-Hîseh* with *er-Rhût el-Bîd* and running along the right side of *wâdî el-Maţâḥah*, are *M(o)ghâr en-Naşârâ*, *M(o)ghâr el-Maţâḥah* and *el-Qunb el-Hamr*. The first two form one ridge.

Four large wadies and several small ones rise in the different mountain groups surrounding the basin of Petra and all join *wâdî Mûsâ* or its continuation, *w. es-Şiyyagh*. Three large ones join the Moses valley after draining the northern and the adjacent parts of the western and eastern ridges.

The valley of *el-Maţâḥah*² runs in a N.E. direction from its junction with *wâdî Mûsâ*.³ It receives from *el-Hubṭah* its first eastern but small tributary *Zarnûq Hubṭah*. From the north *Umm*

¹ Incorrectly marked on the map as *Mamât Hassân*.

² None of the reliable guides gave the name *Umm Zu'qêqah* for the first part of *el-Maţâḥah* valley, as was heard by others.

³ Kennedy describes wrongly on p. 7, two valleys: *w. el-Maţâḥah* and *w. en-Naşârâ* which join *w. Mûsâ* to the east of *et-Turkmâniyyeh*. *W. en-Naşârâ* is only a tributary of *el-Maţâḥah* and is known also as *Su'b el-Qunb*.

*Zu' qeqab*¹ is the first tributary.² It separates *Arqub el-Hiseh* from *Moghr* (also *M(o)ghar*) *en-Nasara*. Further on *Su' b el-Qunb*³ and *Su' b er-Rhuf el-Bid* enter from the same direction. The longest of these tributaries is *w. Umm Zu' qeqab*, which drains *Moghar en-Nasara* and *er-Ramlah*, which lies to the south of *w. Umm Shehun*. The most important tributaries of *el-Matahab* are *el-Mozlem* and *Su' b Qes*. They drain part of *Hutlah, el-U'erah* and the greater part of *er-Ramlah*. *El-Mozlem*⁴ rises not far from *Bab es-Siq* and runs in a N. W. N. direction.⁵ Owing to the fact that its source lies only a few meters from *Bab es-Siq*, it was possible to connect both with a tunnel and thus to divert the water of *w. Musá* from *es-Siq* to *w. el-Matahab*. At about the middle of its course we meet *Qattar el-Mozlem*, the "dropping" water of which gathers in two small basins. A short distance further, the bed of the valley becomes nearly impassable. Its first important tributary from the west is *wadi Umm Dfêleh*⁶ (the so-called "Alderschlucht" of Dalman).⁷ Dalman is quite correct in saying this *wadi* is not the beginning of *w. el-Mozlem*, as Musil thought it to be. *Wadi Hutlah es-Sghir* joins *el-Mozlem*, a small distance to the south of *Qattar el-Mozlem*. Four tributaries flow from the east: beginning from the south and going northwards these are: *Su' b el-Harrubeh, w. er-Ramleh (Ramlah), w. es-Sreiyi* and *w. el-Far' ah el-Bedah*.⁸ Between the last part of *el-Mozlem*, which is reckoned by some to belong to the *sidd el-Ma'adjin*, and east of *el-Matahab*, lies the mountain *dj. el-Mozlem*. *Su' b Qes* surrounds the western and southern slopes as well as the south part of the eastern slopes of *el-U'erah*. At the N. W. corner of *el-U'erah* it receives *wadi el-U'erah*, which begins a little distance to the north of the source of *Su' b Qes*. Soon after, *Su' b Qes* joins *Sidd el-Ma'adjin*,⁹ the latter receiving

¹ It is very rarely pronounced *Za'qeqi*.

² On DALMAN's sketch it is called *Umm Shehun*(?).

³ It is sometimes called *w. en-Nasara*.

⁴ It is pronounced at times, as DALMAN transcribes it, *el-Mozlem*.

⁵ It does not bifurcate in its lower end, as KENNEDY states on p. 11.

⁶ Also called *w. Umm Dajlâi*.

⁷ I could not find a name for the first, but small and unimportant, tributary of *el-Mozlem*, which comes from the west and runs somewhat parallel to *w. Dfêleh*.

⁸ It is often pronounced *Beda*, which is also the correct high Arabic pronunciation. In *Sufah el-Beda* the "a" of *Beda* is always pronounced as a long "â."

⁹ I always heard an "â" after the "a" and not *ma'djin*.

also *el-Far' et-Ṭawil*, with comes from the south. A tributary of *w. el-U'erah* is *w. Far' ed-Dik* into which *w. el-Ghabā* flows. *Sidd el-Ma'ādjin* runs in a W.S.W. direction. It receives all the waters of *el-Mozlem*.¹ The valleys of *el-Mozlem* and *Šu'b Qés* and of all their tributaries are deep wild gorges. This natural condition, which is especially marked in the valleys surrounding *el-U'erah*, make the last a naturally inaccessible fortress.

The next large valley is *w. 'Abū 'Olléqah* which is also known as *w. et-Turkmāniyyeh*² and *w. el-Hiṣeh*. While the first name is applied to the whole course of the valley but more especially to its last part, the last two names are used only for the upper part of the wādi. That the name *'Abū 'Olléqah* is used for the whole course is proved by the expressions *'én 'Abū 'Olléqah* which is found not far from where this valley joins the *w. Mūsā*; *Ṭmélet 'Abū 'Olléqah*, a small spring in the middle of its course; and *Ḥrērib 'Abū 'Olléqah* the name of a group of carob trees growing at the junction of a number of small wādies which unite to form the main wādi. *Wādi 'Abū 'Olléqah* converges on *wādi Mūsā* at the beginning of *sēl eš-Šiyyagh*. The names *w. et-Turkmāniyyeh* and *w. el-Hiṣeh* are derived from the monument *et-Turkmāniyyeh* and from the mountains on both sides of the wādi (*Ḥamret el-Hiṣeh* and *'Arqūb el-Hiṣeh*) respectively.

The first tributary of *w. 'Abū 'Olléqah* is *w. el-M'ēšrah eš-Šarqiyyeh*, which joins it near its mouth. It will be described later on. The other wādies running from the west side are *Maghaṭṭ Rif'ah*, *Ḥamret el-Hiṣeh*³ (with its tributary *wādi el-Far' et-Ṭawil*), *wādi el-Wabarān* and *w. Birket el-Ḥarrābeh*, the largest being *w. Ḥamret el-Hiṣeh*, which separates *dj. el-M'ēšrah eš-Šarqiyyeh* from *dj. Ḥamret el-Hiṣeh*. *W. el-Hiṣeh* (*w. 'Abū 'Olléqah*) receives from the east *w. er-Raqabah el-Ḥamrah*,⁴ *w. er-Ramlah*, *w. Umm Šēḥūn* and *w. en-Nadjr*;⁵ *w. Umm Šēḥūn* being the largest. The mountain ridge between *w. Umm Šēḥūn* and *w.*

¹ The *Mozlem* does not join *Šu'b Qés* as is shown on Kennedy's map, nor does it bifurcate in its lower end (p. 15).

² Some say *w. et-Turdmāniyyeh* and *w. et-Turdmān*. The last expression is a rare one.

³ Some call it *w. Raqbet et-Turkmāniyyeh*.

⁴ Classical Arabic *Ḥamrā'*. It is pronounced by some bedouin *Ḥamrā'*.

⁵ DALMAN heard *w. edj-Djélahem*.

Marmā-l-Barqā is *dj. Umm Şēhan*¹ and not *şāḥ el-Bēdā*.² At *Ĥrērib 'Aba 'Ollēqah* the valley divides into many branches, which are: *Marmā-l-Barqā*,³ *Maštalet ed-Dalandjī*, *Mḥannaṭ er-Rāfiqah* (with its tributary *w. el-Mlēḥ*) and *Far'et Sālim bin 'Id* (with its tributary *w. Madmagh bint ibn Djme' ān*). These branches which spread in a fan-like formation reach to *Şāḥ el-Bēdā*, but they drain only a very insignificant part of its area. *Wādī Marmā-l-Barqā*⁴ is crossed by the road leading from Petra to *es-Sīq el-Bārid*.

W. ed-Dēr,⁵ the last wādī coming from the north, joins *w. Mūsā* at its junction with *Sēl eš-Şiyyagh*. The last portion of the valley of *ed-Dēr* is better known as *M'arraş Ḥamdān*.⁶ The first wādī to join it is *w. el-M'ēşrah el-Gharbiyyeh*. As much confusion exists about *el-M'ēşrāt* I think it advisable to give the following facts: The pronunciation of this word is somewhat loose. I heard (as did Dalman also):⁷ *m'eişarah*, *mā eişareh*, *mā eişereh*, *m'ēşerah*. But I never heard *Ma'şarah*. *M'ēşrah* and *M'ēşarah* are the common pronunciation. Many authorities give three *m'ēşrāt*. But every one of them counts other valleys as belonging to the I, II, and III *M'ēşarah*. The following table will demonstrate the above differences:⁸

¹ See also DALMAN, I, 19.

² According to MUSIL.

³ DALMAN spells "mirmil." It is *marmā* from the verb *ramā*, *yarmī*, to throw. The story which gave this valley and the mountain nearby this name has already been mentioned.

⁴ It is called erroneously by KENNEDY *Umm Şēhūn*.

⁵ MORITZ's statement about the different valleys joinining *w. Mūsā* from the north is absolutely incorrect. He gives the following names for the valleys from W to E:

w. Ma'aişra, *w. Turkmān* or *Turkmāniyyeh*, *w. el-Hiṣ*, and *w. ḥerāb en-Naşārā*. I really cannot make out which valleys belong to these names.

⁶ SAVIGNAC and JAUSSEN (RB, 1902, 581) deduce this word from *المصرة*. *El-Ma'şarah* is the original root of *el-M'ēşrah* but not of *M'arraş*, which has an entirely different meaning and comes from a different root (*'arraşa*). The many place names pointing to stories connected with adulterous actions point clearly to the low morality of the Bedouin of this region.

⁷ DALMAN, II, 7.

⁸ The transcription of the Arabic words in this list has been left as the different authors gave it.

Canaan	Dalman	Brünnow	Musil	Kennedy
<i>w. el-M'êšrah eš-Šarqiyyeh</i>	<i>w. M'êšara el-wašta</i>	Drittes Nordwest-wâdi	<i>el-Ma'êšret el-Wašta</i>	<i>Ma'eisara et-Tarfaniyyeh</i>
<i>el-M'êšrah el-Gharbiyyeh wâdi el-Hrêrib</i>	<i>el-M'êšara et-tarfâni</i>	Zweites Nordwest-wâdi	<i>el-Ma'êšret et-Tarfâniyye</i>	<i>Ma'eisara el-Wašta</i>
<i>w. M'arraš Hamdân</i>		Erstes Nordwest-wâdi		<i>Ma'eisara eš-Sharqiyyeh</i>
<i>w. et-Turkmâniyyeh (el-Hiše)</i>			<i>w. Ma'êšret el-Kbire</i>	

Dalman does not give the third *M'êšrah*. Only Musil names the upper part of *w. el-Hiše* (*w. et-Turkmâniyyeh*) *el-M'êšrah el-Kbireh*. This would give this valley four different names. Kennedy counts *w. el-Hrêrib* as a *M'êšarah*. No other authority has heard this name for this valley. Even if there should be three *M'êšarât*, then Kennedy's *el-M'êšrah eš-Šarqiyyeh* should be called *el-Gharbiyyeh*, as it is the most westerly one. I have asked several Bedouin of the Bdûl and of the *Liâtneh* about the number, situation and names of the different *M'êšarât*. With the exception of two Bedouins all others gave me two names: *eš-Šarqiyyeh* and *el-Gharbiyyeh*. Correspondingly there are also two mountain ridges called *dj. el-M'êšrah eš-Šarqi* and *el-Gharbi*. Those two Bedouins who spoke of three *M'êšarât* reckoned, with Musil, the upper part of *w. et-Turkmâniyyeh* as the first or east *M'êšrah*. But their knowledge of the topography was so poor and so inexact, that after exploring the valley 'Abû 'Ollêqah with each one of them and finding how hopelessly mixed they were with place-names I was obliged to dispense with their help. No weight could therefore be attached to their statements.

The two *M'ḥsarāt* valleys run parallel to each other, the eastern being the longer. The upper part of the western one is joined by *w. es-Sḥsabān*, which rises in *dj. Umm es-Sḥsabān* not far from *dj. en-Nāsī*.

Wādī ed-Dēr receives *wādī el-Ḥrērib*¹ at the point where it turns to the west. The last branch of *w. ed-Dēr* is *w. el-Qaṭṭār*, (*w. Qaṭṭār ed-Dēr*) also called *w. el-Hammām*. The second name is not used as much as the first.

W. Mūsā receives no important tributary from the south. A large valley which runs in a N.W. direction and which joins *es-Ṣiyyagh* is called by the *Bdūl*, *w. Ḥarrūbet ibn Djrāimeh*, and by the *Liātneh*, *w. el-Habis*. This valley drains the whole of the southern mountains and the south of the eastern and western ridges.² The name given by the *Bdūl* is derived from a carob tree belonging to a member of their tribe bearing this name and growing at the junction of this valley with *es-Ṣiyyagh*. I believe that it is a mistake to give a *wādī* the name of one of its smaller tributaries, as some have done with this valley, naming it *w. et-Ṭughrab*.³ *W. el-Habis* receives from the north the long *w. el-Farasah*. The valley has its source in two *wādies*⁴ which surround the *Farasah* mountain. The northern one is called by Dalman "Gartental."⁵ A very small *wādī* comes directly from the *Farasah* mountain and joins *w. el-Farasah* between these two branches. A little to the S. of the junction of the *Farasah* and the *w. el-Habis*, the main valley divides into two branches, an eastern one, *w. en-Nmér* and a western *w. el-M(a)gharriq*. *W. en-Nmér*⁶ runs in a southeast direction as far as *dj. en-Nmér* where it receives from the west *wādī Amm Rattām*. Before this point two smaller valleys join it from the east, *w. Séd* and *w. el-Ḥrābeh el-Ḥamrā*. *w. en-Nmér* continues its course between *dj. el-Farasah* and *el-Barraqāt* on the one side and *dj. en-Nmér* on the

¹ DALMAN (II. 6) gives it the name *sidd Ḥarrūbāt*. I never heard the Bedouin of *Eldjī* or the *Bdūl* use the correct Arabic plural. They always pronounced it *Ḥrērib*, seldom *Ḥarārib*.

² MUSIL gives it the name *w. es-Ṣiyyagh* (*Arab. Petr.*, II, Edom, 1, 120)

³ KENNEDY.

⁴ MUSIL'S and Kennedy's maps show the two branches.

⁵ DALMAN, I, 195.

⁶ MUSIL calls this valley *w. Umm Ratām*.

other. From *Ḥallet el-Bdūl* it receives *Far'et el-Bdūl*, called by some *Far'et Slimān el-Bdūl*.

Wādī Amm Rattām winds around the western base of *dj. Nmér*; its first part lies between this mountain and *dj. Amm Rattām*.¹ Musil calls the head of this valley *w. el-Mahāfir*. At the northern end of the last ridge it receives *wādī el-Menzāh*, which rises in *dj. Menzāt el-Ḥsān*.²

Wādī el-M(a)gbariq runs in a southern direction. Its first part—and not the whole wādī as Musil³ gives it—is called *w. Ḥaṣāt ed-Dūdeh* which name it derived from a rock nearby called *Ḥaṣāt ed-Dūdeh*. The reason for this name is given elsewhere. After receiving a small tributary from the west, *w. Qrē'*, it divides into two branches: the eastern is called *w. el-Tughrah* and the western runs along the base, of the southern mountains of the western ridge. *W. el-Tughrah*⁴ is the junction of *w. Rās Slimān*, *w. el-Ṭabaleh el-Bēḍah* and *w. Ṣunḥ*. The western branch is made up of the following three valleys: *w. el-Barrā*, *w. el-Ṭaffah*, and *w. Umm Ḥrērib*.

The different springs in Petra are: *Qaṭṭār el-Mozlem*, 'én 'Abū 'Ollēqah, *Ṭmēlit 'Abū 'Ollēqah*, 'én *es-Ṣiyyagh*, *Qaṭṭār ed-Dēr* and 'én *ed-Dēr*. The most important, which is the beginning of a series of springs, is 'én *es-Ṣiyyagh*. They give rise to a thin perennial stream flowing down the gorge (*sēl es-Ṣiyyagh*). There are other *qaṭṭār* (pl. of *qaṭṭār*) which have no importance as they dry up very soon after the rains are over.

¹ MUSIL gives this mountain ridge the name *el-Ḥala'*, which expression I have not heard.

² MUSIL calls it *el-Menza'*.

³ Edom, 113, 120 and map.

⁴ The tributaries of *el-Tughrah* are not given by the different authors.

IV. COMPARATIVE LIST OF PLACE-NAMES.

In the following Comparative List of Place-Names the different systems of transcription of the various writers on Petra have been simplified by adhering to the method of transcription followed in all these articles.¹ The original transcription of a few Arabic words has been left unchanged. This was done where the reading was doubtful, as for example, when an author of some work on Petra used "db" for ذ and ظ, or d for ض and ظ. No other corrections were undertaken.

In arranging the following list it was the aim of the present writer to use an easy and practical method of reference. This seemed to be the alphabetical one. The repetition of some place-names could therefore not be avoided.

In order to simplify the identification of the different places a special column had to be introduced in which the respective map-squares are given.² Every square is 500 × 500 m.

¹ While I always transcribed the final *z* with an "b," this letter was left unrepresented, whenever an author disregarded it. The same holds true of the "-" between the article (*el, al*) and the following noun.

² The respective places extend sometimes over the indicated map-square.

Musil	Dalman	Brünnow	Kennedy	Canaan	Map square	
<i>Abu 'Aléqa</i>	<i>abu 'ölléqa</i>		<i>Abu Olleka</i>	' <i>Abu 'Olléqah</i> (w.)	F,V	ابو عليقة
<i>el-Qra'¹</i>	<i>umm el-biyára</i>	<i>Habis²</i>	<i>Umm al Biyara</i>	<i>Umm el-Biyárah</i> (dj.)	E,VII	ام البياره
<i>Umm Hasán</i>	<i>ferše</i>			<i>Umm Hassán</i> (dj.)	K,VIII	ام حسان
				<i>Umm el-Hardjal</i>	H,V	ام الحرجل
				<i>Umm Hréríb³</i> (dj. w.)	E,IV	ام خريوب
				<i>Umm Razmeb</i>	F,IV	ام رظمة
	<i>see</i>	<i>under</i>	<i>dj. and</i>	<i>Umm Dfêleb</i> (dj. w.)	K,VI	ام دفيلة
	"	"	"	<i>Umm Rattám⁴</i> (dj. w.)	H,X G,IX	ام رتام
	"	<i>w.</i>		<i>Umm Zú'qéqah</i>	H,IV H,V	ام زعققة
	"	<i>dj.</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>Umm Zêtineb</i>	E,V	ام زيتونة
<i>Umm eš-Šenediq⁵</i>	<i>umm eš-Šanádiq</i>			<i>Umm Šnēdiq⁶</i> (b. udjm)	G,V H,V	ام صنيديق

	see	under	dj.	and	w.			
						<i>Umm Šehān</i> (dj. w. and drā')	G,III H,II	ام صيخون
						<i>Umm 'Āmir</i> (dj.)	C,VI	ام عامر
						<i>Umm el-'Anr</i> (dj. and ḡarnūq)	H,VI	ام العمر
<i>Umm 'Elēdi</i>						<i>Umm 'Lēdih</i> (dj.)	G,VI	ام عليدة
<i>Umm el-'Amdān</i>	<i>umm 'amdān</i>					<i>Umm el-'Omdān</i> (h)	H,V	م العمدان
						<i>Umm Laṣfab</i> (dj.)	G,VIII	ام لصفة
<i>Bāb es-Siq</i>	<i>bāb es-siq</i>		<i>Bāb es-Siq</i>		<i>Bāb al Siq</i>	<i>Bāb eṣ-Šiq</i>	L,VI	باب السيق
	see	under	dj.	and	w.	<i>el-Barrā</i> (dj, w.)	E,VIII	البراء
						<i>el-Barrāqāt</i> (dj.)	H,VIII	البراقات

¹ MUSIL has made his worst mistake in *el-Qrā'* (which I always heard to be pronounced *Qrē'*) and *Umm el-Biyārah*. So did also SZCZEPANSKI and BARNABÉ MEISTERMANN. Both copied the names from MUSIL.

