مجموعة توفيق كنعان

الموارد / مجلة JOPS

The Journal of the Palestine Oriental, Vol. VI, 1926. 229 pages.

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

PALESTINE ORIENTAL SOCIETY

VOLUME VI

1926

JERUSALEM

PUBLISHED BY THE PALESTINE ORIENTAL SOCIETY

1926

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MOHAMMEDAN SAINTS AND SANCTUARIES IN PALESTINE

T. CANAAN
(JERUSALEM)

B. RITES AND PRACTISES

(Continued)

5. OATHS

It is a widespread custom to call on God or a saint to witness and attest one's affirmation, or to assert one's innocence. This assurance is given by means of an oath in the name of a holy man, generally in his shrine, or in the name of God and in a shrine of some *welî*. Simple oaths in which the name of God alone is used, and which may be uttered on any occasion, are innumerable and will not be discussed. Simple oaths are so common that they are a part of the daily life of a peasant.[1] If he is telling a story or an

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[1] I will mention some of the most important simple *aqsâm* (pl. of *qasam*) which are much used in the daily life of the peasant. They belong to one of the following two categories:

a) The name or an adjective of God, that of a *welî* or a sanctuary are connected with the oath,

b) The *yamîn* mentions some natural phenomena.

The following examples will illustrate both kinds:

Ad a)

والله ومحمد رسول الله	By God and Mohammed, God's apostle
والله وما أعز من الله	By God, and there is no one more powerful than God
وحياة هالعود والرب المعبود والنبي داهود	By the life of this branch (stick) and the worshipped God and the Prophet David
والصليب الحيّ	By the living cross
وحق القبلة المحمديّة	By the truth of the Mohammedan direction of prayer

adventure and finds it necessary to emphasize a point, because some one may doubt his statement, he says *u-ḥaqq el-Ḫaḍr el-Aḥḍar innî ruḥt uḏjît*, "By the truth (of the existence) of St. George I went and came (back)." Or, „By the truth and honor of the Prophet

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وحق هالكنيسة والساكنين فيها	By the truth of this church and those (i. e. saints) abiding in it
وباب هالشرق معبد النصارى	By the door of this East (i. e. by the direction of the sunrise) which is the prayer direction of the Christians (the direction of burying Christian dead).
والكعبة	By the Ka'beh
والمهد الشريف	By the honourable church of the Nativity
والمصحف	By the Qorân
ولحية النبي	By the beard of the Prophet

Ad b)

وحق عوينة هالشمس المغربة لطاعة ربها	By the truth of this sun's disk (lit. small eye) which is going down in the west in obedience to her Lord
وحياة هالشارب	By the life (here: existence) of this moustache
وحياة المايّ المطهرة الحيّ والميت	By the existence of the water which purifies the living and the dead
وحياة المايّ الجارية والسموات العالية	By the existence of the flowing water and the high heavens
وحياة هالشجرة اللي بتشرب من عرقها وبتسبّح ربها	By the existence of this tree which drinks with its root, and which praises its Lord
وحياة هالبساط الأخضر اللي طلع من الارض خرسا طرشا	By the existence of this green carpet which grew dumb and deaf (i. e. quietly) from the earth
وحق من يعلم كم ورقة في هالشجرة وكم شعرة في هالحيوان	By the truth of the One who knows how many leaves there are on this tree, and how many hairs on this animal. (The person while uttering this oath points to a tree and to an animal)

Some of these formulas were taken from the written notes of my father.

Moses I..."[1] These oaths are made in any place and need not be restricted to a sanctuary. It is customary to use the name of a local or an important outside *welî*. All oaths made in a *môsam* of a saint, or in the neighbourhood of a sanctuary are performed in the name of the respective *welî* or prophet.

More important are oaths made in the shrine itself. The causes for such an act are either major or minor ones. When a man is accused of having stolen something, but no direct proofs can be brought, he is asked by the accuser to go to a *welî* and swear his innocence. The accused, followed by the accuser, enters the shrine. The former lifts up his hands and says: "By God, the Great (Almighty)[2] One who has no greater Power above Him, I have not stolen, nor even seen this she-mule, nor do I know who has taken her."[3] The accuser must content himself with the oath and is regarded as having lost the case. The accuser may not trouble himself and the accused to go in such a case to a sanctuary. The accused may be allowed to turn his face in the direction of the appointed *welî* and swears to his innocence with uplifted hands.

The principle *el-yamîn ʿalâ niyet el-mḥallif*, "the oath is (to be fulfilled) according to the intention (resolution) of the one who requires the oath (from the other)", has two meanings. First that the accuser has the right to appoint the sanctuary, the time and sometimes the part of the sanctuary on which the accused must place his hand while swearing (the tomb, the *miḥrâb*, the Qorân, etc.). In the second place the oath given by the accused is explained in the sense intended by the accuser. Wording which may express the truth only externally, but be essentially untrue, is a false oath. For example A is accused by B of having stolen his maré from the closed stable where it was fastened. A was actually the thief, having stolen the mare in company with C, B's servant. C opened the stable, untied the mare and led it outside the premises of B where A was awaiting him. A then galloped off with it, and after selling the mare gave C his share. B suspects A and asks him to swear.

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[1] *Udjâh en-nabî* Mûsâ ...

[2] This is sometimes repeated three times.

[3] والله العظيم واللّي ما اعظم منه عظيم اني هالبغلة لا سرقتها ولا اخذتها ولا بعلم مين اخذها.

The latter says: "By God, the Almighty, I never entered the premises, unlocked the stable, untied the mare or took it away." His oath is literally true, and B is obliged to accept it, but since he tried to cheat through the wording of the oath, God and the saint will punish him most severely. When the accused is ritually clean he enters the shrine, or if not he stands outside the door of the sanctuary, facing the interior, and performs his oath. In the case of a holy cave one stands on the door. Many Bedouin of Transjordania step over the tomb of the *welî* (*yufšuq*) and then swear. They think that the saint, who is already irritated by the contemptuous act of stepping over his tomb, will act the faster in punishing the accused if he has given a false oath.

If the accused is guilty, but does not dare to acknowledge his fault openly, and is at the same time afraid of perjury, he may get out of his difficulty in the following way, told me by Ṣofiyâ of Ṭurmus'aiyâ. The accused wears his garment turned inside out, fastening in it seven needles and carrying three silver bracelets in his pocket. All this is done secretly. With this protection he believes that no harm will befall him, even if he swears a false oath. He intends by such an act to acknowledge secretly to the man of God that he has committed the fault, but promises him to return the stolen things secretly or by some intermediary.

When an accuser loses his case by a false oath of the accused, he tries to provoke the anger of the saint, believing that he can thus hasten the punishment of his guilty opponent. There are different modes of provocation. He may hold with both hands the two ends of a mat of the sanctuary and swaying it up and down, thus shaking its dust on the accused, say: „O my Lord, O Sêf ed-Dîn, get me my right from this lying scoundrel." Sometimes the mats of the shrine are turned over with the words: "I turn the mats of el-Ḫauwâṣ over on you, O scoundrel." [1] The mats remain upside down until a passer-by or the *qaiym* turns them back. Generally, however, they are not touched, until the person who in this way besought the saint for justice turns them over again himself. This is done when the relatives of the person who made a false oath beg for it. Turning the mats upside down is supposed to

[1] *Qalabt 'alêk ḥuṣr el-Ḫauwâṣ yâ ẓâlim.*

transfer the anger of the saint to the guilty person. These two acts, which are known as *qalb el-ḥuṣur* may be performed not only when a person has perjured himself, but also whenever a person is unjustly oppressed. All believe that these acts will stimulate the saint to react at once in favor of the oppressed person.[1] In some parts the oppressed person goes to the sanctuary, and lying on the floor covers himself with a mat, or he places the sweepings of the shrine on the tomb. Both these acts are believed to irritate the saint, who will at once protect the one who has been maltreated.[2]

When an innocent person is accused and is thus forced to swear he feels himself injured by the suspicion directed at him, and tries in one of the following ways to make the saint avenge him. He throws a small handful (half or a quarter of a full hand) of *qṣârah*[3] on his opponent and says: *Yamînak yiqlib ʿalêk*, "(the result of) the oath (which you have forced me to make) shall return upon you." The accuser answers[4] "it will return on the liar."[5] Others take stones or earth and throw them on the grave or on the *maqâm*, thus arousing the spirit of the holy man to keep his *maqâm* holy and clear of false accusations.[6]

Exceedingly rare is the custom of going to a sanctuary and binding on the headstone (*mṣîbeh*) a piece of cloth belonging to the oppressed person with the words *ṭûr yâ Madjḏûb fî fulân illî ẓalamnî*, "Attack So and So, who has oppressed me, O M." This custom is practiced, as far as I know, only by women of Dêr Ghassâneh.[7]

A last resort to show one's innocence and demand revenge from God is to turn a *maṣḥaf* (Qorân) upside down, saying to the accuser: *haiy qalbêt maṣḥaf ʿalêk*, "Behold a Qorân is turned on you."

While the simple oaths (*ymân ʿurḍah*) for small crimes which we have treated may be made at any *welî*, more solemm ones (*ymân*

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[1] Dêr Ghassâneh.

[2] Both these customs I heard from people of Abû Ghôš.

[3] *Qṣârah* is the plaster coating of the walls of the rooms.

[4] Arab. *yiqlib alâ l-kâḏib.*

[5] The accuser and accused, who came the same way, return separately by different roads.

[6] If the accused is a descendant of a saint and is innocent, he tries to irritate the saint by putting filth on the tomb or by shouting that the saint is asleep, powerless or indifferent (cf. 1 Kings 18 27).

[7] Heard from O. el-Barghûṯî.

mughallaẓ) for major crimes like murder,[1] rape[2] and *hadjseh*[3] have to be performed in the shrine of an important saint. Manṣûr of Liftâ assured me that a *welî ḥišr* (or *nizq*), "a nervous, irritable *welî*" should be chosen, since he will punish a liar at once.[4] In such important cases it is not the accuser, but the judge who orders that such an oath be made in case no absolute proofs can be brought of the defendant's guilt. The judge—if he is unable to go himself—sends representatives to report the result. The oath of the accused must be seconded by a notable and sanctioned by three others.[5]

We have seen that all oaths, taken in a sanctuary, are made in the name of God and not in that of a prophet. The name of the latter may be mentioned in some cases after that of God, but no important oath is ever made in the name of a saint alone. Fridays and Mondays are generally chosen for an important oath. The latter day is selected because it is said that the Prophet was born on a Monday.

The material given in the foregoing section shows the great honour and fear of the saints. Few indeed dare to make a false oath in a shrine, for the vengeance of the saints is most severe. This revenge may show itself in him, his family, his property, or his animals. Story after story is told to illustrate this point. In some cases—as with *el-welî* Šhâb ed-Dîn of Ṣaffâ—the man of God marks the houses of those who make a false oath. Early in the morning they may find the corpse of some animal in front of the door. If no such a thing is found, everybody knows that the oath was a true one.

6. VOWS

The practice of incurring voluntary obligations to a deity on fulfilment of certain conditions, such as deliverance from disease, death, or danger, success in enterprises, bestowal of an heir, and the like, is of extremely ancient date and common in all systems of religion. There are many references in the Bible dealing with vows,

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[1] Ar. *damm*.

[2] Ar. *'arḍ*.

[3] Ar. *hadjseh* is the entrance of a respectable house by a stranger, either for robbery or for adultery.

[4] All those I asked corroborated this statement.

[5] See also O. el-Barghûṯî's paper, *JPOS* II, 51.

which fact shows us how widespread this practice was. The prophet Mohammed gave some rules concerning it in the Qorân, as well as in the Ḥadîṯ. Vows as they are performed at present have kept most of their ancient features.[1] This custom is still found among the peasants as well as among the town-dwellers, among Mohammedans and Christians, rich and poor. All believe in its necessity, its efficacy and its sure blessing. Every difficulty or misfortune in the daily life of the Oriental brings him nearer to his God and to the saints. And holding that these holy men are nearer God than himself, and nearer him than God is, he believes that they are able to help him. He tries to get their protection, favour and help; and believes that he will be more successful if the saints are rewarded by him. Therefore he promises one or more saints an offering, to be given in his or their names and in their honour.

Opportunities for making vows are innumerable: in sickness, in the case of the journey of a friend, when bad news about an absent member of the family is received, when a woman is barren, during a bad agricultural year, in the face of impending danger, repeated loss of children, difficult labour, infectious disease of cattle, etc. Among all these causes sickness is the most important and most vows are paid in connection with it. Many saints are called upon for help. The father, mother, wife, brothers, sisters, children, other relations or even friends of the sick make the vows. Usually each of them calls on a different saint, thus ensuring the help of all the most important saints. In case the condition of the sick men allows, he himself will promise an offering. The value of the offering varies more or less according to the importance of the sick person in the family. The father, husband or the only son are generally the most privileged in this respect. The wife, daughters, or old women of the family come last. I witnessed the following occurrence which illustrates the above excellently, as described in *Aberglaube*, p. 70. Abû Amîn el-Bêtûnî, the eldest member of his *ḥamûleh*[2] fell sick with pneumonia. He had such a severe relapse that the course of the disease was greatly prolonged. When one day his condition got

[1] Kahle, *PJB* VIII, pp. 148 ff.; Canaan, *Aberglaube*, pp. 70 ff.; Jaussen, Doutté, Curtiss, *passim*.

[2] *Ḥamûleh* is the "family" in the wide sense, almost "clan," while the narrower meaning is expressed by *'êleh*.

very critical and I explained the matter to his brothers and relatives, one of his brothers vowed that he would give thirty francs[1] worth of candles to the sanctuary of Abraham (Hebron), to the Mosque of Omar (Jerusalem), and to Moses. At the same time he begged the Almighty God to heal his brother and to inflict the disease instead upon his own young son, who was eight months old.[2] He was even ready to lose his child, if the Almighty would save his brother.[3] A second brother vowed a *ḏbîḥah* for the *welî* Zêtûn (Bêtûniâ), and a second sheep as a *šaṭḥah* (picnic) for his friends and relatives. The wife promised Nebî Ṣamwŷl a sheep, while the sick man himself promised to offer a sheep and a "basket" of rice[4] to Abraham. The other relatives made smaller vows. According to Palestinian Arabic belief God is the Almighty One, who stands higher than all saints. If He chooses He is able to do every thing, possible and impossible. This is the Qorânic teaching. But the saints are preferred. They are easier of access and stand nearer to men—as they all were once human beings. At the same time they know human needs, ailments and weaknesses very well. Therefore the belief in them and the fear of them has spread so widely among the Palestinians that gradually they have taken the place of God. People look at them as minor deities, nor do I doubt that in many places superstition has elevated them to a rank equal to that of God. This is the reason why nearly all vows are made to saints and not to God. The number of saints to whom vows are brought is innumerable. Generally the local *welîs* are preferred, but very often others are thought of, either because they are prophets and thus favourites of the Almighty, or because they have gradually gained through their miracles the complete confidence of the peasants. Even in one and the same village, where there are several *awliyâ*, one of them enjoys the greatest popularity, since he is believed to

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[1] Twenty francs or one pound are called *nêrah* or *lêrah*. The difference between a French, an English, an Egyptian or a Turkish pound is expressed by adding the name of the nation, *fransawîyeh, inglîzîyeh.*

[2] The baby fell sick a few days later.—The mother said *bâb es-samâ kân maftûḥ*, "the gate of heaven was open," i. e., when the father expressed his wish God heard it at once. This idiom is always used when a desire is quickly fulfilled.

[3] Such a desire is not called a *niḏr*, but a *da'ueh* (a curse).

[4] *Quffet ruzz* = 100 kg (33 *roṭl*).

be more powerful than the others. This is why, inspecting several shrines of the same locality, we observe that some are cleaner, better kept and richer than others. Besides the great prophets, like Moses, Abraham, David, Christ, Rûbîn (Reuben), Samuel, Ṣâleḥ, etc., who are more highly thought of than the rest, there are some *welîs* like the Badrîyeh, Salmân el-Fârsî, el-Qaṭrâwânî,[1] etc., who enjoy a wide reputation.

Some saints do not like to see a woman entering their sanctuaries even to fulfil a vow made in their name. This is especially true of Mâr Sâbâ. Some women of the Greek Church therefore never make offerings to him, since he will not allow any of them to enter his sanctuary. The following story will illustrate this belief.[2] A Russian lady, who had offered him a golden lamp, wished to bring it herself. She wore male clothes, entered the church of the convent unrecognized and placed the lamp in front of his picture. Some unseen power threw the lamp away and spilled the oil. Every time the lamp was replaced, it was thrown still further away. The astonished *raiys* (head of the convent), who observed all what was happening, searched for the reason, and as soon as he found out that the offerer was a distinguished woman, he begged her to leave the convent, assuring her that Mâr Sâbâ does not accept any offerings from women, but even prohibits females from entering the convent.[3]

Vows are not only made to sanctuaries where a *maqâm* and a tomb are found, but every other shrine combination which we have studied enjoys this privilege. Naturally what is vowed to these shrines—stones, caves, trees, springs, etc.—is as a rule much inferior to what is offered to the *anbiyâ*. Offerings to supposed holy stones, trees, waters, etc., are another connecting link with primitive religions.

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[1] El-Qaṭrâwânî is situated on the top of a mountain, amidst a small group of oak trees, which grow between the remains of a ruin, with several cisterns. The shrine is composed of one room with two domes. The shrine is composed of one room with two domes. The tomb is supposed to be in a cave below the building. A heap of *šîḥ* (see below) was placed in the N. E. corner of the room. To the west of the sanctuary one finds the tomb of his servant.

[2] Related to me by Imm Eliâs of Jerusalem.

[3] Therefore the women of the Greek Orthodox congregation work on his feast day, saying that since he does not like them they will not honour him, *'umruh la t'aiyad.*

Vows may even be made to living persons. Generally these priviliged men belong to one of the following classes:

1. The descendants of a holy man. A thorough examination of the present *awliyâ* shows that some of them are recent and that their descendants are still living. Cases in point are *ḥadj* 'Obeid,[1] 'Abdallâh[2] and *irdjâl* Ṣûfah.[3] To the living sons of the *awliyâ* simple things are promised (*tunbâk*,[4] *djâdjih*,[5] *ṯôb*,[6] etc.).

2. *Šêḫs* of a *ṭarîqah* or who are considered as especially pious, as *eš-šêḫ* Abû Ḥalâwŷ.

3. Servants of a shrine or a priest. Vows of this class are especially made by Christians. The following case illustrates this type. A man of Djifnâ whose son was sick vowed: "O St. George, if my child gets well I shall offer curtains[7] (lit. cloths) for your church and a vestment for the priest."[8]

4. To mentally abnormal men. In 'Ên 'Arîk there used to live an insane[9] man who was silent most of the time and walked only backwards. Not only the inhabitants of this village but also those of the surrounding places considered him a *welî*. They thought that by his behaviour one could foretell the future of the village. If he shouted during the night, rain fell, and if he ran aimlessly to and

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[1] In 'Ên Kârim. The *maqâm*, which is at the same time a *djâmi'* with a *mêdaneh*, is inside the village. Adjacent to the shrine there is a fruit garden. Anybody who takes a cutting from these trees and plants it, finds that it will not grow.

[2] West of *eš-šêḫ* Ghêṯ (near Dêr Ghassâneh). His *maqâm* was originally a cave which was changed into a small room with cloisters in front. The tomb of his wife (es-Slâḫîyeh) is beside his. His family all belong to Dâr Muṣṭafâ Šaniûr (O. S. Barghûṯî).

[3] The *maqâm* is situated on the top of a hill to the west of Dêr Ghassâneh, and contains three tombs for the male (el-Madjḏûb, Ibrâhîm and 'Alî) and two female (daughters of el-Madjḏûb) descendants. Outside the *maqâm* there are four other tombs, one for *eš-šêḫah* Ṣâlḥah and the other for her maid Hanûr. I owe this information to O. S. Barghûṯî.

[4] Tobacco used in the argîleh.

[5] A hen.

[6] A cloth.

[7] The "curtain" is a thin (if possible a silky) cloth which is hung over the pictures.

[8] It is the official suit carried by the priest in the church.

[9] Eight years ago he was living; I do not know whether he is still alive.

fro they knew that *ḫaiyâleh*[1] "gendarmerie" were approaching the village to collect the taxes. Women used to vow him a hen in case one of their family was sick. A few hairs of this saint's head were always taken when the hen was presented, and with these hairs the patient was fumigated.[2]

Sometimes vows are made to objects or places which are not connected with a known saint. As soon as a spontaneous, miraculous sign is supposed to have been observed by someone, the place is regarded as inhabited by some supernatural power, probably pious men of unknown origin (*ṣullâḥ*) to whom vows may then be made. The following example is a good illustration of this. To the left of the carriage road[3] leading from Jerusalem to Kolôniâ and opposite the last house of Liftâ (situated some distance from the main village and directly below the carriage road) there is a cave in which some peasants of Liftâ[4] used to live during the summer months. During its stay in this cave the family lost one member after the other. Once the father of the family noticed a mysterious light in the cave, which made clear to him that this place was inhabited by some superhuman power who had punished him for having defiled its habitation. At once he moved from the spot and vowed to offer a sheep and to light an oil lamp once a week.[5]

There is another set of vows which have no connection with the types described hitherto, in which offerings are made to objects which are not associated with any holy man, holy place or sacred object. The best illustration is the following custom: Sterile women who go to the *môsam* of el-Ḥusên, near Ascalon, take a bath in the sea and promise: "If I become pregnant, O sea, I shall kill a sheep in your honour."[6] In the *môsam* of the next year a woman who had received the blessing of motherhood kills the sheep on the shore, in

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[1] People were very much frightened when gendarmerie came to a village, since the soldiers gathered the taxes heartlessly, imposing many unnecessary expenses upon the villagers.

[2] Cf. *Aberglaube*, p. 72, n. 5.

[3] The place is called el-Ḥômeh.

[4] The same family which lives now in the house opposite the cave.

[5] The same may be said about *eš-šêḫ* Ḥusên (near ed-Ḍâhrîyeh) where one night a light was observed under the *sidr* tree. At once the tree was regarded as growing in the site of a *welî* and a small *maqâm* was built.

[6] *In ḫbilt yâ baḥr la-aḍbaḥlak ḫarûf.*

such a way that the blood flows into the sea, and throwing the *saqaṭ*[1] of the sheep into the sea she exclaims:[2] "Take your vow, O sea."[3] Although such customs are really very rare, they carry us back to past ages when the sea was honoured and worshipped as a divinity.

A connecting link between the two last antagonistic groups, i. e., between objects and places which have no religious tinge at all, and those which are directly connected with saints, are places where, according to local belief, dervish music or prayers have been heard, a greenish light seen, or burning incense smelled. The discoverer of such a place makes the first vow. A good illustration of this belief is given by the story of Djum'ah (above pp. 59f).

In closing this section we may draw attention to the two following points:

1. In many cases vows are made to God without mentioning any saint.[4] "If my child gets well, O God, I shall slay a sheep for you." In such a case the sheep may be slain in any place and the meat be given to the poor. Vows to God are becoming less and less frequent.

2. Most of the Mohammedans I asked, assured me that it is an irreligious act to make a vow in the name of a saint. Every thing comes from the Almighty and must be offered therefore in his name. *Illî biyn̲der lâ-walî min dûn ḏikr allâh ṣârat ḏbîḥtu fṭîṣeh,* "Whoever makes a vow to a *welî* without mentioning God, his sheep becomes a carcass." A dead beast is, of course, not accepted either by God or by a saint, and should not be eaten by men.[5] The only correct formulas are of the following type: *in ṭâb ibnî yâ allâh ilak yâ Ḫauwâṣ . . .*, "If my child gets well, O God, you will have, O Ḫauwâṣ . . ." This principle is followed more rigidly by the Bedouin than by the peasants, as is well illustrated in the formula recited when a *ḏbîḥah* is killed by a Bedouin. He says: *minnak u ilak yâ*

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[1] *Saqaṭ* means the head, intestines, extremities, lungs and other internal organs. It will be described more fully later on.

[2] *Ḫôḏ niḏrak yâ baḥr.*

[3] Cf. *Aberglaube,* pp. 75, 76.

[4] *In ṭâb ibnî yâ allâh la-aḏbaḥlak ḫarûf.*

[5] Qorân.

allâh, adjr u ṯawâb[1] *la-saiydnâ Mûsâ allâh akbar*, "It is from Thee and to Thee, O God; reward and recompense for our lord Moses; God is great."[2] This is a religious rule, but popular religion is in many ways hostile to the religion of the Qorân and the Bible.

The formulas used in making a vow are different. Usually the word *niḏr*, "vow," is used: *niḏrun 'alaiy yâ nabî Mûsâ in ṭâb ibnî la-aqaddimlak ḫarûf*, "A vow (is) upon me, O prophet Moses; if my son gets well I shall offer you a sheep." The word *niḏr* may be omitted: "O my lady Badrîyeh, I owe you a jar of oil, if my son returns healthy from America." A third form is: *in ṭâb aḫûy la-aḍwîlak šam'ah ṭûluh yâ Ḫaḍr el-Aḫḍar*, "If my brother is cured I will light you, O Ḫaḍr el-Aḫḍar, a candle of his length."[3]

All these vows are known officially as *nḏûr muqaiyadeh*,[4] "bound vows," i. e., vows bound by a condition, which must be executed. There are vows belonging to another class, namely, *nuḏûr muṭlaqah*, "free (general) vows," in which no condition binds the fulfilment of the vow: *ilak 'alaiy yâ rasûl allah an aṣûm šahrên*, "I impose upon myself for thy sake, O Apostle of God, the obligation of fasting two months." In some parts of Palestine special expressions are used when vowing an animal; they will be described below. A beautiful formula is expressed in the following verse, which is recited by a mother visiting St. George's church with her two children, and asking him to keep them alive:

Yâ Ḫaḍr el-Aḫḍar 'alêk el-yôm ṭêrêni
waḥad imreiyš u waḥad imkaḥḥal el-'ênî
niḏrun 'alaiya in 'âšû hal-iṯnêni
la-aḏbaḥ ḏabâiḥ u aqaddim lal-Ḫaḍr dênî.[5]

O Ḫaḍr Ever Green, two birds come to you;
The one with feathers (i. e., well-grown), the other with darkened eyes (i. e., still very young).

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[1] These two words well express a very important fact in *ḏabâyḥ*, namely, that they are made for the benefit of the saint to whom they are offered.

[2] Heard from a Bedouin of the 'Idwân tribe.

[3] At times a very indefinite promise is made: *ilak 'alaiy yâ mâr Miḫâ'îl in mišî ibnî illî biyṭla' min nafsî*, "I vow to you, O St. M., if my son walks, what I will give you."

[4] Ibn Rušd, *Bidâyatu l-Mudjtahid ua Nihâyatu l-Muqtaṣid*, vol. I, pp. 341, etc.

[5] Bêt Djâlâ.

I take as a vow upon myself, if these two remain alive,
I shall offer sacrifices and pay my dues to Ḫaḍr.[1]

Another verse of this sort used also by Christians is:

Yâ ʿAḏrâ Mariam ḥarîr eẕ Šâm zunnârik
niḏrun ʿalaiya in adjû l-ghuyâb la-aḥtâdjik.[2]

O Virgin Mary, the silk of Damascus (I will give as) your belt;
I vow that if those absent come back, I shall need you (i. e., I shall fulfil my promise).

At times the person who is in great difficulty goes to a sanctuary, prays with devotion, begs for help, makes a vow and writes it on the wall of the shrine. In this way he binds himself doubly, while the *welî* is reminded continually by the writing. In the *maqâm* of *eš-šêḫ* ʿÒkâšeh I found the following writing, which is an excellent illustration of this custom: "I intrust to this place my testimony, that there is no God but Allâh and Mohammed is God's apostle. O my lord ʿÒkâšeh, if Aḥmad the son of Ḫadîdjeh the son of Zakâriâ goes out of the jail wit" God's help and your help, I will bring to you, O my lord ʿÒ. three oqîyeh (ca. 750 gm.) of oil, and I shall come to visit you. Pray to your God (to hear my prayer), O my lord ʿO . . ."

In offering the promised vow one of the following expressions may be used: *adjâk niḏrak yâ . . .*, "Your vow has come to you, O . . .;" *ḫôḏ ḏbîḥtak yâ . . .*, "take your sacrifice, O . . .;" *haîy šamʿtak yâ . . .*, "Here is your candle, O . . ."

Vows may be made at any time. In some parts the night is chosen (Benî Zêd).[3] Thus a woman, whose child is dangerously ill, and who is therefore in great anxiety, chooses the night, if possible

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[1] Another verse which is more a prayer than a vow is:

yâ allâh yâ saiyd
wil-walad uḥeiyd
tinšil lnâ waladnâ
zaiy mâ našalt el-Ḫaḍrâ min yad el-kuffâr.

O God, O Lord,
The boy is the only son;
Deliver us our son,
As you delivered el-Ḫaḍrâ from the hands of the infidels.

[2] Bêt Djâlâ.

[3] This belief is sometimes also found in other parts of Palestine.

shortly after midnight. She goes out of the house to speak directly with her God. Uncovering her chest,[1] and lifting up her arms she makes a vow. Sometimes she goes entirely naked[2] and implores the Almighty or some saint for help, promising him an offering. It is believed that at such a time—when all human beings are at rest[3]—the angels fill the atmosphere and hear human wishes better than in the day time.[4] They carry them to heaven at once and bring them to the desired saint.[5]

Whoever makes a vow must keep it: *kullu niḏrin farḍ*, "every vow is an obligation." Both Bible[6] and Qorân[7] give special rules for the fulfilment. The sooner a promise is carried out the better. The saints sometimes remind a man who has not kept his promise. A peasant promised *eš-šêḫ* Ibrâhîm[8] an offering. As a long period passed without an attempt on the part of the man to carry out his obligation, the saint appeared to him in a dream and warned: "Pay your vow at once; if you are unable to do all that you have promised, bring part of it." Generally the *awliâ* are not so gracious, but are greatly irritated by such conduct and will punish the culprit severely. A woman vowed to give *eš-šêḫ* Ḥusên[9] an offering and did not keep her word. The angry *welî* threw a *bannây*[10] on her and she had a miscarriage. Some think that saints try to remind a man who has not fulfilled his promise in a gentle, but sometimes also in a severe way. Thus when the clothes of a person are caught in

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[1] A sign of humiliation.

[2] The strongest sign of humiliation.

[3] Even nature and some spirits are thought to sleep during the night; therefore a person should never drink from standing water without first saying: *itnabbahî yâ moiy mâ wirdik illâ l-ʿaṭšân*, "Wake up, O water, only the thirsty one has approached you to drink."

[4] It is said that the noise of human beings disturbs the angels, therefore the night-prayer is the one best heard.

[5] Some days are always preferred to others for prayers, vows, etc. Among them are *lêlatu* l-Qadr, *lêlat* ʿArâfât, *l.* ʿAšûrah, etc. (*eš-šêḫ* ʿAbd el-Madjîd ʿAlî, *At-Tuḥfatu l-Marḍîyah fil-Aḫbâr el-Maqdisîyah*, p. 50).

[6] Num. 8 12-16, 30 5; Deut. 25 22; Ps. 22 26, 50 14, 66 13, 116 14 and 18.

[7] Sûrah V, 1; IX, 76.

[8] This *welî* is the brother of *eš-šêḫ* Šuʿêb. Both have their shrines near Bêt Djibrîn. Ibrâhîm is situated in a ruin bearing his name. Quite near to him is Ḫirbet Santa Ḫannâ.

[9] In ʿÊn ʿArîk, the spring near his shrine bears his name.

[10] A large unhewn stone (lit. an unhewn stone which can be used in building).

thistles or if he gets sick, he may be asked by his friends,[1] "Have you bound yourself by a promise, which you have not yet fulfilled?"[2]

It is often posssible—in case a man is unable to fulfil his promise exactly—to change some part of it or to substitute another for it. If for example, somebody vows a sheep, it is of course preferable to sacrifice it at the saint's shrine, but if he is unable to go himself he may send money to the *qaiym* or to a friend, who will buy the animal and offer it in his name. The sheep may even be slain in the village in the name of the prophet.

Or in case a woman promises to walk barefoot to a sanctuary and tries to do it but is unable to continue the journey for some physical reason, she may be released of her promise by doing something else, or by offering a sum of money in the name of the saint, giving it to the poor or depositing it at the shrine. The prophet Mohammed is reported to have said:[3] "Whoever promises to walk to a place and cannot do it, is not permitted to fulfil his vow."[4]

Whenever a person can not fulfil his vows, he goes to a *šêḫ* and asks for advice; he is generally told how to change his vow and what to offer as a substitute. It is a wide-spread belief among people of Palestine that, while every *niḏr* may be replaced by another, a vow of fasting a certain number of days or weeks (besides Ramaḍân) can not be changed. This vow can not be "bought"[5] in any way. According to the regulations of the Old Testament every vow could be changed to payment of money except a sacrificial animal.[6]

It very often happens that during the fulfilment of a promise one binds himself to continual offerings. A father promised the prophet Moses once that if his only son, who was badly sick, should get well

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[1] An accident is believed to be a particularly strong reminder.

[2] Every one who is reminded in one of the above mentioned ways will at once say: *lâzim niḏrak yṣalak yâ . . .*, "Your vow, O . . . will surely reach you."

[3] The Mohammedan theologians have discussed the subject of vows very minutely in their books. I shall mention only the following question which may happen often in the daily life. Is a person allowed to bind himself to abstain from allowed things (*mubâḥât*)? Yes, is the answer, except that the matrimonial duties should never be neglected.

[4] *Man naḏara an yamši limahallin walan yastaṭî' an yaqûma bihî falâ yadjûzu an yukmila niḏruhu mašyan.*

[5] Often the expression "bought," *ištara*, is used; *ištara niḏruh ibmît qirš*, "he bought his vow with 100 piastres," i. e., he offered this sum instead of his vow.

[6] See Zeller, *Biblisches Wörterbuch* I, 453.

he would give him a sheep. While the father—after the recovery of the child—was offering the sheep at the shrine of the prophet, he exclaimed,[1] "Here is your vow, O Interlocutor of God, and if you keep my son well I vow you a sheep every year." Not only Mohammedans but also Christians may bind themselves in such a way.

Most of the vows are not expensive, but some are really costly. A man of Abû Dîs who fell sick during his stay in America and became badly ill, vowed:[2] "If I return to my family in perfect health, O God, I shall build a minaret for the mosque of my village." He got well and as soon as he returned to his country he built the minaret in question.[3] Another more expensive promise was that of a *šêḫ* of the family el-Imâm (Jerusalem).[4] During his last sickness he promised: „If I get well, O Prophet of God (Mohammed), I will build a *djâmi'* with a minaret. But in case I die I beg you, O my relatives, to clothe forty orphans in my name."

The things which may be vowed are so numerous that it appears impracticable to give them in one list. They may be divided according to the sort of vows into 1. material offerings,[5] and 2. work promised. But a better classification is the following, which arranges them according to their purposes:

1. Things which serve directly for the upkeep of the *maqâm*
   a) Offerings which serve to preserve and to beautify the sanctuary
   b) Material for repairs
   c) Personal work
2. Vows of food made in the name of a saint and offered (mostly) in his shrine. The shrine derives no direct benefit from the offering, but the poor receive a part in most cases
   a) Animal sacrifices
   b) *Qurbân, walîmeh lil-lâh*
   c) Meatless food

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[1] *Haiy niḏrak yâ Kalîm Allâh u ilak ʿalaîy kull saneh ḫarûf in ḫallêtlî ibnî ṭaiyb.*

[2] *In irdjiʿt bis-salâmeh laʿyâlî yâ Allâh la-abnî mêdaneh ladjâmiʿ baladî.*

[3] The story was told me by his cousin.