² *El-Ḥabīs* is the name for the mountain which he calls "Acropolisberg."

³ Also known as *w. el-Ḥrērib*.

⁴ MUSIL, DALMAN and KENNEDY give this name to the valley only. MUSIL and KENNEDY call the mountain with this name by another (see under *dj.*)

⁵ MUSIL's two *hrābāt*, *Umm Za'qēqe* and *Umm el-'Amulān* are called by DALMAN *umm Šanādīq*.

⁶ It is pronounced at times *eṣ-Šenēdīq* and *eṣ-Šanādīq*.

Musil	Dalman	Brünnow	Kennedy	Canaan	Map square	
<i>al-breyz'e¹</i>	<i>el-bréd'a</i>			<i>el-Bréd'ah</i> (dj.)	M,II	البريدة
				<i>Bédet el-M'ésrah</i>	F,III,IV	بيضة المعصرة
				<i>Tmélet 'Abu</i> <i>'Olléqah</i>	G,V	ثملة ابو عليقة
<i>Umm Ḥaṣán</i>	<i>el-farše</i>	<i>en-Nedjr²</i>		<i>dj. 'Idlāḥ</i>	H,VII	جبل إدلاخ
				— <i>Umm Ḥrérīb</i>	E,IV	— ام خويريب
				— <i>Umm Dfēleh</i>	K,VI	— ام دفيلة
<i>el-menzā'</i>			<i>dj. Manzā'³</i>	— <i>Amm Rattām</i>	H, X	— ام رتام
				— <i>Umm</i> <i>es-Sésabán</i>	D,E,VI	— ام السيسان
			<i>Umm Saibun</i>	— <i>Umm Šēhūn</i>	G,III	— — صيخون
<i>aṭ-Toghra⁴</i>	<i>eṭ-tughra</i>	<i>eš-šughra</i>		— <i>eṭ-Tughrah</i>	F,X F,X	— النفرة
<i>el-Ḥabis</i>	<i>el-mehbās⁵</i> <i>el-ḥabis</i>	<i>Acropolisberg</i>	<i>el Habis</i>	— <i>el-Ḥabis</i>	F,VI	— الحبيس

				— <i>el-Harm</i>	G,I	— الخرم
	<i>ed-dāra</i>			— <i>ed-Dārā</i>	M,VI	— الدارى
<i>ed-Deyr</i>	<i>ed-dēr</i>	<i>Dēr</i>	<i>Dair Plateau</i>	— <i>ed-Dēr</i>	D,V,VI	— (جبال) الدير
				— ' <i>Aḷūf</i> ⁶	JK,VII, VIII	— عطوف
				— ' <i>Irf ed-Dik</i>	K,III	— عرف الديك
<i>el-Farasa</i>	<i>el-farasa</i>	<i>el-Farasa</i>	<i>Farasa</i>	— <i>Farasab</i>	G,VII	— فرسة
				— <i>el-Far</i> ⁶ <i>eḷ-Ṭawil</i> ⁷	K,III	— الفرع الطويل
				— <i>el-Far</i> ⁶ <i>eḷ-Ṭawil</i> ⁸	F,III	— — —

¹ MÜSIL writes البرزة. He places the mountain too far to the east.

² BRUNNOW gives this name to this mountain as well as to *en-Nadjr* proper.

³ MORITZ heard *djīs amm er-Retām*.

⁴ He applies this name to the mountain lying to the west of *w. el-Tughrab*, while the mountain with this name lies to the east of the valley.

⁵ I have not heard this name. Some *Blāl* call it also *el-Qšér*. ROBINSON (ZDPV, 1909, 1-5) writes *el-habis*. DR. W. LIBBEY and F. E. HOSKINS call it the "Citadel Rock."

⁶ It is also known by the name *Mamāl (Umm) Ḥassān*.

⁷ A part of *er-Ramlab*.

⁸ A part of *Ḥamret el-Hišīb*.

Musil	Dalman	Brünnow	Kennedy	Canaan	Map square	
				<i>dj. el-Qsér</i> ¹	F,VI	جبل القصير
				— <i>el-Qattār</i>	D,V	— القطار
				— <i>Madmagh bint ibn Djme' au</i>	F,I	— مدمغ بنت ابن جميعان
	<i>el-maḡbah</i>			— <i>el-Maḡbah</i>	GH,VII	— المذبح
	<i>mirnil el-berqā</i>			— <i>Marmā-l-Barqā</i>	G,I,II	— مرمى البرقا
				— <i>el-Moẓlem</i>	J,III	— المظلم
				— <i>Mqāṭa' ab</i>	D,V	— المقاطعة
<i>Mamūt Maṣṣūr</i>	<i>me'arras ḥamdān</i>	<i>mar'aš Ḥamdān</i>		— <i>M'arraṣ Ḥamdān</i>	E,IV,V	— معرّص حمدان
				— <i>el-M'ēsrab eš-Šarqiyyeh</i>	F,IV,V	— الماءبصرة الشرقية
<i>Mamūt Maṣṣūr</i> ³		<i>el-Ma'aṭere</i>		— <i>el-M'ēsrab el-Gharbiyyeh</i> ²	E,V	— الغربية

<i>el-Ḥjala'</i>	<i>en-nmēr</i>	<i>el-Mēr</i> ⁵	<i>Numair</i>	<i>dj. en-Naṣī</i> ⁴	E,IV	جبل النصي
<i>al-Djerra</i>	<i>edj-djerra</i>		<i>al Djarra</i>	— <i>en-Nmēr</i> ⁶	GH,IX	نمير —
<i>el-Djilf</i>	<i>edj-djilf</i>			<i>edj-Djarrah</i>	J,VII,18	الجرة
				<i>edj-Djilf</i>	M,VII	الجلف
				<i>Djilf abū Qādir</i>	M,VII	جلف ابو قادر
				<i>Djilf Hamdān</i>	M,VI	جلف حمدان
				<i>edj-Djuwā</i>	C,V	الجو السمر
				<i>es-Samrā</i>	46	
<i>el-Ḥabīs</i>	<i>el-mehbās</i>	<i>Acropolisberg</i>	<i>al Ḥabīs</i>	<i>el-Ḥabīs</i>	F,VI	الحبيس
<i>see w.</i>	<i>el-ḥabīs</i>			<i>Ḥaṣāt ed-Dūdeb</i> ⁷	F,VIII	حصاة الدودة
				(<i>rock, w, h</i>)	35	

¹ Another name for *el-Ḥabīs*, known only to the B.

² SAVIGNAC and JAUSSEN (RB, 1902, 580-590) give this mountain ridge the name *'Arqūb rās 'Amdān*, which expression I have not heard.

³ This name is used only for a part and not for the whole ridge. Primarily a cave had this name.

⁴ At times it seemed to me as if it was pronounced with "ʿṣ," *Naṣṣl*.

⁵ LAGRANGE, SAVIGNAC and JAUSSEN (RB, 1902, 580-590; 1898, 165-182; 1903, 280-291) note always *el-Mēr*.

⁶ At times it is pronounced in the correct classical way—*Numēr* (see also G. L. ROBINSON; ZDPV, 1909, 1-15).

⁷ See p. 168; not marked on the sketch map.

Musil	Dalman	Brünnow	Kennedy	Canaan	Map square	
				<i>el-Hammám</i> ¹	E, V	الحمام
			<i>Udbrat</i> ² <i>al-Hiša</i>	<i>Ḥamret el-Hišēb</i> (dj. w.)	F, II, III	حجرة الهميشة
				<i>Ḥōš er-Rasāsiyyeb</i> ³	G, VI	حوش الرصاصية
				„ <i>Aṭā el-Fleḥāt</i> ⁴	G, VI	— عطا الفليجات
Theater	<i>Amphitheater</i>	<i>Amphitheater</i>	<i>Roman Theatre</i>	„ <i>Marāḥ Ghanam</i> <i>Far‘ōn</i> ⁵	No 24	— مراوح غنم فرعون
				<i>el-Ḥeṭ el-‘Imri</i>	No 23	— الحيط العمري
<i>el-Ḥān</i>	<i>el-ḥān</i>		<i>al Ḥan</i>	<i>el-Ḥān</i>	M, V	الخان
				<i>Ḥabā-el-Ghabā</i> <i>see w.</i>		خبا الغبا
<i>el-Ḥobza</i>	<i>el-ḥubṭa</i>	<i>el-Ḥubze</i>	<i>al Ḥubḍa</i> <i>al Ḥubze</i> <i>al Ḥubia</i>	<i>el-Ḥubṭah</i>	J, V	الخبيثة
				<i>‘el-Ḥubṭah</i> <i>es-Šghireh</i>	K, V	الخبيثة الصغيرة
				<i>Ḥarārib</i> ⁶ <i>abn</i> <i>‘Ollēqah</i>	No 47	خراريب ابو عليقا

				<i>Hrérīb</i> <i>el-Mrériyyeh</i>		خر يوب المريربة ⁷
				— <i>el-Mī ziyyāt</i>	opp. 46	— المعزبات
				<i>Harrūbet ibn</i> <i>Djéimeh</i>	No 40	خروبة ابن جرامة
<i>el-Hazne</i>	<i>haznet</i>	<i>el-Hazne</i>	<i>al Hazna</i> <i>Hasne</i>	<i>el-Hazneh</i> ⁸	No 18	الخزنة
<i>Haznet</i> <i>Fir'awn</i>	<i>haznet</i> <i>fīr'ūn (fir'ūn)</i> ⁹		<i>Hazna Fir'an</i>	<i>Haznet Far'ōn</i>		خزنة فرعون
<i>Hmeyle</i> <i>Djem'an</i>				<i>Hallet el-Bdūl</i> ¹⁰	HJ, VIII	خلة البدول
				<i>Hamāyl Djem'an</i>	LM, VIII, IX	خمايل جمان
				<i>Drā' Umm Şēhūn</i>	H, II	ذراع ام صيون
				<i>Rās Slimān</i>	FG, X	راس سليمان
<i>Moghār el-Qrat</i> ¹²	<i>Kegelberg</i>			<i>Rās el-Mghbarriq</i> ¹¹	FG, VIII, IX	— المغرق

¹ It is another name for *Qaṭṭār el-Dēr*.

² I heard also *er-Raṣṣab*.

³ This name is known only to the *Bdūl*.

⁷ MUSIL writes خروب.

⁹ DALMAN calls it also *brābet faṭṭūm*, which name is applied to the monument of *el-Dēr*. ¹⁰ Once I heard *hamiret el-Bdūl*.

¹¹ The B., from whom I heard this name, do not double strongly the "r,"

² I do not know any meaning for this word.

⁴ This appellation is known only to the *Liāṭneh*.

⁶ *Harārīb* is more often pronounced *hrērīb*.

⁸ BARNABÉ MEISTERMANN calls it *el-Hasa*.

¹² MUSIL writes it مغار القرت (p. II, 283).

Musil	Dalman	Brünnow	Kennedy	Canaan	Map square	
				— <i>Mlêb</i>	G,I	راس مابح
				— ‘ <i>Arqûb el-Hîseh</i>	G,V	— عرقوب الميشة
				<i>Rudjm Umm Snêdiq</i>	G,V	رجم ام صنيد يقى
				<i>Rasf el-Hubtab</i>	K,V	رصف الخبثة
				<i>Raqbet er-Ramlab</i>	G,IV	رقبه الرمله
<i>ar-Ramla</i>	<i>er-ramle</i>		<i>al Ramla</i>	<i>er-Ramlab</i> ¹	L,V	الرمله
				— “	H,III	—
				<i>er-Rbnat el-Bid</i>	J,II	الرهوط البيض
<i>Zebb ‘Atâf</i> ³	<i>zibb ‘atîf</i>			<i>Zibb ‘Atîf</i>	H,VII	زب عطوف
<i>Zebb Fir‘awn</i>	<i>Zibb fir‘ân</i>	<i>Zubb Fir‘ann</i> ⁴		— <i>Far‘ôn</i>	N,26	— فرعون
	<i>w. za‘qêqî⁵</i> <i>w. hubta</i>			<i>Zarnîq Hubtab</i>	H,V	زرنوق خبثة

			Zarnūq er-Raṣāsiyyeh	G,VI	زرنوق الرصاصية
			ez-Zanṭūr	F,G,VI	الزنتور
			Zanqūr ed-Dēr	B,VI,V	زقور الدير
	umm ez-zēlūne		sidd ⁶ Umm Zētūneh	E,VI	سدّام الزيتونة
sidd umm 'Amr	w. el-ḥubṭa		sidd Umm 'Amr	H,VI	— ام العمر
w. ḥararīb 'cyāl 'Awde	Klausenschlucht	w. Taraf al Dair	— Ḥrērib 'Iāl 'Awdeh	DE, V,VI	— خريزب عيال
sidd el-Ma'djib			— Fnēkaḥ	J,VI	— فنيكح
			— el-Mrēriyyeh	E,VI	— المريرية
sidd el-Mozlem	sidd el-ma'djin	sidd al-Ma'djin sadd al Ma'adjin	— el-Ma'adjin	JK,III	— المعاجين

¹ To the east of *Huḫlāh*. KENNEDY, (p. 7, 87) thinks that *Bīb es-Siq* and *er-Ramlah* denote one and the same place.

² To the south of *w. umm Sēhūn*. *Er-Ramlah* and *er-Ramleh* are both used. ³ MORTZ heard the name *Munṭār en-Nadjr*.

⁴ *Zibb* is more correct than *Zebb*. *Zubb* is the correct classical pronunciation. I heard *Far'ōn* and seldom *Fir'ūn* and *Fir'aun*.

⁵ DALMAN I, 324.

⁶ Instead of *sidd* one often hears *waddi* or *zarnūq*. It is put on the sketch map with its second name *sidd el-Mrēriyyeh*.

Musil	Dalman	Brünnow	Kennedy	Canaan	Map square	
				<i>Sidd el-Wabarân</i>	G,III	سدّ الويران
				<i>Sdéd</i>	G,VIII	سدید
<i>es-Sṭnh</i>	<i>es-sṭnh</i>			<i>es-Sṭnh</i>		السطوح
				<i>Sṭnh Ṣabrâ</i>		سطوح صبرا
	<i>sutnh el- bêdâ</i>			<i>Sṭnh el-Bêdâ</i>		— البيضاء
	— <i>en-nabi</i>			— <i>en-Nabi</i>		— النبي مارون
	<i>hârûn</i>			<i>Hârûn</i>		
<i>es-Siq</i>	<i>es-siq</i>	<i>Siq</i>	<i>al Siq</i>	<i>es-Siq</i> ¹		السيق
	<i>sêl edj-djrêda</i>			<i>sêl edj-Djrêdi</i>	L,VI	سيل الجريدي ²
<i>seyl ed-Dâra</i>	<i>sêl ed-dâra</i>			— <i>ed-Dârâ</i> ³	M,VI	— الداري
— <i>eṣ-Ṣiyyagh</i>	<i>sêl es-siyagh</i>	<i>es-Si'agh</i> <i>Westlicher Siq</i>	<i>al Siyagh</i>	— <i>eṣ-Ṣiyyagh</i>		— الصيغ
<i>see</i>	<i>under</i>	<i>wâdi</i>		— <i>Mūsâ</i> ⁴		— موسى

Musil	Dalman	Brünnow	Kennedy	Canaan	Map square	
				<i>et-Taḥḥneh</i>	F,V	الطاحونة
				<i>Ṭbālet en-Nḥāleh</i>	No 39	طبالة النخالة
			<i>Taraf al Dair</i>	<i>et-Tabalah el-Bēḏā (w.)</i>	F,IX	الطبلة البيضاء
				<i>Ṭaraf ed-Dér</i>	E,VI	طرف الدير
				<i>et-Ṭaffah</i>	D,IX	الطفة
				<i>Ṭaffet Rdjūd 'Iāl 'Audeh'</i>		طفة رجود عيال عودة
				<i>Ṭal'et el-Fzūli</i>	G,IX	طلعة الفزولي
				<i>et-Ṭnūb</i>	L,VI	الطنوب
<i>Ṭōr el-Ḥmēdi</i>	<i>ṭunb ḥmēdi</i>			<i>Ṭōr Ḥmēdi</i>	L,IX	طور حميدي
				<i>— er-Raqabeh</i>	A,V	— الرقبة

				— <i>el-Far‘ah el-Béḏā</i> ²	K,IV	— الفرعة البيضاء
			<i>Atud</i>	‘ <i>Atūd</i> ³		عتود
‘ <i>Arqūb al-Hiše</i>	‘ <i>arqūb el-hiše</i>			‘ <i>Arqūb el-Hiseh</i>	G,V	عرقوب الهيشة
‘ <i>ayn abu Aléqa</i>	‘ <i>én abu ‘ölléqa</i>			‘ <i>én Abū ‘Olléqah</i>	27 a	عين ابو علقية
	‘ <i>én ed-dér</i>			— <i>ed-Dér</i> ⁴		— الدير
‘ <i>ayn eš-Šiyyagh</i>	‘ <i>én es-siyyagh</i>		‘ <i>ain al Siyagh</i>	— <i>eš-Šiyyagh</i>	opp. to 43	— الصيغ
<i>el-Ghór</i> ⁵	<i>el-ghór</i>		— <i>al Siyah</i>	<i>el-Ghór</i> ⁶		الغور
				<i>el-Far‘ah el-Béḏā</i> (<i>dj. w.</i>)		الفرعة البيضاء
				<i>Far‘et Sálím hin</i> ‘ <i>Id</i> (<i>w.</i>)	FG,II	فرعة نسالم بن عيد
				<i>el-Far‘ et-Ṭawil</i> (<i>dj. w.</i>) ⁷		الفرع الطويل

¹ It lies between Nos. 37, 38 and 39.

² It is often called simply *el-Far‘ah el-Béḏā*; *Béḏā* is pronounced also *béḏah*.

³ Not on the map. It lies to the west of *Qabr el-Ḥaḏrā*.

⁴ Near the monument of *ed-Dér*.

⁵ This name was heard also by LAGRANGE (RB, 1898, 165-182)

⁶ SZCZEPANSKI uses *el-Ghór* for the basin of Petra and *el-Ghuyér* for *w. Músá* after it is joined by *w. el-Matāḥah*.

⁷ There are two mountains and two valleys with this name K,IV and F,III; G,IV.

Musil	Dalman	Brünnow	Kennedy	Canaan	Map square	
				<i>Qabr Djimé'an</i> ¹	G, V	قبر جميعان
				— <i>el-Hadrá</i> ¹	A, V	— الخضرا
	<i>qbár 'eyál 'auád</i>			<i>Qbúr 'Iál 'Audeh</i>		قبور عيال عوده
				— <i>Mqáta' ab</i>	D, V	— المقاطة
				<i>Qré'</i> (<i>dj. w.</i>)	EF, VIII	قريع
<i>el-Qašr</i>				<i>el-Qašr</i>	No 27	القصر
	<i>qašr el-bint</i>		<i>Qasr al Bint</i>	<i>Qašr el-Bint</i>		قصر البنت
			<i>Qasr Bint Firum</i>	— <i>bint Far'ón</i> ²		— بنت فرعون
	<i>qašr far'ún</i>	<i>Qašr Fir'aun</i>	<i>Qasr Faroun</i>	— <i>Far'ón</i>		— فرعون
<i>el-qaš'a</i>	<i>el-qaš'a</i>			<i>el-Qaš'ab</i>	No 18	القصة
				<i>el-Qšér</i>	F, VI	القصير

<i>Qaṭṭār el-Mozlem</i> — <i>ed-Deyr</i>	<i>qaṭṭār el-moḏlem</i> — <i>ed-dér</i>	<i>Qaṭṭār el-Mozlem</i>	K,V	قطار المظلم
<i>el-Qanṭara</i>	<i>el-qantara</i> <i>qanṭarat še'b qés</i>	<i>Qaṭṭar al Dair</i> <i>Qantara</i>	— <i>ed-Dér</i> <i>el-Qanṭarab³</i> <i>(dj. and w.)</i> — ⁴ — ⁵	— الديبر القنطرة — —
<i>'Arqáb el-Manzil</i> <i>el-Ketāte</i>		<i>el-Qnéṭrah</i>	K,VI	القنيطرة
<i>ṭabqāt el-Mehāfir</i>	<i>ṭabqat el-mehāfir</i>	<i>el-Qunb el-Ḥamar</i> <i>el-Ktūteh</i> <i>el-Kahriréh⁶</i> <i>el-Mahāfir</i> <i>(dj.)</i> <i>Mḡannaṭ er-Rafiqah (dj. w.)</i>	H,IV G,VI No 45 J, VIII G,I,II	القنب الأحمر الكنوته الكحريرة المخافير مخنت الرفيقة

¹ Heard from the *Bdül*. It is known only to a few *Liāṭneh*, ² LAGANGE, SAVIGNAC and JAUSSEN have also heard this name.

³ To the south of *Šiq*.

⁴ The south eastern corner of *el-Ḥubṭah*.

⁵ It is an arch over *Šu'b Qés* and is also called *qanṭaret šu'b Qés*.

⁶ Known only to the *Bdül*.

Musil	Dalman	Brünnow	Kennedy	Canaan	Map square	
<i>el-Madras</i>	<i>el-medras</i>	<i>el-Madrás</i>	<i>el Madras</i>	<i>el-Madras</i>	KL, VII	المدرس
<i>el-maḡbah</i>			<i>Madhbah</i>	<i>el-Maḡbah</i>	VIII G, VII	المدج
				<i>marāḡ ed-Dér</i>		مراح الدبر
				<i>el-Mirmáz</i>		المرماظ
			<i>Marwan</i>	<i>Merwán⁴</i> (<i>w.</i>)	B, III	مروان
			<i>Mataba</i>	<i>el-Maṭāḡbah</i>	H, V	المطاحة
<i>Umm Za' qéqe</i> <i>el-Maṭāḡha</i> <i>el-Mozlem</i> <i>w.</i>	<i>Umm za' qéqe</i> <i>el-meṭāḡha</i> <i>el-moḡlem²</i> (<i>w.</i>)		<i>al Mudhlim³</i> (<i>w.</i>)	<i>el-Mozlem</i> (<i>dj. w.</i>)	K, VI	المظلم
	<i>see</i>	<i>under</i>	<i>dj. and</i>	<i>w.</i>	E, V	معروض حمدان
				<i>M'arraṡ Hamdán</i> (<i>dj. w.</i>) ^{3a}	F, IV, V	المعصرة الشرقية
				<i>el-M'ésrah eš-</i> <i>Šarqiyyeh</i> (<i>dj. w.</i>)		— الغربية
				<i>el-M'ésrah el-</i> <i>Gharbiyyeh</i> (<i>dj. w.</i>)	EF, VI, V	
<i>Moghár en-</i> <i>Našara</i>	<i>moghar</i> (<i>mḡbarat</i>) <i>en-našára</i>	<i>Hirbet en-</i> <i>Našára</i>		<i>Moghár⁴ en-</i> <i>Našára</i>	H, IV	مغار النصارى

see for the wádies the text on p. 166. For the mountains see under dj.

<i>Moghār el-Matāḥa</i>	<i>moghār el-meṭāḥa</i>		<i>— el-Matāḥab</i>	H,IV	— المطاحة
			<i>Maghaṭṭ Rifʿab⁵</i>	G,V	مغط رفة
<i>Umm Ḥasān</i> (dj. h.)			<i>Mamāt Ḥassān⁶</i>	J,VII K,VIII	مات حسان
<i>Mamāt</i>			<i>— Maṣṣūr⁷</i>	E,IV	— منصور
<i>Maṣṣūr</i>			<i>el-Minzāb</i>	J,XI	المنزاة
<i>Menzā⁸</i>			<i>minzāt el-Ḥṣān</i>	J,XI	منزاة الحصان
	<i>en-nedjr</i>		<i>en-Nadjr</i>	J,VII	النجر
<i>Ṭabqat en-Ndjūr</i>		<i>al Nadjr</i>	<i>Nadjr Umm Ṣēḥān</i>	G,III	نجر ام صيخون
			<i>— — el-Biyārab</i>	opp. No 42	— — البيارة
			<i>Nadjr el-Berkeḥ⁹</i>	No 48	نجر البركة

¹ KENNEDY calls the valley also *Abu Ruqʿab*. It is also pronounced *Mirwān* and *Marwān*.

² DALMAN transcribes the ط and ض with *q*.
is not distinctly seen on the map.

³ KENNEDY transcribes the ط and ذ with *dh*.

⁴ The "n" of *Hamdān*

⁵ It is pronounced at times *mghār*.

⁶ Known only to the *Bdūl*.

⁷ Also known as *Umm Ḥassān*.

⁸ It is marked incorrectly on the map as *Mamāt Ḥassān*.

⁹ Musil places this mountain in the place of *dj. Amm Rattān*.

¹⁰ It is less often pronounced *el-Birkeḥ*.

Musil	Dalman	Brünnow	Kennedy	Canaan	Map square	
				<i>Nadjr ed-Dér</i>	No 43	نجر الدين
				— <i>eš-Šiyyagh</i>	41	— الصيغ
				<i>Nšēb el-Lsmeyyr</i>	44	نصيب السميمير
				<i>Naq' ed-Dér</i>	D,VI	نقع الدين
<i>w. Abu 'Alēqa</i>	<i>w. abu 'öllēqa</i>		<i>Abu Olleka</i>	<i>w. Abū ' Ollēqab</i>	G,II III,VI,V	وادي ابو عليقة
<i>z. Qudlah</i>	<i>sidd es-siq¹</i>			— <i>'Idlāb</i>	H,VII	— إدلاخ
	<i>Klausenschlucht</i>			— <i>Umm Hrērib</i>	E,IV	— ام خريريب
				— — <i>Dfēleh²</i>	K,VI	— — دفيلة
<i>w. umm Ratam³</i>	<i>w. umm er-retām</i>		<i>w. Umm al Ratam</i>	— — <i>Rattām</i>	GH,IX X	— — رتام
<i>sidd el-Hiše</i>	<i>w. umm šēhān</i> — — <i>zā'qēqi</i>	<i>w. en-Našārā</i>	<i>w. Nasara</i>	— — <i>Zu' qēqab</i>	H,IV,V	— — زعقبة
				— — <i>Šnēdiq</i>	G,V,VI	— — صنيديق

<i>še'ib umm Šeyhān</i>	<i>w. umm šehān</i>	Umm Šehān		— — Šehān	G,III,IV	صيون — —
			<i>w. Barrā⁵</i>	<i>el-Barrā⁶</i>	s.	البرآ —
				<i>et-Turdjmān⁷</i>	<i>w.</i>	الترجمان —
<i>w. et-Turdj-māniyye</i>				<i>et-Turdj-māniyyeh</i>	<i>abū</i>	الترجمانية —
<i>w. et-Turkmā-niyye</i>	<i>w. turkmāniye</i>	Turkmāniye	<i>w. Turkamaniya</i>	<i>et-Turk-māniyyeh</i>	'Oll-	التركانية —
<i>w. et-Turkmān</i>					<i>ēqab</i>	التركان —
<i>w. el-'Emeyrāt</i>	<i>w. et-tugra</i>	<i>w. eš-Šugbra</i>	<i>w. al Tugbra</i>	<i>et-Turkmān⁸</i>		
				<i>et-Tugbrah¹⁰</i>	F,IX	الثغره —
<i>z. al-Djerra</i>	<i>sidd, zarnūq edj-djerra</i>					
				<i>ed-Djarrab</i>	J,VII, VIII	الجره —
				<i>edj-Djilf</i>	K,VII	الجلف —

¹ DALMAN, II, 7.
in *Huḫḫab* and joins the *Siq* not from *Bāb es-Siq*.
called *w. Nmēr*..

⁶ The description of KENNEDY, p. 8, *w. el-Barrā* corresponds

⁶ There are 2 valleys called *w. el-Barrā*, one joins *eš-Siyyagh Mgharrīq* E,IX.

⁸ MUSIL gives this name to the first part of *w. Abū 'Ollēqah*.

¹⁰ WIEGAND calls it *et-Turra*.

² Another valley with the same name is the short *w.* which rises

³ The valley to which MUSIL gives this name (see his map) is

⁴ DALMAN (II, 7) calls it also *w. er-ramleh*.

with *w. Qrē'* and not with the real *w. el-Barrā*.

D,VII and the other joins the southern continuation of *w. el-*

⁷ A very rare appellation.

⁹ These names are not all marked on the sketch-map.

Musil	Dalman	Brünnow	Kennedy	Canaan	Map square	
<i>w. Haṣāt ed-Dūdeh</i> ¹	<i>w. el-tughra</i>		<i>w. al Tughra</i>	— <i>el-Habis</i>	F,VI, VII	وادي الحبس
				— <i>Haṣāt ed-Dūdeh</i>	No 35	— حصاة الدودة
				— <i>el-Hammâm</i>	E,V	— الحمام
				— <i>Hamret el-Hiṣeh</i>	F,III,IV	— حمرة الهيشه
				— <i>el-Hmēdi</i>	K,L XI	— الحميدي
				— <i>Ḥubtah</i>	H,V	— خبته
<i>sidd el el-Hararib</i>	<i>Sidd el-ḥarrābāt</i>		<i>w. al Ma'aisarat al Šarqiya</i>	— — <i>es-Šghir</i>	K,V	— — الصغير
				— <i>el-Hrērib</i>	E,IV	وادي الخريزيب
				— <i>el-Harrābeh</i>	K,L V,VI	— الخروبة
	<i>w. el-tughra</i>		<i>w. al Tughra</i>	— <i>Harrābet ibn Džraymeḥ</i> ²	E,VI F,VII	— خروبة بن جرامة
				— <i>Hallet Qbāl</i> ³	J,IX,X	— خلة قبول

<i>seyl ed-Dāra</i>	<i>w. (sēl) ed-dāra</i>
<i>w. ed-Deyr</i>	<i>w. ed-dēr</i>
	<i>Adlerschlucht</i>

	<i>— ed-Dārā</i>		— الدارى ⁴
<i>w. al Dair</i>	<i>— ed-Dēr</i>	E,V	— الدير
	<i>— Dfēleh (umm)</i>	K,VI	— دفيلة (ام)
	<i>— Rās Slimān</i>	F,IX	— راس ساجان
	<i>— Rjūd ' Iāl Audeh</i>	Near 37	— رجود عيال " عوده
	<i>— Raqbet et-Turkmāniyyeh⁵</i>	above 29	— رقبۃ التركمانية
	<i>— er-Raqabeh el-Hmērā</i>	G,IV,V	— الرقبۃ الحميرا
	<i>— er-Ramleh⁶</i>	K,L,V	— الرمله
	<i>— — —⁷</i>	G,IV	— —
<i>w. al Sūtub</i>	<i>w. es-Sūtūb</i>		— السطوح

¹ The name is known only to the *Bdūl*. Only a small

² The expression is used only by the *Bdūl*.

⁴ *MUSIL* writes الدارة. It lies opp. *dj. ed-Dārā*.

⁶ It joins *w. el-Moqlem* from the east.

part of *w. el-Mgharriq* bears this name.

³ The valley is marked without a name on the map.

⁵ It is also called *w. Hamret el-Hiṣeh*.

⁷ It joins *w. el-Hiṣeh* from the east.

Musil	Dalman	Brünnow	Kennedy	Canaan	Map square	
				— <i>Séd</i>	G, VIII	وادي سديد
				— <i>es-Sésabân</i>	E, IV	— السيسان
				— <i>es-Şreiyy^c</i>	KL, V	— الصريع
				— <i>es-Şunb</i>	E, X	— الصنخ
	See	under		— <i>es-Şiyyagh¹</i>	CDE, VI	— الصنخ
		<i>sél</i>		<i>w. et-Tabaleh el-Bêdâ</i>	F, IX	— الطلبة
						البيضا
				— <i>et-Taffah²</i>	E, IX	— الطفه
				— <i>'Irf ed-Dik</i>	K, II, III	— عرف الديك
<i>w. el-Farasa</i>	<i>w. el-farasa</i>	<i>Farasa³</i>	<i>w. al Farasa</i>	— <i>Farasah</i>	G, VII	— فَرَسَة
				— <i>el-Far^c et- Tawil⁴</i>		— الفرع الطويل

<i>Far'at al Bdül</i>		<i>Far'at al Bdül</i>	— <i>Far'et Sâlim bin 'Îd</i>	FG,II	فرعة سالم بن عيد
			— — <i>el-Bdül</i>	J,IX	— البدول
			— <i>el-Far'ah el-Bêdâ</i>	K,IV	الفرعة البيضاء ²
<i>w. el-Qanțara</i>	<i>w. el-qanțara</i>	<i>al Qantara</i>	— <i>el-Qanțarah³</i>	KL,IX	القنطرة
		<i>w. al Barra</i>	— <i>Qrê'⁴</i>	E,VII	قريع ⁶
			— — ⁸	F,VIII	—
<i>Qattâr ed-Deyr</i>	<i>qattâr ed-dér</i>	<i>w. Qattar al Dair</i>	— <i>Qattâr ed-Dêr</i>	E,V	قطار الدير
	<i>z. umm el-mehâfir</i>		— <i>el-Mahâfir</i>	H,VII	المخافير
			— <i>Mhannat er-Rafiqah</i>	G,I,II	مخنت الرفيقة
			— <i>Madmagh bint ibn Djme'an</i>	F,I	مدمغ بنت ابن جميعان

¹ BARNABÉ MEISTERMANN writes *es-Siyar*.

² At times it is pronounced *Taffeh*.
³ He gives this name not only to *w. Farasah* proper, but also to the valley with which it unites.

⁴ There are two *wādies* bearing this name. The first joins *Ḥamret el-Ḥiṣeh* G,IV the other joins *sidd el-Ma'ādjin* to the west of *ḥu'ab Qés*.

⁵ SAVIGNAC gives this name to *w. el-Hrēmiyyeh* (RB, 1906, 591-594).

⁶ It is rarely pronounced *Qreiyq*.

⁷ It joins *eš-Siyyagh*.

⁸ It joins *el-Mgharriq*.

Musil	Dalman	Brünnow	Kennedy	Canaan	Map square	
<i>Ša'eb umm er-Rafiqe</i>	<i>w. mirmil el-berqa</i>		<i>Umm Saihun</i>	— <i>Marmá-l-Barqá</i>	G,II	وادي مرعى البرقا
				— <i>Mastalet ed-Dalandji</i>	G,I,II	— مشيلة الدلنجي
<i>w. umm Za'qéqi</i> <i>w. el-Maṭāḥa</i> <i>w. el-Mozlem</i>	<i>w. umm za'qéqi</i> — <i>el-meṭāḥa</i> — <i>el-modlem</i>		<i>w. al Mataha</i> <i>w. al Mudhlim</i>	— <i>el-Maṭāḥah</i>	H,VI,V	— المطاحة
				— <i>el-Muzlem</i>	K,VI	— المظلم
	<i>me'arras ḥamdán</i>	<i>Erstes Nordwest-wádi</i>		— <i>M'arraṣ Ḥamdán</i>	F,V,VI	— ممر ص حمدان
	see text "Topography" page 166			— <i>el-M'ēṣrah eš-Šarqiyyeh</i>	F,IV,V	— المعصرة الشرفية
	" "	" "	" "	— <i>el-M'ēṣrah el-Gharbiyyeh</i>	E,IV,V	— الغربية
				— <i>el-Mḡharriq</i>	F,VII, VIII	— المغرق
				— <i>el-Mlēḥa</i>	G,I	— الملح
				— <i>el-Minzāḥ</i>	H,X,IX	— المنزاه
<i>seyl w. Mūsā</i>	<i>w. mūsā</i>	<i>w. Mūsā</i>	<i>w. Musa</i>	— <i>Mūsā</i>		— موسى

				<i>w. Naqet el-Bablül</i> ²	L,VI	وادي ناقة البهلول
				— <i>en-Nadjr</i>	G,II	— النجر
				— <i>en-Našī</i> ³		— النصي
				— <i>Naq' ed-Dér</i>	B,C,IV	— تقع دير
<i>w. en-Nmēr</i>	<i>w. en-nmēr</i>	<i>el-Mēr</i>	<i>w. Numair</i>	— <i>Nmēr</i>	F,VII G,VIII	— نمير
			<i>w. Huraimiya</i>	— <i>el-Hrēmiyyeh</i>	K,VII	— المریمیة
				— <i>el-Hrābeh el-Hamrā</i>	G,VIII	— المرابة الحمراء
	<i>w. el-hiš, el-hiše</i>		<i>w. al Hiša al Hiše</i>	— <i>el-Hiše</i> ⁴		— المشه
<i>Še'ib el-W'eyra</i>	<i>w. el-u'ēra</i>			— <i>el-U'ērah</i>	L,III	— الوعيرة
<i>el-W'eyra</i>	<i>el-u'ēra</i>	<i>Wa'aira</i>	<i>al Wu'aira</i>	<i>el-U'ērah</i> ⁵	L,III	وعيره

¹ The valley to the west of *Rās el-Mlēh*, G,I.