[4] See *Aberglaube*, p. 74.

[5] It should be noted that although most of the things found in a shrine are donations having their origin in vows, there are still other things which were the property of the *šêḫ* himself. The rosary and the spear belong to this category.

3. Offerings given to needy persons in the name of the *welî*
   a) Poor, sick, rarely for hospitals
   b) Orphans and widows
   c) Prisoners
4. Religious vows
5. Bodily chastisements and vows to be fulfilled on the body of the vower or the person vowed for
6. Vows having no connection at all with any holy person or shrine, and not made for the poor
7. Offerings for the dead

I. Things which serve for the upkeep of the *maqâm*

Things vowed and offered to a saint which serve directly for the upkeep, decoration or repair of the shrine, make by far the greatest number of all vows. Most of the offerings which belong to this group are so simple and cheap that even the poorest peasant is able to offer something. This is the reason for their popularity.

a) Offerings which are used to maintain and to beautify the shrine

The two most important elements of this category—oil and incense—enjoy now, as among the ancient Orientals, a special favour. Olive oil is vowed and offered more than anything else. Peasants and townsmen, Christians and Mohammedans, rich and poor vow oil, and it may be offered to any sort of sanctuary. The olive tree —*šadjaret en-nûr*,[1] "the tree of light," as it is called in the Qorân— is regarded as holy. It shows its supernatural power by its animation. The best example of this is the *zêtûnet en-nabî*[2] with the Mohammedans, and the following belief among Christians. The olive trees kneel down in the night of the feast of the Holy Cross, because it is thought that the heavens open on this very night.[3] A peasant of Bethlehem told me the following story. One night he lost his mule. He looked through the dark night in vain for his animal, but as he was searching in an olive grove, he observed that the ground was

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[1] Some data relating to this subject have already been noted.
[2] Cf. *Aberglaube*, p. 87.
[3] Mohammedans believe that heaven opens once every year in *lêlatu* l-Qadr.

covered with branches of trees. He did not trust his own eyes, and as he could not find any explanation, he tore off a piece of his garment and fastened it to a branch, marking the place at the same time in order to find it early the next day and to investigate this mystery in broad day-light. Returning home he related the occurrence to his relatives. Nobody could account for this fact. An old man, sitting in the corner, shook his head plously and reminded all that this night was the night of the feast of the Holy Cross,[1] in which all the trees kneel reverently down before their master. The peasant went next day to the scene of his nightly adventure and saw all the trees standing erect while the piece of cloth, which he had fastened on a branch, floated high up in the air on the top of the tree.[2]

The Qorân[3] and the Bible mention oil and the olive tree very often. According to *Sûrah* XCV, 1, God swears[4] by this tree and therefore it is called *eš-šadjarah el-mubârakeh*, "the blessed tree." It was given to Adam and Eve after their expulsion from Paradise, and it was the first plant which appeared after the flood.[5] The Arabs say that Adam had a very bad skin trouble. He begged the Almighty for help, and God sent the angel Gabriel with an olive sprig. The angel ordered Adam: "take this sprig, plant it and prepare from its fruit an oil which will cure all diseases except poisoning."[6] The peasants of Palestine swear sometimes by the olive tree saying: *wiḥyât šadjret en-nûr*, "By the life of the Tree of Light."[7] Oil is still used to light private houses, as well as churches, mosques and sanctuaries. It still enjoys the same popularity in popular medicine, religious ceremony and magic procedure, as it used to in the ancient Orient.[8]

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[1] According to local superstition some plants (*'ûd mês*) have a better prophylactic and curative action if cut on a special day. The 27th of Ramaḍân enjoys this renown.

[2] On the Ascension day of the Virgin the trees are also supposed to kneel down.

[3] Sûrah XVI, 11; XXIV, 35; LXXX, 29; XCV, 1; VI, 99 and 141.

[4] Sûrah XCV, 1; XXIV, 35.

[5] Faḫr er Râzî VI, 174; Gen. 8 11.

[6] *Dâiratu l-Ma'ârif*, IX, 338.

[7] Another form is *u-ḫaqq man dâr ez-zêt fiz-zêtûn*, "By that One (God) who put the oil in the olives."

[8] Oil is used in the Bible very often to express power, joy, light, life and wisdom.

This oil—which is always *zêt zêtûn*[1] (olive oil) and never *sŷridj* (sesame oil)—is used for the small oil lamps, which will be described below. According to the ability of the person vowing, a *djarrah*,[2] half a *djarrah*, a *raṭl*, or a *qazâzeh* (also called a *qannîneh*, a bottle of 800—1000 ccm.) are promised. Very often the quantity is not specified and many *fellâḥîn* offer only a partly filled bottle. In villages far from cities an *ibrîq* (jug) of oil is given instead of a *qannîneh*. The vessels in which the oil[3] is taken are left in the sanctuary. This is the reason why we find dozens of such bottles or jugs scattered about a typical shrine. Good examples of this practice are *qubbet* el-Arb'în, *eš-šêḫ* 'Anbar, el-'Azêrât, es-Sidrî, etc. In el-Badrîyeh (Šarâfât) there are two large jars quite full of oil.[4] Empty bottles, broken jars and jugs are not removed from the shrine, and thus we meet with a lot of potsherds scattered in the place. In large *maqâms* the one who vows gives the oil to the *haddâm* of the shrine and tells him plainly that it belongs to the saint, and that it should be used exclusively in the shrine. *Qimt en-niḏr min raqbatî uḥaṭṭêtuh fî raqbatak*, "I have removed the vow from my neck (i. e. I remove all obligations from myself) and place it on your neck (and impose it on you)." Everybody believes that if such an offering is not used in the shrine of the saint, the *welî* will punish the servant of the shrine and not the one who pays the vow. Expressions like the above are especially common among Christians who have vowed an offering to a prophet or *welî* whose shrine is in Mohammedan hands: Nebî Mûsâ, Nebî Dâhûd, Ibrâhîm el-Ḫalîl,[5] etc.

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[1] Also called *zêt ḥilû*. Petroleum is *zêt kâz*, and not *zêt murr*, as Kahle states in *PJB* VIII, 139.

[2] A *djarrah* contains from 5-7 *raṭl*, according to the different districts of Palestine.

[3] The following story will illustrate the belief that olive oil strengthens the body more than melted butter (*samneh*). A wife had a son of her own and a step son. Both were shepherds. Every day before they drove the animals into the fields she gave her own son—who was always preferred—bread and *samneh*, while the other received nothing but bread dipped in oil. After finishing their meals both used to wipe their hands by rubbing them on their sticks. The stick of the son was soon hollowed out by weevils, while that of his step-brother became gradually harder and stronger. (Taken from the written notes of my father, Rev. B. Canaan.)

[4] Not all the oil found in a shrine comes from offerings. In large *maqâms* some of it comes from the *waqf* of the *welî* or from the department of religious endowments (*dâirat el-auqâf*).

[5] Heard from a woman of Ṭaiybeh and from Imm Elyâs.

Two customs must still be mentioned in this connection. Very often a person takes a vow to offer a quantity of oil every year to a *welî*, "I will give you, O *šêḫ* Salmân el-Fârsî a *raṭl* of olive oil every year if you cure my son." Although this custom may be followed with any offering, it is more common with oil. Many peasants take some oil with them as a present every time they go to visit the shrine, even if they are not bound by a vow. In such cases half a bottle only is presented. It is believed that this act pleases the saint, who favours the giver. When I visited 'Êsâwîyeh I asked the *šêḫ*[1] Moḥammed 'Alî to send somebody to guide me to *šêḫ* 'Anbar. The young lad brought a bottle half filled with oil and placed it in the *maqâm*. On my question whether he or one of his relatives had made a vow to offer oil, he answered: "No, but every time we come to the neighbourhood of the *welî*, we bring some oil with us."

Most of those who offer oil take with them a match box (*'ilbit kabrît or kaḥḥâteh*) and leave it there. Thus opportunity is given to every visitor to light the oil lamps. A great number of full and empty boxes are found in the *ṭaqât* of some shrines.

It is expected that every one fulfils his promise exactly, since the saint takes every vow at its exact wording. Thus a larger offering than was mentioned in a vow may not be accepted by the *welî*. A very poor widow, whose only child was badly ill promised, in her excited state and without knowing what she was uttering: *yâ Ḫaḍr ed-Djerîd in ṭâb ibnî la-aqaddimlak zêt fî qišret bêḍah*, "O St. George, if my son gets well, I shall offer you oil in an egg-shell." As soon as her child recovered, she hastened with a pitcher of oil to fulfil her vow. She filled the oil lamp which hung in front of St. Georges picture, but an unseen power tilted the lamp and the oil was spilled. The same thing happened every time the lamp was filled. The priest who observed this unexplicable happening asked the woman, "What was your promise?" And when she told him, he answered very earnestly: "The saint accepts only what is due him, and not a grain[2] more."[3]

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[1] *Šêḫ* here does not mean *welî* but "old man."

[2] In Arabic they use the word *ġamḥah*, "grain of wheat" also in this sense.

[3] Related by Abû Elyâs, Jerusalem.

The oil presented is used only to light the oil lamps. Indications regarding the use of oil taken from the lamps of sanctuaries will be given later. Since olive oil is not so abundant in Transjordania, melted butter (*samneh*)[1] takes its place in vows and for lighting lamps in shrines. Candles (*šamï*, pl. of *šam'ah*) and kerosene oil (*kâz* or *zêt kâz*) are also vowed. In the case of candles not only the number but very often the quality and the length are specified.[2] "O Nebî Mûsâ if I find my boy in good health, I will light you a candle of wax of his length."[3] *Šamï naḥl*[4] are finer than tallow candles and are more fitting as offerings. The length of candles is specified only in cases where children are sick. When no specification is made the following expression is used, *yâ . . . la-aḍwîlak šam'ah*, "O . . ., I shall light you a candle." Sometimes the weight of the candles is specified. In el-Badrîyeh heaps of such candles may be seen,[5] mostly offered by Christians of Bêt Djâlâ and Bethlehem.[6] I have rarely found candles in less important sanctuaries.

In the case of the church of St. Mary near Gethsemane the vow may specify the number of candles and the way the vow must be fulfilled: "O my lady Mary, if my son Elyâs walks, I shall light your staircase on both sides."[7] For every step two candles are lighted. A few minutes later the priest puts the light out, gathers the candles and keeps them in the sanctuary for further use.[8] A vow of this sort must be paid on the first day of Mary's feast. A still more comprehensive vow is the following: "If my son Ibrâhîm walks I shall light a candle in every shrine which he enters."

The most common lamps used in shrines are small, crudely prepared pottery lamps, which resemble ancient Canaanite lamps in many respects. These *surdj* (pl. of *srâdj*) may be specified in vows.

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[1] As the Bedouin do not have much oil, we find that animal sacrifices are very abundant. Often an animal sacrifice takes the place of oil.

[2] *Yâ Nabî Mûsâ in laqêt ibnî ṭaiyb la aḍwîlak šam'ah min naḥl u ṭûluh.*

[3] Promised by a father who receives during his absence news of the illness of his child.

[4] The expression means properly "beeswax."

[5] Some of them I saw hanging from the ceiling and others lay on the so-called tombs of her children.

[6] Christians trust greatly to the help of this female *welî*.

[7] *Yâ sittî Maryam in mišî ibnî Elyâs la aḍwî daradjik 'alâ ed-djihtên.*

[8] Heard from Imm Elyâs (Jerusalem).

They are placed in one of the cupboards of the tomb, in a niche in the wall, on the tomb or around it (*eš-šêḫ* Ḥamad, Qubbet el-Arb'în), on a ledge in the wall (š. 'Anbar), on a wooden bracket fastened on the wall[1] (Sulṭân Ibrâhîm el-'Adhamî, el-Badrîyeh), in a cave (Aḥmad el-Ḥwês), under a tree (š. 'Abdallâh), in a stony enclosure (š. Frêdj[2]) or in an open place (el-'Umarî[3]).

Sometimes we find tins crudely shaped, by bending their sides upwards, into a lamp-like vessel, which serves to hold the oil.[4] A lamp of this inferior type is not presented, but made at the spot for the lack of a pottery lamp.[5]

The wick[6] is made in two ways: 1. a piece of cotton thread, or even a thin strip, of cloth is well dipped into the oil, one end protruding above the surface of the liquid; 2. a thin stick of wood about twice as long as a match is well wrapped in cotton. The upper end of the cotton is allowed to project over the wood. After dipping the whole in oil it is placed perpendicularly in the lamp and lighted.

Some people vow a glass lamp with or without an outside silver casing. A *qandîl min fiḍḍah*, "silver lamp," may be suspended by a silver chain in front of the saint's picture,[7] above the tomb[8] or in front of the *miḥrâb*. Rich people vow brass or silver candlesticks, or even an expensive lustre for candles or glass lamps.[9]

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[1] These holders may be a little more complicated, so that they look like a small, elongated, narrow box without the top and front side. The top may at times be present.

[2] Bêt Ḥanînâ.

[3] Jericho.

[4] In some places empty sardine or other tins were used as lamps.

[5] In *en-nabî* Dâniân I found an old pan used as an oil lamp. I want to correct at this place the statement made on page 62 about the situation of this sanctuary. It lies to the SW of el-Ḥaḍer, and not between this village and Arṭâs. It is situated on a high mountain, commanding a magnificent view. The shrine is surrounded by a ruin and the simple niche is built in the midst of the oak trees.

[6] *Fṭîleh.*

[7] Mohammedans never have human or animal pictures in their mosques or shrines.

[8] In churches they are very often met with. In Mohammedan shrines they are rarely found except in important sanctuaries.

[9] I have not found pottery lamps in churches. For illustrations of pottery lamps see McCown, *Annual of the American School*, vol. II—III, p. 28.

Incense (*baḫḫûr*) is very often vowed: "O *šêḫ* Ṣabbâḥ if my boy comes out of jail, I shall burn incense for you." Much more often the phrase *ad'aq*[1] *baḫḫûr fî maqâmek*, "I shall burn incense in your shrine," is used. This incense may be burned in the shrine at once or it may be given to the *ḥaddâm* or priest. In unimportant shrines the *baḫḫûr* is burned in an old dish, a piece of tin or on a potsherd. These objects remain afterwards in the shrine. Such is the case in all the shrines of Jericho, eš-šêḫ Ḥusên, Qubbet el-Arb'în, ed-Dawâ'rî, etc. Sometimes the quantity of incense is specified in the *niḏr*. Incense may be offered in all sorts of shrines.[2]

Burning incense is a very old custom, found in all religions and connected with many ceremonies.[3] It is not only done in shrines, but also in places inhabited by demons. In the first case it is thought one pleases the holy men by this act, while in the second instance it drives away the evil spirits. It is supposed that what pleases holy men and God is disliked by devils, demons and evil spirits. For this reason it is employed by sorcerers to expel evil spirits from supposed demoniacs.

Other votive objects belonging to this category are: mats (*ḥaṣîreh*, pl. *ḥuṣur*), carpets (*siddjâdeh—siddjâd*), brooms[4] (*mukunseh—makânes*), jars (*djarrah—djrâr, hiššeh—hišaš*), pails (*ṣaṭl—ṣṭûleh*), tins (*tanakeh—tanak*[5]), ropes (*ḥabîl—ḥbâl*)[6], water skins[7] (*qirbeh—qirab*, small ones are called *si'in—s'ûneh*), wood (*ḥaṭab*), etc. With the exception of the carpets all objects are vowed to all sorts of shrines, especially the simple ones. Carpets and *ḥudjur* (pl. of *ḥudjrah*)—long woollen

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[1] *Da'aqa* in the sense of "burn" is not found in Belot, Wahrmund, Kassâb and Hammâm or in *Muḥîṭ el-Muḥîṭ*.

[2] If a menstruating women goes down to 'Ên eš-Šêḫ Ḥusên (in Kolônia, also called 'Ên ed-Djôz) she has to purify the place at once by burning incense. If she fails to do it, the servant of the *welî* (an *'abd*) will appear and inflict some disease upon her.

[3] In the Old Testament burning incense was one of the official religious rites, Ex. 30 7, 8, Lev. 16 12, etc.

[4] There are two kinds of brooms, the usual one with a broad sweeping surface and the round, short one, which ends in a small brush.

[5] For storing or drawing water; sometimes specified as *tanaket kâz*, as they were originally used for petroleum.

[6] For drawing water.

[7] For the transport and storage of water.

carpets woven by women—are presented to the more important sanctuaries.

Decorative objects are sometimes also vowed and fastened to the wall of the *maqâm* or to the tomb. Qorân verses, *kaff qamiḥ*, or jewels are met with. Besides verses of the holy book sometimes the genealogical tree of the Prophet, and representations of the Ka'beh and the sanctuary of Medînah are found. A *kaff qamiḥ* is made of ears of grain with long stems woven in such a way as to have ears on three sides—the two lateral and the lower—while the upper is earless. This "hand" of corn is generally offered as a sign of thanks for a good harvest. In Bêt Djâlâ every owner of a vineyard[1] used to bring on *'id et-tadjallî* (Transfiguration Feast[2]) a small basket of grapes (*sallit*[3] *'inab*) to the church. After sanctifying the grapes, the priest used to distribute some of the fruits among those present.[4] The last two customs[5] were mentioned because they point to vestiges[6] of thanksgiving offerings.[7]

Jewels, or rather ornaments like the *znâq* (necklace), *ḥalaq* (earrings), *šakleh* (broach), *ḫâtim* (ring), *asâwir* (bracelets), *šaṭweh* (headdress of Bethlehem, Bêt Djâlâ and Bêt Sâhûr women) and *ṣaffeh* (the head-dress of the women of Ramallâh and the surrounding villages) are also vowed. They are either hung on the *stârah* of the tomb (el-Badrîyeh), around or on the *qûneh* (picture) of a Christian saint, or are sold and the proceeds spent for the benefit of the *maqâm*. As soon as a Christian woman of Bêt Djâlâ[8] makes such a vow she hangs the promised jewel on the picture of the saint. In case the person for whom the *niḏr* was made dies, the objects are taken back, but if he recovers they remain the property of the

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[1] Of the Greek Orthodox Church.

[2] August 6th, Jul. Calender (19th Greg.).

[3] A small basket is called *qirṭalleh*.

[4] Taken from the notes of my father.

[5] Many of the peasants of the villages around Nazareth put aside, as soon as they finish harvesting, some barley and wheat for *eš-šêḫ* Šhâb ed-Dîn. This will be sold and with the money a picnic is given in the name and the honour of the *welî*.

[6] The peasants of Bêt Djâlâ send some oil, after pressing their olives, to the church of Mâr Inqûlâ as a sign of thanks.

[7] See also Curtiss, chapter XVII.

[8] Of the Greek Orthodox Church.

shrine.[1] Most of these ornaments, especially the *znâq*, the *šaṭweh* and the *ṣaffeh* are costly pieces and are offered by women who think that by depriving themselves of such valuable things, they will make sure of the saint's favour and sympathy. A description of the *šaṭweh* is important to show the value of such a head-dress. It is cylindrical, solid and covered on the outside with red, sometimes green cloth. The top of it has a rigid projection covered with the same cloth. The front is lined with several rows of gold and silver coins, while the back has only silver ones. The *šaṭweh* is fastened on the head by a band running below the chin. From both ears of the *šaṭweh* the *znâq* hangs down.[2]

Vows which are paid only to the tomb are: *stârah* (or *ghaṭâ*), a covering, and *'aqâl* or *laffeh* (head-dress). The *stârah*[3] is a large piece of cloth covering the whole cenotaph. In less important shrines it is made of a single coloured cloth, while in the important ones a thick, woollen cloth of good quality (*djûḫ*[4]) is presented. The red and the green colours predominate; white and yellow are less favoured. Sometimes the cloth is bordered or even embroidered with Qorânic verses. Very often a combination of these colours is found in the same *stârah*. This is made by sewing strips of cloth of different colours on the main cover. Not infrequently one tomb is covered with several *stârât*, the upper one being the last vowed (nebî Mûsâ, Badrîyeh, etc.).[5]

Occasionally a *bêraq* (banner) is vowed, generally beautifully embroidered. The name of the saint, those of the four *aqṭâb* (see below) and a verse of the Qorân are generally embroidered on it.[6]

The colour of the turban (*'aqâl*) and that of the *laffeh*[7] (the dervish head-dress) must correspond to the order to which the *šêḫ*

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[1] From the written notes of my father.

[2] *Aberglaube*, p. 74, n. 6.

[3] Among *welîs* who possess a *stârah* are Salmân el-Fârsî, 'Anbar, Abd es-Salâm, Badr, sittnâ el-Ḫaḍrâ, el-Bedrîyeh, el-Ḫalîlî, etc.

[4] In Šarâfât I heard the expression *hirmzeh* for the cloth of the *stârah*.

[5] The *stârah* does not always lie directly on the cenotaph, sometimes it is supported by a wooden frame which encloses the tomb (Beyram Šawîš, el-Badrîyeh).

[6] Such presents may be seen in the shrines of Lûṭ, Mûsâ, Dâhûd, etc.

[7] The headdress of some villages around Jerusalem is also a *laffeh*, which differs slightly from the one described in the text.

belonged.[1] The *stârah* and the head-dress are vowed only to saints whose tombs are inside a building and never to tombs located in the open. In the case of some Bedouin saints, however, a head-dress is found on an exposed tomb. Seyidnâ el-Ḥusên, S. E. of ed-Djôrah (near Ascalon), has no tomb, but inside the *maqâm* a fragment of a pillar shows the place where the head of el-Ḥusên was buried. The top of the pillar bears a green *laffeh* and below it there is a red cloth.[2]

Some peasants (especially Christians) vow one or several trees to a saint. The fruit of the trees belong to the holy man. If the trees are cut down the wood goes to the shrine, but the holy man loses all further rights to the place of land, since the trees and not the ground were vowed. The latter returns to the former owner or to his descendants. Of course a piece of land with its trees or even a house may also be donated to a shrine. Such property remains *waqf*, "religious property."[3]

Vowing to decorate a shrine is the connecting link between votive offerings and vows to perform work. The commonest material is *ḥinnâ* but we find also *nîleh* and *sirâqûn*, which have already been described. Common expressions are: *anâ dâḫil ʿalêkî yâ sittî eš-Šâmiyeh in arzaqtînî ṣabî la-aḏbaḥlik ḫarûf wa-aḥannîkî*, "I beg for help, O my lady Š..., if you grant me a boy I will slay you a sheep and dye you with *ḥinnâ*." In the case of the two other colours the word *azauwiq* (embellish) is used. Such vows are made exclusively by women.[4]

b) Vowing material for the repair of the *maqâm*

Vows promising material for the repair of the *maqâm* or its complete reconstruction are also very common. If such vows did not exist, a great number of sanctuaries would be in a condition of ruin, and the site of some would have been lost completely. The

[1] Eš-šêḫ Rîḥân, eš. Aḥmad eṭ-Ṭôrî, eš. ʿAnbar, eš. ʿAbd es-Salâm, etc.

[2] The large *maqâm* is on the top of a hill about 20—30 minutes from the sea. There are no tombs or caves in its neighbourhood. Two mulberry trees and a vineyard are his property.

[3] This is the reason why some churches have extensive properties.

[4] Even the stones of a holy *ḫuwêṭîyeh* — as in the case of *eš-šêḫ* Saʿîd in Iḏnâ — may be painted with *ḥinnâ*.

following are the most important materials which may be vowed: *ḥdjârah* (pl. *ḥadjar*, hewn stones), *dabš* or *djabš* (unhewn, irregular stones), *'uqqâd* (stones for vaulting), *šîd* (lime), *nḥâteh* (fine broken stones left over from stone-cutting operations), water for making the *madjbûlîyeh*,[1] *ḥadîd* (iron) and *el-bâb* (the wooden or sometimes iron door). Generally several persons while assembled in the *maḍâfeh* agree that each one will bring something. The *šêḫ* of the village, discussing the condition of the shrine, makes the first promise. One after the other follows saying *anâ 'alaiyî* . . ., "I will offer . . ." Such a statement is already a vow and it must be fulfilled exactly.

Even when the *welî* is not in a ruined condition, many vow lime which is deposited in the immediate neighbourhood of the shrine or even inside it. Such vows are made, in the first place, by persons who are burning lime. In this way they hope to get the assistance of the *welî* for a successful completion of the job.[2] A visitor to Mohammedan *welîs* will often find in them heaps of lime[3] generally covered with a coating of earth (*eš-šêḫ* 'Anbar, *es-sulṭân* Ibrâhîm, *eš-šêḫ* Ḥamad, Aḥmad el-Karakî, etc.).

Another occasion when vows of this sort are made is, when a rich peasant builds a house and promises some building material for the same reason: *in ḥallaṣt ibnâit bêtî bis-salâmeh la-armîlak yâ . . . ṯalâṯ ḥmâl*[4] *šîd*, "If I finish my house in good health, I will bring you, O . . . three loads of lime." Such vows are also made by Palestinians who become badly ill while absent in a foreign country, as we have seen in the case of the man of Abû Dîs. Sometimes a *welî* with no shrine, or whose sanctuary is defective, appears in a vision to someone in the village and orders him to erect or to repair the *maqâm*. This man will then tell his vision to his fellow villagers and soon the necessary material is gathered.

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[1] A mixture of lime (one-third) and earth (two-thirds) for mortar.

[2] In 'Awartah many of those who burn lime will offer to el-'Azêrât one *fardeh* of *šîd*. One *fardeh* = 30—50 kg. In this village I heard the word *kubbâr* for a small *lattôn*.

[3] The lime may be deposited outside the shrine, in a cave near-by, in the shrine itself, or on its roof.

[4] The loads may be specified: *ḥiml djamal*, *ḥ. baghl*, or *ḥ. ḥmâr*, i. e. "a camel's load, mule's l., donkey's l."

c) Personal work

No sooner is the material ready than the people of the village—men and women, grown-ups and children—offer their help for the work. This one gives two days' work, the other vows to hew some of the stone, a third promises to carry the water, etc., and in a short time the work is done. Even the rich and the old count it a special honour and blessing to help erect such a building. Combined help by all the inhabitants of the village is offered when the ceiling is built (*el-'aqd*). All move very busily in finishing the shrine. But only in exceptional cases does a sanctuary need complete erection; generally it needs only to be repaired: The roof is defective, the *qṣârah* has fallen, the door has been burnt, the tomb has lost its white-wash, etc. In such circumstances one generally takes a vow to make some repair. *In ḥallaṣtillî el-lattôn min il-ḥarâb yâ sîdî yâ šêḫ 'Abd es-Salâm la-armîlak ḥimlên šîd u la-aṭruš qabrak.* "If you save our lime-kiln from destruction, O my lord, O *šêḫ* 'A . . ., I will bring you two loads of lime and will whitewash the tomb and the shrine." This vow was taken by Mohammed of 'Anâtâ, who had built a lime-kiln with some relatives. He had already been heating it for four *fṣûleh*[1] (pl. of *faṣl*, season, here half a day), when suddenly part of the kiln began to collapse. The owner, afraid of losing all his work made the above vow, whereupon the holy man appeared in the midst of the flame and began to extinguish the fire. They repaired the lime-kiln, lit the fire anew and the work was saved. Some shrines thus repaired are: A stone casing was built for the entrance of *eš-šêḫ* es-Sidrî; 'Anbar received an iron door; for *eš.* Ṣuwân a tomb was built; the *djâmi'* in Abû Dîs received a minaret; the tombs of ed-Dawâ'rî were whitewashed; adjacent to es-Sulṭân Ibrâhîm's mosque (Bêt Ḥanînâ) a hall was erected, etc.

Besides these expensive vows we meet with others much simpler and less expensive. A woman may bind herself to sweep a sanctuary several days, weeks or even more. In the last case the shrine is

[1] *Faṣl* has the following meanings:
faṣl es-sanch, "a season of the year";
faṣl maiyeh, "twelve hours of water." This is used when the water of a spring is divided among many gardens;
faṣl of a day stands for the twelve day and twelve night hours. Thus a day has two *fṣûleh*.

swept once weekly. Another person may promise to light the lamps for some time. This is done every Thursday evening. Still another will bind himself to fill the *sabîl* with water. Some offer to work three days (or more) in the *waqf* (sanctuary property) of the saint. Many women of Bêt-Djâlâ vow to help in harvesting the olives of Mâr Elyâs, others to plough the vineyards of el-Ḫaḍr.

II. Food vows

They are generally offered in a shrine. The shrine has no direct benefit from this offering, bnt the poor receive part in most cases. This class may be divided into:

a) Animal sacrifices (*ḏbîḥah*, pl. *ḏabâyiḥ*)
b) *Qurbân* (offering to God), or *walîmeh lil-lâh* (banquet for God)
c) Meatless food

All these three categories were very well known in the ancient Orient, and in describing each class we shall refer to the corresponding Hebrew practice.

a) Animal sacrifices

By *ḏbîḥah* a sacrifice of some animal is always understood. *Ḏabîḥah* is the feminine of *ḏabîḥ* and means "whatever is slain as an offering," and really stands—as was already noted by Jaussen[2]—for a female animal. At present the word has lost its specific character and is used for any animal. From the same root (*ḏabaḥa*) we have *maḏbaḥ*[3] "altar," originally the place where the sacrificial animal was killed. It is curious that the word *smâṭ*[4] is used in some parts of Palestine exclusively for a *ḏbîḥah* (Benî Zêd,[5] Benî Mâlik[6]), while in other parts—as for example in Jerusalem and the surrounding villages—this same word is used for a *ṭabḥah*, and not

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[1] *Muḥîṭ el-Muḥîṭ* I, 708.
[2] Page 338.
[3] Means also the neck.
[4] *Smâṭ* means according to *Muḥîṭ el-Muḥîṭ* (I, 994) a table or a large round tray on which food is presented. I do not doubt that the present meaning of "food offering" originated from the idea of offering a table with food (a *walîmeh*) for the *welî*.
[5] With Dêr Ghassâneh as the main village and former capital.
[6] With Abû Ghôš as the centre.

for an animal sacrifice. Whenever the word *smâṭ*[1] is used in this section (of animal sacrifices) it means a *ḏbîḥah*, and the formulas used originate in Dêr Ghassâneh or Abû Ghôš.

I do not intend to give in this study all the different sorts of *ḏabâiyḥ* known in Palestine. Jaussen has given in his book, *Coutumes des Arabes*, a list of 29 sorts practised in Moab.[2]

Ḏabâiyḥ may be divided into three groups, and it is a mistake to mix one of these with the other:

1. Sacrifices connected directly with some religious idea
2. Those connected with the *djinn*
3. Those connected with family circumstances, such as invitations, family feasts, etc.

Only such animal offerings as belong to the first group will be described here. Some of those belonging to the second category will be mentioned only for completeness. Occasions which belong to the third category are: the installation of a *muḫtâr*,[3] the arrival of an honoured guest,[4] family events such as circumcision, betrothal, marriage, the dedication of a house. Important agreements are often not completed, until sealed with a sacrifice.[5] But the most fruitful occasion for making sacrifices is the discharging of a vow.[6] These sacrifices belong to the first group.

The custom of vowing an animal is not at all new. All religions of the ancient Orient practiced it. Kinds of animals which may be used for this purpose are a young camel (*djamal djaẓûr*), a young she-camel (*nâqah djaẓûr*), a yearling ox (*ṯôr ḥôlî*[7]), a cow, a sheep (*ḫarûf*[8]), a young goat (*saḫl*[9]), or a goat (*djidî*).

In different parts of Palestine different animals are preferred: thus the Bedouin often vow a camel, while the *fellaḥîn* prefer a

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[1] According to *Muḥîṭ*, Belot, Kassâb and Hammâm, *smâṭ* means also "the table cloth on which the meal is offered."

[2] Pp. 337—363.

[3] 1 Sam. 11 15.

[4] Gen. 18 1-9.

[5] Gen. 31 54.

[6] Jacob (Gen. 28 20-22), Jephthah (Jud. 11 30-40).

[7] From *ḥôl*, "one year," but very often older animals are vowed.

[8] The ewe is called *na'djeh*, the ram *kabš*; both may be offered.

[9] The female is called *'anzeh*, the male *têṣ*; both may be offered. At times it is specified whether one or the other is to be sacrificed.

sheep.[1] No unclean animal (pig) will ever be vowed. A vowed animal must possess special characteristics which will be described later. Very often it happens that only a part of an animal is offered. This is only the case when the sacrifice vow is a camel, ox or a cow. Half, a third or a fourth of a cow may be vowed. In such a case half, a third or a fourth of the price of the cow is given to the sanctuary. This money is given as soon as the cow is sold. Abû Ṭâlib, a man of Bêt Ḥanînâ, told me, that not only should one-half of the price of the animal be given, but as long as it is not sold half the work, half the milk and half of all calves which the cow gets after the vow is made (and before it is sold) belong to the *welî*. From the moment, Abû Ṭâlib explained, that the vow is spoken half the cow and thus one-half its work and products belong to the owner and the other half to the man of God. At present only half the price of the animal is given and all other rights of the saint are withdrawn. Abû Ṭalib continued: *ed-djamî' byâklû ḥaqq el-awliâ*, i. e., not everything that belongs to a *welî*, and that should be given to him, is actually given. Very conscientious persons expressly vow, therefore, only half the price of an animal: *in adjânî ḫabar šifâh*[2] *yâ nabîy allâh yâ Muḥammad la-aštrî ibnuṣṣ ṭaman eṭ-ṭôr kisweh*[3] *lal-fuqarâ*, "if I receive the news of his recovery I shall buy, O Prophet of God, O Mohammed, for half of the price of the ox, clothes for the poor."[4]

A Christian of Ṭaiybeh informed me that it is customary in the vicinity of his village, when the calves of a cow die, one after the other, to vow a part of the next one born to el-Ḫaḍr. "Accept my vow, O Green Ḫaḍr; a quarter of what she (the cow) brings, is yours."

By far the most common animal vowed is a sheep.[5] Always when the animal is not specified, i. e., when only the words *ḏbîḥah* or

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[1] Sheep are called *bayâḍ* (white), while goats are known also by the name of *samâr* (black). The meat of *bayâḍ* is much preferred to that of goats.

[2] The *ḫ* is to be pronounced.

[3] See below.

[4] Such a vow is made when an absent relative is ill.

[5] The sheep is the first domestic animal mentioned in the Bible.

smâṭ (in Benî Zêd and Benî Mâlik) are used, a sheep[1] is meant to be offered.

An absolutely healthy and faultless animal has to be offered. No lame, blind or sick one should be promised.[2] An animal which has accidentally broken a limb or has been wounded by a gun-shot is not suitable for the fulfilment of a vow.[3] The Old Testament gives the same regulations.[4] The word *ḏbîḥah* bears the sense of "slaughtering." Therefore one which has lost some of its blood in any other way than by being butchered does not fulfil the real purpose of the vow.

Animal sacrifices are drawn in many cases from one's own herd. Stolen animals are not accepted by any *welî*. I can not verify for Palestine Doutté's observation in North Africa,[5] namely that a *ḏbîḥah* must be a male animal.

The expressions used in taking a vow for a *ḏbîḥah* are very numerous. I shall only mention the most important ones: *Smâṭak yâ Hauwâṣ in râq ibnî*, "Your animal offering, O Ḫ. (will be sent to you) if my son recovers;"[6] *niḏrun ʿalaiy yâ nabî Mûsâ in ridjiʿ djôzî bis-salâmeh la-aqaddimlak ḏbîḥah*, "I take upon myself a vow, O prophet Moses, if my husband returns safely, I shall offer you an animal;"[7] *in adjânî ṣabî yâ Ḫalîl Allâh la-aḏbaḥlak kull saneh ḥarûf*, "if I get a boy, O Friend of God (Abraham) I shall sacrifice to you a sheep yearly."[8]

All the above expressions contain the assumption that the animal which is being promised will be slain. But it is not at all necessary

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[1] The sheep was pre-eminently the animal for sacrifice, though mostly rams were appointed to be offered up, first because their meat is thought better than that of ewes, and also because it was more important to spare the ewes for breeding purposes. The milk of the ewes was (in Biblical times, and is still) a most important article of diet; thus Moses in his song speaks of

"Butter of the herd and milk of the flock,
With fat of lambs and ram-lambs, sons of Bashan," Deut. 32 14 (James Neil).

[2] Doutté, p. 464.

[3] See also Jaussen, p. 338.

[4] Mal. 1 14.

[5] Page 464: "elle doit être de sex male."

[6] In this formula as well as in the following the animal is not specified, and generally a sheep is offered.

[7] While the last formula is used in Benî Zêd and Benî Mâlik, this one may be heard everywhere.

[8] Contrary to the last two formulas this one specifies the animal.

to slaughter the animal; some promise to send a living animal to the sanctuary: *yâ mâr Djirius ilak ʿalaiy in ṭâb ibnî ḫarûf wâqif,* "O St. George, if my child recovers I owe you a sound sheep (i. e. a living one)." After such a vow the sheep will be sent to the convent of St. George in el-Ḫaḍer, and the *raiys* (director of the convent) has the right to do with it as he pleases.

Animal sacrifices are made mostly on important occasions: disease or absence of a member of the family; great impending danger; when a man has no male children; when a disease attacks a flock of sheep. The expression used in the last case is: *in rafaʿt el-wabâ*[1] *min ghanamî*[2] *iklîrhâ smâṭak yâ Rfâʿî,* "if you take the disease from my flock, the biggest of them is your offering, O R." In the case of *eš-šêḫ* ʿAnbar[3] a flock attacked by an epidemic is all brought to visit the *maqâm,*[4] whose door is kept open. While the sheep pass the *welî,* the first one which tries to enter the shrine is vowed to the *šêḫ.* It is said, *ihtârha,* "he has chosen it." In this case, as well as when the sheep is pointed out, the top of the ear is cut with the words *šaraḫt ḏânuh,*[5] "I have cut his ear." Such a sheep remains with the others and is well cared for until it is sacrificed, *biybqâ ʿalâ ismuh,* "it remains on his name" (that of the *welî* to whom it belongs). Sometimes a man promises the firstborn sheep[6] of his flock[7] to a saint, hoping that this man of God will bless the flock and keep it safe. Others vow one of the first twins. In both these cases, as well as when a lamb is brought for the fulfilment of the vow, the young animals are well fed and cared for, until they grow up and the time of their sacrifice comes. They are called *rbîbeh,*[8] an expression which is also used for any well-fed sheep

[1] This word means also "plague, epidemic."

[2] *Ghanam* stands for a flock irrespective of whether they are sheep or goats.

[3] ʿAnbar's shrine is situated on the SE. saddle of the eastward continuation of the Mount of Olives, not far from ʿÊsâwîyeh. It is a *maqâm* of *šêḫ* ʿAnbar's tomb in the main shrine and that of his wife in the small northern room. It is said that ʿAnbar was the slave of an Egyptian master. The miraculous story of the journey of ʿAnbar will be mentioned later.

[4] *Bizauwrûhâ.*

[5] *Qaṭaš* is also used.

[6] See Curtiss.

[7] According to the law of Moses it was forbidden to vow the firstborn of any beast, which was already devoted to God (Lev. 27 26).

[8] Kahle, *PJB* VIII, 156.

brought up under specially favorable conditions. In case an animal dies of a disease, some people replace it by another, while others believe that as the Almighty God permitted such a loss, the *welî* has no right to another one, and they feel released. In case an animal which has been vowed gets sick, it may be sold and with its price another (but younger animal) may be bought. Others slay it and distribute the meat among the poor.

It is forbidden to change an animal once dedicated to a *welî*. The man of God will surely—thus the peasants believe—not accept such a sacrifice and will punish the doer.

It is not at all necessary to breed every animal vowed for the *ḏbîḥah*; it may be bought at the sanctuary or in the market. In some shrines there is a large market at the time of the *môsam*, giving everyone opportunity to buy any number of animals he wishes.[1] It even may happen that the person who has bound himself by a vow can not go to the sanctuary, thus being unable to fulfil his promise in person. He then entrusts the fulfilment of his obligation to some friend, by giving him the animal or money to buy one. Sometimes, but not often, a sum may be sent to the *qaiym* of the holy place, in order to buy a sheep which he slays in the name of the donor.

We will see later why it is very important, even obligatory that every one should be present in person or be represented by a delegated friend or relative while his *ḏbîḥah* is sacrificed. Offering an animal for somebody else without an authority takes away the desired connection between the person and his holy intercessor.[2]

Generally the one who has made the vow and he for whom it was taken, with some relatives and friends, go to the sanctuary to fulfil it. In case the *niḏer* was made for a woman who becomes impure by menstruation at the time of the fulfilment, she does not accompany the procession and can not attend the sacrifice. Young children and babies may not join such a feast as a rule, especially when the *welî* is far away.

A *ḏbîḥah* is usually slaughtered in the *maqâm* of the saint to whom it was promised, but this is not a binding rule. A *ḏbîḥah* for

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[1] Nebî Mûsâ, Rûbîn, Ṣâleḥ, etc.

[2] See also Doutté, p. 466.

Ibrâhîm el-Ḫalîl (in Hebron) may be offered in Jerusalem, and one for en-nabî Dâhûd (Jerusalem) in Nâblus. In such a case *btinḏbiḥ ʿalâ ismuh*, "it is slain in his name (i. e., that of the saint)." This may happen when nobody can go to the shrine in question. A Bedouin of the tribe el-ʿIdwân told me that most of the sacrifices made for Moses are killed in their camp (Transjordania) and not at the shrine. But it is considered more correct to offer the animal in the sanctuary, for a visit to such a place is in itself a *barakeh*, "blessing."

When a sheep is taken to a shrine it is sometimes decorated with flowers and coloured ribbons. A small round mirror (*mrây*) sometimes is suspended from its forehead and the horns are dyed with *ḥinnâ*. In the *môsam* of Nebî Mûsâ one finds many sheep whose foreheads, backs and tails are dyed with *sîraqûn* and *maḏhab*.[1]

Anyone who knows how to slaughter a sheep may do it. Generally it is done by the people who take the offering. In exceptional cases it is done by the *ḥaddâm* of the shrine. In important places of pilgrimage with well-known *mawâsim* there are butchers, who usually slaughter the *ḏbîḥah*, receiving a quarter or half a *madjîdî* for their work. But nobody is obliged to hand over his sheep to such a person. Women never perform this act. Dôutté's[2] observation that a *muqaddim* (offerer) slays the *ḏbîḥah* in most shrines has its parallel only once in Palestine, the Maghrebine *zâwieh* of Abû Madian.[3]

In a large *maqâm*, like Nebî Mûsâ,[4] there is a special place for slaughtering.[5] In smaller ones with a kitchen the animal is slain in or in front of this room (en-Nabî Ṣâleḥ, in the village of en-Nabî Ṣâleḥ). There are sanctuaries, which have no real kitchen but have adjacent to the wall of the *maqâm* an open enclosure or *rwâq* which serves as a kitchen and where the *ḏabâyḥ* are slain and the food is cooked (er-Rfâʿî, Rdjâl Ṣûfeh). Not infrequently especially in Transjordania the animals are slain on the roof of the *maqâm*, so that some of the blood runs over the front wall. In all other shrines the

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[1] This word comes from *mâ* (water) and *ḏahab* (gold) and means "gold leaf tinsel."

[2] Page 462.

[3] Kahle, *PJB* VIII, 155.

[4] It lies one or two minutes from the shrine and near a cistern.

[5] Kahle, l. c., and Curtiss, chapter XXV.

animal may be killed in any place which is in the direct neighbourhood of the *maqâm*: under a tree, on a large flat rock, in front of the shrine itself. If the place of slaughtering is designated in the *nider*, then such a condition must be fulfilled: e. g., *smâṭak yâ Ḥauwâṣ aḏbaḥu 'alâ 'atbatak*, "your sheep-offering, O Ḥ . . ., I shall slay on the threshold of your door." The animal is more often killed on the threshold of the door of the courtyard than on that of the door of the shrine. *Ḏbîḥtak yâ Ḥâtim aḏbaḥhâ 'alâ tabûtak*, "Your *ḏbiḥah*, O Ḥ., I shall slay on your coffin." In the last case the animal is slain inside the shrine, beside the tomb and not on it. Great care is taken that neither the floor nor the tomb be polluted with blood. A pail (*lakan*) is so placed that all the blood flows into it.[1] Like Kahle[2] I have not seen nor heard of any case where animals are slain in such a way that their blood flows into the water of a holy spring or into a holy cave, as Curtiss[3] mentions.

No pregnant animal—if this condition happens to be known—is ever slain. But such an animal may be vowed, and it, as well as its offspring, belongs afterwards to the saint. One waits until after delivery. In case such an animal is (without knowledge of the condition) offered, the foetus is thrown away.[4]

The animal is thrown on the ground with its head turned eastward and the face southward. It is not without interest to note that dead persons and sacrificed animals are laid so that the face looks towards Mecca[5] (in Palestine southward). The difference between them is that the former lies on his right side with the head to the west, while the latter is laid on the left side with the head pointing eastward. The one who kills the animal says: *bism allâh—allâh akbar*, "in the name of God, God is great;"[6] or *bism illî qaddar 'alêki eḏ-ḏabḥ—allâh akbar*, "in the name of the One who decreed your sacrifice—God is great." In Bîr Sabi' I heard the following expression: *bism allâh—allâh akbar ḥall 'alêki eḏ-ḏabiḥ rabbî innahâ mink wa ilêk fidâ*, "In the name of God—God is great—, you (the

[1] I owe this information to the kindness of O. S. Barghûṯî.

[2] *PJB* VIII, 155.

[3] Chapters XXII and XXV.

[4] Only the very poor (according to a woman of eṭ-Ṭaiybeh) eat the foetus.

[5] Christians lay their dead on the back from west to east, the head on the east side and looking to the east.

[6] *PJB* VIII, 157.

sheep) are lawfully slain. My Lord, it is from you and is a ransom for you." The name of the *welî* to whom the animal was vowed may be added to that of God. Thus I heard the people of Jericho say, "In the name of God and that of *eš-šêḫ* Ṣalâḥ." The ordinary formula of the *fâtiḥah*, which is used in all other cases, *bism allâh er-raḥmân er-raḥîm*, "in the name of the most merciful God,"[1] is never used in slaughtering, as the adjective "most merciful," is contradictory to the act of killing. Some even think that an animal which was killed with these words should not be eaten. Although the following practice does not come directly under the subject of vows, it possesses an illustrative value in this connection. A frightened man (*mardjûf* or *maḥḍûḍ*[2]) must undergo special treatment to counteract the evil results of "fright." One of the many ways to attain this end is to eat the neck (*raqabeh*) of a sheep, which is cooked with *šaddit* (or *ḥawâyidj*) *eṭ-ṭarbeh*.[3] In killing such an animal the following formula is pronounced: *bism allâh u bism rauwâḥ er-radjfeh*, "in the name of God and in the name of the One who removes the fright."[4] When a person is attacked with night-blindness, which is known by the name of *ḥidbâd*,[5] he will

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[1] Sale's translation.

[2] From *ḥaḍḍah* which is another name for *el-ḥôfeh* (also *radjfeh*). See Canaan, *Ṭâsit er-radjfeh*, *JPOS* III, p. 130. In *Aberglaube*, p. 35, other less usual names are mentioned.

[3] A yellow powder made of several strong spices.

[4] A very famous prophylactic measure against *el-ḥaḍḍah* in the following, which I shall describe in a story. My friend and neighbour Ibrâhîm Djirius was very much irritated and frightened by bad news which had been received. A relative of his fearing that this *ḥôfeh* might result badly, cooked a black hen with various spices. She kept the vessel well covered, so that the vapour could not escape. When she thought that the hen was well-cooked, she threw herself on the ground in a room adjacent to his and began to cry and lament in a most heart-rending way. In alarm he got up, went to her and asked for the reason of her distress. She wept louder, "my son, my dear son, why didst thou die —my joy, my fortune has an end—my son, my dear son." My friend became still more anxious about her trouble. When she thought that his alarm was sufficient to counteract the first one she told him the truth and forced him to put his face over the opened vessel, so that the vapour clouded his face. He had to eat the whole hen alone (Canaan, *Aberglaube*, pp. 68, 69). A white hen is used when the fright took place during the day, a black one if during the night.

[5] In *Muḥît*, p. 2163, and Hava 811 this word means only "weakness of the sight."

only be cured if he eats the *zawâyid.*[1] The lungs[2] have to be prepared without salt. In killing such an animal, *bism allâh u ism il-hidbâd,* "in the name of God and the name of *el-hidbâd,*" must be pronounced, else the cure will have no effect.[3]

Not only in slaying a *niḏr ḏbîḥah* is the name of God invocated, but whenever the Mohammedans kill an animal for food they always say *bism allâh.* If this is neglected they think it unlawful to eat of such an animal. This is done because it is ordered in the Holy Book, Sûrah V, verse 4:[4] "Ye are forbidden to eat that which dieth of itself, and blood and swine's flesh and that on which the name of any besides God has been invoked."[5] This was ordered because the idolatrous Arabs were accustomed in killing any animal for food to consecrate it to their idols by saying: "In the name of Allât or al-'Uzzâ."

Doutté's[6] observation in the Maghrib that a special knife is used in killing a sacrifice, is unknown in Palestine. The Tarâbîn[7] Bedouin will not kill an animal with a knife whose sheath has three nails. With the words *bism allâh allâh akbar* the one who kills the animal says *itqabbal yâ . . . niḏr . . .*, "Accept, O . . ., the vow of . . ." Those who have fulfilled the vow feel freed from their obligation. This is well expressed in what is said while the animal is being slain: *wafênâ smâṭak yâ šêḫ Yûsif,* "We have paid your sheep, O šêḫ Y . . .;" *haiy niḏrak yâ nabî Rûbîn,* "Here is your vow, O Prophet R."

In some places we find the following custom which shows the relation of the person (in this case a child) for whom the *ḏbîḥah* was slain and the sacrifice offered. If the child is very young he is carried three times (rarely four times) around the animal. The circling is called *ṭwâf: biṭauwfû l-walad ḥôl el-ḫarûf,* "the child is carried around the sheep." When the child is somewhat older he

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[1] See below.

[2] In the Arabic text the word *mu'lâq* is used. This has the literary meaning of "vital organs (Hava 48): spleen, liver, heart and lungs." In the dialect it stands for the lungs (and many include also the liver).

[3] This custom I have found described in the written notes of my father.

[4] See also Sûrah II, 168; VI, 146: XVI, 115.

[5] The translations are taken from Sale.

[6] Page 463.

[7] Sinai Peninsula.

rides on the sheep. This latter custom is not nearly so wide-spread as the other one. Both these two customs are practiced when the child can not accompany the procession of offering the *niḏr* at the shrine, aud always before the animal is slain. When the child is able to go to the *maqâm* and attend the ceremony he steps over the *ḥarûf* after it is slain, or over the flowing blood.[1] According to others he walks first three times around the sheep and then steps over the blood. While he encircles the animal the *fâtiḥah* is read three times. Even Christians of some villages practice this custom (of stepping over the blood) when a sheep is offered to Ḫaḍr el-Aḫḍar.[2] This crossing over the blood is called *fašaqa*. In Ṭaiybeh the sheep is drawn three times around the sanctuary of St. George, and in every round the Lord's Prayer is recited once.

This custom of stepping over a vowed sheep or over its blood is practised also with *ḏbîḥit el-fadwâ* and rarely with that of *eḍ-ḍḥîyeh*. A few words about these two last sacrifices are necessary to illustrate the difference between them and that of a vow sacrifice. The best animal for *eḍ-ḍḥîyeh* is a sheep, although the poor may offer a goat. Bedouin prefer a camel or an ox, as in the case of a vow. A man of er-Râm assured me that *eḍ-ḍḥîyeh* must be a cow (*râs baqar*) three years of age (*tlêṯeh*)[3] or more. A poor man may offer seven goats instead of a cow.[4] This belief seems to be local, since I could not vérify it in other villages. The sheep is laid on its left side with the head turned to the east and the face to the south.[5] The man who slays it turns his face toward Mecca.[6] The person for whom it is offered says: *allâhumma itqabbalha minni*, "O God, accept it from me." Such an animal is slain on the Qurbân Beyram feast.[7] On this day rich people may slay for each member of their family one sheep, which must be well-developed, faultless and which

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1 In Nabî Mûsâ (according to Abû Oṯmân); in Ibrâhîm el-Ḫalîl (Abû Ṭâlib).

2 According to Mîlâdî of Bîr Zêt.

3 *Ṯlêṯeh* comes from *ṯalâṯeh*, "three."

4 This man assured me that no sheep can be offered for *eḍ-ḍḥîyeh*, which belief is wrong.

5 Exactly as is done with the sheep of a vow.

6 The immolation of the victims in the Hebrew cult took place on the north side of the altar. Lev. 1 11, 6 25.

7 10th of Moḥarram.

has passed the age of one year.[1] Every member of the family then steps over the blood of his sacrifice, which counts in his favor on the day of judgement.[2] The poor offer one animal for the whole family. Some women[3] attribute miraculous curative action to the blood of such a sacrifice. If a woman washes herself with the blood of a *ḏbîḥah* mixed with water she will get children.[4] One third of the *ḏbîḥah* is eaten by the offerer and by his family, one third is given to the relatives, and the last third is distributed among the poor.[5] Some—but not many—will not accept this division. Thus the *šêḫ* of 'Imwâs assured me that the above statement is not correct and that nobody should eat of his own *ḏbîḥah*. As many inhabitants of one village offer a sheep each, one will share the meat of the sacrifice offered by another and distribute all his own sheep.

The Palestinians believe that a sacrificial sheep will appear in the day of judgement well-dressed, well decorated and with penciled eyes (*imkaḥḥaleh*) and will carry the person for whom it was offered over the *surâṭ* to Paradise. Therefore the common saying *ḍaḥayânâ maṭayânâ*,[6] "our sacrificial animals are our riding beasts."

In slaughtering the victim of *eḍ-ḍḥîyeh* the utmost care is taken not to break any bones, so that the animal may appear whole and faultless on judgement day, for it is thought that these sheep render to their offerer the great service on the last day of joining his good deeds in the balance, and thus outweighing his faults and sins.[7]

Ḏbîḥet el-fadwâ is a "sheep of ransom" offered on special occasions. When plague attacks part of the country its inhabitants, as well as those of the surrounding area, may make use of such

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[1] The animal must be absolutely faultless, i. e., not blind, half blind, lame or weak. Even the bleating must be loud and clear. Some, but not many, prohibit even the sacrifice of an animal which has been branded (*inkawat*, or *makwîyeh*) as a curative measure. This method of treatment is very wide-spread in the Orient.

[2] Heard in Liftâ.

[3] Imm Moḥammad of 'Imwâs.

[4] If the blood is taken from a sheep sacrificed on 'Arâfât it will be more effective.

[5] A *ḥadîṯ* allows eating from one's own *ḏbîḥet eḍ-ḍḥîyeh*.

[6] Curtiss, chapter XIX.

[7] Heard is Bêt Ḥanînâ and verified elsewhere.

offerings. The people of the infected part expect that God will accept these offerings and free them from the scourge. The others hope that the *ḏbîḥah* will prevent the spread of the disease to their country. A *fadwâ* may also be made for a single person.[1] M., the only male child of a family well-known to me, came back from a long journey. His parents slew a sheep in front of the house and the son had to step over the flowing blood before he entered the house.[2]

Even when a flock of sheep is attacked by a mortal plague, one of the sheep—generally the best—is offered as ransom for the whole flock. All sheep of the infected flock are marked with the blood of the killed one.[3] Sometimes the following expression is used while killing a *fadwâ: fidâ* (or *fadwâ*) *'an el-'iâl wil-mâl,* "ransom for the family and the property."

The meat of this *ḏbîḥah* is generally all distributed to the poor. What Jaussen states about the Negeb is true also in some localities in Palestine, namely that *ḏḥîyeh* and *fadwâ* are used at times to denote one and the same thing.

In continuing our examination of the *niḏr ḏabâyḥ* we notice that the blood of the sacrifice flows on the ground. In some shrines where a special place inside the main enclosure surrounding the *maqâm* is designated for slaughtering, the blood is led through a special channel to the outside. The blood may be used to decorate the shrine. Large *maqâms* like *en-nabî* Mûsâ are exempt. The *šâšîyeh* (the lintel of the door) and the *ṣdâghât* (the jambs of the door) are first of all smeared with blood. Generally the impression of the hand is made. The Christians of Ṭaiybeh smear the *'atabah*[4] of the Ḫaḍr sanctuary with blood, making the figure of the cross. They take some blood in a *kêkarah*—a small earthern vessel—and sprinkle the lintel and the jambs of the door.[5] The same custom prevailed in early Biblical times when Aaron's sons sprinkled the blood of the offering "upon the altar round about."[6] Instead of blood the

1 Such a *ḏbîḥah* is also known as *'iqqah.*

2 Curtiss, l. c.

3 Compare the story told in Ex. XII.

4 *'atabah* means in reality the threshold of the door, but is falsely used as *šâšîyeh.*

5 The Arabic expression is *bîlatṯḥû.*

6 Lev. 1 5, 3 2.

Christians of Ṭaiybeh very often whitewash[1] the stones with a preparation of lime,[2] soon after the animal is slain. The white colour is thought to bring good luck. Most of the door frames of newly built houses are smeared with the blood of sheep killed while the vaulting is going on.[3] The same is true with *ḏbîḥit el-fidâ*.

The forehead of the child, less often that of an adult for whose sake the *niḏr* was made, are also smeared[4] with the blood of the *ḏbîḥah*.[5] Also the Christians of Ṭaiybeh and Bîr Zêt have the same custom. The sign of the cross is made on the forehead of the child. In Bîr Sabi' the camels[6] are smeared with the blood of a *ḏbîḥah*, as a sign that the vow has been fulfilled.[7]

The *qaiym* receives his part of the animal. This consists generally of the skin and the *saqaṭ* (called also *eṭ-ṭrâf*,[8] and in some places *zawâyd*). By this expression the peasant understands the extremities, the head, the abdominal organs (with the exception of the large omentum[9]) and the *maḏbaḥ*.[10] The *maḏbaḥ* is that part of the neck where the knife cuts the throat.[11] This piece is cut off and given to the *qaiym*. Generally he also receives a good piece of meat besides, and joins the party at the meal. What has been said of the *qaiym* is true of the *šiyûḫ* who are connected with the shrine.[12] Curtiss' statement that one-fourth of the animal is given to the *qaiym* is only true occasionally for Palestine. This custom is again an old one and is illustrated in the story of the children of Eli.[13] In places like Nabî Mûsâ the butcher (*laḥḥâm*) receives either the

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[1] *Biyuṭrušû*.

[2] Very often this is done with a stick on the end of which a tassel of cloth ribbons is fastened.

[3] This sheep is killed in the name of *saiyidnâ* Ibrâhîm el-Ḫalîl.

[4] So in Nabî Mûsâ and Ibrâhîm el-Ḫalîl.

[5] Jaussen finds the same custom in Transjordania (p. 316).

[6] *Ibl* (pl. with no singular).

[7] *PJB* VIII, 159 ff.

[8] *Saqaṭ* and *ṭrâf* really do not mean the same. The second expression stands for the extremities only, while the first includes some of the internal organs, as well as the extremities.

[9] Some include with the large omentum the intestines directly connected with it

[10] From *ḏabaḥa*, "to kill an animal with a knife."

[11] The *saqaṭ* differs in different places. Among the Benî Zêd the *maḏbaḥ* is counted to it, in Jerusalem the lungs but not the *maḏbaḥ*.

[12] As for example in al-Anbiâ, el-Ḫaḍrâ, etc.

[13] 1 Sam. 2 12-16.

skin or a quarter of a *medjîdî*,[1] less often half a *medjîdî*. The other parts of the animal are cooked and eaten. Such a holy *ḏbîḥah* should not be prepared as a *zarb*.[2] Very often rice is also cooked and served with the meat. Bread and the other materials necessary for the preparation of the meal are brought by the party. All present take part in the meal, and often many bystanders join the party, for as soon as people are seen going with one or more sheep to a sanctuary everybody knows that a *niḏr* will be fulfilled. In large *maṿâsim* a part of the raw meat (*laḥm aḏ̣ḍar* or *laḥm naiy*) is divided among those present. Often vowed animals are given as a whole to the kitchen of Nabî Mûsâ or some other saint, where it is cooked with the other food and is distributed to the visitors. Such an act is thought to bring additional blessing.

The preparation of the food takes place in the kitchen, if there is one, otherwise near the *maqâm* in a place protected from the winds. Often the food is cooked under a tree. The copper pots (*ṭanâdjir*, pl. of *ṭandjarah*) or the copper troughs (*dsût*, pl. of *dist*) with the food are placed on the *mawâqid* (pl. of *môqadeh*, hearth, fire place). These are either well-built stone hearths or improvised ones. The latter are constructed by placing two elongated stones of the same height parallel to each other, with a space of 30—60 cm. between them, where the fire is made. Many shrines possess a number of copper pots, which are always used in such occasions. In *welîs* where there are none the people who come to offer their *niḏr* bring them along. The wood is taken from the property of the *welî*, or is brought with the visitors. In cooking a *niḏr* all the dry wood which has fallen from the holy trees may be used, but no twigs may be cut, even if they are dead. This fallen brushwood is never used on any other occasion.

All join in eating the sacred meal. Every one says the *fâṭiḥah* for the soul of the *welî* for whom the offering has been brought. It is considered that all present are guests of the *welî*, for the *ḏbîḥah*

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[1] One Turkish *medjîdî* = 20 piasters *ṣâgh* (and 23 piasters *šurk*), normally one-fifth of a Turkish pound.

[2] *Zarb* is a roasted sheep, where the whole (when the animal is young) or a part of a sheep is placed in a small freshly-prepared, cave like oven. This oven is heated very strongly, the meat is salted and placed in it after which the oven is hermetically closed.

is his, and the food is cooked in his honour. Therefore everybody who attends the sacrifice, or happens to pass this way at this occasion is welcome to partake of the sacrificial meal. The *welî* receives the most important part of the victim—the soul, which lodges in the blood,[1] as we shall see later on. The same practice was known in the Old Testament.[2] A sacrificial meal followed the sacrifice. The flesh of the victim was eaten at the sanctuary by the sacrificer, and his family (1 Sam. 1 3-7) or by representatives of the community (1 Sam. 9 22-25). The underlying idea was "that of sharing a common meal with the deity.[3] The worshippers were the guests (Zeph. 1 7) of God at His sanctuary."[4] Happily they rise from the feast and joining in games they pass the time in enjoyment. Contented with their act they leave the shrine, sure that the *welî* has blessed them for the fulfilment of their obligation.

These sacrifices followed by feasts are known in the Bible (1 Sam. 20 4, etc.). We know from 1 Kings 3 3 and other passages[5] that these sacrifices took place in the high places. In the search for his father's asses Saul came to Samuel and was taken by the Prophet to a sacrificial meal.

Before we leave the subject of *ḏbâyiḥ* we may mention some irregular or anomalous customs practiced in some parts of Palestine. Very rarely it happens that the sheep which has been slaughtered in or near a sanctuary is carried back to the village, and cooked in the house of the vower. Sometimes the condition or the situation of the shrine prevent offering the sheep in or near it. In such a case the animal may be sold and the proceeds are either given as such to the *maqâm*, or some jewelry is bought with them and this is offered to the shrine and hung on the picture of the saint. *Ḏabâyiḥ* vowed to St. Mary on Calvary are not offered as such. The sheep is sold, jewelry is bought with the money, and is offered to the *qûneh*.

Some vows of this group form the connecting link with the meatless food vows. *El-msarwaleh* is a dish made of milk and rice,

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[1] 1 Sam. 14 32-34.

[2] W. Smith, Dictionary of the Bible, vol. II, p. 1079.

[3] See also 1 Cor. 10 20-21.

[4] Hastings and Selbie, *Dictionary of the Bible*, 1914, p. 812. Doutté, p. 472.

[5] Amos 5 21-23, etc.

mixed with another of meat and rice. Such an offering—like all meatless ones—is cooked in the house and then carried to the shrine, where it is partly distributed and partly eaten.

Among the Bedouin and some peasants the cooking done in connection with a *môlad* vow (see afterwards) is more important than the *môlad* itself. This festival may be with or without meat.

There are still a number of subsidiary practices connected with sacrifices to be considered. Since they touch the fundamental principles of making vows, we may be able by studying them to explain the conception connecting the sacrificial animal with the person for whom it is vowed. I shall first give two examples, which, although they do not belong to the above-described animal sacrifices, nevertheless illustrate vividly the idea underlying them.

When a dead person is carried from the place where he died to his own village, the Bedouin and the peasants load him on a camel. The peasants have the superstition that the camel may die from the *kabseh*[1] exercised by the dead. In order to safeguard against such a heavy loss, they slay a cock on the camel's back, before the corpse is loaded. The blood of the cock, which flows over the camel's body, is thought to remove the impending danger. Thus the cock in giving his life has saved that of the more precious camel.

Another illustration demonstrates the same idea from another point of view. When a child is attacked with convulsions, it is believed that a specially malignant *djinn* has attacked him, and that the evil spirit will probably not depart without having taken the child's life. In order to save the precious life of the child the demon must be satisfied with some other life. Therefore the head of a pigeon is introduced as deeply as possible into the rectum of the patient, and it is held there until the animal dies. A life is given

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[1] It is not difficult to explain how the *kabseh* acts in this case. A dead body is always surrounded by the evil spirits which caused his death, and is therefore unclean. These spirits prefer to leave this environment and inhabit some living object. In doing so they may cause the same bad effects to their new host. The same explanation is true of the *kabseh* which may act on a sick person, if another sick person is carried into the room. The evil spirits causing the illness of the second (and most diseases are caused by demons) may leave their host and attack the first person, thus increasing his disorder. For other examples see *Aberglaube*, pp. 37, 39.

to save another, and the *djinn* is satisfied by the offering it has received, and leaves the child.

These two examples show three points clearly:

1. To save the life of an important being, that of another less important one must be sacrificed.

2. The sacrifice is made to please that supernatural power which is thought to be the cause of the danger, or which has in its hands the power of preventing it.

3. The animal sacrificed must come somehow into direct external contact with the being for whom or for which it has given its life.

A close examination of the practices connected with vowing and sacrificing animals, as we have followed them, shows that the same ideas underly them, with some modification.

Ad 1. The Palestinian thinks that everything, especially disease, affliction and misfortune comes "from *allâh*" (*min allâh*). He has permitted their occurrence, exactly as He allowed Satan to tempt Job and afflict him with all sorts of visitations.[1] Therefore whenever the peasant is attacked with afflictions, he tries to escape them by directing the wrath of the superior power against some other being. An animal is offered in his place, to redeem the human being with its life. Thus the peasant still walks in the paths of his ancestors, believing that "life shall go for life"[2] and that "blood maketh atonement,"[3] and that the life of an animal is accepted by the Divine Power instead of that of the offender, who himself deserves death.[4] This is the only explanation for the wide-spread custom of sacrificial vows; and while other vows are not so strictly executed, a promise of an animal offering is much more seriously treated. This idea of redemption is well founded in all Semitic religions.

Ad 2. The Almighty God is difficult of access. This is another fundamental idea in Palestinian folk religion.[5] This is why the Palestinian prefers to call on saints and *welîs* for help. They were once human beings and thus understand human difficulties and temptations. A *welî* is always ready to assist, more so, if one shows

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[1] Job 1 6-12.
[2] Deut. 19 21.
[3] Lev. 17 11.
[4] Compare the sin offerings of the Mosaic law.
[5] Exod. 19, etc.

his humility in some way. Just as no one would approach a deity without a gift in his hands, or a promise of one, so a peasant would not ask a *welî* for help, without at the same time vowing a sacrifice.[1] This conception already prevailed in Biblical times: "None shall appear before me empty."[2] The object of a sacrifice, reduced to its simplest terms, is threefold: to secure and retain the favour of the saint; to remove his displeasure; and thirdly to express gratitude for benefits received. Although these things may be said about any offering, nothing pleases these holy men as much as an animal sacrifice: firstly, because so many of the poor can be fed in their name and on their tables; secondly, because every one who partakes of the feast says a prayer in the name of the *welî*. These two acts are placed by the Almighty to the account of the *welî*.

Ad 3. The study of the connections between the animal to be offered and the person for whom it was offered are very interesting. For the purpose of analysis the following resumé of the customs described above may be given:—

A young child—for whom the *nûḏr* was made—is carried three times around the animal. When the child is older he rides on the sheep.[3]

He may step over the sacrifice or over the flowing blood.

The forehead of the person is sometimes smeared with the blood of the *ḏbîḥah*.

The flock or herd is touched with the blood of the animal killed for their safety.

All these actions show clearly that the sacrifice must have a direct contact with the person for whom it is offered. Therefore the person for whom an animal is slain to safeguard his life is marked with the blood of the victim. The shrine of the saint to whom the animal has been promised, is smeared or sprinkled in many cases with the blood of the *ḏbîḥah*.[4] This is done to assure the man of God that his *niḏr* has been fulfilled, for the mere dedication of the animal during the act of slaying with the words

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[1] Gen. 4 3 f.

[2] Exod. 34 30.

[3] In the Old Testament the sacrificer had to put one hand, in later periods both hands, upon the head of the victim (1 Sam. 21 4).

[4] Exactly as in Lev. 1 5, 17 11, etc.

"Take your promise, O . . ." does not suffice. One asks why blood plays such an important rôle in these religious rites? An investigation of this question discloses that blood plays a very interesting and complicated part in Palestinian superstition. Since I believe that the study of these practises will bring us to a clearer conception of the underlying ideas, I shall describe some of them.

Blood is believed by the Palestinian to be the abode of the "soul." The same idea existed in the earliest periods of Biblical history: "For the blood is the life."[1] Therefore wherever human blood is shed or lost, a part of human life and soul is lost. This makes blood a highly respected, but at the same time a highly dangerous thing. The following superstitious customs will throw light on this idea:

1. When two children desire to enter into fraternal relation to each other (*yiṯâwû*), i. e., become intimate friends, each pricks one of his fingers with a needle and sucks a little of the blood of the other. Thus each takes some of the soul of his friend and they enter into blood relation to each other.

2. In every place where a person is killed (and only when his blood is shed) the soul appears at night-time as a *rasad*[2] and cries out the last words spoken by the dead;[3] cf. Gen. 4 10, "The voice of they brother's blood crieth to me from the earth."

3. In case a wife is not much beloved by her husband she tries to inflame his affection by giving him a few drops of her blood, mixed with some other liquid, to drink.[4] She is sure that the part of the soul drunk with the blood by her husband knits him more strongly to her.

4. Supernatural powers hover over every place and person where blood is found. They may even be injurious. This is the cause of the fear of the menstrual blood cherished by the inhabitants of Palestine.[5]

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[1] Deut. 12 13.

[2] Also called *mfâwil*.

[3] *Aberglaube*, p. 17.

[4] Blood always used to be the sign of a covenant, Exod. 12 7, 13.

[5] This is not the place to dwell on this phase of superstition, which is discussed fully in *Aberglaube*.