³ The first part of *w. el-M'ēšrah el-Gharbiyyeh*.

on the sketch map.

² The "b" in *Bablül* has to be pronounced.

⁴ MORITZ calls it wrongly *w. el-hiš*. The name is not put down

⁵ E. H. PALMER (The Desert of the Exodus II) writes '*Aireh*.'

V. The *Liātneh*: "THE BEDOUIN OF PETRA"

The *Liātneh*, the inhabitants of the *Wādī Musā* district, are semi-bedouin; they are bound to a comparatively small region, and resemble *fellāhin* (settled peasants) in that they do some agricultural work; while they resemble Bedouin in living in tents which are moved at different seasons to different parts of their district. Their centre is *Eldjī*, which is also called *Qariyet Wādī Musā*. It is situated in a valley surrounded on three sides by mountains. To the north it is enclosed by *djabal 'Iān el-Qreiyī'* and *Šu'b Abn el-Bghāl*; to the east is *Flāh et-Ṭwāl* and *Btēn es-Slēm* and to the south *al-Ḥammā*, *dj. Rēdān* and *rudjm (ridjm) el-Qrāṭīyyeh*. The valley is open to the west and the view of the *Ḥubṭah* mountains of Petra "particularly at dawn before the rays of the rising sun have reached the pinnacled summits of the sandstone sierra, is one of infinite, ineffable charm"¹

The village, around which the *Liātneh* pitch their tents in the summer, is not as Brünnow says an "inhabited village,"² but is mainly used for depositing their stores,³ barley, wheat, *samneh*, etc. A very few houses are inhabited by the poorest of the tribe, who are said not to exceed six or ten families, and by some merchants from *Ma'ān*. Though a few of the latter keep small, poor shops, most of them buy up local produce—barley, *samneh*, butter—to sell in *Ma'ān*, *Karak* and *'Ammān*. The houses are meanly built of small stones, many of them taken from older buildings. Thus I found columns, beautifully cut and decorated stones of Roman design, and stones with Arabic and one with a Nabathean inscription.

¹ A. B. W. KENNEDY. *Petra and its Monuments*, 1925, London, p. 6.

² "Bewohntes Dorf."

³ D. DALMAN, I.

The roofs are made of tree-trunks and branches covered with layers of mud. Since the houses mainly serve as stores, they have no windows, except in a few of the newer houses. The streets are very narrow and crooked. One well-built room with large windows and wire netting was built in 1927 as a school-room. The village is enclosed by gardens. The water of the neighbouring springs is chiefly used to cultivate barley and wheat. Recently in addition to fruit trees (apricots, pears, peaches, grapes and figs) they have also cultivated certain vegetables: tomatoes, cucumbers, marrow, egg-plant, etc,

Passing from 'én Músá to Eldji and descending the mountains to the east of the village, one has a beautiful view of the green gardens surrounding the greyish flat-roofed houses of the village hemmed in on three sides by barren mountains, while to the west rise in the distance the wild, bluish-red mountains of Petra.

In summer the *Liátneh* live in the mountains around the village, and in the winter they move their tents elsewhere to warmer regions. The *Liátneh* are divided into four sub-tribes, each holding and guarding its own summer and winter quarters. The names of the sub-tribes are: *Bani 'Atá*, *el-'Aláyá*, *es-Šrúr*, and *el-'Bédiyín*, counting 30, 45, 73, and 70 tents respectively.¹

During the winter months *Bani 'Atá* move to *el-Béđá* and 'Ain 'Amún; a few live in the caves around *sél ed-Dará* and *el-Madras*. The 'Aláyá stay in *el-Béđá*, the Šrúr in *el-Batḥah* near *et-Ṭaibeh*, and the 'Bédiyín in *el-Béđá*. *El-Batḥah* and the spring of *et-Ṭaibeh* are the special property of *es-Šrúr*: *Et-Ṭaibeh* is a small village like *Eldji*. The three winter months are spent in these places which are warmer and more protected than *Eldji* and the surrounding mountains. Afterwards the *Liátneh* return to the mountains around the village of *Wádi Músá*. *Bani 'Atá* pitch their tents on the mountain *Rédán* and use the water of the spring bearing the same name ('én *Rédán*). The Šrúr live to the south-west of *Eldji* in the mountain of *es-Šbáliyyeh*, and use the same spring as *Bani 'Atá*. *El-'Aláyá* move to *edj-Djabádjib* to the north of the village and use the water of 'én *Músá*. The 'Bédiyín establish themselves around 'én *Mišqarah*. These places are so well defined that no quarrels

¹ KENNEDY, op. cit., p. 3, gives instead of *Bani 'Atá* the name *Fardját* which indicates only a subtribe of the *Bani 'Atá*.

arise. The territory of the *Liátneh* extends much further in every direction, but most of it is uncultivated desert. Northwards it extends two and a half hours from *Eldji*; eastwards to near 'én *el-Basṭah*; southwards four and a half hours, but they rarely go further than 'én *et-Taibeh*; westwards it extends to the 'Arabah. The *Liátneh* have in this territory only grazing rights. Bedouin of other tribes may sometimes come in friendly fashion, and spend some months with their flocks around one or other of the springs.

In the summer quarters the tent of the *šéḥ*, which as a rule is larger and better kept than the others, is surrounded by twenty or thirty tents of his followers, usually arranged in a semicircle.

Agriculture of a primitive kind is attempted only around the springs; and most of the water is allowed to run to waste. The springs belonging to the *Liátneh* are :

Name of Spring	Direction from Eldjî	Property of
'én <i>Mūsá</i>	east	' <i>Bédiyîn</i> and ' <i>Aláya</i>
'én <i>es-Sūr</i>	south	<i>Banî 'Aṭá</i> , ' <i>Šrār</i>
'én <i>Baddá</i>	south	<i>Šrār</i> , <i>Banî 'Aṭá</i>
'én <i>el-Brékih</i>	south	<i>all the Liátneh</i>
'én <i>Rédán</i>	south	<i>Banî 'Aṭá</i> , ' <i>Šrār</i>
'én <i>ez-Zarrábeh</i>	northwest	' <i>Bédiyîn</i>

There are certain other springs belonging to other tribes to which the *Liátneh* have right of access, and in some cases they even have the right to cultivate the surrounding ground in partnership with the owners. Such springs are :

'én <i>el-Basṭah</i>	belongs to <i>en-N'émát</i>
'én ' <i>Anún</i>	belongs to <i>Ḥasan bin Indjád ('Aqabah)</i>
'én ' <i>Ibráq</i>	belongs to <i>Ḥasan bin Indjád ('Aqabah)</i> .
'én <i>el-Mišqarah</i>	belongs to <i>Ibn Djázi</i> .

Other springs situated near the border of the *Wádi Mūsá* territory, which belong to other Bedouin tribes, and at which the *Liátneh* have no rights of cultivation are :

'én 'Íl	belongs to <i>en-N'émát</i>
'én <i>Abá l-'Zám</i>	belongs to <i>en-N'émát</i> .
'én ' <i>Fardab</i>	belongs to <i>en-N'émát</i> .
'én ' <i>Idriḥ</i>	belongs to the <i>Ḥueiṭát (Ibn Djázi)</i>

The principal work of the *Liátneh* is tending goats and sheep. More attention is gradually being paid to the soil around the springs,

which has hitherto been only a secondary and unimportant occupation; but the rainfall in the last three years has been insufficient, resulting in a poor harvest. The scanty orchards of *Eldji* are all that survive in a district at one time famous for the abundance of its fruit-trees and vineyards. The people, like their ancestors, the Edomites, are shepherds wandering within a limited area jealously guarded, as in the past, against any intrusions from without. Most of their herds consist of goats, sheep being comparatively few. The *Liātneh* own but few camels.¹

Since the war the government of Trans-Jordan has organized the district so that the tourist to Petra can travel in safety, at his leisure, and comparatively cheaply. From this organization the *Liātneh* derive a twofold and legitimate gain. Their horses and mules are hired to carry tourists and their baggage from 'én *Músá* to Petra and for every animal 500 mils is charged for the return journey. Also a few *Liātneh*, one from each sub-tribe, serve in Petra itself as guides, and each is paid 400 mils a day. To some extent the *Liātneh* engage in the transport of merchandise from *Ma'án* to the surrounding areas: 'Aqabah, *Söbak*, *Eldji*, etc.

Dr. Wilson's opinion quoted by Burton ("The Golden Mines of Midian," 323) "the *Liātneh*² are Simeonites or other Beni-Israel," and Palmer's conclusion that "these unmitigated scoundrels retain not only the distinctive physiognomy, but many of the customs of the Jews, such as wearing the Pharisaic locks,"³ which are called *qrūn* (pl. of *qarn*,⁴ a horn, here a lock of hair⁵) are neither of them accurate. I enquired most carefully about the latter custom and found that it is in use among the Bedouin of most of the tribes of Trans-Jordan.⁶ It is chiefly practised among the young men and is regarded as a sign of beauty.⁷ The longer the locks grow the prouder the owner feels. The *qrūn* are as a rule cut when the bearer reaches middle age.

¹ Used only for transport.

² From *l'iy*=Lion. Wilson is inclined to derive it from the lion of Judah.

³ Quoted by KENNEDY.

⁴ The side-locks are called: *qarn*, 'aqabah and *sālif*; those from the occipital region: *djātib* (pl. *djadā'iyāt*) and the frontal locks: *qadleb*. The latter are known among the city inhabitants of Palestine as *ghurrah*. ⁵ *Mubīl el-mubīl*, HAVA, BELLOT.

⁶ Even Bedouin of other parts allow their locks to grow.

⁷ Those who have performed some heroic action also leave such locks grow.

The *Liâtneh* are poor in comparison with other Bedouin, and they are getting gradually poorer. Their poverty is very apparent if one visits any of their camps. Most of the children run about naked or clad in the poorest and dirtiest rags. The women are not veiled and wear bedraggled, ragged clothes; the men as a rule have no more than a dirty, patched-up shirt-like garment with a slit in front reaching to the knee or just below it, with a cartridge-belt at the waist and a head-cloth held in place by a 'qâl (rope). Often they are seen wearing a sheep's skin. Inside the tent there is rarely more than a carpet, generally in rags, a few cooking utensils, some goat-skins (*sakueh*, *sinn*) for storing milk, laban or *samneh*, and the few utensils used in preparing coffee. Only in the tents of the leaders is more than this to be found, but even so there are none of the luxuries of other tribes, like the *Hweîât* or *Shûr*.

The *mudîr* and police officer of *Eldjî* assured me that many are selling their guns to buy their daily necessities. This is also the reason why many of the *Liâtneh* take only one wife, although formerly most of the men had several. Now only the leaders of families, sub-tribes or tribes, the rich and the childless take more than one wife.

The *Liâtneh*, who used to be the sole lords of their district and who defended their area most vigorously against every intruder, have now lost the control and guardianship of Petra. Formerly no tourist could venture near Petra or *el Bêdâ* without being on good terms with their *shêhs*. Such good terms had always to be paid for. Even then the tourist was not safe from molestation. Another obstacle in the way of the would-be visitor to Petra was the continuous state of feuds between the local Bedouin and their neighbours. Thus in 1891 Sir John Gray Hill, who set out equipped with a well-paid Bedouin guide, recommendations to the *shêh* of Petra and many presents for him and for the other *shêhs* of his tribe, failed to reach Petra because the local Bedouin were at war with the *Hweîât*.¹ Conditions have now changed. Under the Turkish rule the *Liâtneh* only nominally paid taxes. They were treated in the same manner as tribes in other such inaccessible regions of the Turkish empire (Sinai, a great part of the Arabian peninsula, the *Hweîât* Bedouin, etc.), so that official dignity was satisfied, and the

¹ It is pronounced *Hweîât* and *Hweîât*.

bedouin interfered with scarcely at all. *Wádi Músá*, which was then a *mudiriyyeh* attached through *Ma'án* to the *willáye* of Damascus, was added after the war of 1914-1918 to the *Hidjáz* Kingdom. In 1923 King *Husén* appointed the *serif Marzúq* as governor of *Ma'án* with instruction to organize the administration in *Wádi Músá*. For several years (1918-1923) these subdistricts were exempt from all taxation. The new governor handled the problem very circumspectly. He appointed *Muḥammed el-Ḥasan*, the most powerful *shēh* of the *Liátneh*, as the *mudir* of this sub-district who was empowered to appoint a small troupe of police-gendarmes from his tribe to be paid by the *Hidjáz* government. The next step was to have been the collection of some revenue which should gradually increase as the government's authority became more established. But the political changes in the *Hidjáz*, ending in the victory of the Wahhábis, left *Ma'án* and its sub-districts to Trans-Jordan. This government, after suffering a small revolt of the *Liátneh* in 1926, is now ruling them with a firm hand. A *mudir* and a police officer are stationed in *Eldji*¹ and they transact all official business with admirable directness. The police force is no longer chosen from members of the tribe, but is drafted from the Trans-Jordan police. During the tourist season a body of police is stationed in Petra itself, and accompany the tourists during their visits.

The *Liátneh*, together with the *Bdul* (of *Wádi Músá*), are 5000-5500 in number, of which about 500-700 are *bawárdi*, i.e. men able to carry a gun and fight.² The number of the fighting men with rifles and the number of horsemen with the '*Bédiyin* are 110 persons and 20 horsemen,³ with the '*Aláya* 60 persons and 22 horsemen, with the '*Šrūr* 150 persons and 12 horsemen and with the '*Bani 'Atá* 150 persons and 7 horsemen

The women have no rights. A girl is married by her father or brother without her consent and often against her will. From the *mahr* she receives nothing. The father may give her a present at her wedding,⁴ but such a present depends entirely upon his gene-

¹ The "el" in *Eldji* is not the article (El-Djī as Musil thinks), but is a part of the word.

² I owe this information to the kindness to the *mudir* and police officer of the district.

³ These numbers were given to me by Mr. 'Omar el-Barghūṭi.

⁴ Such a present may consist of one or more animals, trees, a small piece of ground, etc.

rosity. Often girls are exchanged, that is to say a young man gives his sister to another whose sister he has taken as wife. Girls have no rights of inheritance.¹ The custom of young men snatching the girl of their choice against the will of her family (*baʿaf*) or of girls leaving their father's home secretly to follow a man (*tamaḥat*), is rarely found among the *Liḏlneḥ*; it is more common among other tribes. Nevertheless some girls play an important rôle in the life-history of the clan. This is especially true of a few favoured daughters of some *šēḥs*. In such a case the father is named after his daughter.

The men, young and old, are as a rule lazy. They spend most of their time in talk. Young girls and boys take the flocks to pasture. Kennedy² well describes the miserable condition of these Bedouin: "Their one occupation in life being to exist in face of the odds pitted against them by nature and their fellow men, it is not surprising that they should be suspicious and grasping; but they have, in large measure, that good-humour and geniality of disposition which seems to result from a life of hardship and privation under primitive conditions and which display themselves only after the reserve, with which the stranger is invariably received, has thawed off, as it always does if the stranger is mild and his presence within their gates likely to be profitable to them."

The greater part of the customs of this tribe are known and practiced by most bedouin tribes. Some are also known in Palestine.

A goat or a female sheep is killed at the completion of the building of a house.³ With the blood they sprinkle the two sides and the upper lintel of the door.⁴

When they move their tents to a place where they have not previously camped they kill a sheep or a goat for the "owner of the place" (*šāḥib el-maḥall*).⁵ Many hang a green branch or a green shrub on the door of the tent. But if the place has been previously used they merely prepare simple food and distribute it to the poor.

¹ These customs closely resemble those practiced in Palestine.

² Op. cit. p. 3.

³ CANAAN, Aberglaube und Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel, p. 19.

⁴ Ex. 12; Hebr. 11²⁸.

⁵ It is called by the peasants *ḏbiḥet ed-dār*, "the animal-offering of the house," and by the bedouin who live only in tents *ḏbiḥet bet es-šar*. CANAAN, Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries, p. 186; JAUSSEN, Coutumes des Arabes, p. 339.

A good and common custom is the way in which the poorer members of the tribe are supported. This is done in one of the following ways:

a.- *Al-manūḥah* (pl. *el-manāyḥ*). A poor bedouin who has no *tarṣ*¹ (goats or sheep) is given one or more she-goats (more rarely sheep) by a richer member of his tribe. These he tends and pastures daily. He is allowed to keep the milk and the wool, but before the animal foals he must return it to the owner.

b.- *Adileh* (pl. *'Adāyīl*) signifies one or more she-goats given for a prescribed number of years (generally three) to a poor bedouin. He is allowed to keep the milk, wool and male offspring, but the female offspring must be returned to the owner. When the prescribed number of years has elapsed the animals are given back. If a *manūḥah* or a *'adileh* dies from any natural cause, the owner has no right to demand its value or a substitute.

c.- *Šāb*³ *Waḥideh*. After a man has offered a *šāh* as a *ḏhiyyeh*² for six successive years, he does not kill an animal in the seventh year but presents one together with a *qirbeh* (water-skin) and a cock to some poor person or widow. At the same time he gives *kisweh* (dress) to one of her family. The cock is intended to serve as a feast-meal for the widow, while the water-skin is, as we have seen, one of the most important house-hold objects. Such a gift is said to be reckoned by God to the giver more highly than a *ḏhiyyeh*.

The following customs practiced at the death of a member of the clan have an importance as showing remains of primitive ideas.

A meal, called *'asāb*³ (his supper) is prepared to which the relatives and the poor are invited. After the burial, a goat or a sheep is killed near the tomb and cooked and distributed among those present. Such a meal is called "*idfāntub*"⁴ (his burial). They who take part in this meal wash their hands at the tomb and say *allāh isāmḥub* or *allāh yirḥamuh* (may God forgive him or bless him). In referring to the dead, one who was present at his burial says "*akalt min idfāntub u ghassalt 'alā qabrub,*" I have eaten from (the

¹ *Tarṣ* signifies any kind of domestic animal; *ḥalāl* is mostly used of camels while *suḥl* indicates goats and sheep.

² The animal offering on the great feast (*'ul el-kbīr, eḏ-ḏhiyyeh*).

³ The "h" has to be pronounced.

⁴ In some parts of Palestine bread and dry figs are distributed in the graveyard (Mohammedan Saints, etc. 189).

meal prepared at) his burial and have washed (my hands) at his tomb. The tribe or sub-tribe to which the dead person belonged break camp and pitch their tents next day in some other place, believing that the former place may bring misfortune.¹

For seven days the mourners are attended to by members of another *'asireh*. On the seventh day they make unleavened and sweetened bread and distribute it to the poor. Many bedouin cling to the old nomadic custom of giving away the clothes of the dead.² For everything which had any direct connexion with the dead preserves "a part of his soul."