In offering an animal we are offering a life, a soul for another one—the human life. The meat of the *ḏbîḥah* is not the important part of the sacrifice. It serves only to satisfy the human visitors. The gods (saints practically = lower deities) do not eat and drink; they are only satisfied by the sacrifice of the soul.[1] A Christian woman of Djifnah in describing a *ḏbîḥah* said *lil-Ḫaḍr fêḍet ed-dam u lan-nâs eḏ-ḏbîḥah*, "For Ḫaḍr the pouring of the blood (i. e., the soul) and for the people the sacrificial animal." Blood plays an important rôle as the symbol of life. This shedding of blood is the essential part of an animal sacrifice.[2] No animal which has been previously killed will be accepted by any *welî* as a sacrifice. The blood must be shed in his shrine, or at least in his name. It is the atoning act.

b) Qurbân or *walîmeh lillâh*

A *qurbân* also involves the *ḏbîḥah*. This sort of vow belongs partly to this category and partly to a later one. It may be described fully here, as it has to do with animal offerings. The vow is made in these cases to God only, and not to any saint or *welî*. Thus it is clear that a *qurbân* is a real sacrifice in the name of the Almighty, in case of sickness. As soon as the sick man recovers, the animal must give its life for the man who is saved. The animal belongs entirely to God. But God does not need any food, therefore it is distributed entirely among the poor, the vower receiving nothing of it—contrary to the practice in the case of all animal offerings described up to now. Such an animal may be slain in any place and its meat is distributed *aḥḍar*,[3] "in a raw (uncooked) condition," or it may be cooked and then given to the poor. From this custom the name *walîmeh lillâh* is derived.

Qurbân (from *qaruba, qarraba*) denotes everything offered to God which brings the offerer nearer to the Deity.[4] *Walîmeh lillâh*, "a feast for God," well expresses the idea set forth in another place and shows that the sacrifice is in reality nothing but a feast given to the needy in the name of God.

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[1] 1 Sam. 14 32-34; Deut. 12 16; Lev. 7 10ff., 7 27.

[2] N. Söderblom, *Das Wesen des Götterglaubens*, p. 81; Curtiss; Kahle.

[3] Also called *naiy*.

[4] *Muḥîṭ el-Muḥîṭ* II, 1681.

In many cases when such a vow is made, the mother or the father take an open knife (*mûs, ḫûṣah*)[1] and sticks it in the door or in the outer wall of the sickroom. While doing so the following words are uttered: *qurbân la widjh allâh in ṭâb ibnî*, "A sacrifice for God's face, i. e., God's sake, if my child gets well." Such a knife may remain in its place until the sheep is killed.[2]

Much like the above custom is vowing a candle for God: "If my child speaks, I will light a candle for you, O God."[3] According to Christian belief such a candle must be lighted in the open air and not in a shrine. Imm Elyâs of Jerusalem took such a vow and lighted the candle on the roof. She passed the night guarding it, so that it should not be stolen. As the candle was not all burned, it had to be lighted on the second night. According to Mohammedan custom, a light of this kind may be brought to the nearest *welî* and burned there in the name of God.[4]

Before leaving this subject of animal sacrifices we may note a *ḏbîḥah* custom which has nothing to do with vows. In case a saint has been irritated by some mortal, he may punish the evil-doer and perhaps all the inhabitants of the village in a very severe way. A sheep is generally offered to reconcile the saint. I have already told the story of *eš-šêḫ* Ṣâleḥ, who inhabits Ḫirbet Nûtâ, and which illustrates this point excellently.

c) Meatless food

In Jerusalem and the immediate neighbourhood these vows are called *smâṭ*, while in Benî Zêd and Benî Mâlik the word *smâṭ* is used only for a *ḏbîḥah*, as we have seen. I have been unable to find for this word the explanation given by Jaussen, and which he has deduced from the use of the expression in Transjordania.[5] Everywhere vows of this sort are also known by the name *ṭabḫah*, an expression not very much used. Most of the inhabitants of Jerusalem and the adjacent Christian villages understand by *smaṭ*[6] only a special dish, namely

[1] Also *kazlak, sikkîneh*.

[2] A custom prevalent in Benî Zêd.

[3] This type of vow is made when the child grows up without being able to speak.

[4] According to a man of Bettîr (Benî Ḥasan).

[5] Page 365.

[6] *Aberglaube*, p. 75.

rqâq u 'adas. Others include some other food to be mentioned below. The *smâṭ* is cooked at home and is distributed among the poor. Generally a large quantity is prepared. Full plates are sent to the houses of the needy. A Mohammedan woman of Jerusalem informed me that sometimes a *lakan*[1] full of *raštah* is placed at the main gate (Bâb el-Qaṭṭânîn) of the Ḥaram area, so that the worshippers who finish their midday prayer[2] and leave the mosque by this gate may help themselves.[3] The person who has brought the food stands beside it and says to the people *iqrû l-fâtiḥah lin-nabî Ibrâhîm—hâḏâ min niḏruh*,[4] "Pray the *fâtiḥah* for the prophet Abraham; this is from a vow made for him." A Christian from Rafîdiâ (near Nâblus) told me that he remembered the time when this custom was practiced by the Christians of that village. The food used to be placed on Sunday in front of the church and whoever came out took a spoonful of the food. The priest had to begin the procession. It is believed that in this way many prayers are said in the name of the saint.

Other foods which come under this heading are: *'aṣîdeh* = lentils cooked with coarsely ground wheat, *mdjaddarah* = lentils with rice, and *baḥtîyeh* = another name for *ruzz* u *ḥalîb*, i. e., rice with milk. These three dishes are far less common than *rqâq* u *'adas* mentioned first. This is preferred because the peasants believe that it was the food of the Patriarch Abraham.[5]

Many Christians[6] promise *ghirbnîyeh*.[7] This is bread made in large, round loaves from very fine sifted[8] flour. The loaves are signed with a seal (*rašmeh*). Five such loaves—which are called *udjûh*[9]—are always made and given to the priest, who says some

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[1] A brass basin.

[2] Generally this is done on Friday.

[3] Several spoons are placed in the basin.

[4] The last *ḥ* of *niḏruh* is to be pronounced.

[5] Heard from Christians of Rafîdiâ.

[6] Especially those of Bêt Djâlâ and Bethlehem.

[7] *Aberglaube*, l. c.

[8] Many now keep on sifting until it becomes white. Formerly it had to be done seven times.

[9] Imm B. Ṭaldjeh of Bêt Djâlâ gave me the word *udjûh*, pl. of *widjh* (really face) for loaves. This expression was verified by other peasants of the same village.—Cf. biblical לחם פנים, "show-bread" (W. F. A.).

prayers over them and asks God's blessing for all the members of the family which has offered them. He then keeps four loaves for himself and one is taken by the offerer. The last is divided among the members of his family as a *barakeh*. Some keep a piece of this blessed bread for illness, believing that eating it will cure disease. When once such a vow is taken it has to be continued every year until the man for whom it was taken dies. Such a *ghirbnîyeh*[1] is always made one day before the feast of the saint to whom it was vowed. The priest blesses the bread after the afternoon prayer (*ṣalât el-'aṣr*). Such a vow is a material help to the priest.[2] Many vow bread for the poor and needy in the name of the saint. This practice I shall describe more fully in the following section.

III. Offerings given to needy persons in the name of the saint

In the last section we have often mentioned vows fulfilled for the benefit of the poor. The *smâṭ* (*ṭabḥah*) and specially the *walîmeh lillâh* (*qurbân*) come under this heading. All vows of food promised to God must be given to the poor, even though not so specified in the wording of the vow. In all other vows it is specified; e. g., "O Nabî Ṣâleḥ, if you bring me safely through this matter, I shall distribute a basket of rice to the poor." Either food or cloth may be vowed. The food may be offered in a cooked or uncooked state. The "needy" may be grouped under the following headings:

1. Poor (*fuqarâ*)
2. Orphans and widows[3] (*aytâm u arâmil*)
3. Prisoners (*maḥâbîs*)
4. Sick, especially the mentally disturbed (*madjânîn*).

The following are illustrations: "If I get up, and am able to walk I shall, O Prophet of God, clothe thirty orphans;" "O friend of God, as soon as I am released from jail, I shall give two hundred loaves of bread to the prisoners;" "O St. George, if my son returns to normal mental condition, I shall slay a sheep for the *madjânîn* of your shrine."

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[1] Also called *quddâseh*.

[2] This custom is only followed by the Greek Orthodox church.

[3] Called by the collective name *maqṭû'în* (those who have nobody to help them).

In making a vow of *kisweh*[1] one must, according to most of those whom I have asked, supply all garments necessary to dress a person, i. e., shirt (*qamîṣ*), shoes (*ṣarâmî*[2]), bag-trousers (*(i)lbâs*[3]), *qumbâz*[4] (gown[5]) and a head-dress (*ṭarbûš*,[6] or *ḥaṭṭah* and *ʿuqâl*[7]). Many do not give all these, but only a shirt and a *qumbâz*, or the cloth for both. Generally the fulfilment of such a vow is postponed to one of the Mohammedan feasts, *ʿîd eḍ-ḍḥîyeh (ʿîd el-kbîr)* or *ʿîd eṣ-ṣghîr (ʿîd Ramaḍân)*.

The condition of the prisoners used to be pitiful. Very often it happened that an accused or suspected person remained for months in the prison before his trial took place. Most such victims used to implore God and all the saints for help, promising to offer a sheep or bread for the other prisoners, if they should be released from their misery. Even prisoners who were already convicted used to take vows that as soon as they should be released they would offer this or that for the other inmates of the jail. Even if these vows are made in the name of a *welî* they do not reach his sanctuary.

It is advised by many in Jerusalem[8] that the best way to fulfil a food vow for the poor, is to give it to the *ḍkîyeh* kitchen where food is cooked daily and distributed to the poor. Generally the one who vows a sheep will remain in the kitchen until the meat is cooked and distributed. Bread may also be brought to the kitchen. Orphanages and hospitals are sometimes but not often remembered. Flour, rice, melted butter, beans, lentils, etc., are generally presented. The leper asylum "Jesus Hilf" receives such vows at long intervals. "My Lord, if I live to see my son (returning) in good health, I will bequeath my lower house to the *Ḍkîyeh*." The yearly rental of the house goes to the general income of the *ḍkîyeh waqf* as religious

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[1] From *kasâ*, "to clothe."

[2] Also called *markûb, maššâi*.

[3] Made mostly of white or blue cloth, with wide parts above the knees (some call it *širwâl*).

[4] Also called *kibir*.

[5] It is put on over the shirt and the trousers. The *qumbâz* is made of coloured linen, cotton or silk cloth. It is open in front, reaches to just above the ankles and is fastened by a *zunnâr* (belt).

[6] Fez.

[7] Bedouin head-dress.

[8] Heard from Abû ʿOsmân (Jerusalem).

endowment. I know of a man who transferred all his property to a relative as *waqf*, making in the *waqfîyeh* the condition that a sum of money should be given to the poor by the heir in the name of the donor. It may happen that somebody has no money to vow to the poor. He then promises to devote the wages of three or more days' work to the purchase of food for the poor.[1]

IV. Religious vows

By "religious vows" I mean that a person takes upon himself the fulfilment of some religious act or obligation other than what he would naturally perform. Religious vows are practiced by Mohammedans and Christians. Very interesting is the fact that an adherent of one community assumes obligations of another.

Perhaps the most popular example of this category is the promise of reciting the story of the Prophet's nativity, *qrâyet môlad*. "If my daughter recovers I shall recite a *môlad*, O Prophet of God." The *môlad* is the legendary story of the Prophet's birth and is a poem which describes not only the birth of the Prophet, but names his ancestors, all the prophets, and his own acts. A great part of the *môlad* is devoted to praise of Mohammed. There are different *môlads* and one of the most important is that of el-Imâm 'Abdallâh bin Moḥammad el-Manawî. According to *Wafiyât el-A'yân* by Ibn Ḫallikân, vol. I, the first one to attach a great importance to the *môlad* was Muẓẓaffar ed-Dîn (Prince of Irbil). During his time, in the year 604 A. H. el-Ḥâfiz 'Omar Abû el-Ḫaṭṭâb wrote the best *môlad* poem.

The fulfilment may be simple or more elaborate. In the first case the vower gives a sum of money (one to one and a half *medjîdî* in the villages, half a pound to two pounds in the cities) to a *šêḫ* who must recite the *môlad* from a minaret, in a mosque or *welî*, in the name of the giver. Among these places the minaret is the one usually chosen, and often it is specified: *'alâ el-mêdaneh el-Ḥamrâ*,[2] *'alâ mêdanet en-nabî Mûsâ*.[3] The *muaḏḏin* of that minaret may do

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[1] Heard from Imm Bšârah Ṭlêdjeh.

[2] Inside the city in the northeast quarter.

[3] A *môlad* is not generally recited in small sanctuaries, nor from the minaret of unimportant *welîs*. Ibrâhîm el-Ḫauwâṣ, *en-nabî* Mûsâ, *en-nabî* Ṣâleḥ, 'Alî ibn 'Elêm, *en-nabî* Rûbîn, etc., are preferred places.

the job. The *muaḏḏin* or other *šêḫ* who reads the *môlad* takes several others with him, to help him in singing or reciting parts of the *môlad*. It is always done in the evening, generally that of the night of Thursday to Friday, or that of Sunday to Monday. More important is the reading of a *môlad* in the house. Many friends are invited. A large meal is prepared. After all had their supper they assemble in a large room, where the ceremony is held. One or more *šêḫs* are chosen to recite this prayer, while refrains may be repeated in chorus by the audience. It takes about two to two and a half hours, during which no smoking or conversation takes place. One may enter or leave the room at any time. After the ceremony is over sweets are presented. Thus we see that the religious ceremony is preceded and followed by a festivity. When a woman has made a vow to recite the *môlad* she fulfils it by inviting her female relatives and friends and asking a *šêḫah* or a *šêḫ ḍarîr*[1] to recite it.

In some villages one to two *raṭls* of barley with three raw eggs (some bring only one) are placed in front of the *šêḫ* who recites the story of "Mohammed's Nativity." The eggs are eaten by the *šêḫ*, to keep his voice clear,[2] while the barley is kept by the people as a blessing and as a curative medicine in case of sickness. It is supposed that the barley receives a supernatural power through this religious ceremony. In case a child falls sick, he is fumigated with this barley.[3]

An old woman of Jerusalem told me that a dish of flour and a glass of water are placed before the *šêḫ*, who recites this prayer. As soon as he finishes, the contents of the dish are distributed among those present. It is kept as a *ḥirz* for small children. They either carry it in a small bundle around the neck as a prophylactic measure against the evil spirits or they are fumigated with it in case of disease. The water is drunk by those present, believing that it cures shortness of breath.

Although this custom is purely Mohammedan it sometimes happens (but very rarely) that a Christian woman vows that she will recite

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[1] Blind *šêḫs* are allowed to enter chambers of the harem to teach the Qorân, or to say prayers.

[2] I could not find any other explanation for the eggs. The *šêḫ* has no right to take them with him.

[3] I heard this custom from Manṣûr of Liftâ.

a *môlad*. The wife of el-Qârî[1] promised: "If my child gets well, I shall recite a *môlad*." In fulfilment she held the ceremony in her house. Generally Christians prefer giving a *šêḫ* a sum of money and asking him to recite the *môlad* in their name.

Besides the *môlad*, fasting is very often vowed. It is a religious law that every Mohammedan shall fast in the month of Ramaḍân.[2] Nothing is eaten, drunk or smoked during the day-time, while at a certain hour in the late evening the first meal (*fṭûr*), and a few hours after midnight a second one (*sḥûr*) is taken. Nobody may vow to fast in this month, since this is his duty. But fasting on other days or weeks than Ramaḍân are often vowed, generally by women. The number of days or weeks which are to be kept is specified in the vow. These fasts are kept in the same way as that of the month Ramaḍân. Radjab and Ša'bân are the preferred months for fasting, and Monday and Thursday preferred days of the week. This sort of vow cannot be bought, as others may (see above), i. e., it cannot be changed to another obligation. A person who has vowed to fast a month must keep his promise exactly, while another who has bound himself to offer a sheep, oil, etc., may give a sum of money in their place. No unclean woman is allowed to fast.

Christians may vow to fast days or weeks more than required by the church. In such cases they abstain completely from animal food, sometimes including, sometimes excluding fish. More unusual is the promise of a Christian to keep the month Ramaḍân or a part of it. Sometimes Mohammedan women bind themselves to keep the fast of St. Mary's feast (*'îd el-Aḏrâ*) or part of it.

Often a Mohammedan mother who loses one child after another vows to baptize the next one, believing that putting him under the protection of Christ will guard him against death, since the evil spirit el-Qarînî is driven away. The Qarînî is the evil demon which attacks children and pregnant women, causing all the diseases of the first, and producing abortion in the latter.[3] Waṭfeh the wife of I. 'Aql (from Liftâ) lost all her sons during their infancy. While pregnant she was advised by an old neighbour to vow to have her

1 Greek Orthodox Church.

2 Unclean women, sick and those on a journey are excused from this rule. They must do their duty in the same year.

3 See *Aberglaube*, there transcribed *ḳarînî*.

offspring baptized by a Christian priest. She did it with the words: *yâ rabbî in razaqtnî ṣabî nidṛun ʿalay la-aʿmmduh ʿind en-naṣârâ u la-asammîh ʿalâ ism en-naṣârâ*, "O my Lord, if Thou grantest me a boy, I vow to have him baptized by the Christians and to give him a Christian name." She bore two sons after this vow and both were baptized. One was named Ḥannâ and the other Djirius. A *šêḫ* of Šuʿfâṭ told me that a barren woman vows: "By God, if I get a boy I shall call him Eliâs." By this expression she means that she will give him a Christian name, thus dedicating him to a Christian saint. She must therefore baptize him, since baptism puts him under Christ's protection and giving him the name of a Christian saint helps to keep him safe. Therefore only names of popular Christian saints are chosen, like Ḥannâ (John), Djirius (George), etc. St. George's name is preferred since it is a connecting link between Christians and Mohammedans. It is said that the priest conducts the ceremony of baptism as in the case of a Christian child. Only *mêrôn* is not used.

There are a few Christian women who vow to circumcise a child and to give him a Mohammedan name, like Darwîš, Ḥasan, etc. Such vows are taken in the same cases as the previously mentioned ones, i. e., when a mother loses all her male children. When such a woman makes a vow she may fix the place where the child is to be circumcised. Baptism of Mohammedan children is much more common than circumcision of Christian ones. The latter is only found among some few villagers.

Circumcision is a rule for every Mohammedan and therefore it can not be vowed. But a Moslem may bind himself to do this act at a special shrine: "I entreat you, O Prophet Moses, if you cure my child, I will circumcise him in your sanctuary." Such a vow is thought to be good for both parties. The child is protected by the saint, and the confidence shown in the man of God increases his reputation. Very often a special and additional vow is made, namely: "I will take upon me to circumcise so and so many poor children together with my own boy." This means that the vower has to pay for the expenses of the operation, and also gives each child some clothing as a present.

Some vow the service of a person in a sanctuary: "If you, O man of God, grant me a child I shall let him serve you one month

('s time)." Such a custom—although found also among the Mohammedans—is more wide-spread between the Christians. Such a vow of direct service for a certain period in a sanctuary is fulfilled by helping the *qandalaft* (sexton) in his work.[1] In such cases Mohammedans sweep the shrine and light the lamps. This sort of vows resembles the vow of Hannah, the mother of Samuel (I Sam. 1 11 ff.). *Naḏartuh la-mâr Anṭôn,* "I have vowed (offered) him to St. Antonius," means that the boy must wear the garb of that order for one year. The priest puts the garments on and in one year's time the priest must take them off. The parents offer a candle at each of these ceremonies. The convent presents the girdle-rope, the rosary (*el-masbaḥah*) and the cap (*eṭ-ṭaqîyeh*), while the parents provide for the cloth, which is cut by the priest (or in the convent). This priest prays over the dress as well as over the child. Thus the child wears priestly clothes for one year. Members of the Latin church, as well as of the Greek orthodox follow this practice. The latter ask a priest of the former for the performance of this act.

Sometimes the whole or a part of the sick person is vowed to a holy man: "O man of God, O Ḫauwâṣ,[2] if my child recovers, you will get half of him." This means that half the "price" of the person is offered. The price of a person is only discussed when he is murdered. The *diyeh*, "blood price," must be paid by the murderers to the family of the murdered, and it amounts to 33,000 piasters. Vowing half or a quarter of a person means to pay half or a quarter of 33,000 piasters,[3] i. e., 16,500, *respective* 8250. This sum is given to the *qaiym* of the sanctuary with the understanding that it is for the *welî*. In case such a vow is made for a girl her price is not reckoned on the basis of the *diyeh* but of the *mahr* (marriage-price). The wedding ceremony of the girl cannot take place, until her vow is fulfilled.[4] Even in the Old Testament the Nazarite could be

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1 Vows of this type are also known in the Old and New Testament, where persons were vowed or chosen as Nazarites for their life or for a short period. Judg. 13 5, 1 Sam. 1 11, Luke 1 15, Jer. 35 5 ff., 1 Mac. 3 49, Acts 18 18, etc.

2 To this *welî* more persons are vowed than to other saints (heard from O. S. el-Barghûṯî).

3 See O. Barghûṯî, "Judicial Courts among the Bedouin of Palestine," *JPOS* II, No. 1, 1922.

4 I have heard of this custom only in Central Palestine. It is unknown to the villages around Jerusalem.

redeemed at a valuation according to age and sex, on a special scale.[1]

Finally we must mention a custom which, although not belonging directly to this group of vows, seems to me more closely associated with it than to others. The wife of F. (Greek Orthodox), whose son was badly sick, fastened a silken handkerchief on the Nabî Mûsâ flag. This was done on the first day of the feast, while the procession moved from the Mosque of Omar. While doing so she exclaimed: "If my son gets well, O prophet Moses, I shall fasten another handkerchief on the day of the return of your flag."[2] This example shows us again the honour paid to Mohammedan saints by non-Moslems. Such a vow is exceedingly rare. In explanation of this custom we may point to the Mohammedan custom: *in ṭâb ibnî la-arbuṭlak yâ Ḥauwâṣ drâʿ baft râyeh bêḍah*, "If my son recovers, O H., I shall fasten for you an ell (pic) of white shirt as a white flag." To hoist a white flag for somebody means to proclaim his ability, his excellent character, his charity, etc.

V. Bodily chastisement and vows to be fulfilled on the body of the vower or person for whom the vow was taken

"If my child gets well, O my Lady, O St. Mary, I shall visit you (i. e., your shrine) barefoot." Walking barefoot to a sanctuary is vowed by Mohammedans and Christians. Christians of Jerusalem prefer the sanctuaries of St. Mary and Mâr Eliâs. To *sittî* Maryam Mohammedans also bind themselves by a similar vow. This visit must be performed, if at all possible, on the saint's day. Generally the women rise up very early—long before daybreak—and while all are sleeping, walk barefoot to the sanctuary, say a prayer and come back before the visitors begin their pilgrimages to the shrine. The *ḥadîṯ* says "if a man vows to walk to a place and he cannot do it, he may not fulfil his vow walking."[3]

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[1] Lev. 27 1-7. It ranged with males from 5 to 50 shekels, with females from 3 to 30 shekels.

[2] From Imm Elyâs.

[3] *Man naḏara an yamšî li-maḥallin walam yastaṭîʿ an yaqûma bihî falâ yadjûzu an yukmilan-niḏra mašyan.*

Another vow of humiliation is the sweeping of a sanctuary with the head-dress. "I take a vow to sweep Sêf ed-Dîn[1] with my head-cloth, if my brother gets well."[2] To throw, or to place the head-dress on the ground is always looked at as a dishonouring action.

Very often it is vowed that the hairs of the sick child will be cut in a sanctuary. The hair is allowed to grow from the moment of the vow until the promise is fulfilled. In the case of a Christian the child is taken to the church, where the fulfilment of the vow must take place. In case the Holy Sepulchre (Qabr el-Ḫalâṣ[3]) is chosen, the act is performed behind the tomb of Christ. The priest, after saying some prayers, cuts a lock of hair from the forehead, another from the occipital region and one from each lateral side, thus marking the sign of the cross. The barber cuts the rest of the hair. In other churches the child approaches the altar[4] and the ceremony takes place. Some friends and relatives are invited to attend the ceremony. Returning home, all join in a feast. In the case of Mohammedans the child enters the sanctuary and the hair is cut in the *miḥrâb* or near the tomb. At Nebî Mûsâ it is done outside the real shrine. In the district of Djenîn I was told that a vow to cut the hair may be performed in most of the *welîs*. This practice of shaving the head, or cutting the hair at the expiration of a votive period is a very old custom. In the Bible we have reference to it.[5]

In all cases the weight of the hair cut off, in gold, silver or money, is presented to the sanctuary. The money is given to the priest or to the *qaiym*.

VI. Vows not connected with any holy person or shrine

Such vows may be vestiges or remnants of primitive religious practices. "If my brother returns safely, I shall make you a *zarb*, which we will eat in the vineyards." This vow is made for friends. At other times it is a thank-offering to a person. Thus we meet

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[1] In Liftâ.
[2] Heard from a woman of Liftâ.
[3] Lit. "the Tomb of Salvation."
[4] *El-maḍbaḥ*.
[5] Acts 18 18, 21 24.

with many *ndûrah* of this category made for physicians, nurses, teachers, etc. Most of these vows are never fulfilled.

In connection with the subject of vows I wish to draw attention to the following idea. There are some expressions which seem to indicate quite a different idea, but which originate in the same cycle of conceptions as the vows. The Palestinian believes that the death of a child or animal, the breaking of an object or the spilling of a fluid may atone for the loss of somebody or something more important. *Inkasar eš-šarr*, "the evil is broken," is said when a glass of water, a tea cup or a coffee cup fall from a visitor's hand and breaks. *Inkabb eš-šarr*, "the evil has been poured out," is used on similar occasions.

When a horse dies, a house collapses, etc., people express their feelings by saying: *fidâk u fidâ 'iyâlak*, "it is a ransom for you and your family." The idea underlying these expressions is that some evil had to befall the loser, but the Almighty Providence has directed it to a less important object and thus saved a greater loss.

VII. Vows for the dead and the *djinn*

I cannot close the discussion of vows without calling attention to vows offered to the *djinn* and the dead. Although this category of offerings differs from that of offerings brought to the saints, it shows many points of resemblances and serves to illustrate some points of interest. It is hard to find such characteristic examples of sacrifices brought to *djinn* and dead as of those offered to saints. Nevertheless a careful investigation shows many customs which belong here. A comparision between sacrifices offered to saints and those brought to the dead and *djinn* exhibits the same idea in different stages of development. I shall describe some customs and snperstitions beliefs, which suggest

a) Offerings to demons

Ḏbîḥet ed-dâr (among the peasants) which corresponds to *ḏbîḥet bêt eš-ša'r*[1] of the Bedouin is the most characteristic example of this sort. Besides *ḏbîḥet el-Ḫalil*[2] we meet with another sort of animal

[1] Jaussen, p. 339.

[2] A sheep must be offered to Abraham whenever a house is newly built.

sacrifice, practiced by many peasants in connection with the completion of a house. Some will not even occupy a newly built dwelling until a sheep is immolated, to please the *djinn* who have already taken their abode in it. With the blood the sides of the door are painted as an external sign of the offering. Others may even slay a sheep in the foundation trenches. Whenever a Bedouin tribe changes the locality of its camp the *šêḫ* and others immolate a sheep to the demons of that spot with the words *dastûr yâ ṣâḥib el-maḥall*, "By your permission, O owner of the place."[1]

According to an old belief, which is at present dying out, some buildings — especially baths and houses erected near a spriug — will not be fortunate and prosperous, unless the foundation stone has been erected upon shed blood. In the case of a Turkish bath it is even thought, that a human being — and curiously enough a Sudanese — must be offered before the first stone is laid. Some old women assured me that the head of a negro suffices, if buried below the threshold. The following expressions point to this human sacrifice: *el-ḥammâm mâ bidûr illâ'alâ 'abd*, "The bath does not work except on a negro;" *qâym 'alâ 'abd*, "it is erected on a negro;" *mabnî 'alâ 'abd*, "it is built on a negro."[2] Excavations show that these foundation sacrifices were very wide-spread in the ancient Orient. In 1 Kg. 16 34 we read: "In his days did Hiel the Bethelite build Jericho: he laid the foundation thereof in Abiram his firstborn, and set up the gates thereof in his youngest son Segub."

Whenever a house is thought to be inhabited by demons, because every family which occupies it loses one or more of its members by death, nobody else will move into it before sacrificing one or more sheep, for the house is thought to be *maskûn*, "haunted," lit., "inhabited (by evil spirits)."

The spring of Djifnâ is supposed to be inhabited by a demon which appears in the form of a charming bride. Once a woman of the village approached the spring during menstruation. This careless act provoked the anger of the *djinnîyeh* and the spring was dried up. A priest had to go to the place and burn incense, thus reconciling the *djinnîyeh*.[3]

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[1] Jaussen, l. c.

[2] *Aberglaube*, p. 20.

[3] *"Haunted Springs and Water Demons," JPOS* I, pp. 153—170.

To this category belongs also the custom known as *tiḥlây*, "sugaring." Superstition holds that the *djinn* are pleased and quieted by sweets and sugar offerings.[1] The following example will illustrate the procedure. A mother once beat her child on the threshold (*'atabeh*). This careless act resulted in a severe punishment of the child and mother, the first getting fever and the second having a slight attack of facial paralysis. These inflictions were caused by the *djinn* living in this place. To appease them the woman was advised to strew sweets on the threshold.

More complicated is the following belief. A child had fever, and the mother was told that this was caused by a fright. She took the sick boy to el-Ḥadjar el-Mansî, where she washed his hands and feet, after which she strewed sweets and returned home. The explanation of this act is as follows; The fever excited by the fright is caused by demons. Taking the child to the grave of a holy man and washing his extremities there drives the devils out by the power of the man of God. The sweets are an offering to appease the demons, who are irritated because they have to leave their prey.

In analyzing all these customs we find that the idea of offering something to the spirits is represented in every one. I have only mentioned a few examples of each sort. The underlying idea is to get the favour of the spirits through these sacrifices, to please them and to atone for mistakes which may have provoked them. According to popular belief the spirits always react favourably to such offerings. Many references in the Bible point to offerings to spirits and demons.[2]

b) Offerings to the Dead

With regard to sacrifices to the dead I shall only mention practices which bear a special connection to our subject. While the corpse is being ritually washed, the relatives distribute some money *'an rûḥ el-maiyet*, "for the soul of the dead." This is called *sqût eṣ-ṣalây*. In the cemetery and when the burial is over, money is again distributed, this time to the *šêḫs* who have been repeating during the whole procession, *allâhu akbar*, as a prayer for the dead. In the

[1] See *Aberglaube*.

[2] Lev. 16 8, 17 7; 2 Chr. 11 15; 2 Kings 23 8. In the latter "spirits" should be read instead of "gates" (i. e., *śe'îrîm* instead of *śe'arîm*), as has been suggested.

graveyard, bread and dried figs are given to the poor (*ʿan rûḥ el-maiyt*). Those who can afford it may even have a new wooden coffin (*tâbût, saḷlîyeh*) made, on which the deceased is carried to his burial place. This coffin is then left to serve for poor dead, and this act of helping the poor, even after their death, is believed to bring a special *ṭawâb*, "reward," for the soul of the departed.

All who go to the house of the mourners to condole receive coffee with or without a piece of cake. After drinking the coffee, and sometimes on entering as well as on leaving, they say: *allah yerḥamu* "May God be merciful to him."[1] In the third night a *tahlîleh* is made. Sweets are distributed to all invited, who are chosen from the better class as well as from the poor. Afterwards *lâ ilâhan illâ allah* is recited by those present, all repeating this phrase over and over again until the sum of all the prayers reaches one thousand in the cities, and 75000 in some villages.[2] Thereupon al-Ḫitmeh (al-Qorân) is read and those reading it say at the end: *wahabnâ ṭawâbahâ li-rûḥ fulân*, "We have presented its recompense (merit), i. e., that of reading the Holy Book, for the soul of N. N." The meeting ends with a meal. Every one recites the *fâtiḥah* for the soul of the dead. The meal this night is also called *unîsah (el-Mâlḥah)*.

On the first Thursday the relatives distribute a sort of a cake fried in oil to those who happen to come to the cemetery. It is called *fakket ḥanak*.[3] On the second Thursday a *ḫmêsîyeh* is made in some villages. All friends go to the cemetery to visit the tomb. The relatives distribute dried figs, sweets, raisins, etc., among those present, especially to children, also *ʿan rûḥ el-maiyet*. As on other occasions, everyone asks the mercy of God for the soul of the departed one. At the end of the forty days another supper (*ʿašâ*)[4] is made. On *Ḫamîs el-Amwât* the peasants send fruit to the *maḍâfeh*, while in a city the relatives of the dead go to the cemetery and distribute sweets, dyed eggs, and very rarely cooked food among the poor as a

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[1] Other expressions are: *salâmet rûskum, el-bâqiyeh fî ʿumrak, allâh yḫallî wlâdak.*

[2] Heard in el-Qubêbeh.

[3] *Fakket el-wiḥdeh* is the expression used for the first visit made on the day after the corpse is buried.

[4] One who does not prepare this supper for his dead father is despised by his fellow-villagers, who say: *mâ ilak ḫêr fî abûk mâ ʿamiltiloš ʿašâ yâ kalb.*

ṣadaqah ʿan el-maiyet. Food may be sent at any time by the peasants to the guest-house and is known by the names *eṣ-ṣadaqah, el-fiqdeh, er-raḥmeh, kaffârah.* City-dwellers generally give food to the poor on every feast (New Year, Ramaḍân, ʿÎd el-Kbîr). While any sort of food, even fruit, may be sent on any occasion to the *maḍâfeh*, it is customary in the villages to slay a sheep on the *tahlîleh*, some times on *Ḫamîs el-Amwât.*[1]

From the above we see that the peasants prefer to send the *ṣadaqah* to the guest-house, for all visitors, travellers and strangers stop there for rest and recreation. Every time the relatives of the dead bring food to the *maḍâfeh* they say: *haḍâ an rûḥ fulân*, "this is for the soul of N. N." Every one who eats of it must say a prayer for the deceased. Thus many prayers ascend to the Almighty, imploring the salvation of the one who has died.

Some relatives of a dead person will give a sum of money to a poor person obligating the latter to journey to Mecca and perform the *ḥaḍj* for the soul of the dead. When he has finished the official ceremony there he must say: *itqabbal yâ allah ṯawâb hal-ḥadj ʿan rûḥ fulân,* "Reckon, O God, the recompense (merit) of this pilgrimage for the soul of..." No *ḏbîḥet eḍ-ḍḥîyeh* can be given in the name of the deceased.[2]

The Bedouin of el-Qibleh (the Peninsula of Sinai) once a year bring all their cattle to visit their cemetery. While the sheep pass the burial place, every animal entering the cemetery or remaining standing near it is thought to have been chosen by the dead and is sacrificed there. I have been told that very many sheep are slain on such an occasion, as all Bedouin, even the poor, bring their sheep to visit the dead in order that the latter may choose an offering.