On the 40th day,³ the rich make an *'azā*. Food is offered to all who come to condole and to the poor. At every *'id ed-dhiyyeh*, the relatives slaughter an animal in the name of the dead, until the number of *dahyā* offered for him in his life and after his death reach the total of seven.⁴ If he himself had already offered this number no others are necessary. Many families cook a meal with *burghul*, sometimes with rice, and distribute it to the poor in the name of the dead. The meal is called *'asā-l-môtā* (the supper of the dead.)

On *Ḥamis el-'Anwāt*,⁵ which day falls according to their calendar on the last Thursday of *Ramaḍān*,⁶ most of the bedouin kill an animal and give the greater part of the meat to the poor. The poorer bedouin gives simple food instead of this meal.

The tombs of the richer class are generally lighted on Thursday evening (*lētāt edj-djum'āh*), and regularly on the eve of the "Thursday of the dead."

These customs, practiced by most of the bedouin of Trans-Jordan, are all survivals of offerings to the dead. Certain similar practices

¹ The cause is the belief that the soul of the dead continues to haunt that place.

² The *'abāy*, cloak, is generally given to the son, brother or some other relative. In the case of the *ših* of the tribe, subtribe or family, the *'abāy* of the dead is put upon the son after the burial, as a token that he has become his father's successor.

³ The bedouin may prepare this food a few days before or after the actual fortieth day.

⁴ This practise is unknown in Palestine; Mohammedan Saints, etc. 190.

⁵ Most of the Bedouin tribes kill on this day a sheep "in the name" and "for the soul" of their ancestors (heard from Mr. O. Barghūṭi).

⁶ In Palestine this day falls 14 days before Good Friday of the Eastern Churches (CANAAN, Folklore of the Seasons, JPOS, III, 23).

in Palestine are recorded and explained in the present writer's *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries*, p. 188 ff.

All the friends and relatives come to congratulate the parents at the birth of a son, with the words: *mabrāk eṭ-ṭāriš¹ edj-djdid*; but none of them come near if the child is a girl.² The term *ṭāriš³* here, used to refer to the son, means literally "the new animal." Whenever I asked about its meaning they explained it with '*aiyal*.'⁴ It is to be noted that the *Liātneh* prefer to give the name of *Hārūn* and *Mūsā* to their children. They believe that these names bring a special "*barakeh*" (blessing) to the bearer, as they are taken from the two great local prophets.

After circumcising the male child the wound is dressed with a powder made of finely ground alum, burned horn of a sheep and fine *milh hafir* (a kind of crystal found among the rocks).⁵ The father invites the members of his clan, and each brings a present called *nqūt*, such as a goat, a few rotls of corn, some money (one Turkish *Medjidi* more or less), etc.⁶ During this festival gathering they dance, sing and indulge in horse-racing.

Whenever a bird is seen early in the morning they say: *ḥēr ḥēr yā tēr in kān šarr bēn djanāḥek uin kān ḥēr bēnā ubēnak*.

(We hope you bring with you) Good tidings (or wealth) good tidings, O bird: (but if it is) bad tidings (or loss) may it remain between your wings, and if it is good tidings (let us divide it) between us and you.

About the owl, which is always accounted a bad omen, I heard: *intī zaiy el-būm bidill 'alā ḥudjr⁷*— You are like the owl which

¹ In this sense *ṭāriš* is not known in *muhīt*, WAHRMUND, BELLOT; HAVA.

² Cf. CANAAN, *The Child in Palestinian Arab Superstition*, JPOS, VII, 161.

³ In some parts of Palestine *ṭāriš* means a messenger, a new-comer.

يا طارش روح بلقهم سلامي مع المحبوب أكثرهم سلامي

O, messenger, go and announce to them my greeting

With the beloved give them my greeting in abundance!

A rare colloquial meaning of the verb *ṭaraša* is to hit a bird or kill it.

⁴ From *'d'ilah* = family (the wife with the children). Here it stands only for a part of the family, for the new-born child.

⁵ I was unable to get a sample for chemical analysis.

⁶ A Turkish *medjidi* is worth at present 1 sh. 5 p.

⁷ *Hudjr* in this meaning is not known in the Arabic dictionaries. But in classical Arabic there occurs the expression "*ḥudjran labu*" "be it far," "may it be prevented" and is used whenever the old Arabs spoke about an evil thing.

points to ruin. The raven¹—called generally the raven of death, *ghrāb el-bēn*—is also regarded as a bad omen. Whenever they hear this bird shriek they say:²

allāh 'ihūnak yā ghrāb el-bēni farrāqt bēn il-ḥabīb u bēni. May God betray you, O raven of death, you have separated me from my beloved.

The *raḥameh* (vulture) is believed to bring good tidings. In dreams the camel stands for an important man of the tribe or a leader in the clan.³

Fridays are said to have an hour of bad luck on this day, therefore the bedouin avoid doing any important business.⁴

At the first appearance of the moon they call out:⁵
*yā hlāl il-hillih, lā balā ualā 'illih, allāh yā rabbi min hlālak lablālak
tikfīnā sarr ṭawāyḥ zamānak, yā rabbnā illi satartnā filli ṣall tusturnā
filli hall; yā hlāl es-s'ūd kull saneḥ 'alénā t'ūd*

On new moon that has glittered anew!⁶

(Bring) neither misfortune nor disease!

God, O my Lord, from thy new moon to thy (next) new moon
Protect us against the misfortunes of thy time.

O our God, who has protected us in the past (month),

Protect us in that which now begins.

O new moon of good fortunes, come back to us every year.

Eclipses of the sun or moon are believed, as in ancient times,⁷ to be caused by a whale (*ḥūt*) trying to swallow the sun or moon. To prevent such a misfortune the bedouin try to frighten the monster by shooting at the sun or moon and by making great noise.⁸

¹ CANAAN, *Dämonenglaube im Lande der Bibel*, Leipzig, 1929, p. 15.

² For Palestinian conditions see "Aberglaube. etc.," 43, 44.

³ A camel in Palestinian superstition is always a bad omen; see *Aberglaube*, 43; *Dämonenglaube*, 13; *Haunted Springs and Water Demons*, JPOS, I, 157. The facts given there contradict STEPHAN'S statement (JPOS, IX, 90) that "the camel and the gazelle... are honoured... therefore evil spirits can not take their form."

⁴ The same superstition prevails in Palestine, *Dämonenglaube*, 19; *Aberglaube*, 13.

⁵ For Palestine see *Aberglaube*, 92, 96.

⁶ The translation of *el-hilleh* is given in a descriptive way.

⁷ The following verses point to this idea: *Jes.* 51⁹; *Ps.* 89¹¹; 74^{13a16} *Job.* 9¹³; 26¹² ff. H. DUHM, *Die bösen Geister im AT*, 36, ff.

⁸ *Dämonenglaube im Lande der Bibel*, 17.

The rainbow is a sign of the end of the rain and the beginning of warm, fine weather.¹

The *Liâṭneh* have some local *welis* of their own, together with others which they venerate in common with other tribes. Their own saints are chiefly situated in the village of Eldji, and they belong to the class of "family saints." Some of their descendants are still living.

1.- *El-Hasany* (pronounced by some *el-Hsény*, although it is written الحسني), the great-grandfather of the *Hasânât*, a sub-division of the *Bédiyin*, is the most important *weli*. His *maqâm* is a simple room kept in a bad condition: On the roof and above the door are two pillar fragments. The tomb is inside the room close to the door. It is covered with a torn green cloth cover. The room, devoid of any decoration or floor cover, is dark. I saw lamps and the remains of burned incense on and near the tomb. The lamps are filled with *sammeh*² and not with oil, since the latter is scarce among the bedouin. The lamps of all sanctuaries are thus supplied. Incense is burnt on a flat stone or a piece of potsherd. No tree decorates the shrine. The saint appears at times in the night as a reverend old *ṣeḥ* clad in green and white. He belongs to the irritable class of *awliâ*, for whosoever swears by him falsely is severely punished within three days. The sick are placed in his *maqâm* in order to be cured. I have seen visitors saying the *fâtihah* and three times kissing the two stones at the head and foot of the tomb. If a suspected person is asked to swear his innocence, he places his right hand on the headstone, lifts up his head and takes an oath.

2.- *Aṭāyâ*, from the *Hlâlât* (*Bédiyin*), has no *maqâm*. His tomb is found in the cemetery. The large *'aldah* tree which grows over the tomb is said to have grown of itself, none having planted it. No tomb is at present to be seen, but the trunk of the tree is surrounded by a roughly built square dry wall. In the southern wall there is a *ṭāqah*, in which lights and incense are burned. This shrine, like those subsequently described is wholly neglected, since

¹ Gen. 9¹³.

² KAHLÉ, *Gebraüch bei den mosl. Heiligtümern in Palästina*, PJB, VIII, 1³⁵ ff. This article as well as the others of KAHLÉ in PJB, vol. VI and VII are full of mistakes in the transcription of the Arabic words.

these *'awliá* are considered less powerful than the one mentioned above.

3.- *Slimán* and *Sálim edj-Djarrás* were brothers and the grand-fathers of *el-Masá'leh* (*'Bédiyín*). Their tombs are surrounded by a low wall, with a small and very low door. Each tomb has a small *ṭáqab* for the lamps and the incense. Between the tombs grows a small *'ōsadjeh*.

4.- *Ed-Djámi'* is an old large and vaulted room, very defective and partly ruined. It contains the tomb of *el-Fuqará*. Outside the building and under a heap of stones are said to be other tombs belonging to some *fuqará* and one to *Salmán bin Sa'id*, the father of *Faláh* the present *šēh* of the *Šrúr*. I could not discover the outlines or the remains of any tomb. Many of the stones of this shrine were taken from older (Roman) buildings. The place is chiefly used for the Friday prayers.

5.- *'Ēn Músá* is said to have had its origin in the following story: Moses, wandering with the Israelites in the desert from Egypt to Palestine, arrived at this place which was as barren and dry as any in the earlier part of the journey. Since the twelve who were with him were hungry, Moses ordered a camel to be killed and made ready to eat. They ate and were satisfied. The heavy meal increased their thirst and they murmured saying: *illi at'am qóm bisqihum*¹—He that feeds a people should also give them to drink. Whereupon he struck a rock with his stick and behold twelve springs gushed forth. The water flowed so strongly that it carried away a living camel which was lying in the bed of the valley. Moses struck the rock a second time saying: *(i)bardik yá mbárakeh*—(Remain) in thy place, O thou blessed one! Part of the water disappeared but the spring remained strong enough to satisfy all of the Children of Israel. The spring is accounted holy by the bedouin and incense and lights are offered to it, and the sick are brought and put in the vault which is built of rough stones.

6.- *Abú Hmédí* is the ancestor of the *'Anmárin*. The *maqám*, in which there is a tomb, lies in *el-Bédá*. The *Liáṭneh* rarely visit the shrine, namely only during their three months stay in this region in the rainy season.

¹ According to others, they said *man 'at'āša qóm yrwihum*, he that makes a people thirsty should satisfy them (with water).

7.- *El-Fuqarâ* are at 'én *Amân*. Within the *maqâm* are two tombs, while several others are outside. They belong to the same group of pious men buried inside and outside the *djâmi'* of *Eldjî*. No *Léî*¹ could tell me about their origin. They are greatly honoured and more vows are made to them than to all the others hitherto mentioned. The sick are laid in the *maqâm*. It is said that no sooner does a man kill the vowed animal at this shrine, which lies in a completely desolate region, than several men arrive in a mysterious way,² take part in the offering as guests of the *awliâ* and thank God and the saints.

8.- The most important saint, honoured both by the *Liâṭneh* and all the neighbouring bedouin, is *en-nabi Hârûn*, whose shrine is on the high mountain of Hor (*dj. Hârûn*). The writer was not allowed to visit it and therefore must confine himself to the reported traditions. He is believed to be the step-brother³ of Moses who accompanied him in the wanderings through the wilderness and with him fought against the inhabitants of Petra. The bedouin give the following account of his death. When *Hârûn* died he was buried on the western mountains of the '*Arabah*, far from *wâdi Mûsâ*. Passing camels began to grumble and rumble at his grave, since they were thirsty and had no water for many days. His spirit irritated by the noise left and flew to a large rock known as *ṣabret el-Wébeh*. Here it thought to find its final rest. Having pity on the suffering animals his spirit caused a spring to flow from his earlier and deserted tomb. Soon after another camel caravan passing *ṣabret el-Wébeh* began to grumble (*tirghi*), for they too were very thirsty. The disturbed spirit of the Prophet rose again and flew in the form of a green bird.⁴ It also blessed this place with water,

¹ Other bedouin also could tell me nothing about their origin.

² They say: *mâ biy'lam illâ allâb min wén 'adjû*—nobody except God knows from where they have come.

³ A *Léî* assured me that the bedouin believe *Hârûn* to be the step-brother of Moses. They had the same mother but different fathers. According to Ex. 6³⁰ the parents of Moses and Aaron were Amran and Jochebet. In *Sûreh XX*, 94 Aaron calls Moses "O son of my mother." *El-Bédawi* writes in his commentary, that some believe Aaron to be the step-brother of Moses.

⁴ The belief that the soul of the dead may appear at times in the form of a green bird is also known in Palestine. CANAAN, *Dâmonenglaube*, footnote 142; *Mohammedan Saints*, 245.

for in the moment when his spirit flew up a spring broke out, known as *'ên el-Wébeh*. His spirit fluttered above the mountains of Petra and every time it tried to settle down for its eternal rest, the mountain shook heavily and crumbled into large pieces of rock, crying out at the same time in devotion: "O my Lord, O prophet of God," for no mountain found itself worthy of guarding the holy spirit of the great prophet. The soul at last roamed over Mt. Hor, which trembled greatly but was firm enough to support the prophet. In a cave the spirit found its last resting place. Then Moses, who had been asked by his brother to bury him, saw the place where his brother's spirit rested, and he went up and built a cenotaph over the cave. Since the camels could not climb up the mountain the spirit of the prophet remained undisturbed.¹

According to the story told by the *Bdûl*, after Aaron and his brother had conquered the inhabitants of Petra, Aaron felt that his end was approaching. As he rode on a she-camel he begged Moses to bury him at the spot where the camel rested. But every mountain by which he rode shook violently and the camel was compelled to continue until it reached Mount Hor, which alone remained firm. Leaving the camel, the prophet climbed to the summit where he died, and Moses came and buried him.

Fridays are the accepted days of pilgrimage for the surrounding bedouin. On these days the *qaiym* (custodian) "a resident of Eldjî, betakes himself to the tomb for the purpose of admitting visitors to the interior."² Twice in the year large numbers of Bedouin of many tribes flock to the sanctuary to make pilgrimage, and to offer their prayer and vows. One of these *marâsim* is the winter, and the other the summer feast. The first falls in February, and the second during the grape season (*fi mûsam el-'inab*). The *Bdûl* go only once a year. It is usually on a Thursday that the visitors go to *nabi Hârûn*. Most of them return the same day. Others sleep there and spend a part of Friday on the holy mountain. All—men and women—must be ritually clean, and they put on their best

¹ A variation of this story is told by the Bedouin of the Sinai peninsula. CANAAN, *Die 'Azâzîl Beduinen und ihr Gebiet*, ZDPV, LI, 97.

² According to a Bedouin who served in our camp, the custodian goes three times a week, Monday, Tuesday, and Friday. He spends the night there. I could not verify this information from other Bedouins. The *qaiym* is paid by each Bedouin family with some barley or wheat. A great part of the vows also belong to him.

clothes. In visiting the *maqām* on such a *wōsam* women are allowed to enter first and only after they leave the sanctuary do the men go in. The visitors spend their time in singing, dancing, cooking and eating. The writer did not succeed in getting continuous songs about Aaron. When the pilgrims ascend the mountain they sing :

Hārāni uinnāḥ djināk 'lās bil-qēz djādinā ez-zamā

Hārāni yā nidjm(in) ikbir yā bn kawākib 'āliyah.

O Aaron we are coming thirsty to you

In the summer heat (we are) driven by thirst.

O Aaron! O great star!

O father (possessor) of high planets!

Another version is :

Darb in-nabī Hārūn 'urdj umalāwi

Hārūn han-nidjm el-kbir yā bn el-kawākib el-'āliyah.

The way to the (shrine of the) prophet Aaron is crooked
and difficult to ascend;

Aaron (thou art) the great star!

O father of high planets.

On these occasions *sanneh* is offered for the lights and incense is burnt, but the most important acts are the offerings of animals. Most of the *Liātneh* kill a female goat (rarely a female sheep). It is cooked; part is shared among the poor and part is consumed by the offerer. Some of this tribe and the greater part of the *Bdāl* dedicate an animal to the prophet by cutting the top of its ear (*bidjda'n² dānbā*). Such a goat cannot be sold since it becomes the property of the saint, but is taken home and killed there. A part of the flesh is offered to the needy.

No circumcisions are vowed or performed at this or any other sanctuary in this part of Trans-Jordan. The prophet *Hārūn* is among the "irritable class" of saints; it has been repeatedly observed that severe punishment is inflicted upon all who make a false statement in his name. The punishment follows either immediately or within three days. Usually the transgressor falls very ill and may even die. Several episodes are described which prove this fact.

At different places in the surrounding mountains I have seen

¹ Abbreviation of *wihnā*.

² In Palestine they use mostly the expression *šarāḥa* and *qaṭaša* (Mohammedan Saints, 158).

heaps of stones—*mašâhid*. They are as a rule small heaps, erected, as is the case in Palestine, at spots where the sanctuary is first visible from that direction. The *fâtihah* is recited and the passer places a stone on the heap.¹

In the sanctuary there is a large copper trough used for cooking the offered animals. It is said to be the largest one in the whole of Trans-Jordan. The story of its origin runs as follows:² *Ibn es-S'úd*, with a large number of his followers, attacked the *Liâtneh* who were compelled to leave *Eldji* and take refuge in the surrounding mountains. The headquarters of *Ibn es-S'úd* were set up to the east of the village. He sent his army to the village to kill and plunder its inhabitants. They came and reported "we have taken it" (*ulêinâhá*). He asked, "What did you take? an empty village and deserted tents? That is no victory, go and find where are the enemy. *El-hôs el-ghâli 'ind et-tâli*, "the rich (bearing) fight is in what follows." A severe battle took place in which the very valiant *Liâtneh*, who had entrenched themselves behind the rocks, were overwhelmed by the more numerous enemy. They fled, losing many of their men and two of their most important leaders, *Yusif bin es-Sa'id* and *Halil es-Šamî*. The enemy took as trophies the beautiful sword of the one and the golden embroidered sandals of the other. Two valiant *Liâtneh* crept to the headquarters of *Ibn es-S'úd* before his bedouin had returned to proclaim their victory. The 'emîr stood beside the banner of the tribe and watched the battlefield. One of the two *Liâtneh* fired and killed him, while the other hit the banner and tore it into pieces. When the victorious bedouin returned and saw this awful scene they fled in disorder leaving everything behind. They were at once followed by the *Liâtneh* who killed a great number of them. Among the captured spoils there were two large copper-troughs. The largest of the two was taken as a token of gratitude to the sanctuary of *en-nabi Hârûn*. But the prophet did not accept the present, for every time the trough was carried to the shrine it rolled away in a mysterious way.

These two valliant young *Liâtneh*, who were the cause of the final victory of the tribe, remembering while they were still in the

¹ Mc COWN, Annual of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, II and III; CANAAN, Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries, 74.

² Told by *Slimân Abû Zéf Allah (Banî 'Alâ)*.

sanctuary of the *nabi* the death of their leaders, took an oath to bring back the trophies which the enemy had carried away. They resolved that the Wahhabites should keep no trophies of the *Liátneh* even though they had failed to secure a decisive victory. Disguised they reached the dominion of *Ibn es-S'úd* and were welcomed by the new *'emír*. The *šéḥ* had the very honourable custom never to ask his guests whence they came, whither they went or what their purpose was until he had honoured them several days. One day while they were enjoying his hospitality they beheld the trophies hanging on the wall of his tent. One of them was touched deeply. The *'emír* asked, *wés bakkák yá ḥátír*—"What makes you weep, O traveller?" He answered: "The objects there reminded me of our two valiant leaders." They revealed to him the story of the copper trough and the purpose of their journey. He answered, "From that shameful battle forty coffee roasters of my tribe were put aside" (*arb'in miḥmāšeh ṭawéthum*), i.e. forty *šéḥs* of my tribe were killed and thus forty tents where coffee was offered to the strangers are closed. He continued: "We have killed your old people but you killed my young (and promising) men" (*iḥná ḍabahná šiúḥ u intú ḍabaḥtú rí ián*).¹ He gave them back the trophies and said, "I hereby announce that I have given up all my rights and the rights of my tribe to the copper troughs. They are the sole property of *en-nabi Hárún*." The prophet accepted the gift and since that time the large copper trough has remained in the sanctuary.

A study of the religious habits of these bedouin shows how they consider the *awliá* to be powerful supernatural beings who can and will help them in case of necessity. They are therefore more often invoked than God. They believe in the unity of God and hail Mohammed as the greatest prophet. But very few of them know much more about the teachings of the Mohammedan religion. This is especially true of the *Bdál*. I asked five grown-up persons to recite the *fátihah* and not one of them knew it. Only few perform regularly any of the five prescribed daily prayers. Three of my *Bdál* guides confessed that they did not pray. The *Liátneh* are in this respect more religious.

I tried to find out if any of the high or old sacral places are used at present by any of the bedouin in a religious way but I always

¹ *Ri'yán*, pl. of *rú'í*—shepherd stands for the young and strong.

had a negative answer. No single place is visited religiously, no light or incense is burnt in any cave or on any mountain and no animal is offered at any spot in Petra itself. Animals are killed sometimes here or there, but this is done only because the family living at that place have to kill an animal for food, but never as an offering.

The belief in the supernatural powers of a dead leader who during his lifetime played an important and honourable part in the history of the tribe is well shown in the great number of ancestor-saints. This honour and even worship of ancestors is wide-spread among all bedouin.

Beside *awliá*, good spirits, the bedouin believe in *djinn*.¹ The evil spirits, are always on the alert to injure human beings. Some springs and many gorges and lonely places are believed to be inhabited. It is interesting to observe that the description of a *djinn*, as it was given to me by all bedouin, is the same, and corresponds with the *ghul* in Palestine. The demons appear mostly in human shape, although at times they take the form of an animal. They can easily be distinguished from human beings by their large stature, elongated pupils, perpendicularly running eyes and mouth and by cow-like hoofs. There are male and female demons. The first are characterised by a mighty penis, while the latter have long hair and large breasts.²

Demons appear mostly at night. They try to capture their prey by screaming loudly. Not seldom the persecuted person loses his will-power and intelligence and becomes a *masrúf* or *madjuin*. The bedouin believe like the Palestinians that the *djinn* prefer to appear on Fridays and Wednesdays. The best means of driving them away is to light a fire. Even the slight flash resulting from firing a gun is sufficient to drive them off. This powerful action of fire is believed to be more efficacious even than the powerful name of *Alláh*. There is always a great danger that in shooting at them the gun may explode. If a man is followed by a demon and he is unable to prepare fire he should sit down, draw out his dagger and drive it into the ground. This will magically nail the demon to the spot. The spirit begins to implore the person to set him free, promising great riches. Some haunted localities are *wádi es-Siyyagh*,

¹ I heard *djuân* in *Ehjt* as plural of *djinn*.

² Compare this description with that of a *ghul* in *Dämonenglaubé*, p. 17 ff.

*'ĕn es-Sidr, Ĥamāṭet*¹ *Ĥammūd*,² *el-Ĥiṣ, el-Bēḏā*, etc.

Very little is certainly known about the origin of the *Liātneh*. *Ibn Faḏl-Allāh el-'Umarī*³ says that they are the descendants of *Bani Leil*, a subdivision of *Bani Kanānah bin Muḏar*. *Al-Maqrīzī*⁴ and *el-Qalqaṣandī*⁵ support this theory. Others think that they came from *wādi el-Llīt* (Yeman) and are therefore called *el-Liātneh*. While the 3 sub-tribes *el-'Bēdiyīn*,⁶ *el-'Alāyā* and *eš-Šrūr* are true *Liātneh*, *Bani 'Aḷā* are believed to be according to some the descendants of *Bili Qaṣa ah* and according to *Ibn Faḏl-Allāh el-'Umarī*⁷ the descendants of *Bani Djuḏām*.

The *Liātneh* tribe is composed of four sub-tribes, each made of several families. Every family and sub-tribe has its own *šēh*. In March—April 1929 the *Liātneh* had no grand *šēh* who directed the external affairs of the tribe. The following list gives the four sub-tribes with their subdivisions:

- I. The sub-tribe *eš-Šrūr*, whose *šēh* is *Falāḥ bin Sa'id*, is composed of four parties: *es-S'édāt, el-Ĥlĕfāt, el-Ĥalāyfeh* and *er-Rawāzĕh*.
- II. *El-'Bēdiyīn* have two *šēhs*. *Ĥalil el-Ĥlāli* and *Muḥammad el-Ĥasānāt*. The first *šēh* rules over four *ḥnd*: *el-Ĥlālāt, el-Mašā'li, eṭ-Ṭweisāt* and *en-Našārāt*. *Muḥammad el-Ĥasānāt* is the *šēh* of *el-Ĥasānāt*.
- III. *El-'Alāyā's* leaders is *M'anumar bin Bašīr*. This tribe is made up of three parts: *en-Nawāfleh, el-'Mārāt* and *eš-Šammāsīn*. A large family of the latter is known as *el-Ĥamāḏīn*.
- IV. *Bani 'Aḷā*, with *Zēf Allāh* as their *šēh*, are made of *el-Faradjāt, es-Slāmīn* and *el-Falāḥāt*.

Some of the *Liātneh* long ago emigrated to Palestine, where they have settled, and have kept only a nominal relation with the original tribe. I gathered from several members of this tribe the following details concerning them.⁸

¹ *Ĥamāṭab* is a wild fig tree.

² One hour to the north of *Eldji*.

³ *Masālik el-'uḥṣār*, vol. II, p. 24.

⁴ *Al-bayān ul- i'rāb*, 50.

⁵ vol. I, p. 350.

⁶ The sub-tribe *el-Ĥlālāt* of this division is not a true blood *Liātneh*, as their ancestors come from Egypt.

⁷ Vol. II, 24.

⁸ Most of these statements have been found to be true.

The *Ḥawāldeh*, a part of the *Hlālāt*, live in Palestine. Some of the *Hasānāt* have moved to the region north of Beersheba. A few of the *Masāleh* are found in *Yaṭṭah*. A part of the *Ṭweisāt* is said to have emigrated to the neighbourhood of *Lydda*. In *Iḍriḥ*, not far from *ʿAnmān*, are some of *en-Naṣārāt*. Some families of *el-Amārāt* have moved to *Ḥan Yunis* and in *es-Semāʿ* live a few of the *Salāmin*.

The *Bdūl*, a small tribe living mostly in Petra proper, require special mention before the relations of the *Liātneh* to the neighboring tribes are described. The *Bdūl* rarely leave their district.¹ In the winter season they spend between two and three months in the caves of Petra; in the spring they encamp around the *wādīs*, while the summer is spent at the tops of the high mountains of Petra or on one of the surrounding ridges. A few of them live in *el-Bēḍā*. They are the poorest of all the bedouin tribes of this district of Trans-Jordan. Their children mostly run about quite naked. The adults wear ragged dirty shirts. I found only one *Bdūl* who lived in *Beḍā* and had a gun. No agricultural work is done by them, but they keep some goats. Their *šēḥ* is *Salāmeḥ bin Djumʿah*. This tribe is related to *Bdūl Ḥasmā* who live near *ʿAqabah*. These last are more respected, better to do and more numerous than the *Bdūl* of Petra. The *Bdūl* are not reckoned among the *Liātneh* but are affiliated to them. The *Liātneh* tell the following story about the origin of the *Bdūl*. When Moses and the Israelites surrounded Petra he declared war against the inhabitants and conquered and slaughtered them all except twelve who hid themselves in a cave on the top of the mountain *Umm el-Biyārah*. Moses ordered them to come down. They answered "*innā abdalnā yā nabiy allāh*" We have changed, O prophet of God. "What have you changed?" asked Moses. "Our religion; for we accept yours," was the answer. Since that time they are known as *Bdūl*. How much of this legend can be accepted as true and as pointing to their possible origin from

¹ They are not subdivided into subtribes, but, owing to their small number, into families which are:

ḥamūlet Salāmeḥ bin Djumʿah el-Muassah,

„ *Muṭlaq Itaiyyim,*

„ *Sālim Salmān,*

„ *Šaiyan Abū Djūl and*

„ *Salīm Abū Sālim.*

the old Nabatheans it is impossible to say. The *Bdnl* themselves do not accept this explanation and pretend to be a branch of the *Hueiát*.

There are ties of affiliation between the *Liátneh* and the neighbouring bedouin. Whenever the *Liátneh* are attacked by enemies the affiliated bedouin hurry to their help, and on the other hand the *Liátneh* always answer the others' call for help. These tribes are:

Es-S'édíyin who live in *el-'Arabab*, *Idlágbah* and *el-Qá'* (to the south and south-east of *Wádi Musá*).

Er-Rawádjfeh who have their territory to the east of *el-Qá'* (in *er-Rádjif*).

El-'Amárin who live south of *es-Šöbak*, in *el-Hiṣeb* and to the west of *el-Hiṣeb*.¹

El-Mará'yeh live in *Rás en-Naqb es-Šamál*.

En-N'émát who live to the east of *'én Músá*.

The leaders and the most important subtribes of the above mentioned tribes are:

Tribe	Leader	Sub-tribe	Leader
<i>Es-S'édíyin</i>	'Afnán bin Srúr	<i>Djamá'it</i> ibn Mfarridj	Sálím bin Mfarridj
		<i>ez-Zawáyydeh</i>	Saláneh bin Záyid
		<i>es-Srúriyin</i>	'Afnán bin Srúr
		<i>el-'Alámát</i>	Slimán bin Saláneh
<i>El-Mará'yeh</i> ²	Mará'yeh edj-Djuúb	Mará'yeh es-Šamál	Sálím abú Hammád and 'Ódeh abú 'Adjin
			Dabbúr
			'Ódeh Ršá'i and 'Abdalláh Sútweñ
<i>El-'Amárin</i>	Sálím abn Šnšeh	<i>es-Šarwāsh</i>	Sálím abn Šnšeh
<i>En-N'émát</i>	'Iál 'Arwad es-Salálmeh el-'Aládiyeh		Imḥammad abú Kbireh
			Saláneh abú Šattán ³
			Nidjm bin Ghánin

¹ *El Hiṣeb* is often pronounced *el-Hiṣ*.

² There is also a sub-tribe of the *Huweitát* (*Hweitát*) with this name.

³ Pronounced by some *Šattán*.

es-Slémât *Nabâr es-Sbû'*

er-Rawâdjfeh 'Îd bin
 Sâlim

All these tribes, as well as the *Liâtneh*, are under the protection of *el-Hwêlât*, whose grand *šêh* is *Ĥamad bin Djâzi*. The zone of influence of this *šêh* also extends over all the bedouin of *el-Tjêleh* and *el-'Aqabah*. Although most of the tribes living around *el-'Aqabah* have their origin from *el-Hwêlât* they have made themselves completely independent. *Eš-šêh Ĥamad bin Djâzi*, assists them only when they are attacked by a strong enemy. The sub-tribes of the bedouin of *el-Tjêleh*, whose grand *šêh* is *Šâleh el-A'war*, are:

<i>el-'Ôrân</i>	Leader	<i>Šâleh el-A'war</i>
<i>el-Kalâldeh</i>	„	<i>Muštafâ el-Mĥésin</i>
<i>el-Mĥammadin</i>	„	<i>Šâleh el-Maĥásneh</i>
<i>es-S'ndiyin</i>	„	<i>Muṭlaq es-S'âdi</i>
<i>el-'Atâ'tab</i>	„	<i>Taldji bin Ĥsên and Ĥamd el-Krémiyin</i>
<i>el-Ĥmâydi</i> ¹	„	<i>Mûsâ eš-Šbâlât</i> .

These bedouin live not only in and around *el-Tjêleh* but also in the following centers: *Bšêrah*, *Zânab*, *'Îmâ* and *Sanjaĥah*. They are semi-bedouin resembling the *Liâtneh* in doing some agricultural work.²

All the tribes mentioned in this paper form a defensive alliance. In disputes of any tribal importance the grand *šêh* of *el-Hwêlât* speaks the final word. He is the highest judge. Exceptions to this rule are the bedouin of *el-'Aqabah* who are affiliated to the *Hwêlât* only in questions of mutual help against overwhelming hostile attack.

¹ A very small subtribe of the main tribe is *el-Tawâbiyeh*.

² The Bedouin tribes of *el-'Aqabah* are:

<i>Mra'yet el Qibleh</i> , their leader is	<i>Sâlim bin Ĥammad</i> ,
<i>er-Rkêbûl</i>	„ „ „ <i>Sabbâh Nuweïr</i> and <i>Slimân bin Sreyyî'</i> .
<i>el-'Imrân</i>	„ „ „ <i>Ibn Maqbûl</i> .
<i>en-Nadjîdât</i>	„ „ „ <i>Ĥasan bin Nadjîd</i> .
<i>el-Qudmân</i>	„ „ „ <i>'Îd el-Qdeiyym</i> .
<i>Bdûl Ĥasmâ</i>	„ „ „ <i>Abû Zêtûn</i> .

The great *šêh* of the last three is *Ĥasan bin Nadjîd*.

ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS OF GAZA. III.¹

L. A. MAYER

(JERUSALEM)

MOSQUE OF IBN 'OTHMĀN.²

5.

WAQF INSCRIPTION. 797 A.H. Inscription above Eastern entrance door. Marble slab, dimensions about 120 x 45 cm. Four lines of Mamluk naskhi, three in relief, the fourth, incised, added after completion of inscription. Points throughout, many vowels and differentiating signs. A few ornaments in the intervening spaces. Pl. III, fig. 1.

¹ Continued from Vol. III. 69 ff. and Vol. V. 64 ff.

² In his "Notes on 'Arabic Inscriptions at Gaza' by Dr. L. A. Mayer, *JPOS. Vol. V. p. 64*", published in this Journal, Vol. VI. p. 110, St. H. Stephan tried to explain the word "lakkāsh", the nickname of Āqbughā aṭ-Ṭūlūtunrī, as "chatterbox" or "jester", taking it to derive from the root *lqš* لقس. This explanation would fit very well were it not for the fact that "lakkāsh" has nothing to do with the root *lqš*, being invariably written with a "k" ك and never with a "q" ق. To the references quoted in my article (Ibn Ḥajar, *Ta'riḫh*, Ibn Taghribirdī, *an-Nujūm aṭ-ṣāhibira* and Ibn Iyās, *Bada'i' aṭ-ṣubḥir*) the following should be added: Ibn Duqmāq, *Kitāb al-intiṣār*, vol. V., p. 20, l. 13, Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manḥal aṣ-ṣāfi*, s. v. (MS Paris, Arabic 2068, fo. 203 v., also s. v. *Sūdūn al-Lakkāshī* Ar. 2070, fo 130v.), as-Sakhāwī, *aḍ-Ḍau' al-lāmi'* s. v. (MS Damascus, Zāhiriya Library).

As to Ṭūlūtunrī, it is common knowledge that *طولو* in the sense of "full" is usually pronounced *dolu* in Ottoman Turkish. No analogies were necessary to establish this well-known fact, corroborated by all Turkish dictionaries giving indications of pronunciation. But to draw from it the conclusion that the correct pronunciation of *طولو* is *Dolutumrī*, means to accept the practice of modern

- (1) بسمه هذا ما أوقف العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى السيفي ارزملك
الملكى الظاهري
- (2) أعزّه الله تعالى جميع القيسارية والأربع حوانيت مجاورة
الشيخ ابن مروان والدار سكن الواقف جميع
- (3) ذلك وفقاً على مصالح المدرسة والسبيل وكتاب الأيتام وخبز
الصدقة والمسجد المجاور سكنه وما فضل من ذلك يكون للجامع
بتأريخ شهر شوال سنة سبع وتسعين وسبعمائة
- (4) ومن الأملأك المذكورة قيراط ونصف للنبي عليه السلام ومثله
للخليل عليه السلام نفذه (?) عنه

Ottoman pronunciation as a reliable guide in reading Mediaeval Eastern Turkish names, a conclusion nobody is likely to consider seriously. Instead of wasting time over this point, it would be perhaps better to quote Max van Berchem, who, in view of the difficulty of finding correct phonetic equivalents, adopted a system of literal transliteration explaining that "la prononciation turque étant encore mal fixée et celle adoptée par les Arabes restant inconnue, cette méthode purement graphique permettra de rétablir exactement l'orthographe arabe de ces noms" *CIA.*, *Égypte I.*, p. 240, n. 1. Following this system we would have to write Tūlū, exactly as was done in the "*Arabic Inscriptions of Gaza II*". Another point is whether *dolu* as component of the name طولوتمري really means "full". One could list all the various meanings of طولو and طلو in Eastern Turkish, but more important evidence is supplied by Ibn Taghribirdī's statement in his biographical dictionary *al-Manhal aṣ-ṣāfi* s. v. Tūlū b. 'Abdallāh, towards the end (MS Paris, Ar. 2071, fo. 7. r. and v.)

وطولو بضم الطاء المهمله وبعدها واو ساكنة ولام مضمومة وواو وثقال
ايضاً باللام المكسورة وبعدها ياء مثناة من تحت وكلاهما يميز طولو وطولي
لكن الأول أشهر . ومعنى هذا الاسم غريب لا يعرفه إلا الناصح في اللغة

In the name of the most merciful God. This was founded as a waqf by the servant yearning for God the Exalted, Saif ad-din Arazmak, officer of al-Malik az-Zāhir, may God the Exalted give him strength: the whole of the market street, the four shops near the (shrine of) Shaikh Ibn Marwān, and the residence of the founder of this waqf, all this as a waqf for the benefit of the madrasah, the public fountain, the elementary school for orphans, the bread distributed as a charity, the mosque adjoining his (i.e. the founder's) house, and the remainder of the revenue to belong to the Mosque. In the month of Shawwāl of the year 797 (=20th July—17th August, 1395).