There are some who engage a *šêḫ* to read *el-Ḫitmeh*[3] for the benefit of the dead once or several times a year. As in the case of the *ḥadj*, here also he says, as soon as he finishes the reading, *wahabtu ṯawâbuhâ la-rûḥ fulân.*

There are other somewhat similar customs which may be passed over. I wish, however, to emphasize what has been mentioned

1 In the villages this day is also known an *Ḫamîs el-Bêḍ* (Thursday of Eggs)

2 Heard from several women of Jerusalem, who gave me several examples

3 Some believe that Radjab, Šaʿbân and Ramaḍân are the most suitable months for reading the Holy Book.

repeatedly, that every one who receives money or food in the name of the deceased recites a prayer and generally the *fâtiḥah* for his soul, and adds in every case the words *raḥmet allah 'alêh* or *allah yirḥamuh.*

While all the customs described above are practised by the Mohammedans, the Christians have others which are based on the same conceptions. I do not wish to describe the various masses and prayers for the dead, as they are accepted religious institutions of the different churches, but will restrict myself to folkloristic practices, mentioning only those that differ from the customs described above.

On the third, ninth and fortieth day, six months and one year after the death[1] a *ṣûniyeh* and a *widjih* are made by the family of the deceased and distributed in the cemetery. By *sûniyeh* a dish of boiled wheat with sugar, decorated with almonds, candy, etc., is meant, while a *widjih* is a large disk-like loaf of bread of about 40—60 cm in diameter, coated with sesame seeds. The priest says some prayers and then the food is distributed to those present. Many offer these things only once or twice.[2]

Some Christians distribute cakes (either *ka'k ibsimsim, biqsmâṭ* or *raḥmeh*)[3] on the first 'Îd el-Amwât. Members of the Greek Orthodox church may also take wine on such occasions. The priest blesses the wine and gives every one a cup. The dead person also receives his portion, for the priest pours a little wine, marking a circle with it on the tomb.

As with the Mohammedans so also with the Christians, every one who receives something implores the mercy of God for the deceased.

An analysis of these customs shows the following main points:

1. Food and other offerings are made in the name of the dead and for the benefit of the dead.

2. These offerings are accompanied by a multitude of prayers and good wishes, which are intended for the benefit of the dead.

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[1] Some Christians give those who come to condole a cup of coffee with a hard cake. In some cases simple *ka'k ibsimsim* (cakes with sesame seeds) are distributed instead of *biqsmâṭ* (the above mentioned hard cakes).

[2] This custom prevails among the Greek Orthodox congregation.

[3] *Raḥmeh* stands for rounds cakes made of *smîd* (semolina) butter and sesame seeds.

When we question the peasants about the purpose of these customs, we find that they reason as follows. When help (food, money, etc.) is given to the poor, strangers and children in the name of the deceased, and prayers are said for his soul, God will reckon all these acts in his favour in the day of judgement. The more a soul can rely upon such acts, the better off it is, since all of them will be added to *kaffet el-mîzân*, in which his good actions are placed, and the likelihood of outweighing his evil actions will increase. In other words, we see that these actions are sacrifices made by the living for the benefit of the dead. This thought is beautifully expressed in the sentence *lôlâ el-aḥyâ la-hilkat el-amwât*, "Were it not for (the actions of) the living, the dead would have perished." This is the fundamental idea in all sacrifices to the dead, as we shall see later on.

A close examination of the goal at which these offerings and prayers aim, removes every doubt of their sacrificial character. The latter becomes still clearer if we remember the words said every time the *fâtiḥah* and ḫitmeh are read, namely: *itqabbal yâ allah ṭawâbhâ 'an rûḥ fulân*, "Accept, O God, its recompense for the soul of . . ." These customs are illustrated by the fact that the Hebrew word for "pray (עתר)" is cognate with the Arabic root عتر, which means "sacrifice (sheep)."[1] Prayer and sacrifice were so intermingled that every prayer was an offering, and every sacrifice a prayer.

Even the simplest phrases, *allah yirḥamuh* or *raḥmet allah 'alêh*, seem to have been originally *ad'iyâ*, "prayers," offered for the benefit of the dead, and not only polite expressions.[2]

There is another motive for this custom to which I wish to draw attention, as it has not usually been connected with sacrifices for the dead. The underlying idea of all these sacrifices, including those offered to saints, is the same. Neither saints nor other dead eat themselves, although meals are offered in their names. To their tables many are invited and when satisfied say a prayer for the

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[1] See *Muḥîṭ el-Muḥîṭ* and Belot.

[2] Whenever one is on the point of beginning a journey he asks his friends: *id'û lî*, "pray for me." They at once recite phrases like "God be with you," "God protect you," "God make you prosper," etc. All these simple expressions are considered as prayers (*du'â*).

soul of the dead, who is then their real host. Thus a person is endowed even after his death with the highest virtue in the eyes of the Oriental, namely hospitality.

In the Bible we find parallels to the custom of sacrifice for the dead, cf. Deut. 26 14, Sir. 30 18. The most interesting passage is 2 Macab. 12 43ff.: "And making a gathering, he sent twelve thousand drachmas of silver to Jerusalem for sacrifice to be offered for the sins of the dead, thinking well and religiously concerning the resurrection. For if he had not hoped that they that were slain should rise again, it would have seemed superfluous and vain to pray for the dead."[1]

(To be continued.)

[1] Douay translation.

CANAANITE TOMBS NEAR JAFFA

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LAST January (1925), it was reported to me that some workmen engaged in digging holes for planting trees in an orange grove situated at Jerisheh (جريشة), on the banks of the river 'Aujah, about four kilometres north-east of Jaffa, had struck an ancient tomb and had extracted from it some pottery sherds and a weapon of bronze. Proceeding to the spot together with Mr. Ory, an inspector of the Department of Antiquities, we discovered a second tomb at a few metres' distance from the first one; the contents of both tombs, consisting of the bronze weapon already mentioned, which was a spear-head, and a number of clay vessels of various shapes, but mostly of early Semitic types, were taken to the Museum at Jerusalem. I trust that the Director of Antiquities will place at the disposal of the members of this Society, at an early date, the conclusions at which his Department has no doubt arrived concerning the exact age and origin of these objects.

Information obtained from the local workmen with regard to several more tombs which have been found in the same property in the course of the last few years, and the examination of some of the pottery objects stated to have been extracted from these tombs, led us to the view that we had really come across the remains of a quite extensive burial ground. The next logical step was to look, in the immediate vicinity, for some important human settlement of pre-Israelite or early Israelite times. Our attention having been naturally attracted by the so-called "Napoleon Hill" which is situated only a few hundred yards from the tombs, a superficial examination of the flat summit of the hill showed the latter to be literally covered with pottery and flint, and convinced us at once of the soundness of our

deductions as to the proximity of an important settlement. In addition to the pottery, Mr. Ory had the good fortune to be able to acquire from an Arab boy an extremely interesting seal, whilst a settler from the Jewish village of Ramath-Gan, not far off, lent us for examination a small Astarte bust; both these objects are stated to have been picked up on the hill.

The hill is situated almost exactly in the centre of a triangle, the two sides of which are formed by the river 'Auja on the north and its tributary the Bâridah on the west, whilst the base of the triangle is formed by the section of the Jaffa-Nablus road between the Sarona bridge (once no doubt the emplacement of a ford across the Bâridah) and the Hadrah bridge (once the site of a ford across the 'Aujah). The apex of the triangle faces towards the sea, and is formed by the confluence of the Bâridah with the 'Aujah. Between this point and the "Napoleon Hill" lies the village of Jerisheh, a miserable collection of mud huts surrounded by orange groves, on the southern bank of the 'Aujah; the hill itself is called by the villagers *Tell Jerisheh*. As one stands on the hill, the view embraces the course of the 'Auja for several miles. Almost at one's feet, the numerous and close windings of the Bâridah, with their exceedingly slow gradient, look more like a series of stagnant pools than like a river. This is true especially in spring and in summer, when the flow of the 'Auja is so strong (compared with that of the Bâridah), that the waters of the former are pressed sidewards into the bed of its tributary and sometimes check the latter's flow for hours and even days in succession. There are moments, especially during a strong west wind, when the pressure is such that the water in the lower section of the Bâridah is actually flowing up-hill. No wonder that the region of Jerisheh is, and has probably also been in antiquity, badly infested with malaria.

There arises the interesting question as to why the ancestors of the present inhabitants of Jerisheh chose such an unhealthy and, let us add, unsafe location for their village, when nature provided them with a splendid hill-site little more than a hundred yards away. The answer to this question is, I think, that originally the community of Jerisheh did occupy the summit of the "Napoleon Hill," but that they abandoned the latter under compulsion, following perhaps upon the destruction of their city as a result of military operations against it.

Who knows whether we are not faced here with the consequences of some prohibition of re-building, similar to the one pronounced by Joshua against Jericho, another strong city in control of an important ford? The detailed study of the pottery found on the hill may help us to formulate an answer to this question, but reliable information will probably be obtained only as a result of excavations or at least of careful soundings. One thing appears to the writer to be quite certain, and that is the considerable military, and consequently political importance of the site.

Two natural obstacles thrown across the *Via maris* have since the oldest times played important parts in all the great military and political contests of which the Maritime Plain of Palestine has been the scene. These obstacles are the river 'Auja and Mount Carmel; but of the two, only the river 'Auja has ever been a real boundary. In times when most of her Asiatic possessions were breaking away from Egypt, the Pharaohs generally succeeded in maintaining their hold over the southern part of Palestine up to Jaffa and the river 'Auja. I believe that the famous double battle on land and water, in which Rameses III broke the might of the Philistines and their confederates, was fought in the corner formed by the southern bank of the 'Auja and the sea-shore, and not further north as is generally thought; and it is more than probable, as I have endeavoured to show in my "History of Jaffa," that the 'Auja became the boundary between the regions occupied respectively by the Philistines and the Zakkala from 1200 to 1000 B. C. The Hebrews saw in the *Yarkon* (which is the Hebrew name of the 'Auja) the line of demarcation between the Plain of Sharon and that of Philistia; in the 4th century B. C. it formed the southern boundary of the district given by the king of Persia to Eshmunazar of Sidon; early in the first century B. C. it is the line of the 'Auja, from Antipatris *(Râs-el-'Ain)* down to the sea, that Alexander Jannaeus fortifies in his unsuccessful attempt to arrest the southward progress of the Syrian armies of Antiochus XII Dionysius.

It is at the Mills *(et-Tawahin)*, a few hundred yards from Jerisheh, that in A. D. 885 Khumaraweyh defeats the forces of the Abbasid Khalifs and brings Palestine and Syria under Tulunid rule. The battle of Arsuf between Richard Coeur-de-Lion and Saladin is but another battle of the 'Auja. During Napoleon's siege of Jaffa in

1799, Kleber's division occupied the line of the 'Auja previous to the launching of the actual attack on Jaffa itself; Bonaparte himself can have had no better outlook-post for studying the country around and beyond the river than the *Tell-Jerisheh*, whence no doubt its name of "Napoleon hill." And it was not until he had occupied the northern bank of the 'Auja in December 1917, that Lord Allenby thought himself secure in the possession of Jaffa (see his despatch of September 18th, 1918). As a matter of fact, the value of Jaffa to all invaders coming from Egypt, whether by land or by sea, is due in a large measure to its favourable position as a base for the defence or the attack of the line of the 'Auja.

If this reading of the military geography of the region immediately north of Jaffa is correct, then in ancient times there must have existed along the banks of the 'Auja a number of fortified settlements entrusted with the control of traffic across the several fords by which the river can be crossed. Yet, with the one notable exception of Antipatris situated near the river's source, no such settlements are known to us. This does not mean, however, that they never existed; it only means that in such records as have been preserved, they are either not mentioned — a thing which is difficult to believe — or that the names under which they are mentioned have escaped identification.

As to the location of these settlements, there can be no question that we must look for them on the series of *tells* which are to be found along both banks of the 'Auja, from the sea to *Râs-el-'Ain*:

Tell er-Rekkeit between the sea-shore and the track that leads from Jaffa to Caesarea over the ford situated at the mouth of the 'Auja;

Tell Abu-Zeitûn, about half a mile south-east of the present Hadrah bridge;

Tell en-Nuriyeh about two miles north-east of the same bridge with which it is connected by a straight track;

Tell el-Mukhmar a few hundred yards of the Ferrikhyeh bridge.

To this list I would add the high and broad hill of *Sheikh-Mu'annes*, which commands the approaches to the lower 'Auja.

But more important than any of the settlements that once occupied these tells, was the city that crowned the *Tell-Jerisheh*, only a short distance above the spot where the 'Auja ceases to become navigable for shallow vessels coming up from sea. Among the objects found

in the tombs and on the hill, foreign influences are discernible at first sight; the writer believes that a thorough investigation of the site will furnish valuable information concerning the ancient history of this important section of the Maritime Plain, and the commercial relations which it must have entertained with Crete, Cyprus, and the Aegean world at various epochs.

A word may be said about the seal previously referred to. It shows on one face a bearded figure sitting in a chair under a palm tree, the right hand lifted up in a gesture claiming attention or giving an order; on the other side, the seal has a bird flying over an animal which, from the shape of its horns, may be a buffalo. The bearded figure is probably a Semite, and might well be the Chief of the city; the fact of his "sitting under the palm tree" like Deborah, the prophetess, who "judged Israel" (Judges IV, 5 and 6) seems to warrant that conclusion. The picture of the buffalo is equally interesting, because only a mile or so to the east of the "Napoleon Hill," and surrounding *Tell Abu-Zeitûn*, there begins a comparatively large tract of marshy land, occupied by a small Beduin tribe, who call themselves the *'Arab-el-Jamassîn* ("the Buffalo-Beduin"), and their buffalo herds. That the buffalo is not a recent arrival in that region may be deduced with a certain amount of probability from the fact that an extensive pool, on higher ground, about a mile south-east of the *Tell Abu-Zeitûn*, is called *Birket el Jamûs* (The Pool of the Buffaloes). One feels tempted to suppose that the seal is that of the chief of the city on the hill, and that his principal wealth consisted of large buffalo herds which lived in the marshes of the 'Auja. The habit of depicting on a seal the symbols of a man's profession or occupation was widely practiced in Crete; the narrow waistline which is a striking feature of the man represented on our seal is also characteristic of Cretan art, whilst the excellent workmanship of the engraving seems in itself to betray some influence from beyond the sea.

NOTES ON EARLY HEBREW AND ARAMAIC EPIGRAPHY

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THANKS to recent discoveries and publications the horizon of the North-Semitic epigraphist is being rapidly widened, and the future of his field of research seems brighter than ever before. The discovery and partial decipherment of the Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions have dispelled some of the mystery that enshrouded the origin of the Semitic alphabet, though the value of the work of PETRIE, GARDINER, COWLEY, SETHE, and others bids fair to be completely obscured by the vagaries of GRIMME and VÖLTER. The remarkable work of MONTET and DUSSAUD has brought to light several inscriptions from Byblos which antedate the Mesha Stone by generations—even by centuries. While the new texts of Elîba'al, the contemporary of Osorkon I., and of Abîba'al, contemporary with Shishak, carry us back into the second half of the tenth century, the funeral inscription of Aḥîrâm, which we shall study below, takes us back into the thirteenth century—or at the latest, if we do not accept the cartouche of Rameses II. as a *terminus ad quem*, into the twelfth century.

While discoveries bearing on the later history of the Semitic alphabet are naturally not so thrilling as the finds at Serābîṭ el-Ḫâdim and Jebeil, they are interesting enough. Happily the epigraphic finds in Palestine itself are beginning to increase in volume. The recent publication of the ostraca of Samaria has at last made it possible to appreciate the results which accrue from them, while the latest ostracon from Jerusalem, to be discussed below, shows what we may expect in the future. New discoveries of seal impressions in Jerusalem throw important light on the fiscal system, both of pre-exilic and especially of post-exilic times, as we shall see below.

1. THE END OF THE SARCOPHAGUS TEXT OF AḤÎRÂM

Thanks to the work of DUSSAUD,[1] LIDZBARSKI,[2] GRESSMANN,[3] HOFFMANN,[4] BAUER,[5] VINCENT,[6] TORREY,[7] and others, we have arrived at a fair understanding of this important text, except for the end, which no one has been able to solve. Unfortunately, the last few characters are by no means clear on the sarcophagus itself, and the published text cannot possibly be tortured into a semblance of sense. During a forced stay of some days in Beirût, October, 1925, the writer examined the inscription anew, devoting three visits to a careful study of the obscure final section. Unfortunately, the side of the sarcophagus bearing the inscription is turned away from the window, and is thus always in the shade. With a mirror, and taking advantage of varying light from outside, there seemed to be only one possible reading, which we give in the facsimile no. 1 on the accompanying plate. We should thus probably read והא ימח ספרה לפף מתבל instead of the *editio princeps*, which has והא ימח ספר ז לפף שרל, which has naturally puzzled all students of the text. DUSSAUD translated with great hesitancy: "tandis que lui (le profanateur) effacera cette inscription à l'entrée (?) de l'Hadès (?)."[8] HOFFMANN suggested: "und

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[1] See *Syria*, vol. V, pp. 135—157; VI, 104 ff.

[2] *Nach. Ges. Wiss. Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1923, 43 ff.

[3] ZATW 1924, 349 f. Note the following abbreviations: — AJSL = *American Journal of Semitic Languages*; JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*; JBL = *Journal of Biblical Literature*; JEA = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*; JPOS = *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*; MVAG = *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*; OLZ = *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*; QS = *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*; RB = *Revue Biblique*; ZA = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*; ZATW = *Zeitschrift für Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*; ZS = *Zeitschrift für Semitistik*.

[4] Cf. ZATW 1924, 349 f.

[5] OLZ 1925, 129 ff.

[6] RB 1925, 183 ff.

[7] JAOS XLV (1925), 269—279.

[8] In his latest paper on the subject (cf. above), DUSSAUD renders: »Quant à lui, sa postérité sera anéantie par l'épée.« In order to obtain this result he reads: והא ימחס פרה לפף שרל. The reading of the last word must be corrected, as we have seen. The division of the preceding group of consonants is wrong, since there seems to be a bar of separation after the ח, as shown on VINCENT's facsimile. Even if there were no bar, the division proposed by DUSSAUD would be unsatisfactory, since the stem מחס, though theoretically possible, owing to the not infrequent interchange of ס and צ in the presence of a ח, is not actually found, while "his posterity" should be written פריה, *piryahu*, or the like.

selbiger wird, sobald er diese Schrift auswischt, als Kriegsbeute gesammelt werden." LIDZBARSKI wisely refrained from attempting a translation. VINCENT supplied some letters and proposed: "Quant à celui qui effacerait cette inscription, que soit anéanti pour lui [tout] rejeton!" TORREY renders: "if he shall destroy this inscription, cover it over or deface it." The translation of VINCENT's is the only one which attains complete plausibility as a translation, but it is questionable whether we may supply letters in an early Phoenician text as we would in a Latin or Greek inscription of the post-Christian period.

The substitution of ה for ו of the first edition is quite certain; the latter is absolutely out of the question, and the writer saw every stroke of the former clearly.[9] It has also the great advantage that the former syntactical strangeness of והא disappears entirely, since it now becomes a simple nominative absolute, taking up and emphasizing the subject of the curse, while the pronominal suffix "his" simply refers back to it. We should then render: "as for *him*, his writing will be effaced (*nif'al* imperfect, corresponding to Hebrew *yimmaḥê*)." The last word is probably מחבל, "from the world," since the מ and ת are perfectly clear, while the next to the last character is distinctly more bent in the shaft than the other occurrences of ר in the inscription. TORREY has also come to the conclusion that we should read ב; the writer's decision was based on the original, and was reached before he thought of the translation. While it is true that the character does look more like a ר at first than like a ב, the curious bend remains to be explained, and its weakness may be attributed to the carelessness with which the last letters were scratched, rather than carved on the stone. There is no philological difficulty with the word *mit-tebel*, "from the world," since Heb. *tebel* = Assyr. *tabalu* meant primarily "dry land, continent," and came to means "earth, world" (not "universe") in distinction from *ereṣ*, "land." The partial assimilation of *n* to the following letter is common in Phoenician, and need cause no difficulty; cf. the illustrations given by SCHROEDER, *Die phönizische Sprache*, p. 213, § 121, and the parallel usage of the Mesha Stone, both of which agree entirely with biblical Hebrew. The preceding word לפך is curious, but the reading seems to be absolutely certain. With the sense which we must apparently give to the

[9] So also GIRON from the facsimile; see DUSSAUD, *Syria*, vol. VI, p. 106 f.

preceding and following words: "as for him his writing will be effaced ... from the world," it is difficult to avoid giving לפף the meaning "utterly, entirely," or the like. DUSSAUD has already suggested combining the word with Hebrew פיפיות, a reduplicated plural of פה which means "two sides, edges," employed especially of swords. After examining all the lexical material in the Semitic languages bearing on the stem לפף, and finding nothing suitable, the writer has come to the conclusion that DUSSAUD was right, but not in the sense intended. The word is probably equivalent to biblical Hebrew פה לפה, "(from) one end to the other, entirely," as in 2 Kings 10 21: "and the temple of Baal was completely (פה לפה) filled;" 2 Kings 21 16: "And Manasseh also poured out innocent blood exceedingly, so that it entirely (פה לפה) filled Jerusalem." There is no real difference semantically between *pâ̈ la-pâ̈*, "end to end," and **la-pâ̈-pâ̈* or **la-pî-pî*, "to the ends." The Hebrew *pâ̈* means "mouth, edge, side, end," indiscriminately, so there is no difficulty in adopting the equivalent which fits our English idiom best.

Having secured what appears to be a satisfactory rendering of the crux at the end of our text, we are now ready to offer a new translation of the entire inscription, based upon a new interpretation of the syntax. The transcription also presents a difference, since we consider it necessary to insert a word in one place:—

ארן ז פעל [א]תבעל בן אחרם מלך גבל לאחרם אבה כשתה בעלם. ואל מלך במלכם וסכן בס[כ]נם ותמא מחנת [יעל] עלי גבל ויגל ארן זן תחתסף חטר משפטה תחתפך כסא מלכה ונחת תברח על גבל והא ימח ספרה לפף מתבל.

This sarcophagus Ittô-ba'al, son of Aḫî-râm, king of Gebal, made for his father Aḫî-râm as his sleeping-place in the other world. And if any king or prefect or commander of a host attacks Gebal and opens up this sarcophagus, may the scepter of his rule be broken, may the throne of his sovereignty be overturned, but let peace hover over Gebal; as for him, may his writing be entirely effaced from the earth.

Whether or not ז is to be taken as a demonstrative or a relative is not certain, and something can be said on both sides. Cf. VINCENT on behalf of its relative force. We have followed the majority. The reading of the king's name as אתבעל is now accepted by DUSSAUD and may be considered as certain. The writer's collation also favors it. Our spelling is based on the transcriptions in Greek and cuneiform,

which, when combined with the biblical writing of the name make it clear that the name means "With him is Baal;" cf. now FRIEDRICH, ZS II, 5, n. 4. The father's name, *Aḥî-râm*, is certainly identical with biblical *Ḥîrâm*, the later Phoenician pronunciation (properly *Ḥîrôm*); cf. the remarks of LIDZBARSKI, VINCENT and especially of TORREY. The inclination of Phoenician to drop the initial weak laryngeal, as in *Ḥîrôm*, *Bod-'Aštart*, *Tôba'al* (Assyr. *Tuba'la*) is presumably due to a strong tendency toward whispering the unaccented syllables of a word, as in Moroccan Arabic,[10] a tendency which would make initial unaccented weak laryngeals with a *šewâ* practically inaudible.

The phrase כשחה בעלם have been variously rendered, most scholars taking the first word to contain the verb *šît*, "to place, set." In Phoenician, however, this verb generally means "to set up, establish," so the interpretation "lay" seems rather strained. It is impossible not to think of the biblical Hebrew וישן שנת עולם, Jer. 51 39, 57, so that HOFFMANN's explanation of שת as *šitt*, for **šint*,[11] the infinitive of *yšn*, "to sleep," seems the most satisfactory. But his rendering "wenn er schlafen wird ewiglich" is syntactically unsatisfactory, since כ must be the preposition if it is used with an infinitive. I would explain *šitt* as equivalent to Heb. *šenah*, Assyr. *šittu*, but with the local sense "place of sleeping," just as the similar Assyrian infinitives *ṣîtu* (= Heb. *ṣêt*) and *šubtu* (for **šibtu* by partial assimilation of the *i* to the following labial) have developed the meanings "place of rising" (*ṣît šamši* = "east") and "place of sitting, abode." The following בעלם instead of the לעלם which one might expect can hardly be rendered "eternally," unless one assumes a scribal blunder, but is rather to be equated to Late Hebrew בעולם הבא, "in the other world;" we must not forget that it is precisely in Late Hebrew (Ecclesiastes) that such characteristic Phoenician expressions as בית עולם and תחת השמש come into use. It is not necessary to suppose that בעלם stands for בת עלם.

The next sentence has been the syntactical dispair of the students of our document. In reading the text with Mr. SAMUEL ROSENBLATT we reached the conclusion that אל must be a conditional particle of

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[10] Cf. GRIMME, ZS III, 1—16.

[11] Cf. כת, "I was," for **kant*, occurring several times in the Kilamûwa text.

some kind, though recognizing the difficulty in the way of DUSSAUD's combination with Aramaic אלו, which stands for *in lau* (= Arabic *in lau*, WRIGHT-DE GOEJE, vol. II, p. 348 C), since the Phoenician conditional conjunction is *im*, not *in*, and *m* is not easily assimilated to a following *l*. We further reached the conclusion that we must insert the verb יעל = Heb. יעלה (cf. יגל = יגלה) before עלי גבל, thus obtaining a perfectly good apodosis, and eliminating the syntactic difficulty. In copying the text from his papyrus memorandum the stone-cutter was guilty of a natural haplography, just as he had carelessly omitted a letter in the word סכנם just previously. This insertion seems to me practically certain. The conditional meaning of אל does not, however, require a combination with אלו, or directly with אם (VINCENT), since we have a good Hebrew equivalent, as I see on writing this paper. Our אל is identical with Hebrew אולי, "perhaps, in case that, if." Thus in Gen. 24 5 the servant of Abraham says to his master: "*ûlai* (perhaps, if) the woman will not wish to follow me to this land, shall I bring thy son to the land whence thou camest?" In Hos. 8 7 we read: אולי יעשה (קמח) זרים יבלעהו, "perhaps (or "if") it makes (grain), the foe will devour it." If we employ our English word "supposing," the semantic equivalence of "perhaps" and "if" in asynthetic construction will be even clearer. We may even render: "And perhaps some king or prefect or commander of a host will attack Gebal and will open up this sarcophagus — the scepter of his rule will be broken, etc."

The cumbersome translation, "a king among kings, etc." is not necessary, since the expression is merely the Phoenician way of saying "any king," or "one of the kings;" cf. Arabic *qaṣrun min quṣûri l-malik*, "one of the castles of the king," and the extensive material for Hebrew indefinite pronominal ideas collected by BLAKE, JAOS XXXIV, 115 ff., especially pp. 153, 167. The expression תמא מחנת is peculiar, and has caused difficulty. The solution is given, it seems, by TORREY, who translates "military commander," deriving the first word from a Phoenician verb corresponding to Assyrian *tamû*, "to speak, enjoin, command." TORREY did not realize that *tamû* actually does mean "command," so that there is perfect semantic parallelism. Instead of being a form *qattâl*, *tammâ'*, we should probably regard it as participle, *tômê'*, since it is very doubtful whether *qattâl* formations for nouns of occupation had come yet into

general use, except as loan-words from Accadian.[12] In any case, the verb תמא itself is probably a loan from Accadian *tamû*, since the latter is well-known to be a secondary formation from the reflexive of *amû*, like *tabâlu*, *tašâbu*, etc. The original Accadian form of the verb is *'wy*, whence *awâtu*, "word," happily combined by UNGNAD with *ḥwy*, etc., "to proclaim, announce," in Arabic, Aramaic, and Egyptian.[13]

The expression ונחת תברח על גבל can hardly mean, "and peace shall flee from Gebal," since there is no reason to penalize Gebal for the desecration of the royal tomb by an enemy. In fact, the text seems expressly to exempt Byblos itself from the punishment impending over the sacrilegious foe, as is natural enough when we recall that the author is the son of the buried king, with every reason not to include his own city in so drastic a potential curse, which might become effective in his lifetime. The verb *brḥ*, which means "flee" in biblical Hebrew, here still means "fly, soar;" it is originally a variant of *prḥ*, "to fly," by partial assimilation, just as Biblical Hebrew *npš*, "breath," appears as *nbš* in the inscriptions of Kilamûwa and Panamûwa.

The final clause has been interpreted above. We may add that *sefer* means here "writing," and not "inscription" in the sense of a specific text. The expression ספרה corresponds to Assyrian *šiṭir šumišu*, "the writing of his name, writing bearing his signature."

The discovery of this inscription brings us again face to face with the question of the date when the Phoenician alphabet originated. We can no longer place it in the tenth or eleventh centuries B. C.; we must carry it back at least to the thirteenth century—how much

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12 The secondary origin of the *qattâl* form for nouns of occupation in Hebrew is suggested by their anomalous vocalization, since Aramaic *qattâlâ*, whence Arabic *qattâl*, should give us *qattôl* in Hebrew. It seems to the writer, in view of the Sumerian origin of many of these words, and the noticeable increase in the popularity of the form as a morphological category, which reaches its climax in the modern Arabic dialects, probable that it is chiefly based on the analogy of these Sumerian loan-words, such as Arab. *mallâḥ* = Aram. *mallâḥâ* = Acc. *mallâḫu* = Sum. *malaḫ*, "sailor," lit. "ship-guider;" Arab. *najjâr* = Aram. *naggârâ* = Acc. *naggâru* = Sum. *namga(r)*, *lamga*, "carpenter;" Arab. *sakkâf* = *askâf* = Aram. *eškâfâ* = Acc. *aškâpu* = Sum. *ašgab*, "cobbler," etc. These examples are only a few out of many that I have collected, including occupational nouns of the similar form *aqtâl*, which passes easily by analogy into *qattâl*.

13 Cf. UNGNAD, ZA XVII, 356; EMBER, OLZ XVII, 6f.

farther remains to be seen. The writer has long been collecting materials on the subject, but they are not yet ripe for publication. Here we wish only to emphasize one point, that the invention of the Phoenician script must have taken place after the reduction of the proto-Semitic consonantal system to the familiar Classical Hebrew one, in which there are only twenty-two consonants instead of the original twenty-nine, all but one of which survived in South-Arabian. The transcriptions of Palestinian place-names and Hebrew words into hieroglyphics provide us most useful information on this point, as proved by BURCHARDT, in his invaluable book *Die altkanaanäischen Fremdworte und Eigennamen im Aegyptischen.* From these transcriptions it is certain that when the Egyptian spelling of these words was fixed during the Eighteenth Dynasty, *ḫ* and *ḥ*, *ʿ* and *ḡ* (ḫ, ḫ; ḥ, ḥ) were still differentiated.[14] The Shishak list, moreover, shows no trace of such a distinction, which had, therefore, been lost in Palestine by the tenth century B. C. So far as Palestine is concerned, *ḫ* and *ḥ*, *ʿ* and *ḡ* fell together between the fifteenth and tenth centuries B. C., probably between the fourteenth and the eleventh. In Phoenicia the change may have taken place somewhat earlier, but not much, since we should otherwise probably find some trace of irregularity in the transcriptions of Semitic words and names, pointing to different pronunciations in different districts, just as we actually see in the case of the sibilants *s* and *š*.[15]

We have some material bearing on the pronunciation of certain Phoenician consonants at an earlier date. Thus the new proto-syllabic transcriptions of the names of Byblian princes of the Twelfth Dynasty period shows that *s* in **sim*, "name," was already pronounced *š*, as in Hebrew, by the nineteenth century B. C. Since the pronunciation of *š* = Arabic *šin* remained *š* in Phoenicia and northern Palestine,

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[14] See BURCHARDT, *op. cit.*, I, 52 and cross references.

[15] In the Egyptian lists of towns in Palestine (Tuthmosis list, Pap. Anas., etc.) and the Amarna Tablets we have a curious discrepancy in the representation of the sibilants which may easily by explained by the difference in the Canaanite and Amorite dialects (cf. JPOS II, 124, n. 3; JBL XLIII, 384). Thanks to the Egyptian and Babylonian transcriptions from about 2000 B. C., we now know that the Arabic *sin* = Hebrew *šin* was then *š* in Canaanite and *s* in Amorite. The writer has prepared maps showing the relative prevalence of the dialects in Palestine.

as we know from the Assyrian transcriptions,[16] while becoming *ś* in Judah, just as in Aramaic, it follows that two, at least, of the three sibilants (*s*, *š* and *ṯ*) which fell together in later Phoenician had already received their final form. But *ṯ* had also become *š* by this time; before becoming *š* it undoubtedly became *s*, after which the two sibilants made the step *s* > *š* together.[17] It has often been maintained that the Phoenicians still preserved a distinct *ṯ* in classical times, but FRIEDRICH has recently dealt the *coup de grâce* to this view.[18] He has also pointed out very happily that the variation in the Greek transcription of *ṣadê* in the names *Tûros* = *Ṣôr* and *Sidôn* = *Ṣîdôn* goes back to a remote period when the difference between *ṣ* and *ṣ* was still preserved.[19] After the discoveries at Byblos, proving the close connection existing between Phoenicia and the Aegean in the Middle Bronze Age, there is no difficulty in carrying back the origin of the Greek forms of these names to the beginning of the second millennium. We may, of course, find it necessary to push the origin of the Greek names back into the third millennium, but this is hardly advisable at present.

Gathering together our material, it follows that the representation of the *š* sibilants in Phoenician script allows the origin of the 22-letter alphabet to be carried back to the nineteenth century B. C. The facts just noted regarding the early distinction between the *ṣ* sibilants warn us against too early an origin, though the Middle Bronze is by no means excluded. To judge from the Canaanite pronunciation of the laryngeals in the Late Bronze, the alphabet cannot have been developed in Canaan before the latter part of the Eighteenth Dynasty, though the laryngeals may have fallen together earlier in Phoenicia than in Palestine. Yet, since the general development of Hebrew phonology is the same in Phoenicia as in

[16] See TALLQVIST, *Assyrian Personal Names*, p. xviii below, and JBL XLIII, 386, to which the writer can now add still other examples not given by TALLQVIST. The doubt as to the true explanation is now removed, since we have an excellent solution if we remember that in Biblical Hebrew (Jerusalem dialect! — the ostraca from Samaria now prove that the Hebrew of Samaria was not Biblical Hebrew) the *śin* was pronounced as in Aramaic. Biblical Hebrew, in other words, kept the historical Phoenician spelling, but distinguished the two sibilants *śin* and *šin* in pronunciation. Ešmûn'azar, line 1: סמך for שמך, suggests Aramaic influence.

[17] See WORRELL, JPOS I, 19.

[18] ZS II, 2—5.

[19] ZS II, 4.

Palestine, we cannot assume too much disparity in the dates of the corresponding phonetic developments. The use of proto-syllabic hieroglyphics in the Byblian monuments of the Twelfth Dynasty indicates that the Semitic alphabet had not yet come into use. The syllabic orthography was, however, used by the Egyptians as early as the Fifth Dynasty for writing Semitic place-names,[20] so it may have been adopted by the Byblians in the Old Empire, in which case it may have survived even after the invention or adoption of the Phoenician alphabet. Nor does the use of the cuneiform script in Phoenicia at the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty prove anything positively, since it may only have been employed because of the indestructibility of the clay tablets on which it was written; all our cuneiform tablets from Phoenicia and Canaan are letters and name-lists, whose preservation was desirable. On the whole, the most probable date for the invention or adoption of the alphabet by the Phoenicians seems to be the fourteenth century B. C. We refrain from entering into a discussion of the relations between the Phoenician, Sinaitic, South Arabian and Creto-Cyprian script, since the subject is not ripe for discussion, as observed above.

2. AN UNEXPLAINED WORD IN THE KILAMÛWA STELE

The second half of the Kilamûwa[21] stele begins as follows:

אנך כלמו בר חיא ישבת על כסא אבי. לפן המלכם הלפנים יתלן משכבם
כם כלבם ואנך למי כת אב ולמי כת אם — — —

"I, Kilamûwa, son of Ḥayyâ, sat on the throne of my father. Before the former kings the *muškabîm* — — — like dogs, but I was a father to one, a mother to another — — —." Most scholars correct the ו in יתלן to כ, reading *yittalekûn* = Assyr. *ittálaku*, "they roamed about (like) dogs." But it is not at all clear why the *muškabîm*, no matter how wretched their condition was, should roam about like

[20] Petrie, *Deshasheh*, plate 4; cf. AJSL XLI, 77, n. 3.

[21] For this writing of the name cf. Friedrich, ZS I, 5, 7 (a remarkably good treatment of the subject). The name is made up of the elements *kila* and *muwa*, for which see the additional material given by Sundwall, *Die einheimischen Namen der Lykier*, pp. 105—106, 160—163. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, vol. III, 223f. was the first to write *Kilamû*, as the Aramaeans probably pronounced it. I have given the uncontracted form.

dogs before the former kings, i. e., in their presence. Moreover, the form would be strange, and we should expect an *ifte'al* יתתלכן, not יתלכן. It seems to the writer almost certain that we should not emend the text, but should read *yitlawwûn, itpa''al* of the stem *lwy*. The corresponding Arabic *talawwâ* means "coil, writhe," of serpents, etc. The existence of the stem in Hebrew is established by *liwyatân (liwyatôn?)*, "encircling (earth) serpent." In Assyrian the verb *qanânu, qunnunu*, "to coil, crouch, grovel," is used both of snakes and of dogs; DELITZSCH's attempt to distinguish two stems, *kanânu*, "to crouch," and *qanânu*, "to coil," is entirely unwarranted. Thus in the Assyrian Deluge Poem, line 109, we read that the gods *kîma kalbê qunnunû ina kamâti rabṣû*, "coiled like dogs, crouch outdoors." Both *qanânu* and *qunnunu* are used frequently of serpents (*ṣîrê*). The idea in the Kilamûwa inscription is essentially the same as in the account of the eighth campaign of Sargon, line 58, where we are told that Ullusunu of Manna and his nobles crawled on their four paws like dogs before the king, in sign of humility: *ina panîya elî irbi rittêšunu iptášilu kîma kalbê*. We must therefore render the passage: "Before the former kings the *muškabîm* writhed like dogs." The *muškabîm* were undoubtedly, as recognized by several students of the text, the sedentary (lit. "settled") population of the land, who were treated as serfs, while their opposites, the *ba'rîrîm*, were the semi-nomadic Aramaean tribesmen. The *muškabîm* were probably of non-Semitic race, at least in part.[22]

3. THE BEGINNING OF THE ZAKIR STELE

As the oldest Aramaic text so far found, the Stele of Zakir,[23] king of Hamath and Lu'aš, claims our particular attention. The mystery regarding its provenance has now been settled, since DUSSAUD's disclosure that POGNON found the stele at Afis, the אפש of our text, half-way between Aleppo and Ma'arrit en-No'mân.[24] This find also seems to confirm the identification of the *L'š* of our text with Nuḫašše,

[22] Cf. KRAELING, *Aram and Israel*, pp. 91 f.

[23] The writing *Zakir*, instead of *Zakar* or *Zakkur*, is based on the overwhelming predominance of the former in the occurrences of this Aramaean name in the cuneiform inscriptions; cf. TALLQVIST, *Assyrian Personal names*, p. 246.

[24] Syria III, 175 f.

originally suggested by DHORME.[25] The interchange of *n* and *l* is extremely common; cf. *Kubna-Gubla* (Byblos), *Bêt-šeʾal-Bêt-šeʾan*, etc. WINCKLER identified Nuḫašše with the Greek Chalcis, later Qinnesrîn, southwest of Aleppo.[26] But Afis is less than fifteen miles southwest of Qinnesrîn, and was, therefore, situated in Nuḫašše, if WINCKLER's identification is correct, as seems probable. According to FORRER's researches, the district about Qinnesrîn and Afis formed part of the kingdom of Hamath in the middle of the eighth century B. C., until conquered by Tiglathpileser III.[27]

The Zakir inscription begins with the words:—

[נ]צבא זי שם זכר מלך [ח]מת ולעש לאלור [— — א]נה זכר מלך חמת ולעש
אש ענה אנה [ואמר אל]י בעלשמין וקם עמי והמלכני בעלשמ[ין בח]זרך — — — —

The stele which Zakir, king of Hamath and Luʿaš, erected to Iluwêr [ ] I am Zakir, king of Hamath and Luʿaš, who speak (as follows):

My god is Baʿal-šamên, and Baʿal-šamên stood beside me and made me king in Ḥaḏrek[28] — — —.

The work of POGNON,[29] LIDZBARSKI[30] and others in the interpretation of the stele is now supplemented by the valuable detailed treatment of TORREY, JAOS XXXV (1917), 353ff., to which this

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[25] RB 1908, 503; cf. JEA X, 6, n. 3.

[26] MVAG 1913, 85ff. WINCKLER thought that *Nuḫašše* was to be connected with Heb. *neḥóšet*, Canaanite *nuḫuštu*, and that *Chalkis*, from *chalkos*, "copper," was a translation of it; cf. also WEBER's earlier remarks in KNUDTZON's edition of the Amarna Tablets, pp. 1103ff. It is, of course, true that the combination of the name *Nuḫašše* on the one hand with *neḥóšet*, on the other with *Lʿš*, is rather paradoxical. But JENSEN suggested long ago that Assyrian *laʾšu* or *laʾašu*, the name of a kind of copper (*erû*) is etymologically identical with *neḥóšet*, and since the word is in any case originally non-Semitic, the likelihood of a connection remains. Archaeologically there is no difficulty about the identification of *Nuḫašše* with Chalcis, since the latter town was built over a fine large mound of the Bronze Age, which the writer has studied. The ancient name *Chalkis* survives in modern ʾAlʿîs (the name *Qinnesrin* is only known to the local natives as a historic survival), for **ʾAlqîs* (cf. *Marʿaš* for Assyr. *Marqaš*, written *Marqasi*), for **Qalqîs*, or the like (dissimilation), as suggested to the writer by Professor R. P. DOUGHERTY.

[27] *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches*, pp. 58—59.

[28] The pronunciation *Ḥaḏrek* or *Ḥaḏrik* is required by the various transcriptions *Ḥz(ḏ)rk*, *Ḥḏrk* (Ezekiel), *Ḥatarikka*. The name is naturally non-Semitic.

[29] *Inscriptions sémitiques*, pp. 156ff.

[30] *Ephemeris*, vol. III, pp. 1—11.

note owes its existence, since his suggestions for the filling of the lacuna in lines 2—3 are the source of the explanation which is here proposed. TORREY wished to supply ושמע אלי rendering the whole passage: "I am Zakar, king of Hamath and Laaš, whom, whenever I am in distress, Baalšamain hears and supports. Now Baalšamain made me to rule in Ḥazrek." He took ענה to be a participle, whether active or passive he did not decide, and thought that its "force here is that of a general condition, the conclusion of which is contained in the two(?) participles immediately following." Before TORREY's treatment אש was generally taken as the Hebrew אִישׁ, "man," and the passage was rendered "a humble man am I," or "a man of 'Anah am I," etc., all very improbable. Yet TORREY's explanation, while quite reasonable, is syntactically awkward. Our rendering above is based upon the common idiom ענה ואמר in Biblical Aramaic, e. g., Dan. 2 20: ענה דניאל ואמר. It is generally recognized that the phrase does not mean "answer and say," but simply "speak, take up the conversation." The syntactic usage is identical with the good Hebrew and Phoenician use of the independent pronoun as a subject referring to the antecedent of a relative; e. g., 1 Sam. 10 19: ואתם היום מאסתם את אלהיכם אשר הוא מושיע לכם מכל רעותיכם. Numerous other illustrations are listed by BROCKELMANN, *Grundriß*, vol. II, pp. 584f.

The god Ba'al-šamên, whom Zakir addresses as "my god," if our conjecture, suggested naturally by TORREY's similar consonantal text, is correct, was presumably the chief deity of Ḥadrek, since it is he who placed Zakir on the throne in that town. This leaves Iluwêr free to become the chief god of *'pš*-Afis (see above). It is most remarkable how slowly the correct form of this god's name has been adopted, though nothing could be more certain. Even in the third volume of the new *Cambridge Ancient History* (Cambridge, 1925, p. 375) we still read "El-wad(?)," though the correct form *Iluwêr* was pointed out by EBELING in 1913 (OLZ 1913, 254f.).[31] Most of the occurrences of the name *Iluwêr* (written *I-lu-we-ir*, *I-lu-me-ir*, *I-lu-mi-ir*) may be found in DEIMEL's *Pantheon babylonicum*, p. 43, so that there is no need of listing them in detail. The name *Iluwêr* is only an amplified form of the common divine name *Mêr* or *Wêr*, which it glosses in

[31] Cf. KRAELING, *Aram and Israel*, p. 103, though the form *Elur* is hardly justified.

the vocabularies. In the latter *Mêr* or *Wêr* always occurs as a name of Adad. Since the name of the god is very common in personal names of the Middle Euphrates region, is is very probable that there is some ultimate connection between the name of the god and of the town Mâri-Mêra, which was the chief city of this country during the earliest historical period.[32] It is interesting to note the strong Sumero-Accadian (= "Mesopotamian") element in the names of the gods of this region.[33]

4. THE NEW HEBREW OSTRACON FROM JERUSALEM

In the summer of 1924 Mr. J. Garrow Duncan, Director of the Palestine Exploration Fund excavations on "Ophel," discovered a Hebrew ostracon. In itself this document, containing only a list of names, is not particularly interesting, but since it is the only ostracon found anywhere in Palestine outside of Samaria, and offers us very important material for our knowledge of the pre-exilic cursive, it possesses exceptional value for us. Thanks to the courtesy of Mr. Duncan, exhibited here as in so many other instances, the writer was able to study the ostracon repeatedly and intensively. Unfortunately the preservation of the writing was so bad that long continued examination under favorable light conditions was necessary in order to extract the content of the text. After an independent study the writer asked his colleague, Professor Max Margolis, to join him in the examination, with Mr. Duncan's consent. The result of this joint work was turned over to Mr. Duncan, and was very courteously utilized by Professor S. A. Cook, in the latter's paper on "Inscribed Hebrew Objects from Ophel," QS 1924, 180—186. The photograph of the ostracon, with a hand copy by Mr. Duncan, was also published in connection with the paper. A few months later the writer studied the ostracon again, with the coöperation of Mr. Harald Ingholt, and prepared the facsimile copy which accompanies this paper. Having passed under three trained eyes, it is hardly likely that it is wrong in any important detail, and still less likely that it can be added to.

[32] Cf. AJSL XLI, 79, n. 2; JAOS XLV, 204, n. 33.
[33] Cf. JAOS XL, 319, n. 26.

Palaeographically the text is exceedingly interesting, since it may safely be dated in the seventh century B. C., and cannot be later than 587 B. C. It thus comes from the period of most intense literary activity in the history of Judah, if we may judge from the large number of biblical documents which must have been composed or compiled in that century. It was also the time of most intense prophetic activity, when writing was popular and yet had not been debased by its too frequent use in ordinary business transactions. This we may perhaps conclude from the elegance of the letters in our cursive script, where simplification was less important than clarity and beauty. A comparison between the forms of letters employed in the Assur ostracon from the middle of the seventh century[31] and in our text will make my meaning clearer. Eastern Aramaic was then employed to a great extent in business transactions, but had hardly begun to be used for strictly literary purposes, for which cuneiform was still *de rigueur*. In Judaea, on the other hand, business was comparatively undeveloped, while literary productivity was intense. With script the same principle operates as with language; business activity breaks down and simplifies, while literary and artistic culture preserves and beautifies.

If we compare the characters of our cursive script of the seventh century with those of the ostraca from Samaria, belonging to about 863—857 B. C., we find that the forms have changed comparatively little, though more than the lapidary forms altered during the same lapse of time. Important changes are found only in the forms of *yôd*, *mêm*, *nûn* and *'ayin*, though several other characters show perceptible differences. The *yôd* has been reduced from three to two horizontal strokes, and only differs from the *zayin* in that the vertical bar is on the right instead of being in the middle. The *mêm* is no longer made with one continuous movement of the pen, but has a cross stroke at the top, replacing the old wavy line with two tooth-like projections. The *nûn* has become a single downward stroke, though this simplified form may have been restricted to the word *ben*, "son," in which it occurs on our ostracon. The *'ayin* is apparently made with one stroke instead of two, but exhibits a curious variation of form.

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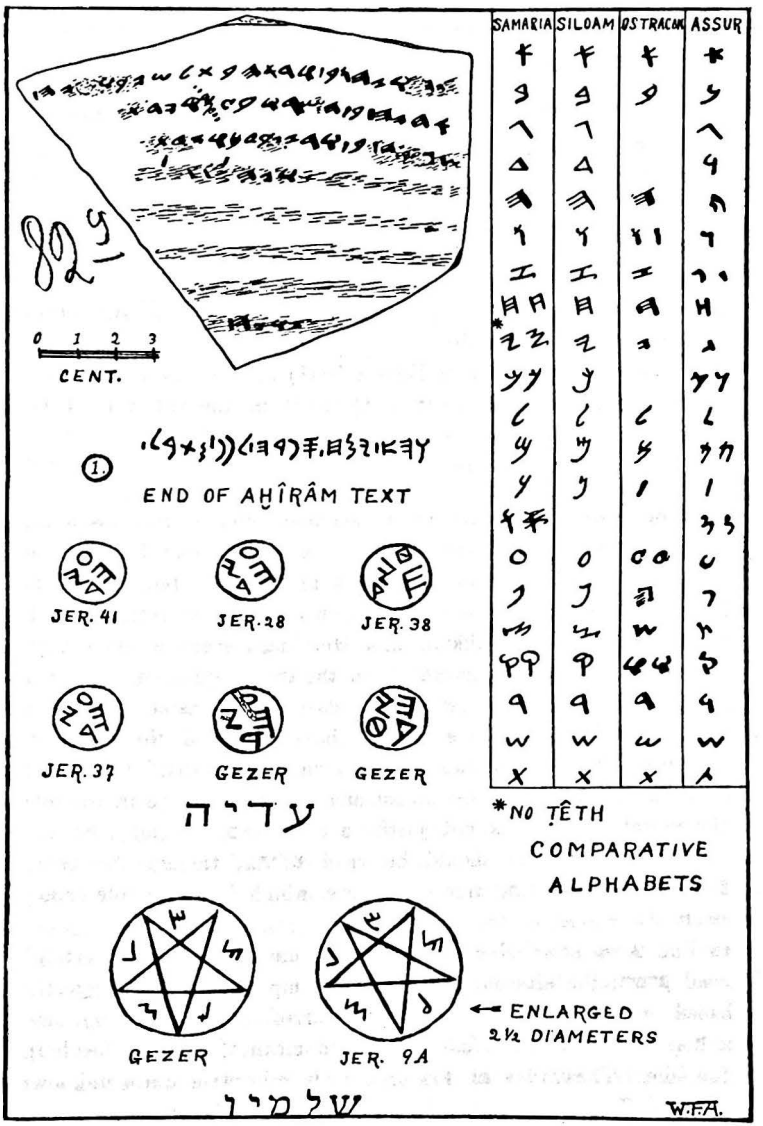
[31] See Lidzbarski, *Aramäische Urkunden aus Assur*, Leipzig, 1921.

A comparison of the script of our ostracon with that of the Siloam inscription has little value, since the latter is lapidary. It is interesting to note that the characters of the Siloam text are almost identical with those of the ostraca of Samaria, belonging to the preceding century, a fact which reminds us that the cursive characters of one period are the lapidary of the next.

Of purely indirect interest is the comparison between the script of our ostracon and the Assur sherd published by LIDZBARSKI, since the eastern Aramaic cursive had developed in entire independence, so far as we know, of the Hebrew cursive. The reason for the wide divergence has been suggested above; here we may content ourselves with calling attention to the principal differences, between the respective forms of the *bêt*, *hê*, *zayin*, *yôd*, *ʿayin*, *rêš* and *qôf*, though other letters might also be cited with nearly equal reason. Comparison between the script of the Assur ostracon and the Elephantine papyri of two centuries later shows, however, that the difference between the Hebrew and the Aramaic cursives of the seventh century was not nearly as great as it must have been in the fifth. If we take into consideration other Aramaic texts and endorsements on clay tablets belonging to the reign of Ašurbânapal (cf. DELAPORTE, *Épigraphes araméens*, pp. 24—48) we see that the cursive script still permitted much more variation in form than was allowable in the age of highly standardized Perso-Aramaean culture.

No light is thrown, except perhaps negatively, on the prehistory of the Samaritan cursive alphabet. It is noteworthy that the Samaritan alphabet as we have it is much more closely related to the Maccabaean numismatic script than it is to the script of our ostracon, which in several respects is less archaic than either. The explanation may be that there was a conscious reaction to earlier forms of the Hebrew alphabet after the exile, and that both the Hasmonaean and the Samaritan alphabets are sprung from this reaction in Hebrew literary circles — there were no longer any Hebrew business circles, of course, to influence the development of the script.

To biblical critics the chief value of our ostracon, aside from its interest as a specimen of the script of the classic age in Hebrew literary composition, is in the light it sheds on the possibilities for interchange and confusion of letters. The only novelty is the remarkable similarity existing between *yôd* and *zayin*, which are practically


0 1 2 3
CENT.
(1)
END OF AḤÎRÂM TEXT
JER. 41
JER. 28
JER. 38
JER. 37
GEZER
GEZER
עדיה
GEZER
JER. 9A
שלמיו
SAMARIA
SILOAM
OSTRACA
ASSUR
*NO ṬÊTH
COMPARATIVE
ALPHABETS
← ENLARGED
2½ DIAMETERS
W.F.A.

identical, as are also *nûn* and one form of *waw*. The letters *dalet* and *rêš* were probably identical, as in later Aramaic.

We may read the text as follows:

1. יחז[ק]יהו בן קרא הבתלשי בקיהו
2. אחיהו בן השרק בעמק יזת
3. צפ[נ]יהו בן קרזי בעמק יזת
4. [ ]קיהו[ ]

8. ח]זקיהו [

1. Yeḥizqiyáhū (Hezekiah) son of Qôrê (Kore) of Bitliš (?)—Buqqîyáhū (Bukkiah)
2. Aḥiyáhū (Ahijah) son of Haś-śarôq (?) in the valley of *Yrt* (?)
3. Ṣefanyáhū (Zephaniah) son of Qarzî (?) in the valley of *Yrt* (?)

— — — — — — —

8. [ ] son of Hezekiah

Most of these names are such common biblical Hebrew names that no comment is necessary. The slight differences between the transcription and translation here given and that offered in QS 1924, 184, 6, do not effect the reading, but only the interpretation. The two additional names, Bukkiah and Hezekiah, seem to be certain. We have dotted all the characters in the transcription which are in the least doubtful, but except in the case of the name *Qarzî* (?) in line 3 everything seems clear. We have changed the rendering "Kithlishite" of our first translation to "man of Bitliš;" the letters are all certain, and the insignificant nuance of difference in the form of the initial letter does not justify a reading כ. It may be that the כתליש of Jos. 15 40 should be read בתליש, though the Greek text lends no support to this conjecture, which is reasonable enough in itself.

In line 2 we now believe that the second name should certainly be read השרק; the alternative הצרק seems impossible. Our suggestion is based on Hebrew *śarôq*, "light red, sorrel" (= Arab *ašqar*), used of a horse in Zech. 1 8. *Haś-śarôq* would mean "The Red(-headed)," or the like. The valley of *Yrt* or *Ydt* is otherwise quite unknown. A reading *Zrt* (= Heb. *zéret* "span") is apparently excluded by the length of the downward stroke.

The name *Qarzî(?)* is quite obscure, and may be wrongly vocalized, while the consonantal framework is not quite certain, though probable. The Nabataean name *Qarzû* compared with it in QS is very uncertain; cf. the discussion in CHABOT, *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*, vol. I, no. 53 (43).

The purpose of the ostracon may be surmised, but cannot be established definitely. We can only hope that it will be the first of a long list of ostraca, including *literary* fragments.

5. THE SEALS OF THE TEMPLE TREASURY AFTER THE EXILE

In the excavations on "Ophel" Mr. DUNCAN discovered nearly a score of jar-handles stamped with four archaic Hebrew lettres. Thanks to his unfailing courtesy, I was able to submit a group of sixteen of them to a careful examination. There are several types, three of which are illustrated in the accompanying plate. The reproductions are based upon my own rubbings, from which I drew them with the help of the originals. When we add to them the two which were found by MACALISTER at Gezer (QS 1907, 264, 5; 1909, 22; *Gezer*, vol. II, p. 225) we have quite a collection of these stamps, of six different types, in each of which the same four letters reappear, but in different arrangements. The importance of the inscription thus becomes evident, since it must have something to do with the fiscal organization of Judah, like the royal jar stamps of the seventh century B. C.

The first stamp found by MACALISTER was read by him הירם, following the apparent order of the letters. The final letter is a circle with one cross-bar, instead of two as in all other North Semitic scripts of the archaic period. He recognized, however, that the apparent order of the letters is not stringent, a feeling which was confirmed by the discovery of the second one, with a different arrangement of the characters. Before the second one was found, CLERMONT-GANNEAU studied the inscription (*Recueil*, vol. VIII, 103—5), and proposed two alternative readings: עריה and more probably מביה. The stamps were then studied by LIDZBARSKI,[35] who emphatically

[35] *Ephemeris*, vol. III, pp. 44 f.

rejected CLERMONT-GANNEAU's readings, and suggested that the circle with one cross-bar is a ligature of *'ayin* and *zayin*. The inscription he read עזריה, which he thought might be the name of the king of Judah, Uzziah-Azariah, overlooking the fact that the name of the Jewish king appears on pre-exilic seals as *'Uzzîyô*.

The numerous stamps of this type found by DUNCAN prove conclusively that neither LIDZBARSKI's *'Azaryah* nor CLERMONT-GANNEAU's preferred *Ṭôbîyah* are correct, since most of the occurrences of the circle are without a cross-bar, though one or two may have a point at the centre of the circle. One case, however, is very curious, since the circle is here a square, with a stroke diagonally across it. Had this been found alone, one would feel that LIDZBARSKI's theory was established, but the latter is irreconcilable with the other types. Not a single type shows intersecting lines within the circle, so the *ṭêt* theory is impossible, and we are obliged to regard it as an *'ayin*. The existence of at least six different types, with varying arrangements of the letters, shows that the seal consists of a word or name with only four letters, so the writer's first idea יהידע, "Jehoiada," is rendered impossible. The true reading is surely עדיה, *'Adâyah*, to which the writer came quite independently of CLERMONT-GANNEAU's suggestion. Mr. DUNCAN adopted this reading provisionally, and it was published in QS (*loc. cit.*). It is hard to fix the date from the forms of the letters, but the case where the *'ayin* is written as a square shows the influence of the cursive script, where *'ayin* is often formed by two strokes, forming angles at their intersections. The *hê* is unmistakably akin to the Aramaic lapidary *hê* of some of the *Yahu* stamps, and resembles the Maccabaean Hebrew *hê* closely.

This conclusion from the epigraphy is confirmed by the evidence of the pottery, which is intermediate between that of the royal jar handles and the *Yahu* handles. While the royal handles are very carefully ribbed, and are full of coarse particles of quartz and limestone, the *'Adâyah* handles are carelessly ribbed, and the particles are minute, just as in the typical ware of the post-exilic age (Early Iron, third phase, sixth to third centuries). The royal handles are, moreover, imperfectly baked, and are dark gray or drab inside, while the *'Adâyah* handles are generally baked red all through. The *Yahu* handles resemble the *'Adâyah* handles in general, but the ribbing tends to be more careless still. For the bearing of these facts on

the ceramic chronology cf. the writer's remarks in JPOS V, 46 f. MACALISTER's statement (*Gezer, loc. cit.*) that the handles belong to the Hellenistic period is important for us, since he dates the royal jar stamps in the Persian period (*Gezer*, vol. II, p. 210; cf. JPOS V, 46). Absolutely, both dates are wrong; relatively both are right. Had MACALISTER found *Yahu* handles he probably would never have developed such a strong tendency to post-date, since the *Yahu* stamps are later than the *'Adâyah* ones, but cannot possibly be placed at the end of the Hellenistic age, about the first century B. C., as MACALISTER would be compelled to date them by his own chronology in Gezer. His earlier chronology for the royal jar handles, which he originally placed in the eighth and seventh centuries B. C., while he was still working with the archaeological material in the field, was, however, all right, and would have brought with it the same date for the *'Adâyah* seals as we are now assigning. Père Vincent, the foremost authority in the field of Palestinian archaeology, also examined the *'Adâyah* sherds with the writer, and came to the same conclusion with respect to their date, which we both place in the sixth or fifth century, preferably about 500 B. C.

As noted above, the comparatively wide distribution of the *'Adâyah* stamps, and the large number of different seals which bear this name prove conclusively that 'Adâyah was not a mere private person, but had something to do with the fiscus. The jars stamped with his name had to do with some form of taxes, just as the jars which bore the royal seal impressions were the official recipients of the oil and wine levied by the tax-gatherers of the seventh century (JPOS V, 45 ff.). But who was this 'Adâyah? When we recall that the *Yahu* stamps also belong to the post-exilic age, and are found also only in northern Judah, we can hardly help connecting him with the temple treasury. We know that the kings of Persia for the most part favored the Jewish ecclesiocracy,[36] and supported it against sectarian movements in Jewry (as at Elephantine), dynastic revolutions (Zerubbabel) and even against Persian prefects, so it is in no way surprising to find an autonomous temple tax administration. 'Adâyah was therefore presumably the temple treasurer at some time during

[36] See MEYER, *Entstehung des Judentums*, pp. 1—71, brilliantly confirmed by the discoveries at Elephantine; cf. MEYER, *Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine*, pp. 96 f.

the century after the Restoration. Can we find any trace of his personality in the Old Testament?

The name *'Adâyah* or *'Adâyâhū* is very common, being borne by no fewer than eight different persons mentioned in the Old Testament, between the ninth and the fifth centuries. An 'Adâyah was the grandfather of Josiah (2 Kings 22 1), about 650 B. C.; another was an ancestor of Asaph, founder of the guild of singers (1 Chr. 6 26); another was an officer of the high-priest Yôyada' toward the end of the ninth century (2 Chr. 23 1); another was an ancestor of Ma'śêyah (Neh. 11 5); two others are mentioned in Ezra (10 29, 39) as being among the Jews in Ezra's time who had taken foreign wives. None of these, however, can come into consideration. More plausible is the Benjamite noble of the name who was resident in Jerusalem during the post-exilic period (1 Chr. 8 21), but there is nothing to indicate his prominence.

The eighth 'Adâyah was a prominent priestly noble, who is mentioned in the parallel texts 1 Chr. 9 12 = Neh. 11 12. The document in question is found twice, once in 1 Chr. 9, and again in Neh. 11, in both of which it purports to give the composition of the population of Jerusalem after the restoration. Eduard Meyer has tried to prove its comparative worthlessness,[37] but after a careful study we fail to see that he has been successful in his effort. The passage relating to the priestly houses then living in Jerusalem is found 1 Chr. 9 10–13 = Neh. 11 10–14. Reconstructed, the passage should read: "And of the priests: Yeda'yah and Yôyarîb and Yakîn; and Śerâyah ben 'Azaryah ben Śerâyah ben 'Azaryah[38] ben Ḥilqîyah ben

[37] *Entstehung*, pp. 184 ff.

[38] 1 Chr. 9 11 has 'Azaryah ben Ḥilqîyah, etc., while Neh. 11 11 offers: Śerâyah ben Ḥilqîyah, etc. There is nothing in the context to suggest that either name is more original than the other and simple corruption will not explain so drastic a case. The genealogy is identical with that of Yôṣadaq ben Śerâyah ben 'Azaryah ben Ḥilqîyah, etc. (1 Chr. 6 8–14); Benzinger (*Kommentar ad loc.*) has suggested that the 'Azaryah of Chron. is due to an erroneous identifiation of the two Śerâyahs, which led to a confusion in the mind of a scribe. How any scribe should have dreamed of identifying a pre-exilic high-priest with a post-exilic priest is not clear, nor does Benzinger try to explain. I would suggest that the original genealogy was Śerâyah ben 'Azaryah ben Śerâyah ben 'Azaryah ben Ḥilqîyah, etc., since the contemporary high-priest Yêšû' was also in the fourth generation from their common ancestor Ḥilqîyah ben Mešullam ben Ṣadôq. The repetition of Śerâyah ben 'Azaryah in the genealogy confused the scribes, who solved the problem in different ways, but thus made it possible for us to restore the original order with a close approach to certainty.

Mešullam ben Ṣadôq ben Merayôt ben Aḥîṭûb, the prince of the temple (*negîd bêt ha-elôhîm*); and their brethren that did the work of the temple, 822; and 'Adâyah ben Yerôḥam ben Pelalyah ben Amṣî ben Zekaryah ben Pašḥûr ben Malkîyah, and his brethren, heads of families (*râšîm le-abôt*), 242; and Ma'śai ben 'Azar'el ben Aḥazai (?) ben Mešullam ben (?) ben Immer, and his brethren, landed proprietors (*gibbôrê ḥail*), 128." The two recensions differ too much in their final verses to permit of a reconstruction. It is probable that the priestly families are given in order of importance. The list of returned exiles Neh. 7 = Ezra 2 includes four recognized priestly families, which reappear with no additions, Ezra 10 18–22, in the list of those who had taken foreign wives: Benê Yeda'yah = the house of Yešû' ben Yôṣadaq, Benê Immer, Benê Pašḥûr and Benê Ḥarîm. The names Yeda'yah, Yôyarîb and Yakîn belong to families, not to individuals; the founders of these houses, who bore the names originally, all lived in pre-exilic times. Śerâyah was himself perhaps the founder of the later priestly house of the name, and was probably the cousin of the high-priest Yêšû' ben Yôṣadaq ben Śerâyah ben 'Azaryah ben Ḥilqîyah, etc.[39] 'Adâyah, descended himself from a Pašḥûr ben Malkîyah, presumably the founder of the house of the benê Pašḥûr (and perhaps the ultimate founder of the benê Malkîyah), was probably related to the Pašḥûr ben Malkîyah with whom Jeremiah had dealings (Jer. 21 1, 38 1). 'Adâyah was, at all events, the third of the Jewish priestly hierarchy in importance, following the high-priest and the prince of the temple.

In order to establish 'Adâyah's chronological position it is necessary to consider the subject of the development of the priestly houses into the later *mišmarôt* (divisions). As is well-known, we have a valuable list of the twenty-four priestly *mišmarôt* in 1 Chr. 24 7–18, most of which are mentioned in our later sources (Maccabees, N. T., Josephus, Talmud, Kalir); see especially Klein, *Beiträge zur Geographie und Geschichte Galiläas*, Leipzig, 1909, which is fundamental for all study of the *mišmarôt*. The twenty-four *mišmarôt* are a slight modification for practical purposes (alternation twice monthly in service) of the original twenty-two, perhaps based upon the number of letters of the alphabet, which we find in the fifth and fourth

[39] See the preceding note.

centuries B. C. Lists of these twenty-two priestly houses are given in Neh. 10 and 12. In Neh. 12 1 ff. we have a list of the twenty-two priests who returned to Palestine with Zerubbabel and Jeshua. These "priests" are in reality priestly houses, as is shown by the fact that this list is immediately followed by another one (Neh. 12 12 ff.), in which it is repeated, with one accidental omission (Ḥaṭṭûš), and the addition of the representatives of each name (of a family) in the time of the high-priest Yôyaqîm ben Yêšû', cir. 500 B. C. The catalogue of priests in Neh. 12 is very similar to the list given Neh. 10 1 ff., where we also have twenty-two names, if we count Ṣidqîyáhū, which is not quite certain. Six new names take the place of six of the names given at the end of the list Neh. 12 1 ff., which are, however, better known, since they include Yôyarîb, Yeda'yah and 'Amôq. The list in Neh 10 purports to represent the names of the priests (i. e., priestly houses) which confirmed the compact made by Nehemiah(?);[40] one suspects that it is mixed, containing both family names and personal names, like the list of the priestly inhabitants of Jerusalem which we have just studied. Its agreement in order of family names with Neh. 12 (cf. Eduard Meyer, *Entstehung des Judentums*, p. 173) shows either that both lists have a common origin, or that the order of families was fixed. The latter, which is also Meyer's view, seems the only possible one, but his conclusion that Neh. 12 is later than Neh. 10 seems impossible. We would propose the following solution. When the Chronicler, early in the fourth century,[41] drew up the list of priestly families which in his opinion came with Zerubbabel and Jeshua (Neh. 12). he naturally followed the order of precedence which was then established, but omitted certain names which he considered illegitimate. The then traditional total of twenty-two he made up by adding a number of old family names from the early post-exilic periods, but these names could not be introduced into the list without destroying the order of precedence, so were affixed to the end. The importance of the order in later

[40] "Nehemiah" may be an interpolation; cf. Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, pp. 282 f., and JBL XL, 121.

[41] See the writer's article, "The Date and Personality of the Chronicler," JBL XL, 104—124. Kugler's defense of the ordinary view, that Ezra preceded Nehemiah, and hence could not, of course, have been the Chronicler, *Von Moses bis Paulus*, pp. 201—233, has been ably refuted by Van Hoonacker, RB 1923, 481 ff.; 1924, 33 ff.

times may be seen by reference to KLEIN's work, mentioned above. Three of the older names succeeded in gaining ground, thanks to the Chronicler, we may suppose, and two were incorporated in the list of the twenty-four *mišmarôt*, while one (ʿAmôq) survived independently into the post-Christian age. We are not concerned-here with the time of the origin of the system of twenty-four *mišmarôt*. but it is possible that it dates back only to the Hasmonaean period, when the list was incorporated into the text of Chronicles.[42]

The preceding sketch illustrates the fluidity of nomenclature which prevailed before the final institution of the twenty-four *mišmarôt*. The four recognized and three doubtful priestly houses which we find in the time of the Restoration are rapidly increased to twenty-two, and finally to twenty-four; many names are introduced and given up, while others survive. A branch of the Benê Yedaʿyah receives the name Benê Yêšûʿ[43], after its head, the first high-priest of the Restoration, while another branch of the same family is called Śerâyah, after the first prince of the temple. In post-biblical times we find that certain names are apparently synonymous, as Ginnetôn and Delâyah (the first occurring only in the lists of 22, the later only in the list of 24), Bilgah and Maʿdeyah = Maʿzeyah, etc. It is quite possible that our ʿAdâyah was the founder of the family of ʿAdayâ-ʿIddô-ʿObadyah[44] which appears in the two Nehemiah lists. The continuation of his family name Pašḥûr or Malkîyah is no obstacle to this suggestion, since in many cases more conservative branches of a family may have been unwilling to create new houses, following the example of a more energetic branch, and have preserved the old name. Since Zekaryah was the head of the house of ʿAdayâ in the time of the second post-exilic high-priest Yôyaqîm, it follows that

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[42] The list of the twenty-four *mišmarôt* begins with Yôyarîb, the ancestor of the Hasmonaean house, while Yedaʿyah, the ancestor of the high-priests of the Restoration, who is given first place in the lists 1 Chr. 9 = Neh. 11, Ezra 2 = Neh. 7, is relegated to second place. Since, however, Yôyarîb originally had second place, it may be that the Hasmonaean scribes transposed the names in an already existing list, in which case the institution of the twenty-four *mišmarôt* may be much older.