And from (the income of) the above-mentioned property one part and a half for the Prophet, peace be upon him, and the same (amount) for the Friend, peace be upon him, may it be carried out for him (?).

L. 2. *أعزّه الله* is possibly an elliptic expression for the common *أعزّه الله أنصاره*. The only shrine known now in Gaza under the name of Ibn Marwān, the Jāmi' Ibn Marwān, stands now quite isolated in the midst of a cemetery and no other ancient building is visible in the vicinity.²

L. 3. It is not clear whether the mosque only was situated in the vicinity of Arazmak's house, or whether the madrasah, elementary school and public fountain were also in the neighbourhood. The lack of name or other description of these public buildings makes it impossible to identify any of them. It is obvious that by

التركية لأن طُو هو اسم للقطعة الفولاذ المتهوشة على رأس الصنجق الذي
فيه الراية ولُو مضاف إليه فكان معنى هذا الاسم مضاف صاحب الصنجق

which can be summed up as follows: two pronunciations, viz. *Tūlū* and *Tūli* were admissible, but the former more used; *tū* is the ornamented piece of steel at the top of a standard to which the flag is attached, and *tūlū* is the adjective of *tū*.

Ibn Taghribirdī, himself an amir of Anatolian Turkish origin and the scion of a family of highest Mamluk dignitaries, is surely not the worst authority for establishing the correct pronunciation of names of his contemporaries and country-men.

¹ Cf. *CIA, Égypte I.*, pp. 529, 530, 593, n. 2.

² Cf. Gatt's *Plan von Gaza*, ZDPV. Vol. XI, pl. 2. In his *Legende zum Plane von Gaza*, ib. p. 152, he calls the mosque Jāmi' 'Alī ibn Marwān.

"masjid," the Ibn 'Othmān Mosque could not have been meant, as there would have been no need to explain its position as being situated "in the vicinity of his (the founder's) house," the usual phrase on such occasions being "this mosque"; moreover, the Mosque of Ibn 'Othmān being called in 800, 821 and 834 A.H. *jāmi'*, was in all probability a Friday-Mosque¹ from the very beginning, and as such could not have been called *masjid*. Assuming that the inscription is in situ, the Ibn 'Othmān Mosque would be referred to as the *jāmi'* (1.3) for the benefit of which Arazmak left the remainder of the revenue from his property. If the inscription had been brought to the Mosque from some other place, the word *jāmi'* would refer either to the Main Mosque, or to a Friday-Mosque destroyed before 802, probably Sanjar al-Jāwli's.

L. 4. "One part and a half" of a total of 24 parts, as specified usually in waqf deeds, "to the Prophet", and "to the Friend" (*al-Khalil*) refers to the Main Mosque at Madina, and to the Ḥaram at Hebron respectively.

Arazmak,² originally an armour-bearer, as we can infer from his blazon on another inscription in the same Mosque, was in the year 797 in the service of Barqūq with the rank of a "*maqarr*."³

6.

FOUNDER'S INSCRIPTION. 800 A.H. Marble slab built into the N. wall of the court to the left of the entrance. Dimensions about 70 x 60 cms. Five lines of Mamluk naskhi, strong, clear, provincial characters, a few points, almost without vowels. Crude ornaments in the intervening spaces. Pl. III, fig. 2.

(1) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ إِنَّمَا يَعْمُرُ مَسَاجِدَ اللَّهِ الْآيَةَ وَقَالَ صَلَّى اللَّهُ

¹ With regard to the innovation of having several Friday-Mosques in one town, cf. Sobernheim, *Baalbek in islamischer Zeit*, p. 11 (of the offprint), n. 2.

² From a palaeographical point of view the variants Azarmak or even Razmak are admissible. But the form given above is preferable, as borne out by the name of his more famous namesake, Saif ad-din Arazmak ash-Sharifī an-Nāshif (Ibn Iyās, cf. Index; *CIA. Égypte I.* p. 583).

³ This proves that he cannot be identical with the one dubbed Amīr of Ten in the last three days of Rabī' II. 802 (= 27th-29th December, 1399) *Nujūm*, VI, p. 25/6, the title of an Amīr of Ten being "*janāb*."

- (2) عليه وسلم من بنا لله مسجداً بنى الله له مثله في الجنة أمر بإنشاء هذا
 (3) الجامع المبارك العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى المقر الأشرف العالى
 (4) المولوي الاميرى الكبيرى المالكى المخدومى العزى أزدمر أمير
 (5) دوادار المقام الشريف الملكى الظاهرى أعزّ الله أنصاره وختم الله
 (6) بالصالحات أعماله بحمد وآله في تاريخ شهر رجب الفرد سنة
 ثمان مائة غفر الله له

In the name of the most merciful God. But he only shall visit the temples of God, etc. Muḥammad said: "Whosoever builds a mosque for God, God builds for him the same in paradise". Ordered the construction of this blessed Mosque, the servant yearning for God the Exalted, His Most Noble and High Excellency, the Lordly, the Great Amir, the Royal, the Well Served, 'Izz ad-dīn Uzdamur, Amīr Dawādār of His Noble Majesty al-Malik az-Zāhir, may God make his victories glorious and seal his works with good, through Muḥammad and his family. In the month of Rajab the Unique of the year 800 (= 20th March — 18th April, 1398). May God forgive him.

L. 1. After the "basmalah" follows the beginning of verse 18 of the 9th surah, and the word *الآية* the *verse* in the sense of "etc.". This abbreviation is very usual in manuscripts, but occurs only once in Mamluk epigraphy¹, and is particularly out of place in our case, as this verse shortened to less than *انما يعمر مساجد الله من آمن بالله* has no meaning at all.

L. 2. I am vocalising the name *ازدمر* Uzdamur instead of the more common but erroneous *Izdemur*², *Azdimur*³, *Azdomor*⁴, *Azdemur*,⁵

¹ CIA, Jérusalem, Ville, p. 111, n. 5.

² Quatremère, *Sultans Mamlouks* 1 a, p. 163.

³ CIA, Égypte I. cf. Index; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. 5, cf. Index.

⁴ Herz Pacha, Max, *Index Général des Bulletins du Comité (de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe) des années 1882 à 1910*, p. 170 and passim.

⁵ Quatremère, l. c. p. 159; Weil, l. c.

etc., because this is the vocalisation in Ibn Taghribirdi's *al-Manbal as-ṣāfi* s. v. Uzdamur (MS Paris, Arabic 2068, fos. 167 v., 168 r.) In Safadi's *A'yān al-'aṣr* (MS Berlin, Code Wetzstein II. 298) which is a very reliable guide to the spelling of Turkish names, the name ازدمر does not occur at all.

7.

FOUNDER'S INSCRIPTION. 821 A.H. Inscription above the praying niche of the court. Marble slab, dimensions about 97 x 65 cms. Four lines of Mamluk naskhi. Points throughout, a few vowels, no differentiating signs. Many ornaments in the intervening spaces. Pl. III, fig. 3.

(1) فَأَنْظُرُ إِلَى آثَارِ رَحْمَةِ اللَّهِ كَيْفَ يُحْيِي الْأَرْضَ بَعْدَ مَوْتِهَا
إِنَّ ذَلِكَ لَمُحْيِي الْمَوْتِي وَهُوَ عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرٌ أَمْرٌ بِعِبَارَةِ

هذا الجامع المبارك بعد الهدم والحراب مولانا السلطان

(3) الملك المؤيد ابو النصر شيخ أعز الله أنصاره بمباشرة المقر

الكريم العالي

(4) السيفي ابو بكر اليعموري حاجب الحجاب بمدينة غزة

المحروسة بتاريخ شهر شعبان سنة احد (1) وعشرين وثمان مائة

Consider therefore the traces of God's mercy; how he quickeneth the earth after its state of death: verily the same will raise the dead; for he is almighty (Qur'an XXX. 49). Ordered the construction of this blessed Mosque after its complete destruction our Lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Abu-n-Nasr Shaikh, may God make his victories glorious, under the supervision of His Noble and High Excellency Saif ad-din Abū Bakr al-Yaghmurī, Grand Chamberlain (*hājib al-hujjāb*) in the town of Gaza the protected,

L. A. MAYER:

ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS OF GAZA. III.

Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



in the month of Sha' bān of the year 821 (=3rd September—1st October, 1418.)

The word *athar* is written in the usual abbreviated spelling of the Gaza-epigraphy, without an alif.

Abū Bakr al-Yaghmūrī was appointed governor of Baalbek¹ on the 3rd Rabī' II. 813 (=8th August, 1410). He and his brother Sha' bān, the governor of Jerusalem, are sometimes called *ibn* al-Yaghmūrī,² which is probably the more correct form of their name. As Grand Chamberlain of Gaza, Abū Bakr had the rank of an Amīr of Forty.³

(To be continued)

¹ *Nujūm*, Vol. VI., pp. 230-31.

² *Nujūm*, l.c.; *al-Uns al-jalīl*, p. 612, l. 3. (but cf. *Nujūm*, l.c., p. 230, note i, and *al-Uns*, p. 508, l. 17.)

³ Khalīl az-Zāhirī, *Zubdat kashf al-mamālik*, ed. Ravaisse, pp. 134/5.

BOOK REVIEWS

Dr. theol. Clemens Kopp (Studienrat in Paderborn), *Elias und Christentum auf dem Karmel*. Mit 19 Abbildungen, 184 Seiten (Collectanea Hierosolymitana, Veröffentlichungen der Wissenschaftlichen Station der Görresgesellschaft in Jerusalem, III. Band), 1929, Paderborn.

Die Palästinaforschung hat sich von jeher am meisten für Jerusalem eingesetzt. Warum, liegt auf der Hand. Viel seltener haben andere Gebiete Palästinas Bearbeiter gefunden. Es ist ausserordentlich zu begrüßen, dass Dr. Cl. Kopp, der zwei Jahre (1925-27) als Kaplan der deutschen Borromäerinnen in Haifa geweiht hat, diesen seinen Aufenthalt benutzt hat, um das Gebiet genauestens zu untersuchen, das unmittelbar vor seinen Augen lag und durch die Vielseitigkeit seiner Ueberlieferungen Gegenstand besonderen Interesses sein musste: der Karmel. Es kam dem Vf. dabei zu statten, dass er für das Gesamtgebiet des Karmels in v. Mülinens „Beiträgen“ eine wichtige Vorarbeit vorfand und dass die nicht unbeträchtliche Literatur der Karmeliter, der privilegierten Hüter des Karmels, ihm zum Kennenlernen auch älterer Traditionen Fingerzeige und Ansatzpunkte,—wenn auch meist negativer Art,—vermitteln konnte. K. brachte ferner zur Durchführung seiner Aufgabe einen unermüdlichen Forschersinn mit, der ihn nicht nur den Karmel und seine Ueberreste, sondern auch die erreichbare Literatur in umfassender Weise durchsuchen liess, ein besonnenes Urteil und ein Auge für geschichtlich Bedeutsames. So hat er eine Geschichte des Karmels in der historisch greifbaren Zeit geschrieben und sich damit ein wirkliches Verdienst um die Palästinakunde erworben.

Freilich wird sein Buch denen, die es am nächsten angeht, den Karmelitern, kein Gegenstand der Freude sein. Wenn er auch meist mit ihnen und ihren vagen Traditionen schonend umgeht, so ist es doch ein harter Schlag für sie, gleichsam aus dem Dämmerlicht der ihnen wichtigen und heiligen Erinnerungen in die Helle der Geschichte hineingestellt zu werden, vor der ein grosser Teil ihrer Traditionen in sich zusammenfällt. Denn der Anspruch der Karmeliter geht doch darauf, zu behaupten: Elia hat in der Regenwolke (I Reg. 18, 44) die Mutter Gottes und die Geheimnisse ihres Lebens geschaut, hat dann am Karmel eine Prophetenschule mit einem dieser Schau entsprechenden Kult gegründet, die sich bis in die Tage Jesu erhielt; der Herr selbst hat dort geweiht und den Anfang zur Christianisierung gegeben; so waren die Mönche der byzantinischen Zeit die geradlinigen Fortsetzer jener jüdischen Eliajünger, und die Lateiner haben die Tradition aus der Hand der „schismatischen“ Griechen übernommen. Dagegen wird hier nun klar gezeigt: Muttergottesverehrung im AT ist unmöglich; Elia hat sich nur vorübergehend am Karmel aufgehalten; die ganzen politischen Besitzverhältnisse beweisen ja schon, dass der Karmel kein Resonanzboden für eine grosse prophetische Bewegung sein konnte. Von einer Christianisierung des fiktiven Eliaordens kann ebenfalls keine Rede sein. Wohl aber hat der Karmel mancherlei Mönche beherbergt, die ihrerseits Eliaerinnerungen pflegten. Die Karmeliter kamen erst in der Kreuzfahrerzeit auf den Karmel und wurden Erben der griechischen Traditionen, selbst gelegentlich neue hinzufügend.

Als einzige wirklich mit der Bibel vereinbare Eliatradition sieht K. die von el-muhraka (der Opferstätte) an, trotzdem die Bezeugung nicht alt ist und auch erheblichen Schwankungen unterworfen war. Wir werden K. darin zustimmen müssen, dass die Oertlichkeit zu dem biblischen Bericht passt. Bekannt ist ferner die Tradition von der Prophetenschule, die in der el-chadr benannten Höhle am Karmel haftet. Sie entbehrt der biblischen Begründung. Wie es sich bei der Person des Chadr um alten Bestand des orientalischen Synkretismus handelt, der dann die Elia-(und St. Georg-) Stoffe an sich gezogen hat,—die hierher gehörigen Ausführungen S. 68 ff. sind besonders gelungen,—so lebt auch in der el-chadr-Stätte am Karmel das alte Heidentum verchristlicht weiter, wie man an der Art des Eliafestes

(17.-19. Juli) und an dem mit der Höhle verbundenen Fruchtbarkeitssegen sieht, der ursprünglich nichts mit Elia zu tun hat. K. vermutet ein ursprüngliches Adonisheiligtum. Ob Elia schon in byzantinischer Zeit dort eingezogen war, ist ungewiss. Die Karmeliter sind jedenfalls in der Kreuzfahrerzeit dort.—Das Karmelkap wird anfänglich ein altkanaanäisches Heiligtum getragen haben (der deus Carmelus des Tacitus, also wohl ein Baal Karmel). Die Höhle im heutigen Kloster kann eine alte Grabanlage gewesen sein, die von den Griechen als heilige Stätte gewertet worden ist. An der Stelle des heutigen Klosters stand,— das hat K. klar bewiesen,— das griechische Margaretenkloster; hinter dem Namen Margarete (Marina) könnte eine alte Venus Marina stecken. Die Lateiner haben vor dem 17. Jahrhundert (dem Jahrhundert der Rückkehr nach 400jähriger Abwesenheit) wohl kaum auf dem Karmelkap Fuss gefasst. Vielmehr ist der wādi es-siāḥ, in dem die Eliaquelle sich findet, die Anfangsstätte des Ordens, der zu Beginn des 13. Jahrhunderts,—nicht schon im 12. Jhd. unter Aimerich,—hier begann. Die Eliatradition, vielleicht auch schon eine Marienüberlieferung übernahmen die Lateiner von den griechischen Eremiten, die hier, noch gewisser aber im wādi a' rāk el-aḥmar, mit eṭ-rīre als gottesdienstlichem Mittelpunkt, ihre Lauren hatten. Besonders die zweigeteilte Höhle im wādi es-siāḥ kann als Anfangsstätte der Eliatradition angesehen werden. Dort, nicht auf der Karmelhöhe, entstand 1263 das prächtige Kloster, das nach dem Fall Akkos von den Muhammedanern zerstört wurde. Erst als dann der Karmel von den Karmelitern verlassen war, kamen die Palästinapilger, unter dem Einfluss dessen, was sie im Abendland von den Karmelitern gehört hatten, darauf, das Karmelkap als den früheren Sitz des Ordens anzusehen, wo die Ruinen des (inzwischen ebenfalls zerstörten) Margaretenklosters und einer Kreuzfahrerfestung sichtbaren Anlass dazu gaben. Mit der Rückkehr der Karmeliter im 17. Jahrhundert ist die alte Tradition im wādi es-siāḥ vergessen und die des Karmelkaps perfekt,—nicht als pia fraus, sondern in einer gut erklärlichen und erkennbaren Wanderung der Ueberlieferung.

Das sind etwa die Hauptlinien, denen nachzugehen durch gute Register und 19 Abbildungen erleichtert wird. Daneben gibt es immer wieder wertvolle Seitensprünge archäologischer, religionsgeschichtlicher, traditionsgeschichtlicher Art. Es ist überaus wichtig,

dass hier einmal ernsthaft die Traditionen ausgewertet werden; möge der Verfasser darin auf anderen Gebieten Palästinas Nachfolge finden! Wir können ihm jedenfalls sehr dankbar sein, dass er den verschlungenen Pfaden, die oft über sehr entlegene Literaturen und kaum noch erkennbare archäologische Reste führen, nachgegangen ist und so zur Aufhellung der Vergangenheit dieses wichtigen Landesteiles entscheidend beigetragen hat.

H. W. HERTZBERG

Rev. Professor THEODORE H. ROBINSON, D.D., Rev. J. W. HUNKIN B.D., M.C., O.B.E., and Professor F. C. BURKITT, D.D., F.B.A.,
Palestine in General History. The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1926 (Milford: 6/-)

These are three lectures delivered before the British Academy in the winter of 1926, contrary to the usual practice, by three different scholars instead of forming a series by one lecturer. There is consequently a certain lack of connexion that would not have been experienced if one writer had been responsible for the entire book. Properly speaking only two of the lecturers deal with the subject which forms the title of the volume - Professor Robinson who deals with Palestine until the fall of Nineveh and Mr. Hunkin who continues the story until the time of Titus. The third lecture, that of Professor Burkitt, is concerned solely with Petra and Palmyra, both of which cities have always been outside of the boundaries of Palestine. This last lecture is certainly the most attractive of the three. Petra and Palmyra, owe their prosperity to the disturbance and insecurity of the country. At the casual glance this must seem strange, for as a rule the merchant and the ruler suffer most from warfare and political unsettlement. The author does not deny the accuracy of this, but neither city lay on the ordinary merchant's highway and it was when this highway was also the road taken by

hostile armies that commerce was driven from it and had to take refuge on out of the way tracks which in more peaceful times were barely known and little used. Thus the misfortunes of the dwellers on and users of the regular route along the coast from Gaza to Megiddo and along the Via Maris to Central Asia were the good fortune of the half-settled tribes that made the City of the Rock and the City of the Desert their centres. This also explains the brief lives of these two cities and the kingdoms of which they were the centres. When peace returned to Palestine and Syria commerce returned to the older and more convenient route. Post-war Asia is again disturbed and once again, the merchant avoids as far as he can the natural routes through Turkey and Asiatic Russia. Again therefore the route through Palmyra has come into use, but to-day as a motor road, not a camel track. Professor Robinson emphasizes once again that the Egyptian and other alien conquerors of Palestine never colonized it in the manner that North America has been colonized by Europe or Australia or New Zealand by Britain. The Conquerors like the Turks many centuries later merely planted garrisons, civil as well as military, in the country and he argues, with much show of reason, that the Hebrews when they came to Palestine also did not colonize the country afresh in the American and Australian sense but assimilated into themselves a large, perhaps a larger, population than they brought to it.