[43] Cf. Ezra 2 36 = Neh. 7 39 and 1 Chr. 24 11.

[44] The identity of ʿAdayâ-ʿIddô and ʿObadyah is proved by their identical position in the lists. Since ʿ*Obadyah* cannot well be a corruption of ʿ*Iddô*, it is only natural to derive them both from ʿ*Adayah*.

the founder was already dead, if our view is correct. At all events his name no longer occurs in this list as that of a head of a house, which he most certainly had been. There is, therefore, no difficulty in making him a contemporary of the high-priest Jeshua.

As the third in rank of the priestly hierarchy, it is only natural to suppose that 'Adâyah was the head of the temple treasury. The position was very important indeed, as may be seen from the rôle played by the *gizbar* or *gazophylax*, the temple treasurer, in the last centuries of the Second Temple. The head of the temple treasury in the Persian period was in charge of the collection of temple tithes. Nehemiah gives us an insight into this system when he describes the measures which he took to reorganize the temple fiscus (Neh. 13 10 ff.). The administration of the temple taxes had become so corrupt that no funds were available for the salaries of the temple-servants, who had, therefore, left Jerusalem and returned to their own villages. As an ardent reformer, in an unequalled position for carrying his reforms into effect. Nehemiah proceeded to reorganize the system: "And all Judah brought the tithe of grain and wine and oil to the storehouses, and I placed over (so with some Greek recensions) the treasury Šelemyah the priest and Ṣadôq the scribe". The tithes of wine and oil were placed in standardized jars, on the handles of which the official seal of the temple treasury had been impressed. The writer has already described this system fully in JPOS V, 51 f., in his account of the fiscal organization of the Jewish state in the seventh century. Here we see that the pre-exilic organization was imitated after the exile.

The writer is happily in a position to confirm the demonstration by the discovery of the very seals employed by the fiscal service of the temple under Nehemiah's appointee, Selemyah. Among the finds made by MACALISTER at Gezer (*Gezer*, vol. II, p. 209) were several examples of a seal impression on a jar handle. On the seal is a pentagram, with five Hebrew letters in the spaces between the spikes. MACALISTER somewhat doubtfully read לשבמי, which he thought might be the gentilic of *Śibmah*, the name of a Moabite town. In 1921 the present writer studied these seals again carefully—they are now in the Palestine Museum—and decided that they should be read לשלמיו. His note on the subject was laid aside for publication in some suitable connection, until recently, when he was able to study a group

of twenty-one jar handles containing seal impressions of the same type, discovered by Mr. DUNCAN on "Ophel." These impressions presented such difficulties to the decipherer, owing to their poor state of preservation and the smallness of the letters, that for a time decipherment seemed out of the question. The *šin* might be *ṣadê*, and the *waw* might even be *rêš* on a number of the seals. On renewed comparison of them with the handles in the Palestine Museum it became, however, evident that the writer's original reading was correct. This conclusion was reached before the idea struck his mind that this Šelemyô is none other than the Šelemyah whom Nehemiah appointed chief of the temple treasury. The forms of the letters are awkward, and no longer sharply defined and correct in appearance, like the Hebrew letters on pre-exilic seals. This, as we have seen, is also true of the *'Adâyah* stamps. The jar handles which bear the pentagram stamp are of the same general age as the *'Adâyah* handles. There is no difficulty in the form of the name, which is exactly parallel to *'Uzzîyô* for *'Uzziyáh(ū)*, etc., etc. This discovery is a very gratifying confirmation of our conclusions with respect to the *'Adâyah* seals, and fully corroborates our published views as to the nature of the royal jar stamps.

The *Yahu* or *Yah* seals, stamped on numerous jar handles of a somewhat later post-exilic period, found at Gezer, Jerusalem and Jericho for the most part, are no longer written in Hebrew characters, but are early Palestinian Aramaic, like the inscription of 'Arâq el-Emîr.[45] We may now refer them to the period after Ezra's theocratic reform, when Jewry came nearest to attaining the theocratic ideal of its prophets and priests. If the writer is correct in adopting the views of VAN HOONACKER and others, that Ezra followed Nehemiah,[46] and that his arrival in Jerusalem must be dated B. C. 398, this theocratic reform, when Judaism "was created by an edict of the Persian government," to quote EDUARD MEYER, must be dated at the beginning of the fourth century B. C. The *Yahu* stamps may then belong roughly to the fourth century B. C.[47] The curious fact

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[45] Cf. VINCENT, JPOS III, 63f.

[46] See above, note 41.

[47] Père VINCENT suggested (JPOS III, 64) a date in the fourth and third centuries B. C. His view regarding the purpose of the stamps coincides almost exactly with ours.

that the Hebrew script is supplanted by the Aramaic on official Jewish government seals about 400 B. C. makes one wonder whether the Jewish tradition that Ezra introduced the "Assyrian," i. e., the Aramaic, script does not have a nucleus of truth after all. Our attitude toward tradition, while no less critical than it used to be, is becoming less sceptical.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

NOTE ON HEBREW ḤOFŠĪ

In this *Journal*, Vol. IV (1924), pp. 169—70, Albright has pointed out that the ideogram *ZAG* in the Amarna letters (ed. Knudtzon) 147, 12. 54. 64; 149, 81 is to be read *emûqu* "force, power" and not *idu* "hand." In the first passage quoted (147, 12) the ideogram is supplied with a gloss, *ḫabši*. This word is connected with the Hebrew *ḥofšī* by Albright. He thinks that the writer, Abi-milki, wished to say *ḥofšī*, but, unable to find a good equivalent of this word in Accadian, availed himself of a circumlocution. The expression *ina dun(n)i emûqi* "in the might of power" would then be intended to mean "free (of oppression)," i. e., *ḥofšī*, which in order to avoid misinterpretation, was added as a gloss. This correspondence between *ḫabši* and *ḥofšī* has been denied by V. Christian, who, on the other hand acknowledges the reading of *ZAG* suggested by Albright; v. OLZ 28 (1925), 419 sq.

It cannot be denied that the most obvious conception of the gloss *ḫabši* is that it has the same meaning as *emûqu*, i. e., power. From a linguistic point of view it may be noticed that *ḫabš(i)* (*ḫapš*) is not the exact equivalent of *ḥofšī*. We would not expect an *a*, but an *u*, i. e., *ḫupš*.

But this word is also well known in the Amarna letters. The *amêlūt ḫubši*, "the people of the *ḫubšu*," are mentioned 11 times (81, 33 is however uncertain) in the letters of Rib-addi. He says that they have surrendered their children and the wood of their houses in order to get corn for food (85, 12, cf. 114, 55 sq.), they try to get away and so let him alone (114, 21 sq.; in the same manner he will let them alone, 81, 33 sqq.). The lack of food drives them to the cities where corn is to be found, in order to plunder them

(125, 25 sqq.); need makes them dangerous (130, 41 sqq.) They even appear as his enemies. "Against whom am I to guard? against my foes or against my *ḫubšu*?" (112, 10 sqq.). They abandon him and are going over to the sons of Abdi-aširta and to Sidon and Beruta, and so the Gaz-people come forward (118, 21 sqq.). He is very afraid of them (117, 90), they may even kill him (77, 36 sq.).

This is all we know about the *ḫubšu*. As our knowledge of the social conditions of ancient Canaan is very limited we must be grateful for these hints. They show that the *ḫubšu* represent the principal part of the subjects of Rib-addi; they are possessors of houses and live, at any rate partially, outside the main city.

H. Winckler translated in his edition (*Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* V, 1896) the word *ḫubšu* by "Unterthanen" (once: "Einwohner"); in the glossary he has "Bauer," and so also Knudtzon in his translation. Dhorme looks at the *ḫubšu* as "intermédiaire entre le nomade et l'habitant de la ville . . ., comme encore de nos jours, le fellaḥ de la campagne" (*Rev. Bibl. nouv. sér.* 6, 1909, p. 73). Dhorme emphasizes their propensity to rebellion; cf. also the commentary of Weber in Knudtzon's edition, p. 1165. We must, however, remember that the discontent of the *ḫubšu* of Rib-addi is well accounted for. So we have no sufficient ground to designate them as an unsteady element of the population. The importance assigned to them in the letters of Rib-addi makes it probable that they are the peasants, or more precisely the landed proprietors, i. e., the freemen who own the fields and the farms, and whose families therefore constitute the fundamental stock of the population. If this is right, they remind us of the *gibbôrê ḫayil* in Israel.[1] Thus *ḫabš(u)*, "power," would materially

[1] As the social classes are different in the various countries, the use of the word *ḫubšu* in Assyria cannot as a matter of course be identified with that prevailing in Canaan. The word is to be found in the Assyrian law-code § 45 (KAVI, VI 55), in Salmanassar II, Balawat-Inscription V 3, and in some inscriptions of Sargon ("*Prunkinschrift*" l. 33; Thureau-Dangin, *Huitième campagne de Sargon*, p. 7, l. 26; p. 40, l. 258 *ṣab ḫubši*; Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen* I, p. 404, l. 31 ff.). Delitzsch takes it (*Beitr. z. Ass.* V. 1, 141 on Salm. Bal.) as "Rebell;" Amiaud & Scheil (*Les inscriptions de Salmanassar* II, 1890, p. 48 f., 102) "ramassis de gens de toute sorte," cf. خبش (?) or خبث, or "hommes de proie," cf. خبس. But the law-code shows, although the passage is corrupt, that the *ḫubšu* must be a social class. Winckler renders it *l. c.* with "Bauer;" Meissner (*Babylonien und Assyrien* I, p. 374 f.) identifies it with the *muškēnu* of the Cod.

correspond to Heb. *ḥayil*, and *ḥubš(u)*, "owners of power," to Heb. *gibbôrê ḥayil*.

The word *ḥubš(u)* is the designation of a species without reference to the number (the nouns commonly called collectives). The single representative of the species must be designated by *-ī*, and so we get the Hebrew word *ḥupšī* > *ḥofšī*.

In the Hebrew of the Old Testament, *ḥofšī* means a freeman. It is generally used in opposition to slave, cf. Ex. 21 2, 5, 26, 27; Deut. 15 12, 13, 18 etc., as also of a released slave, v. Gesenius-Buhl, s. v. This may mean a slight degradation of the word, if *ḥubšu* meant not simply the free, but as suggested above, the landed proprietors. On the other hand we find it with another nuance 1 Sam. 17 25: "The king will enrich him with great riches, and will give him his daughter, and make his family *ḥofšī* in Israel." Here the word designates an aristocrat, raised by the king above the people and certainly also above the common *gibbôrê ḥayil*. We are not able to point out the history and real meaning of such nuances, but it is obvious that the Hebrew word is to be closely connected with the old *ḥubšu*.

The two words *ḥapš(u)* and *ḥupš(u)* would in Hebrew be *ḥeṣeḳ* and *ḥofeṣ*. The first one is not to be found; the latter appears Ez. 27 20 in the connection בִּגְדֵי־חֹפֶשׁ; if the translation of LXX, ἐκλεκτῶν, meaning "precious," is right and no mere guessing, it would be on the old line. The relation of *ḥapš* "power" to *hupš* "owner of power" cannot be said to represent the common relation of *katb* to *kutb*. The opposite is more common, e. g. *na'ar—no'ar*; *'eṣeṃ—'oṣeṃ*, cf. Mayer Lambert in *Rev. d. Études Juives* 33, 1896, p. 23; but in this respect it is not possible to state any common rule.

Ham ; J. Lewy (Zeitschr. f. Ass. 36 [N. F. 2] 1925, p. 148, note 3) translates it "Gefolgsmann, Lehensträger, Söldner" because of the correspondence between § 45 of the Assyrian Code and Cod. Ham. §§ 28f., 38f. — The passages quoted do not admit a distinct definition of the *ḫubšu* of Assyria, but it appears with certainty that they are soldiers, and the complaint of Sargon, that *corvée* had been laid on the city of Ashur and that its inhabitants had been treated as *ḫubšu* (Winckler l. c.) shows that they are not freemen in this period of the history of Assyria. If the connection with *ḫabšu* suggested above is correct, the term has suffered deterioration among the Assyrians.

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CANAANITE ḪAPŠI AND HEBREW ḤOFSÎ AGAIN

The writer's note on "Canaanite *ḥofšî*, 'free,' in the Amarna Tablets" (JPOS IV, 169 f.) has elicited two interesting communications, one from V. Christian in OLZ XXVIII, 419 f., and the other from J. Pedersen, in this number of our *Journal*. Christian accepts the reading of *ZAG* as *emûqu*, "power," but dissents from the explanation of the gloss *ḫapši* as Heb. *ḥofšî*. He would connect it with the stem *ḥpš*$_2$ (*š*$_2$ = Ar. *š*, Heb. *ś*, Aram. *s*), which appears in Arabic *ḥfš*, "flow, gather," but confuses this stem with *ḥfš*, "peel," and suggests the meaning "be strong," or the like, as the basic sense of the verb. As a result, he combines with it Hebrew *ḥpś*, "search, examine," and also Assyr. *epêšu* "make, do," hitherto connected with the common Semitic stem found in Arabic *ḥsb*, Heb. *ḥšb*, "reckon." But *ḥfš*, "to gather," is simply partial assimilation (*bš* becoming *pš*>*fš*) of *ḥbš*, "to gather," a very common and well-known stem. Words for "flow, pour" often mean "gather" in Semitic. On the other hand, the meaning "peel" is fundamental in the stem *ḥfš-ḥpš*, both in Arabic and in Hebrew, where *ḥippeś* means properly "peel away the covering of something, investigate it;" the development is common. Arabic *ḥašîf*, "worn garment," is derived from a transposed doublet of *ḥfš*, meaning "peel off, wear away;" precisely the same natural development is found in *ḥifš*, "used, worn thing." Yemenite *šḥf*, "peel," is another transposed doublet, already combined with Heb. *ḥśf*, "peel," by Fraenkel, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. III, p. 69. There is thus no warrant for assuming a Semitic stem *ḥpš*, "be strong," from which *ḫapši* might be derived.

In the second paper referred to, Pedersen has called our attention very correctly to the word *ḫubšu*, used frequently in the letters of Rib-addi of Byblos. The word is also found in the Late Assyrian texts in the sense of "serfdom, corvée;" *ṣab ḫubši* means "serf, person subject to a corvée," as shown clearly by Thureau-Dangin, *Huitième campagne de Sargon*, p. 7, n. 10. In view of this use it is evident that the word *awîl ḫubši*, plural *awîlût ḫubši*, of the Amarna Tablets has a similar meaning, since all the passages refer to the *awîlût ḫubši* as subjects of the king. It is hardly likely that there were any freeholders, properly speaking, among the Canaanites, who were composed of an aristocracy and a plebs which must have been

practically bound to the soil. It was reserved for the incoming Hebrews to create a nation of yeomen.

There is no difficulty about the etymology of *ḫubšu*, which is clearly derived from the verb *ḫabâšu*, *ḫubbušu*, "to bind," corresponds to Arabic *ḥábasa*, "to seize, capture," Aram. *ḥebáš* with the same meaning as the Arabic, and Heb. *ḥabáš*, "bind." The Arabic equivalent has generally been regarded as *ḥábasa*, "to imprison," but this word is certainly a loan from Aramaic *ḥebáš*, "imprison," just mentioned. The word *ḫubšu* is an abstract, meaning primarily "bondage," or the like. There is, however, no reason to doubt that the *awîl ḫubši* of Rib-Addi was on a higher level of independence than the Assyrian *ṣab ḫubši*, who appears to have been a true serf. Pedersen is probably right in combining *ḫubšu* and Hebrew *ḥofšî*, since the vocalization is the same and the *p* (*f*) for *b* is merely a case of partial assimilation, like Heb. *hfk* for Assyr. *'bk*, Assyr. *dišpu* for Heb. *debaš*. The nisbeh *ḥofšî* would then be exactly parallel to *awîl ḫubši* and *ṣab ḫubši*, though with a decidedly meliorative meaning, just as "knight" is much nobler than „Knecht" which also originally meant "youth." I would suggest that *ḥofšî* meant primarily "serf or peon, attached to the land," then "peasant landholder" and "freeholder," as distinct from "serf" and "slave." The time at which this alteration of meaning took place is not easy to establish, but it was very possibly at the Hebrew conquest, when the Hebrews may have adopted the word for "peasant" from the Canaanites, and given it a wholly new connotation, in keeping with the complete transformation in social conditions. In the nineteenth century the word "manufacture" made just such an evolution to adapt it to entirely changed industrial conditions.

The preceding remarks do not assist us with regard to the enigmatic Canaanite *ḫap(b)ši* which was the cause of the whole discussion. The *ă* instead of *ŏ* could be explained on the analogy of the frequent correspondence of old Hebrew *ă* to Masoretic *ŏ* (e. g., the town-name *Ṣarḫa* = Σαρεα = *Ṣor'ah* = modern *Ṣar'ah*), if it were really equivalent to *ḥofšî*, but this suggested combination has now become more than doubtful. If we could render *ḫapši* by "subjection," the etymological side would be satisfied, but the nature of the gloss would become more puzzling than ever. It may be, after all, that Ebeling was essentially right in combining *ḫapši* with Egyptian

ḫâpeš. His mistake was then in taking the meaning "arm" instead of the meaning "*ḫâpeš* (sword of the king)," a word very commonly used in Egyptian panegyrics of the Pharaoh, and familiar to archaeologists as the name of the Egyptian harpé (*khopesh*). *Emûqu* would then be such a vague equivalent that Abî-milki found it necessary to resort to Egyptian in order to make his stale metaphor thoroughly intelligible.

W. F. Albright

THE CHOOSING OF GIDEON'S 300. Judges 7 5, 6

The very interesting article in the last Journal on the number of Gideon's final army, set up another train of thought, regarding the tests by which those not wanted were eliminated. Gideon's army originally consisted of 32000 men, but when those who were fainthearted were told to go home, there remained only 10.000. These again God said were too many, and the men were taken down to drink at the Well of Harod, the modern Ain Jalud, where the water issues from the hillside in a clear cool stream. The men to the number of 300 who scooped up the water with their hands were chosen, while the others who knelt down and dipped their faces in, were sent home.

As a child the present writer always thought this such an arbitrary and apparently meaningless distinction, that it seemed there must be some good reason for this method of selection. The usual interpretation that those who scooped up the water in their hands were more alert against a possible surprise attack by the enemy, than those who got down to it on their knees, always seemed a somewhat unsatisfying explanation.

Last spring the writer visited the spring Ain Jalud and believes he has got the true explanation. The water is absolutely swarming with leeches, three or four on every pebble, and those who know anything of these creatures will realize the trouble they would be to the body, to say nothing of the intense suffering they would cause inside the nostril or mouth, which latter is what every man would be in danger of, who put his face down into the water to drink. The

men who scooped up the water in their hands would be immune from this danger.

To put it in another way: Gideon's final 300 were men used to a country life, or as an Australian would term it, a bush life, and consequently would be vastly more fitted for Gideon's surprise night attack than the remainder who knew not the danger, and were probably townspeople, who were used to having their water brought to them in a goolah.

The writer suggests this as an adequate explanation of the curious method of eliminating the unwanted.

VICTOR L. TRUMPER

NOTE ON 1 KINGS 18 27 AND 2 KINGS 18 27

J. STEINBERG (Russian-Hebrew Dictionary, Wilna, 1896) gives as translations of "isprajnenie" (evacuation) צֵאָה, חֹרֶא and שִׂיג, supporting this last by reference to 1 and 2 Kings 18 27. The first of these passages runs: And Elijah mocked them and said: Call him louder for he is a god, כי שיח וכי שיג לו וכי דרך לו. The second passage is: But Rabshakeh said unto them ... hath he not sent me to the men which sit on the wall לאכל את חריהם ולשתות שיניהם Steinberg thus regards חֹרֶא of 2 Kings 18 27 as synonymous with שׂוֹג of 1 Kings 18 27. What, then, is the significance of the presumably logically related שיח? It may be presumed that if שיג of 1 Kings corresponds with חריהם of 2 Kings, then שיח of 1 Kings corresponds with שיניהם of 2 Kings, and that the Hebrew שיח is to be explained by the Arabic root شخ (to make water). This interpretation considerably heightens the contempt implied in Elijah's mockery. That the Jewish commentator Rashi partially perceived this grosser nuance of Elijah's mockery is apparent from his supplementing וכי דרך לו with the words לביית כסא, in spite of the fact that his interpretations of שיח ושיג are not in harmony with his interpretation of דרך; he apparently was following some legend or tradition at which he merely hints.

In support of the nuance given to שיג, cf. Ps. 93 4 כלו סג יחדו נאלחו and the parallel הכל סר יחדו נאלחו.

I. AHARONI

NOTES ON "ARABIC INSCRIPTION AT GAZA"
BY DR. L. A. MEYER, JPOS, VOL. V, p. 64

1. I would suggest another explanation of the word لقاش, *laqqâš* (and not *lakkâš* لكاش). The root *lqš* لقش means in Jerusalem and Jaffa, as well as in Aleppo and Damascus, "to chat." With us a *laqqâš* is a "chatterbox" or an "entertaining talker," *laqše* (*la'še*) لقشة an anecdote, sometimes a "joke" or "jest," in which latter sense this verb is metonymically used (e. g. in Jerusalem, Hebron, Nazareth).

2. As to the name of *Aqbuğa* (= white ox) *Tulutumri*, I should read it *Dolutumri*, analogous to the Turkish طولو *dolù* = full, اطنه Adana, and اناطولو Anadolu = Anatolia, etc.

ST. H. STEPHAN

BOOK REVIEWS

Der 'Adschlûn. Nach den Aufzeichnungen von Dr. G. SCHUMACHER *beschrieben von* Dr. CARL STEUERNAGEL. *Lieferungen 1, 2,* Leipzig, 1925, pp. 1—384, plates 1—59.

Professor STEUERNAGEL'S work on the 'Ajlûn, ancient Gilead, is based upon the long-continued study of this region by the late Baurat Dr. SCHUMACHER of Ḥaifā. Dr. SCHUMACHER himself had planned to publish the description of the 'Ajlûn at the same time as the maps which he had prepared on the basis of his survey of Transjordan. Being unable to carry his intention out, owing to serious illness, he turned all his material, note-books, sketches, etc., over to Professor STEUERNAGEL, who had already coöperated with him in the publication of the excavations at Megiddo. It is a pity that Dr. SCHUMACHER did not live to see the completion of this work on the 'Ajlûn, but students of Palestine are fortunate that is in so careful hands as those of Professor STEUERNAGEL, whose conscientious accuracy is familiar both to biblical scholars and to Palestinian archaeologists.

After some introductory remarks, there are over eighty pages devoted to the physical geography, geology, climate, flora and fauna of the land. The section dealing with the physical geography is exceptionally full, while the other sections, though containing much useful material, betray their origin by a certain scrappiness, which even the heroic efforts of Professor STEUERNAGEL have not completely removed. The next ninety pages are given over to a discussion of the archaeological and historical materials collected by SCHUMACHER, arranged according to periods, and a useful list of ruins (pp. 132—8), with a rough attempt to assign them to their periods of occupation. This attempt cannot be said to be successful, since SCHUMACHER'S data were too meagre for the purpose. For the three thousand or more years which elapsed between the megalithic age and the Graeco-

Roman period no archaeological material at all is furnished. The treatment of the historical topography is equally unsatisfactory; SCHUMACHER was no topographer, since he had not the necessary philological training or interest, and was far too wise to indulge in reckless identifications on the basis of fancied similarity of name. Except for numerous dolmens and other megalithic remains, there is hardly any new archaeological material at all in this publication, and the topographical data are almost all either well-known or of very questionable value. It must, however, in justice be said that our toponymic and topographic materials for ancient Gilead are too sparing to allow of much work of a productive character, at least for the present. Yet in several trips through Gilead the present reviewer has found many interesting things. For an adequate treatment of the topography a thorough knowledge of ancient pottery is indispensable; Dr. SCHUMACHER belonged to the older generation, which regarded pottery as relatively worthless and uninteresting. Even his excavations at Tell el-Mutesellim and elsewhere do not seem to have taught him the full importance of the pottery index to Palestinian chronology.

Lieferung 2 is devoted almost entirely to a detailed account of the country, and naturally forms the most valuable part of the work. The next installment will also presumably contain more of the detailed description, which will prove indispensable to future students of Gilead. So far as the reviewer can see, it is very accurately compiled, and may be used without hesitation by those who know nothing of the country. We therefore commend it very cordially to the world of biblical scholarship.

W. F. ALBRIGHT

MAX TILKE, *Studien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Orientalischen Kostüms.* Verlag von Ernst Wasmuth A. G., Berlin (1923), 127 fig., 71 pp.

— *Orientalische Kostüme in Schnitt und Farbe.* Verlag Ernst Wasmuth A. G., Berlin 1923, 32 pp., 128 plates.

These two volumes are supplementary, the second containing the plates illustrating the first. They may, then, be reviewed as one.

After a short preface explaining the aims and methods of this volume, the author gives 128 plates of coloured illustrations depicting costumes worn to-day throughout the Moslem world, from Morocco to India, China and Japan. The drawings are not only beautiful to look upon (an effect heightened by the extreme care of the publishers in producing the volume), but they are also very instructive in the way they show the cut of the costumes and the manner in which they are worn. Every line of the 128 plates testifies eloquently to the author's love of his subject as well as to his skill in surmounting the difficulties of his task. He tries to trace back each costume to its original form and is very successful in doing so: his exceptional acquaintance with the present-day costume of primitive nations and his numerous experiments on models, have given him also an unrivalled insight into the character of ancient Asiatic costumes as represented in Mesopotamian, Hittite or Egyptian monuments.

He is less equipped on the literary side. By accident or design he neither quotes nor utilizes the best books and monographs on his subject; on the other hand he has often made use of works without acknowledgement. This is to be regretted in that his reader would often be interested in referring to the source of the author's information: e. g. in the case of his statement that „die alten Hebräer haben die Ecken ihrer Mantelumwürfe mit Quasten besetzt, die nach Moses Gebot an bestimmten Festtagen purpurn gefärbt waren" (p. 14, last lines). It is very unfortunate that his book was not read in manuscript by some oriental scholar; the author would not have then called garments used in Palestine by names given them in Morocco or elsewhere; and he would have omitted such etymological explanations as his connexion of "gellabia" with "aba" (p. 24). On the other hand he might have explained technical terms like "Djimdjimstoff" (p. 14) or "Djamadan" (p. 21) and others of the same kind. 83 15

The definition (p. 7) of the simplest costume as „oblonges Stück Zeug, in dessen Mitte ein Schlitz oder ein Loch geschnitten ist" corresponds exactly to that given of the "ṭailasan" worn by Moslem scholars during the middle ages, but of course it is possible that the ṭailasan was not worn chasublewise like the "Poncho", but diagonally, like the Mongolian wrap (p. 20, fig. 17). The so-called "tallith qeṭana" worn by orthodox Jews in many countries is probably the latest survival of this garment. On p. 9, fig. 5, the ends of the coats

of the prisoners show tassels, which are the "Tsitsiyyot" worn either by Hebrews or some cognate nation.

On pp. 9—10: "Retennu (Leuten aus Kappadokien?)", the query is unnecessary; "Retennu" never stands for Cappadocia. On p. 19 the author defines "Retennu-people" as living in Northern Syria, which is nearer the current view that, in Egyptian, Retennu meant Syria.

P. 12: „Werden die Ärmel (of female clothes in Palestine, Mesopotamia and Egypt) fast ebenso breit gemacht wie der Gewandkern lang ist." This is true only for a few districts. In Palestine, for example, the sleeves of the peasant-women in Ramallah, Bethlehem and Tiberias are quite narrow or comparatively so.

P. 14: „Tributbringer aus den Ländern nördlich von Mesopotamien." On fig. 19, the tributaries referred to are described as Palestinians.

P. 19: The „Fransensäume" are surely an example of one of the many things which appear—perhaps spontaneously—over the whole earth. To the examples quoted by the author one can add the cloaks trimmed with fringes worn by the Hebrew priests.

P. 26: The next of kin to the „Nordischer Wams" seems to have been the old Arabic single garment as described by Bukhari, *Al-Jâmi' aṣ-Ṣaḥîḥ*, "Book of the Prayer," traditions 4 and 5 (ed. Krehl, p. 101 f.)

P. 50 ff: The „Rückendecke" is very popular in Palestine with the peasant-women, especially in the central and southern districts.

P. 58, fig. 108: The "Syrian" of this picture is quite evidently a Philistine.

L. A. Mayer

MOHAMMEDAN SAINTS AND SANCTUARIES IN PALESTINE

T. CANAAN
(JERUSALEM)

(Continued)

7. CELEBRATION OF FEASTS (*mawâsim*)

The word *môsam*[1] (pl. *mawâsim*) means "season, mart, fair or time of assembly of pilgrims."[2] In our case it is the "season of visiting a sanctuary;" thus, for example, *êmtâ môsam en-nabî Rûbîn* means "When is the season (the time) of visiting (celebrating the feast of) the Prophet Rûbîn?" Whenever one speaks of *el-môsam* in Jerusalem and the surrounding villages it is understood by all to mean *môsam en-nabî Mûsâ.*

Many sanctuaries have regular *mawâsim.* The feast is very elaborately celebrated in some and extends over several days, while in others it is very simple and lasts only one day. At such a time people flock from every direction to visit the holy place and to take part in the festival joys. At these times they also fulfill their vows, perform their religious duties, circumcise their children, etc.

A description of the Nebî Mûsâ feast[3] will give an excellent picture of a *môsam.* All other *mawâsim* resemble it in most of their characteristics. The Prophet Moses is highly honoured by all Mohammedans of Palestine. People come to the feast from all villages of southern Palestine and Samaria. Many also come from the north.

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[1] Canaan, *Kalender des pal. Fell.*, *ZDPV* XXXVI, p. 274, note 2.

[2] Used originally for Mecca, *Muḥîṭ el-Muḥîṭ* II, 2250.

[3] Descriptions have been given by: Hans Spoer, *Das Nebî-Mûsâ Fest*, *ZDPV* XXXII, pp. 207—221; R. Hartmann, *Nebî Mûsâ*, *MNDPV* 1910, pp. 65—75; P. Kahle, *Gebräuche bei den moslemischen Heiligtümern in Palestina*, *PJB*, 165 etc.

The shrine is situated seven kilometers S. S. W. of Jericho, just south of the road leading from Jerusalem to Jericho. It is composed of an extensive complex of buildings with large gates. It may be divided into two parts: the sanctuary itself and the rooms surrounding it. The latter are separated from the first on three sides by an open space, the courtyard.[1] The sanctuary itself is surrounded on the north and east by porches, and covers the supposed tomb of the prophet. A quantity of rags are tied to the bars of the windows. Above the door an inscription states that 'Abdallah Pâšâ rebuilt the place in 1235 A. H. The *maqâm* itself is opened only on special occasions and during the festival days.

The greater part of the complex surrounding the shrine is composed of rooms which serve to lodge the visitors. The minaret is found in the N. W. corner of this part and is not connected directly with the sanctuary. Two mosques are attached to this complex, one of which (*djâmi' en-niswân*, the mosque of the women) has a *miḥrâb*, while the other, which seems to have been changed from a stable[2] into a prayer-room has no niche. The second story opens nearly everywhere on to a terrace which overlooks the court-yard. In the lower story two large kitchens, as well as stables, store-rooms, and wood-rooms are to be found, beside the many rooms for the pilgrims.

Although this building is erected on the top of a hill, the two other shrines (Ḥasan er-Râ'î and Masâdjid sittnâ 'Âišeh) command better views, being found on still higher positions. East of the whole building is a cemetery, where those are buried who die during festival days. Notables who die in Jericho are very often brought here, and the 'Idwân tribesmen of Transjordania bury some of their dead also in this cemetery. They count it a special blessing to be interred near this man of God.[3]

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[1] The courtyard is paved with stone slabs.

[2] This may still be seen, since the door leading to the outside has been closed, and the places for tying the animals are still visible.

[3] Beside the three shrines mentioned on page 8, where children are buried in their neighbourhood, I have two other sanctuaries with the same characteristic, making five in all:

eš-šēḫ Aḥmad at Nebî Ṣamwîl,
eš-šēḫ Manṣûr at Ḥizmah. The three already mentioned shrines are
eš-šēḫ Nûrân near Šallâlah,
eš-šēḫ Aḥmad es-Sarrisî at Abû Ghôš, and
eš-šēḫ 'Abdallah at Šu'fâṭ.

Not a single tree is to be seen anywhere near the building, but large cisterns[1] gather the rain-water for use in the feast days. These cisterns apparently belong to an older age than the present building. It has been supposed that they were the cisterns of the convent of St. Euthymius.[2]

The ridge on which the sanctuary is erected is composed of a bituminous stone, which burns easily and gives an offensive asphaltitic odor. The people think that this natural sign, which is not found in the case of any other saint, is a decisive proof of the greatness of the prophet. *Nâruh min ḥdjâruh*,[3] "his fire is (comes) from his stones," has become proverbial. I have never heard the sayings, given by Spoer,[4] about this bituminous stone, which looks white outside (like the angel of light[5]) and inside black (like the angel of death[6]).

The feast itself begins on the Friday preceding Good Friday of the Greek Orthodox Church[7] and ends on Maundy Thursday. This Friday is called *djum'et en-nazleh*, "the Friday of Descent," while the Friday preceding it is known as *djum'et el-mnâdât*, the "Friday of Calling," since it is on this day officially made known that the *môsam* of the Prophet begins on the next Friday. Thursday evening and the night of Thursday to Friday is named *lêlatu l-waqfeh*,[8] "the Night of Standing," in other words, the night preceding the feast. Every one who intends to take part in the feast prepares for the coming days. Different friends or families come together and talk over their plans. This time resembles in some respects the preparation for Passover on the part of the Jews. The night of the

[1] As much depends on the amount of water these cisterns hold at the time of the feast, the people believe that they are often filled in a miraculous way. We are told that when the rainfall during the winter is scanty and the cisterns are not filled with water, it always happens that the prophet Moses sends a heavy downpour of rain, which falls only over his sacred area, shortly before the beginning of the feast.

[2] *ZDPV* XXXII, 218.

[3] Kahle, *PJB* VIII, 174.

[4] *ZDPV* XXXII, 212.

[5] Moses is meant here.

[6] 'Uzrâ'ŷl.

[7] Not on Good Friday as stated by Spoer.

[8] This expression is used for the evening before every feast day.

next Wednesday to Thursday is called *lêlat eš-šêl*, since most of the pilgrims arrange to leave.

Before describing the beginning of the festival processions we must call attention to the fact that six Fridays of this period are considered as more or less important, since they are connected with special celebrations and privileges. The Nebî Mûsâ feast forms the nucleus. The following is the list[1] as known in the environs of Jerusalem. Some Fridays bear other names in other places:

Order of Fridays	Compared with the Greek Easter	Names of Fridays in Jerusalem and environs	Names among the peasants and Bedouin
First	14 days before Good Friday	*djum'et el-mnâdât*	*ḫamîs*, or *dj. en-nabât*
Second	8 days before Good Friday	*dj. en-nazleh, dj. el-bêraq*, or *dj. es-siddârî*[2]	*ḫamîs el-amwât*, or *dj. el-bêḍ*
	Maundy Thursday	*ḫamîs eṭ-ṭal'ah*, or *yôm eš-šêl*	
Third	Good Friday	*dj. el-'elêmât*	*dj. el-maghrî*, or *dj. el-ḫayawânât*
Fourth	8 days after Good Friday	*dj. er-raghâyb, dj. el-ḫalâwî*,[3] or *ed. dj. eṭ-ṭawîlî*	
Fifth	14 days after Good Friday	*dj. el-ghurabâ*	
Sixth	21 days after Good Friday	*dj. el-ḫazânâ*	

[1] Somewhat modified from Canaan, *Folklore of the Seasons*, *JPOS* III, p. 23.