The volume is plentifully illustrated with maps, photographs and especially reproductions of coins.

A. H. M.

MONATSSCHRIFT FÜR GESCHICHTE UND WISSENSCHAFT DES JUDENTUMS.

Das neueste Heft der bekannten Zeitschrift¹ bringt an erster Stelle einen Aufsatz von H. Speyer über „Neue bibelgeschichtliche Literatur,“ der sich mit Schriften von Jampel, Wiener, Montet und anderen befasst. Die folgenden Artikel sind wertvoll zur Geschichte und Literatur der Juden im Mittelalter: „Aus Spanien und Portugal“ von M. Grunwald, „Grabsteine aus dem 14. Jahrhundert“ von Kahan, 13 gut erhaltene Grabinschriften aus Znaim in Mähren. Den Aruch-Kodex B der Breslauer Seminarbibliothek behandelt Sam. Krauss. Der Wert des Kodex besteht hauptsächlich in den zahlreichen Zusätzen, die er bietet, in besseren Lesarten und arabischen Wortdeutungen, die in den gewöhnlichen Ausgaben fehlen. In die neueste Zeit führt eine statistische Übersicht über das Judentum in Böhmen und besonders in der Hauptstadt Prag. Man erfährt neben vielem anderen, dass die Zahl der Juden in Böhmen von 91,449 im Jahre 1880 auf 79,675 im Jahre 1921 gesunken ist. Stark ist der Zug nach den grossen Städten, in Prag ist die Zahl der Juden von 20,508 im Jahre 1880 auf 31,751 im Jahre 1921 gestiegen, während ihre Zahl in den Gemeinden unter 5000 Einwohnern in dem gleichen Zeitraum von 47,510 auf 18,108 zurückging.

F. SCHMIDTKE

¹ 73 Jahrgang, Heft 9/10 (September/Oktober 1929).

REALLEXIKON DER ASSYRIOLOGIE

Unter Mitwirkung zahlreicher Fachgelehrter herausgegeben von ERICH EBELING und BRUNO MEISSNER. Erster Band. 1. Lieferung: 1928, 2. Lieferung: 1929. *Walter de Gruyter*, Berlin und Leipzig.

Ein Lexikon der Assyriologie wurde bis jetzt nicht nur von Fachgelehrten, sondern auch von den Bibelforschern, Historikern des Alten Orients und Archäologen vermisst.

Für den Laien gab es bis jetzt überhaupt keine Möglichkeit, sich über einen Gegenstand aus dem Gebiete der Assyriologie zu informieren. Die assyriologischen Artikel in den Bibellexica, im Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte, in Pauly-Wissowa usw. konnten selbstverständlich nicht ausreichen. Im Jahre 1922 hat nun Prof. Meissner den Plan aufgenommen, ein Lexikon der Assyriologie herauszugeben, und die meisten deutschen Assyriologen stimmten diesem Plane zu. Im Verlaufe von einigen Jahren gelang es Prof. Meissner und seinem Mitarbeiter Prof. Ebeling, die Stichwörterammlung durchzuführen und eine Anzahl von Gelehrten (darunter Prof. Christian, Prof. Deimel, Dr. Forrer, Prof. Jensen, Prof. Weissbach) für die Mitarbeit zu gewinnen.

Ende 1928 erschien die erste Lieferung, und Anfang 1929 folgte ihr bereits die zweite (bis „Arwad“). Es ist zu hoffen, dass die weiteren Lieferungen ohne Schwierigkeiten in kleinen zeitlichen Abständen erscheinen werden.

Schon die ersten zwei Lieferungen enthalten einen ausserordentlich reichen Stoff. Von den wichtigsten Artikeln sollen hier aufgezählt werden:

Auf dem Gebiete der babylonisch-assyrischen Religion „Adapa“ und „Apsu“ (Jensen), „Altar“ (Unger), „Adad“ und „Anu“ (Ebeling); auf dem Gebiete der altorientalischen Geschichte: „Adadnarari I.u.II.“ (Weidner), „Aegypten und Mesopotamien“ (Opitz), „Aḥḥijavā“ und

„Aramu“ (Forrer), „Altkleinasiatische Völker“ (Christian), „Amurru“ (Honigmann und Forrer), „Arier“ (Friedrich); Recht: „Abgaben“ (San Nicolo') und „Adoption“ (David); Wirtschaft: „Ackerbau“ (Meissner).

Wenn das Werk in grossen und ganzen Vertrauen erweckt, so muss doch darauf hingewiesen werden, dass vor allem die Artikel, die Syrien und Palästina betreffen, nicht immer auf der Höhe stehen. Ich führe nur einige Beispiele an. Im Artikel „Abdi-Asirta“ behauptet Schachermeyer, dass der Fürst Abdi-Asirta (zur Zeit der „Amarna-Briefe“) Führer der Habiru war, ohne allerdings dafür einen Beweis anzuführen. Im Artikel „Ägyptische Beamte in Syrien“ wiederholt Schachermeyer die längst widerlegte Annahme von Niebuhr, Winckler u. a., dass Janahama zur „Amarna-Zeit“ Statthalter des ägyptischen Grenz- und Küstenbezirks Jarimuta war. Seitdem Poebel die Saron-Inschrift veröffentlicht hat, ist bekannt, dass Jarimuta in Nord-Syrien lag (s. MAISLER, *Unters. zur alten Gesch. Syriens und Palästinas* I, s. 7 ff.).

Im Artikel „Amurru“ behandelt Honigmann ganz oberflächlich die neuerdings aufgetauchten Probleme (s. neuerdings LEWY, Art. „Amoriter“ in „*Encyclop. Jud.*“ II; DHORME, *Revue Biblique* 1928 und MAISLER, a. a. O. s. 1 ff.).

Der Artikel „Adad“ (Ebeling) enthält wohl ein reiches keilschriftliches Material, doch wird mit keinem Wort auf den Zusammenhang mit bibl. אַדַּד, אַדָּד hingewiesen. Ferner vermisste ich einen Artikel „Adda“.

Im Artikel „Aegypten und Mesopotamien“ liest Opitz noch immer *Pikinili* (Journ. of Eg. Arch. VII s. 196 ff.) statt *Jakinili* eine Lesung, die Albright schon mehrmals vorgeschlagen hat. Mit dem „Zederngebirge“ bei Sargon (Art. „Amanos“) ist nicht der Libanon, sondern bestimmt der Amanus gemeint.

Im Artikel „Ammananu“ (Honigmann) fehlt der Hinweis auf das Gebirge אַמְנָה - Antilibanos. Auch das bei Gudea erwähnte Gebirge Umanu ist wohl damit identisch (s. MAISLER, *Journ. of the Pal Or. Soc.* IX s. 82).

Diese Beispiele, die sich noch leicht vermehren lassen, beweisen, dass Syrien und Palästina nur mangelhaft im Lexikon behandelt werden. Es ist zu hoffen, dass die Herausgeber dafür sorgen werden, dass gerade Palästina in den weiteren Lieferungen des Lexikons nicht vernachlässigt werden soll.

Eigenartig mutet es an, dass die Umschrift der Keilschriften im Lexikon nicht einheitlich gestaltet wurde. So durfte Forrer seine merkwürdige Umschrift chetitischer Namen beibehalten (Soppiluljoma statt Suppililiuma usw.). Eine einheitliche Umschrift ist aber gerade in einem Lexikon der Assyriologie sehr erwünscht.

Trotz dieser Mängel kann das Werk als eine grossartige Leistung auf dem Gebiete der altorientalischen Kulturgeschichte betrachtet und nicht nur dem Fachgelehrten und Alttestamentler, sondern auch dem Laien, der für den Alten Orient ein Interesse bekundet, als Nachschlagewerk warm empfohlen werden.

B. MAISLER

Haifa, August 1929

RECENT EXPLORATIONS IN ASIA MINOR

Few regions have more to tell the modern world regarding the beginnings of its civilization than Asia Minor. There Indo-European and Semitic language groups came into the earliest fruitful contacts of which we can at present acquire any considerable knowledge. There the scene of the first great Greek epic was laid. There "oriental" and "occidental" religions and philosophies were in early and long-continued competition. There Greek science and philosophy began. There Christianity early took deep root. There Paul and John, the sections of the New Testament which have most nearly determined the prevailing character of average Christianity, were chiefly elaborated and put into writing.

Anything which may be done to define and interpret the processes by which competing material civilizations, different views of life, and divergent conceptions of religion coalesced and fructified one another in Asia Minor will contribute toward the understanding of western civilization. Certainly few regions have more to teach regarding the processes by which the ethical religion of the prophets

and Jesus became a mystery cult and a religious philosophy. As the American, the Prussian, the Roman eagles, and especially the Russian, Austrian, and Ptolemaic double eagles go back in all probability to ancient Hittite and eventually Sumerian apotropaic eagles, so also many unsuspected features of modern art, philosophy, and religion are survivals of ancient customs and ideas which make their first archaeological appearance among the Hittites and other peoples of Asia Minor, or may be traced through them to even more remote ancestors.

The history of the Hittites is one of the many problems which at present puzzle and intrigue the student of ancient civilizations. The extent and power of their empire, which at one time reached apparently from Syria to the Black Sea and from the Aegean to the Euphrates and equalled that of Egypt in international influence, has for some time been recognized, although the knowledge that there was such an empire is barely fifty years old. A very considerable body of Hittite texts has been published from the Boghaz Köi archives which Hugo Winckler unearthed twenty years ago, and, in spite of lingering doubts on the part of a few scholars, they are approaching clear and certain interpretation. The first English manual of the Hittite language in one of its many forms has recently appeared from the hand of Professor George A. Barton. The last two decades have produced such a mass of new material that Professor John Garstang has rewritten his *Land of the Hittites* and has published, not a new edition, but a new work, *The Hittite Empire*. Few more romantic stories of scholarly research can be told than that of the rediscovery of this lost empire. Yet the Hittites are still an enigma. Only a beginning has been made in the study of their language. The character of their relations with other peoples on the east and on the west of their territories and before and after them in time and the extent of the influence which they exerted on subsequent nations and cultures are only beginning to be appraised and in details are almost unknown. No one can say with certainty when their empire began, of what races it was composed, where its leaders came from, nor what was the character of its civilization. No complete or even systematic excavation of any Hittite site had been undertaken in Asia Minor until within two years. Archaeologically they have been almost unknown in the home of their great empire, central and eastern Anatolia.

In an attempt to secure materials for the solution of these many problems, an expedition of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago has been at work in Hittite Asia Minor since 1926 under the direction of H. H. von der Osten, and preliminary reports of three years' campaigns are now available. The first year's explorations were in the nature of a preliminary reconnaissance in the territory within the great curve of the Küzül Irmak, or Halys river, where Boghaz Köi, the ancient Hittite capital, was situated.¹ This preparatory expedition resulted in the selection of a site for excavation at the great *höyük* or *tell*, to use the more familiar Arabic term, near Alishar, a town some fifty kilometers southeast of Boghaz Köi in the midst of a large group of settlement in one of the most fertile regions of central Asia Minor. The excavations conducted there in 1927 and 1928 are the first to give a clear idea of the structure and stratification of a *höyük* and to furnish a definite chronological sequence of pottery for Hittite lands. The hill had been occupied for six thousands years, yet, so far is Anatolian archaeology in arrears, only two pottery levels could be equated with definite historical eras, the "late classical period, from the first to the sixth century A. D.," and the Hittite period, known from Egyptian and Mesopotamian accounts as well as from the Boghaz Köi archives as ending between 1200 and 1000 B. C.

After the first year the work of the expedition was divided into three sections: (1) excavation, first at Alishar *höyük* and later at Kerkenes Dag, where trial trenches were run; (2) a detailed survey of a forty-kilometer square around Alishar, and (3) further explorations in other parts of the Hittite country. This review is concerned with the second preliminary report covering the work done in 1927 and 1928 and dealing in the main with general exploration of the country.²

The detailed survey of the forty-kilometer square around Alishar should prove to be of the greatest possible interest and value to students of all historical periods when its results are published. Account has been taken of all monuments of every kind which are to be

¹ Described by VON DER OSTEN in *Explorations in Hittite Asia Minor* (Oriental Institute Communications, No. 2). Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927.

² H. H. VON DER OSTEN, *Explorations in Hittite Asia Minor 1927-28* (Oriental Institute Communications, No. 6). University of Chicago Press, 1929.

found in the territory; caves, *hüyüks*, tumuli, ancient walled-in towns, *kalehs*, or ancient fortresses, classical, Byzantine, and Seljuk remains are measured and described, and are carefully noted on a contoured map. All inscriptions are copied and innumerable photographs are taken. Folklore and local customs are also recorded. All of this material is to be made available in a series of "Oriental Institute Publications." A very superficial comparison of the results of the survey of the Alishar square with the Kiepert map of 1914 shows a remarkable advance in topography as well as in the record of ancient monuments.

Von der Osten's vivid account of his adventures as he raced or pushed his Ford over the untried and sometimes non-existent roads of Cappadocia makes most interesting reading. It reveals the backwardness of the country and unintentionally emphasizes the tremendous size of the task which the post-war Turkish government has undertaken, but at the same time also the progress which the Turkish people have made since the war. Engineering projects to provide for both transport and industry are numerous. In not a few instances they are resulting in the complete destruction of the archaeological record which four or five thousand years have preserved. The need for haste in recording the historical monuments of Asia Minor before modern progress obliterates these ancient documents is repeatedly apparent. Nevertheless the authorities were everywhere in intelligent sympathy with efforts to save and interpret the monuments of the past. Young school teachers, hard-working engineers, and busy officials, great and small, vied with one another in assisting the explorers and often took great pains to direct and guide them to important sites. No hint of pre-war Turkish graft and dilatoriness appears in the record.

The territory covered in the general explorations of 1926, 1927, and 1928 extends from the Halys to the Euphrates, and from the Taurus mountains to the Black Sea. Less rhetorically expressed it spread out eastward from Ankara (Angora) to Kirshehir on the southeast and Boghaz Köi and Hüyük (Euyuk) on the northeast and thence eastward to Malatia and even Khumur Han on the Euphrates, northward then to Küz Kalessi and finally to the Kelkid Irmak, the ancient Lykos river, and to Samsun, where some days were spent in 1926. The regions of the Anti-Taurus and Taurus moun-

tains and southward were not included in the three years' work, but all the well known and an enormous number of new sites within the territory undertaken were visited and examined as to the character of their monuments and of their pottery remains. The purpose was to study the great central section of the Hittite empire in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C., and to determine, so far as possible, its extent and its connections eastward along the natural lines of communication with Armenia.

The results of these three summers of exploration must be briefly summarized. There was a well occupied section of Hittite country east of Ankara and extending to Kirshehir. But the most densely populated section lay east of Boghaz Köi. The Hittite capital was a large border city at the northwest corner of the very populous section lying within the basin formed by the great curve of the Halys river. Because of its lines of communication with the centers of population to the east and south, it occupied a position of no little strategic importance, but it was far from the center of the Hittite empire. A double line of *kalehs*, or ruins of ancient forts, runs along the northern border of the region, one on a line through Amasia and Tokat, the other along the Kelkid Irmak, or Lykos river. Another line of *kalehs* was discovered along the mountain range between the Halys basin and the Euphrates. The explorer's description of his difficulties in crossing this range makes clear its importance as a natural boundary between two regions of markedly different cultures. Yet natural boundaries did not restrict the growth of the Hittite empire. It certainly reached the Euphrates as well as lands much farther south, and possibly it went on into Armenia. In the central Hittite region, in addition to the large group of settlements south-east of Ankara and the larger one east of Boghaz Köi, other smaller groups were found within the Halys basin, clustering together in fertile sections, while great stretches of country gave evidence of neither ancient nor modern inhabitants.

One somewhat puzzling evidence of ancient civilization is the number of small tumuli scattered widely over the land. In some instances, as at Samsun, their grouping and their relation to cities suggests that they were tombs. But other purposes must have been served by the large number of comparatively isolated mounds which dot the countryside in such sections as that about Alishar. Smaller

ones sometimes occur which are in sight of but a single larger one. Large ones follow one another in succession so that the traveller is never out of sight of at least two. Von der Osten's conclusion that they were look-out posts and signal stations seems reasonable. However the excavation of a considerable number is necessary to establish the hypothesis.

The general explorations of von der Osten and his associates have revealed a surprising number of sites which were occupied in preclassical times. From the evidence adduced it does not necessarily follow that all such sites were occupied by Hitites. The two lowest at the Alishar *höyük* are regarded as definitely pre-Hittite. At Kerkenes Dagh, where in 1928 fourteen trial trenches were "carefully and conscientiously" run through a city site much larger than the Boghaz Köi, no trace of Hittite culture such as appeared at Alishar *höyük* and elsewhere was found. When the Hittites came is as yet unknown, but it is certain that they found a very considerable culture in the country when they arrived, whether of Mesopotamian or mixed origin is as yet unknown. They seem to have disappeared from the region in which this survey centered about 1200 B. C. Who succeeded them and under what circumstances is still uncertain. In any case there is no doubt that a great many other cultures beside the Hittite flourished in this great upland country as well as elsewhere in Asia Minor. Further explorations and excavations will be awaited with the greatest interest in the hope that they will throw welcome light, not only on the Hittite problem, but also on many other questions which puzzle the historian. Palestine is one of the lands which fell under Hittite influence, as the literary records and archaeological discoveries unite in proclaiming. Palestinian history and archaeology will profit greatly, therefore, by the further progress of Hittite studies. Even greater interest will attach to labors which will make clearer the progress of the Jewish Dispersion and the Christian Church in Asia Minor.

The Oriental Institute is to be congratulated on the large number of maps and plans which these preliminary publications carry, and also upon the very considerable collection of excellent photographs which serve to illustrate the text and reveal the character of the country through which the explorations were carried. The hope might be

expressed that the maps in the final publications will indicate roads and paths more fully, since these are essential to an understanding of the character and development of civilization. The most erroneous conclusions may be reached if communications are imagined where nature has made them impossible. Some kind of relief map, even if a perfectly correct one is as yet impossible, is of great assistance. The inclusion of "late classical" place names would be of the greatest value to the student who wishes to compare and check the work of previous explorers, such as Sir William M. Ramsay. The problem of archaeological terminology is suggested by the use of the phrase "late classical." The terms "Hellenistic," "Roman," "Byzantine" are in general use among historians and archaeologists who are interested in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and the Near East as a whole and with fairly definite connotations. "Late classical" inevitably suggests a much earlier period than the first to the sixth centuries A. D. It would seem that the customary terms might be adapted to use in Asia Minor also with definite improvement in precision and clearness.

The excellent Subject Index and Glossary which concludes the second preliminary report is most welcome. Indeed it is absolutely necessary if one is to understand the numerous Turkish phrases which give local color to the narrative. The complete publication of the scientific results of these years of labor will be awaited with the greatest interest.

C. C. M.