[2] Some say *sindârî*.

[3] The Christians of Bethlehem, Bêt Djâlâ and Bêt Ṣâḥûr call Dec. 24 *yôm el-ḫalâwî*, and flock on this day to Bethlehem to attend the official procession of the Patriarch, using the opportunity to buy sweets. This custom is dying out (from the written notes of my father).

The procession begins by bringing the Nebî Musâ banner from the place where it is kept all the year through, called ed-Dâr el-Kbîreh, belonging to the Ḥusênî family, and situated west of the Ḥaram area in the street connecting Bâb el-Ḥabs with the Ḫân ez-Zêt street. The notables as well as many officials assemble here. The banner is handed over to the Muftî on a plate. After reciting a prayer he unfolds the banner and it is fastened on its stick. The banner is made of green velvet, embroidered along the border with golden threads, and measures 200×140 cm. A piece of black silk is sewn at the centre of each side bearing inscriptions,[1] to be described below. This black cloth is also artistically embroidered on its edges. The flag is fastened to a long staff, called *zâneh*, ending above in a golden crescent (*hlâl*).

The procession — which in the time of the Turks used to be accompanied by a military band and a guard of honour — moves slowly to the Mosque of Omar, entering by the gate Bâb el-Ḥabs (also known as Bâb ʿAlâ ed-Dîn el-Buṣeirŷ). After the midday prayer is over the procession leaves the mosque area by the same gate, and not by Bâb Ḥuṭṭâ, as stated by Spoer.[2] It is true that a great part of the multitude which attends the ceremony in the mosque leaves by other gates. The Grand Muftî, the banner-bearer and the other servants of the prophet go ahead. As soon as they are out of the holy area they mount horses and move slowly through the prolongation of the Via Dolorosa, leaving the city by St. Stephen's gate (Bâb Sittî Maryam). The spectators fill the street, the balconies and windows, the cemetery, and the gardens on both sides of the way. Due to the great number of umbrellas which are carried by the members of the procession and the spectators, this day has been called *ʿîd eš-šamâsî*, "the feast of the umbrellas." The *šabâb* (young men), assemble in parties, and each one plays, dances and sings on its way. In the crowd many flags are carried, coming from different *awliâ* of the city and the surrounding villages. Every flag has its adherents. Thus we see the flags of *eš-šêḫ* ʿÂṭif[3], *eš-šêḫ* Qazzâz[4],

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[1] The writing is also worked in gold thread.

[2] *ZDPV* XXXII, 214.

[3] The *qaiym* of *eš-šêḫ* Djarrâḥ.

[4] This and the preceding come from Jerusalem.

'Alî eš-Šarîf[1], from Nabî Ṣamwîl, etc. The banner of en-nabî Dâhûd and that of the Mosque of 'Omar are always seen in this procession. They accompany that of the prophet Moses, until the procession reaches Râs el-'Amûd. Slowly the procession advances and after two or three hours reaches Râs el-'Amûd, where the Mayor of Jerusalem and the other members of the Municipality welcome it. The Municipality invites many guests for this occasion. After refreshments are served the banner is carefully folded and the dignitaries continue their journey in automobiles or carriages. Part of the crowd follows slowly, but the greater part return to Jerusalem.

Every day of the feast the number of the visitors increases. They come generally in the following order[2]:

Arrival	Group	Departure
Thursday	Coffee-house keepers and some merchants	Friday after eight days
Friday	The servants of the Prophet Moses and some merchants	Thursday
Saturday	The 'Idwân tribe	Monday or Tuesday
Sunday	The different flags of Jerusalem ('Âṭif, Qazzâz, etc.)	Thursday
Monday	The Hebronites, the banner of the *šabâb* of Jerusalem and that of Nâblus	Wednesday
Tuesday	The Bedouin of ed-Diûk	Wednesday
Wednesday	The inhabitants of Jericho	Wednesday

A man who comes for one day is called *ṣabbâḥî*, while one who spends only one night in the sanctuary is known by the name *baiyâtî*. The former comes in the morning and returns home in the afternoon, while the latter arrives generally in the afternoon, spends the night and leaves during the next day.

The Hebronites leave Hebron Saturday and encamp in the Baq'ah, just south-west of Jerusalem. The next day they enter Jerusalem by the Jaffa Gate in a long procession, singing, dancing and playing *sêf u turs*. A multitude of spectators assemble to witness the event.

[1] The *qaiym* of el-Ḥaḍrâ (Nâblus).

[2] This order was given me by several persons, who go every year to the sanctuary, since they are servants of the Prophet.

Through the old city they continue their march until they enter el-Ḥaram by Bâb el-Maḥkameh. They pass the night in the mosque area and early the next day leave for the shrine. It is customary that before such a procession reaches a village they send a *radjdjâd* to the village to announce their coming. At once as many of the inhabitants as are able go out to meet the procession, taking along their banner and *'iddeh*. Often the newcomers are invited to take some food.

All *saiyârât* leave Jerusalem for Nebî Mûsâ with great pomp and monotonous music; the procession is headed by the banner. As soon as they pass Gethsemane they furl the banner and march slowly and quietly. As soon as they are in sight of the shrine of the Prophet they rearrange their group, unfurl the banner and begin the formal procession again. First they raise small heaps of stones as *qanâṭir*[1], and recite the *fâtiḥah*. The dervish who heads the procession sends one of his followers to announce their coming to the other dervishes who are already in Nebî Mûsâ. This messenger is called *nadjdjâb*. His master binds a *mandîl* around his neck to be untied only by the *šêḫ* who welcomes him at the sanctuary. This *nadjdjâb* runs directly to the *maqâm*, all the time beating his *naqqârah* (a sort of a small drum). As soon as he reaches the building all the dervishes, to whatever *ṭarîqah* they may belong, go out to welcome him, and the oldest dervish unties the *mandîl* from his neck, reciting the *fâtiḥah* at the same time. This *šêḫ* orders all *saiyârât* and *'idad* to welcome the new-comers.

First the *mazâr* of er-Râ'î is visited and then the crowd proceeds to the Nebî. As soon as the outer court is reached, the procession advances very slowly, while their enthusiasm increases. All the way to er-Râ'î and to the Nebî gun shots are fired in order to increase the enthusiasm and to proclaim their coming. This custom is no longer allowed.

Processions are generally arranged in the following way: The banner-bearer goes ahead, followed by the musicians. Then follow some young men of the party, encircling their leader and dancing according to the tempo given by him. Every dance is accompanied by singing. The leader recites a strophe and the others repeat it.

[1] We find such heaps of stones set up by way of witness in patriarchal days: Gen. 31 44-53; Joshua 4 1-3 and 9-11.

He swings a sword, a stick or a handkerchief in the air and dances with them, thus giving the tempo. Sometimes all or part of the musicians are seen in the circle. While singing and dancing the party clap their hands in a rhythmical way. This clapping of the hands may be met with in all seasons of great mirth and rejoicing[1] and both performers and audience never seem to weary of this simple, but universal amusement.[2] They proceed slowly until they reach the *maqâm*. Some of the women spectators welcome the party with *zaghârît*, or short songs ending with a shrill tongue-rattling.

It is very interesting to note that the above description of this procession resembles in many a way the joyful processions described in the Bible. Singing, dancing and clapping of the hands, the use of musical instruments and the participation of all classes are the same to day as they were thousands of years ago; cf. 2 Sam. 6 5 ff., 2 Kings 11 12, etc. The description in Ezek. 25 6 and 7 resembles very much the *saḥdjeh* dance to be described later: "Thou hast clapped thine hands, and stamped with the feet, and rejoiced in heart."[3]

The most important sorts of dances are the *saḥdjeh* and the *dabkeh*. A *dabkeh* may consist of the following varieties: *ṭaiyârah*, *šamâlîyeh*, *'ardjah*, *ftûḥîyeh*, *qarrâdîyeh*, *sab'âwîyeh* and *maṭlûṭeh*. Clapping the hands and stamping the feet may accompany any one of these dances. In many cases, either instead of a dance, or following the dancing group, another party plays the *sêf u turs*. Each of two persons who occupy the centre of the group is armed with a sword and a small shield. While their friends clap their hands and sing around them, these two pretend to attack one another, advancing, retreating, kneeling on one leg, standing up, bending to the right or to the left, swinging the sword in different directions all the time. From time to time they strike their sword on their own shield or on that of their opponent. Sword strokes are delivered rhythmically so that the sound follows a regular measure. Some of the songs used in this play as well as in dancing will be given below.

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[1] In wedding processions, welcoming a friend home from a foreign country, at the release of young men from their military service, etc., such rejoicing takes place.

[2] James Neil, *Palestine Life*, p. 133.

[3] Clapping of the hands is also used in scorn, contempt, mourning and grief.

The musical instruments which are used are the following:

ṭabl	drum
kâs (kâsât)	kettle-drum
mizhar	kind of lute
šabbâbeh	flute
arghûl	
nâyeh	long flute
zummârah	fife
midjwiz	fife with two tubes
dirbakkeh	kind of drum
nôbeh	very large drum

The rhythm played by the *ṭabl* and *kâsât* has nearly always a meaning: Some examples are:

allâh allâh allâh ḥaiy | | | —— | | | ——
dâ-ym dâ-ym — | — |
qai-yûm qai-yûm | — | —

In the case of *allâh* alone the *ṭabl* are allowed to vibrate, while one is turned slowly on the other, and the last syllable is given by a strong beat. The banners are of green, white or red cloth, with Qoranic verses, the name of the saint to whom they belong, or names of God inscribed on them. The inscription is made by sewing cloth bands of different colours on the flag itself.

Some of the writings on banners are:

1. لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

There is no God but Allah; Mohammed is God's apostle.

2. On the banner of Nebî Mûsâ:

a) on one side: the above mentioned Mohammedan creed

b) on the other side:

وكلم الله موسى تكليما ١٣٠٩

God spake with Moses discoursing with him 1309

3. The banner of Bêt Sûrîk:

باسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
نصر من الله وفتح مبين
مَددك يا سيدي احمد البدوي

In the name of the most merciful God!
Assistance from God and a sure victory!
Your help, O my lord Aḥmad el-Badawy!

4. On the banner of eš-šêh Djâbir en-Na'na':

لي سادة من عزهم اقدامهم فوق الحياة
ان لم اكن منهم فلي في حبهم عز وجاه

I have masters whose power
(and) whose bravery are supernatural.
Although I am not one of them,
(I derive from) their love power and dignity.

5. On a second banner of the same *šêḫ*:

لا اله الا الله
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
سيدي احمد الرفاعي ولي الله
قد نشر الله سرّه العزيز

There is no God but Allâh.
In the name of the most merciful God, there is no God but Allâh and Mohammed is God's Apostle.
Our Lord Aḥmad er-Rifâ'î is the Friend of God.
God has proclaimed his wonderful Mystery.

6. Seen at Nebî Rûbîn festivals:

ابو بكر عمر
لا اله الا الله ومحمد
رسول الله
علي عثمان

Abû Bakr 'Omar
There is no God but Allâh, and Mohammed is God's Apostle.
'Alî 'Oṯmân

7. Banner of *eš-šêḫ* Aḥmad el Fâleḥ:

ابو طلحة سعد
جدده الفقير احمد
الفالح خليفة الحضرة
الأحمدية
زُبير سعيد

Abû Ṭalḥah Sa'd

It was renewed by the poor (for
God's help) Aḥmad el-Fâliḥ the
successor of Mohammed's excellency

Zubeir Sa'îd

8. Another banner of the same *šêḫ*:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
وقل الحمد لله الذي لم يتخذ ولدا ولم
يكن له شريكا في الملك ولم يكن له ولي

In the name of the most merciful God!
And say, Praise be unto God, who hath not begotten any child; who hath no partner in the kingdom, nor hath any to protect him (Sûrah 17, last verse).

9. Seen in Rûbîn (1924):

ابو بكر عمر
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
لا اله الا الله ومحمد رسول الله
واذا عزمت توكلت على الله
سيدنا الخضر عليه السلام
عثمان علي

Abû Bakr 'Omar

In the name of the most merciful God!
There is no God but Allâh:
If I resolve (to do something) I trust on God.
Our Lord el-Ḫaḍr, peace be upon him.

'Oṯmân 'Alî

The staff (*ez-zâneh*), on which the banner is fastened, often has on its upper end a metal piece which is worked in one of the forms shown in the accompanying plate. A study of the different forms —which are generally called *hlâl* (crescent)—indictes the following grouping:

1. The representation of a weapon (spear). Nos. 1, 2 and 3.
2. The representation of the hand (Nos. 6, 7). Number 8 may also be counted to this group, while number 15 shows the holy number seven.
3. Different forms representing the development of the moon. Nos. 4, 5, 9, 10, 16, 17, 18, 20. No. 21 has the inscription لا اله الا الله ومحمد رسول الله in the moon. Nos. 11, 12, 13, 14, which look like a sphere or a circle, may be classified under this head, although they may also be explained as the representation of the terrestial globe.

These signs are common in popular superstition, we meet with them in magic formulas and popular medicine.[1]

Some of the villages having an *'iddeh*, which is generally brought to visit the Nebî, are: Bêt Iksâ, En-Nabî Ṣamwŷl, Biddû, Bêt 'Anân Bêt Duqquh, Bêt Sûrîk, Abû Ghôš, el-'Êsâwîyeh, Silwân, ed-Diûk, Jericho, etc. I was told that the Bedouin tribes el-'Idwân, el-Ka'âbneh, etc., do not bring an *'iddeh* or a flag with them.

The servants of the Prophet, *ḫuddâm en-Nabî*, i. e., those who have the different positions in this place, are: The Ḥuseinî, Yûnis, Qlêbô and the Bazbazeh families. These families are not, as Curtiss says, "priestly."[2] They have absolutely no religious tinge. Each of the first two has a kitchen (*maṭbaḫ*) in which an enormous quantity of food is cooked and distributed to the visitors twice daily. The banner bearers are members of the Qlêbô, while the *muaḏḏin* comes from the Bazbazah family. The last have also the right to light the *maqâm*. The muftî of Jerusalem must lead the procession. All of these "servants" are proud of the honour bestowed on their families in serving Kalîm Allâh.

Every day about one *qunṭâr* (300 kg) of meat is cooked by the Ḥuseinî family and about the same by the Yûnis. This meat is cooked in large vessels belonging to the *maqâm*. At the same time a great quantity of rice is prepared as *ruzz mfalfal*.[3] *Yaḫâneh* (pl. of *yaḫneh*) are also cooked. *Yaḫnet fûl* (broad beans), *y. baṣal*

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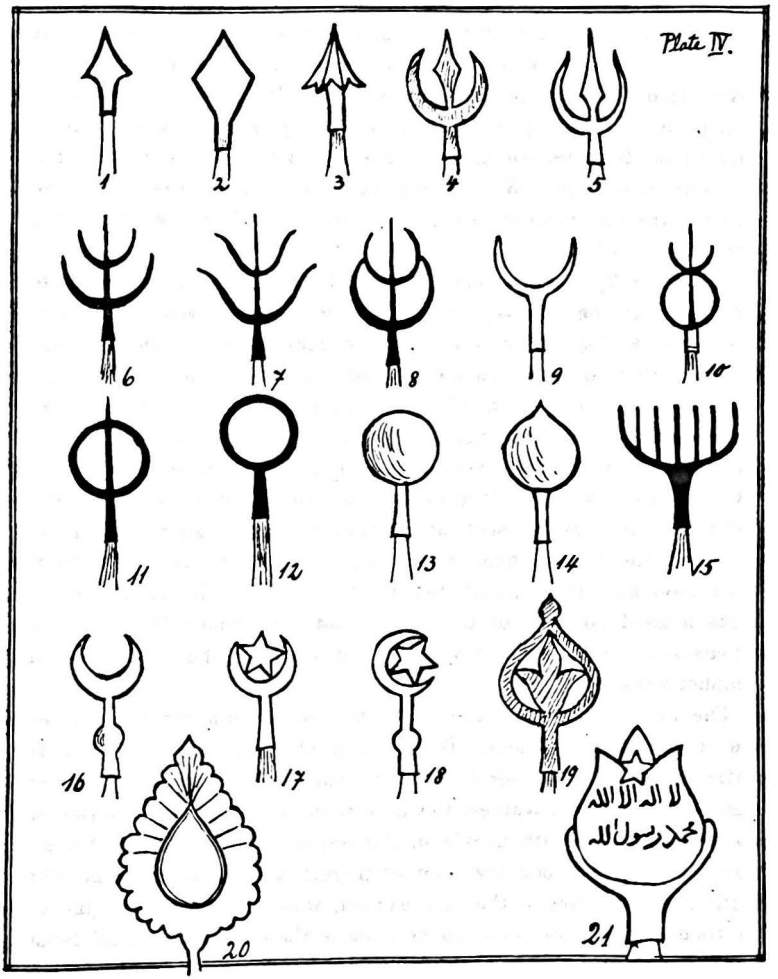
[1] *Aberglaube*, pp. 58, 64, 84, 94 and 95.

[2] Curtiss, chapter XVI.

[3] Not *mufilfil*, as Kahle says in *PJB* VIII, 172.



(onions), *y. mlûḫîyeh* (garden mallow[1]), *y. bêḍindjân* (egg-plant), etc. are the most important dishes. By *yaḫneh* cooked vegetables with meat and *samneh* is understood. Every day two public meals, dinner and supper, are prepared. When the food is ready the visitors come

1 Corchorus olitorius (Hava).

and take their share. Generally they unite in small groups and a representative of each group receives the food. Bread is also distributed. It is a densely crowded mass that awaits the time of distribution. Every one carries a vessel and tries to be one of the first, pushing, elbowing and shouting. Many visitors who prefer to cook themselves receive their share as *ḥardj nâšif*, i. e., raw meat and uncooked rice. Well-known families cooking their own food may receive the cooking vessels from the *maṭbaḫ*, while others must give surety (*rahn*).

The animals, mostly sheep, are killed in a special place, outside the sanctuary, on the way to the carriage road. Even a person who has vowed a *ḏbîḥah* for Nebî Mûsâ generally kills it in this place. In doing so a special formula is used, namely: *minnak u ilêk adjr u ṯawâb la-seiydnâ Mûsâ*, "From Thee and to Thee (O God) may it be counted as recompence and reward for our lord Moses." Very often the following sentence is added: *itqabbal niḏrak yâ Kalîm Allâh*, "Accept your vow, O Interlocutor of God." The meat is either distributed to those present, at the time of slaughtering, or it is sent to one of the two kitchens of the sanctuary, to be cooked with the other food and then distributed to the *zuwâr*. The offerer always keeps a good portion out for himself and his friends. The enormous expenses of these seven days are met with by the income of the Prophet's *waqf*.

The rooms, courtyard and a great area surrounding the building are crowded with visitors. It is a very picturesque, interesting and instructive sight to observe the different faces, costumes, manners, games and other characteristics of this mass. Peasants, half-Bedouin and Bedouin mix with people of Jerusalem, Nâblus and Hebron. A close student of the country easily distinguishes one type from the other. With the exception of the city women, who keep the rooms most of the time or stand on the open veranda of the second story, all female visitors take part in the activities of the men, with whom they mix continually. All are dressed in their best clothes, which exhibit every colour of the rainbow. The number of the pilgrims is at times enormous, and it reaches its climax on Monday and Tuesday. After this time many begin to leave. During all this time, excepting the first day (when nobody goes home) and the last day (when nobody comes any more to the sanctuary) there is a constant going and

coming. The statement of Curtiss that 15000 attend this festival is exaggerated. As soon as Nebî Mûsâ feast is over the place is deserted. Only two guardians remain through the year. At present they are an Indian, appointed by the Ḥusênî family, and Aḥmad Yûnis, appointed by the Yûnis family.[1]

A large part of the visitors lodge in the different rooms. Some families have an inherited right to a room, which is always reserved for them. Foreigners are generally invited by one of the two "servant" families, and every accomodation is arranged for their comfort. Every one of these two families has a saloon, in which the visitors and the pilgrims[2] are welcomed by someone — generally the eldest — of the family. Lemonade, coffee and cigarettes are offered. The salon of the Ḥusênîs overlooks the courtyard and all the activities of the crowd may be seen. Many of the visitors bring tents, which are erected on one of the near-by hills. The Bedouin encamp in their *biût ša'r* (houses of hair = tents). The arrival and departure of this latter group presents a very picturesque sight. The camels are elaborately decorated and carry the women and the children in the *hôdadj*.

An evening walk in the camp is delightful. All tents are lighted, often with candles vowed to be burnt in this place. In one tent we hear the *'ûd* (seven-stringed lute) accompanying a voice, while the rest of the party listens attentively, expressing their approval from time to time by the expression *allâh*.[3] In another we find a group sitting at leisure, telling stories, drinking coffee or smoking the *argîleh*. Many roam over the neighbouring hills.

Of course such a multitude attracts all sorts of tradesmen and entertainers. The courtyard is full on both sides with merchants, who sell sweets, bonbons and dried fruits, handkerchiefs, cloth belts and common stuffs, glassware and gilded bracelets, rings, chains and

[1] It is believed — as in every *weli* — that the Prophet protects his sanctuary against theft. The following story illustrates this belief. A Bedouin once entered the *maqâm* at a time when the guardians were absent to steal the covers of the tomb. As he tried to get out through the same window by which he has easily entered, the bars grew closer together and he was so badly squeezed that he died soon afterwards. The same night the Prophet appeared to Mûsâ Yûnis in Jerusalem and told him thrice: Mûsâ, go and remove the corpse from my sanctuary. Next day Mûsâ, accompanied by some officials, went and found the dead Bedouin.

[2] The pilgrims to Nebî Mûsâ are not called *ḥudjâdj*.

[3] The last *a* is prolonged. It means really "O God, how sweet it is."

beads, earthenware pitchers, jars and pots, booklets, tracts and *ḥidjâbât*, tobacco, match-boxes, candles, and many other things. While many have their merchandise placed on improvized wooden shelves, others spread their goods on a strip of cloth on the ground (*imbassiṭ*, pl. *imbassṭîn*). All day and far into the night they stand tirelessly, each trying to outshout his neighbour in praising his articles. Outside the courtyard herds of sheep are brought for sale. Any one who has to offer a *ḏbîḥah* may buy the animal here. Many bring their offerings with them.

Outside the building there are always coffee-houses, made of rough tentcloth. Low Arabic stools welcome the customers. Coffee, lemonade and *argîleh* may be ordered, and it is not without interest to sit here, especially in the evening, and observe the life and the activities of the crowd, while a phonograph plays monotonous melodies. A shadow theatre (*qaraqôz*) attracts the attention of passers-by and entices them to enter. *Ṣandûq el-ʿadjam* is also much visited, especially by children, peasants and Bedouin. It is an oblong box decorated outside with small bells, mirrors, glass balls, pictures and flowers, and resting on a small chair. In front it has small holes through which the spectators look at a roll of pictures hidden in the center, and turned so that the observer may follow the story, which is recited in a quick monotonous manner by the operator. One may also spend his time playing cards (*šaddeh* or *waraq*) and *ṭâwleh* (tric-trac, backgammon).

Outside in the fields parties come together and spend their time with horse-racing (*sbâq*), *djarîd* (mock fight, with long straight branches, where the best player is the one who throws his stick farthest), etc. The last game may also be played on horse-back. Peasants and citizens try to compete with the Bedouin, but rarely show the skill of the latter, who guide their graceful Arab mares with much ease. In another game the players divide themselves into two parties. A Bedouin of the first party, holding the reins of his mare in one hand, and his rifle in the other, gallops at full speed and tries to overthrow his opponent of the second party, or to cut off his retreat. If he succeeds his opponent is captured, but if he is caught, or only touched by the man of the second party, he must go with him. The rest of the captured man's party try to release him by rushing and touching him.

Nor should we pass over the religious observances of these days. As soon as the *muaḏḏin* calls to prayer most of the people answer the call. It is all the same where they pray: in the *maqâm, djâmi'*, a room, or outside in a tent. From time to time a *ḏikr* is held. A *šêḫ* with a good voice recites part of the Qoran in a melodious chant. All present keep absolutely quiet; no talking, smoking or coffee-drinking is allowed. I once attended such a *ḏikr* at Nebî Mûsâ and found it quite edifying to see how devotionally all listened.

Circumcision is very common in these days and at this holy place, and one may observe daily several such performances. The child is dressed in new silk clothes, and is decorated with golden chains, buttons, etc. to the extent allowed by his father's purse. Of course a blue bead, *ḥidjâb*, *mašḥaṣ*, alum or other amulet are never forgotten, in order that he may be protected against the evil effects of the "eye" (*'ên*), or "soul" (*nafs*). A child is more subject on the occasion of circumcision to the action of these supernatural powers than at other times.[1] The parents, relatives, friends and neighbours present accompany the child in his procession, which begins in a turn around the building. A band or a group of dancers are hired. All sing as loud as they can. The women relatives may show their joy by trilling *zagharît*.[2] The boy, who suspects nothing of the pains to come, enjoys the whole performance hugely. As soon as this party reaches the door leading to the courtyard the boy dismounts and is carried by his father or his nearest male relative. The music plays louder and the singing is more enthusiastic. At the window of the *maqâm* the drums play fortissimo and the shouting increases. Amidst an excited crowd the barber—who is the professional surgeon—performs the small operation with the utmost skill. No local anaesthetic is used, nor are aseptic or antiseptic measures taken, and dozens of children are circumcised with the same knife. For this reason many wounds become septic, and cause much trouble. Ḥadj Aḥmad el-Ḥallâq and his sons enjoy the reputation of great skill in the speciality of circumcision. The cry of the patient during the operation is drowned by the music. The barber receives his fee,

[1] *Aberglaube*, p. 31.

[2] I have never heard the expression "*olooleh*" used by J. Neil on pages 81 and 143 of his *Palestine Life*. *Tahlîl, zaghârît* and *wolwâl* are not identical, as he writes.

which depends upon the ability and generosity of the father of the child and ranges between one *medjîdî* and one pound. It is not called fee (*udjrah*) but *ikrâmîyeh* (sign of honour). Some poor persons are circumcised gratis by the barber as an *adjr* (recompence). Because of such a charitable act he believes that the Prophet will bless him here and in the world to come. After the whole party returns the wound is dressed with dried plants powdered and sometimes mixed with oil taken from the lamps of the *maqâm*. Many believe that the latter alone is best cure. At present the barber sometimes uses a drying antiseptic powder.

Most of the songs repeated during the ceremony of circumcision, as well as during dancing and *sêf u turs* have nothing to do with the Prophet Moses, but are common songs used on any occasion. Many songs which are really in praise of Mohammed are sung during these days. Here I shall give a few songs connected directly with Moses.

1.

yâ zuwâr Mûsâ[1]	O visitors of Moses,
sîrû[2] *bit-tahlîl*[3]	March with exultation.
zurnâ n-nabî Mûsâ[4]	We have visited the Prophet Moses—
ʿuqbâl el-Ḫalîl[5]	May it soon be (granted to visit) Abraham.
yâ zuwâr Mûsâ	O visitors of Moses
zûrû bil-ʿiddeh	Visit (the shrine) with musical instruments.
zurnâ n-nabî Mûsâ	We have visited the Prophet Moses
ʿuqbâl el-ḥadjdjeh	May it soon be (granted to perform the) *ḥadj*.

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[1] Variant of Kahle, *PJB* VIII, p. 169. Dalman, *Pal. Diwan*, gives only three verses of this song (p. 158).

[2] Some use *sîrû* instead of *zûrû*.

[3] Kahle omits the article.

[4] Kahle notes *kalâmak yâ Mûsâ maktûb bil-mandîl*, "your words, O Moses are written (and kept) in the veil." The above text is more used.

[5] Still another variant of this verse is:

Zurnâ n-nabî Mûsâ	We have visited the Prophet Moses
ʿuqbâl el-Ḫalîl	May it soon be granted to visit Abraham.
ušaʿrak yâ Mûsâ	And your hair, O Moses
sâyil ʿal-qandîl	Is flowing over the lamp.

yâ zuwâr Mûsâ	O visitors of Moses,
zûrû bid-daraqeh[1]	Visit with the shields.
u šaʿrak yâ Mûsâ	And your hair, O Moses,
ḥarîr fî waraqah	(is like) silk (wrapped) in paper.
yâ zuwâr .....[2]	O visitors .....,
zûrû bil-ʿalâm	Visit with the flags.
zurnâ	We have .....
u ʿalêh es-salâm	Peace be upon him.
yâ zuwâr	O visitors .....
ṭihtû sâlmîn	You went down peacefully (safely),
yâ zuwâr	O visitors .....-
truddû sâlmîn	May you return in peace (safely).

2.

ʿalâ bîr Zamzam itwaḍḍâ en-nabî[3]	At the well of Zamzam the Prophet washed himself (ritually)
bibrîq fiḍḍah u šamîʿ yinḍawî	With a silver pitcher and lighted candles.
ʿalâ bîr Zamzam itwaḍḍâ er-rasûl[3]	At the well of Zamzam the Apostle washed himself (ritually)
bibrîq fiḍḍah u šamiʿ u baḫûr	With a silver pitcher and candles and incense.
yallî bnabîtak yâ nabî	Through (the power of) your prophecy, O Prophet,
fî djanb bêtak ʿašʿaš el-Muṣṭafâ[3]	The Muṣṭafâ made his nest near your house.
kûnî ḫuwânuh yâ ndjûm es-samâ	Be his brothers (i. e. companions), O stars of heaven!
kûnî hanîyeh yâ ṭarîq en-nabî	Be joyful, O way (leading to the sanctuary) of the Prophet.
zibdeh ṭarîyeh taḥṭ idjrên ez-zuwâr	(Be as soft as) fresh butter under the feet of the visitors!
massîk bil-ḫêr yâ Mûsâ yâ ibn ʿAmrân	Good evening, O Moses, O son of ʿAmrân,

[1] Not *bidereke* as Kahle notes it, but with *el* and *q* (instead of *k*). It means "shield" and not "slowly;" see *Muḥîṭ el-Muḥîṭ* I, 645.

[2] The two next verses are not mentioned by Kahle.

[3] The Prophet Mohammed is meant.

yallî tqûm min manâmak tišbih el-ghuzlân[1]	O thou who dost arise from thy sleep resembling gazelles.[2]

3.

el-ʿurs mâ hû farḥah	The marriage festival is not a (real) joy,
walâ ṭhûr eṣ-ṣubyân	Nor (is that of) the circumcision of boys;
mâ farḥah illâ[3] *ziyâret Mûsâ*[4]	There is no (real) joy except visiting Moses—
ʿalêh eṣ-ṣalâh wis-salâm	Peace and prayer be upon him.[5]
lôlâk yâ Mûsâ mâ djînâ walâ[6] *tʿannênâ*	If it was not you, O Moses, we would not have come and taken this trouble,
walâ dahasnâ el-ḥiṣâ walâ er-ramil bi-idjrênâ[7]	And we would not have treaded the small stones and the sand with our feet.
massîk[8] *bil-ḫêr yâ Mûsâ yâ ibn ʿAmrân*	Good evening, O Moses, O son of ʿAmrân.
yâ sâkin el-Ghôr u blâd Ḥôrân.[9]	Thou who livest in the Jordan valley and in Ḥaurân.[10]

Some short sayings connected with Moses are:

yâ ibn ʿAmrân ḥarrik il-mîzân[11] O son of ʿAmrân move the balance.

ḥalâwit en-nabî[12] *Mûsâ*	*ba-*	The sweets of the Prophet Moses		are a blessing
ṯamar „ „	*ra-*	„ dates „ „ „ „		
lêmûn „ „	*keh*	„ lemons „ „ „ „		

Some beggers shout continually:

anâ illî ʿasîdî el-kalîm	My lord the Interlocutor owes me
kaʿkeh u maʿmûltên	A cake and two almond cakes

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[1] Heard from a woman of Mâlḥâ.

[2] The first part of this song is sung by the pilgrims going to Mecca. I have heard the whole song used by N. Mûsâ visitors.

[3] *Mâ—illâ* is more correct than *walâ* alone, as mentioned by Kahle.

[4] Many substitute for Mûsâ, *en-nabî*, which points to Mohammed.

[5] Kahle, *PJB* VIII, 168.

[6] *Mâ—walâ* is more correct than *walâ* alone.

[7] Many go barefooted to the sanctuary, thinking that such an act brings a greater blessing.

[8] Not *mâsik*, which means "holding," as Kahle has.

[9] I. e., "the one who is found everywhere."

[10] Kahle, VIII, 169.

[11] Kahle, l. c.

[12] These sweets are very popular.

With games, songs and ceremonies the week is passed in the most agreeable way. We may consider it as one of the most important family feasts of the Mohammedans of the Jerusalem district, playing the part here that Nebî Rûbîn, Nebî Ṣâleḥ (Dêr Ghassâneh and also in Ramleh), 'Alî ibn 'Elêm, Ḥasan and Ḥusên take in their respective districts. Men and women, old and young, rich and poor enjoy it and every class finds amusements to satisfy its taste. The student of customs and folklore finds in this feast an excellent opportunity to study the tribal differences, customs, dress, superstitions, etc. I have visited Nebî Mûsâ three times during the *môsam*, spending the night there twice, and visiting the building and surroundings twice outside the festival.

On Thursday (Maundy Thursday) the official return with the banner of the Prophet takes place. Most of the visitors have already left the sanctuary and gone home.[1] As soon as the *siddârî* of the Prophet reaches Râs el-'Amûd the procession begins again. The different banners and *'idad* which had accompanied the banner in its departure from Jerusalem go out to welcome it back. The *bayâriq* and musical bands of the *šiûḥ* el-Qazzâz, 'Aṭif, Abû Mâdjid, Ḥasan, 'Êzarîyeh, and other villages together with the banners of en-Nabî Dâhûd, el-Ḥaram, and *eš-šabâb* of Jerusalem, Nâblus and Hebron are to be seen. As the procession moves toward the city one observes the same number of spectators of all classes and groups as watched it leave the city. Music, dances, *sêf u turs*, singing, etc., form the most important feature of the procession. The banners of Nebî Mûsâ and Nebî Dâhûd are carried back to the places where they are kept the rest of the year.

But the end of this day does not mark the end of Nebî Mûsâ. On Friday the Ḥaram enclosure is crowded with people celebrating *zaffet el-'alêmât*,[2] "the procession of the flags." The banners of the

[1] Many of the visitors commemorate their visit to a shrine by writing some verse or prayer on the wall of the sanctuary. The simple formulas have been described. A complicated one, which I have found in 'Okâšeh, is اودعت في هذا المقام الشريف شهادة ان لا اله الا الله وأشهد ان محمد رسول الله شهادة القاها يوم القيامة أتضرع الى الحق جلّ شأنه بان يغفر لي ويرحمني ويعفو عني ويتوفاني على الايمان بجاه سيدنا محمد صلعم وبجاه سيدنا عُكاشة صاحب رسول الله

[2] Really "small flags."

Ṣaḫrah and those of Mohammed are carried after the midday prayer in a great procession from el-Aqṣâ to es-Ṣaḫrah. The Quṭb family are in charge of this honourable duty. Midway, near el-Kâs, they halt. The olive tree just beside this basin, known as *Zêtûnit en-Nabî*,[1] is believed to become animated at this time, when Mohammed and his *ṣaḥâbeh* visit the mosque area and live in the tree.[2] Under this tree the banners are held and it is believed that the branches bend down to honour them. A representative of the family el-Quṭb ascends the *manbar* (marble pulpit) just above the stairs leading from el-Kâs to the platform of the Mosque of Omar and receives the flags, which he wraps in a silken cloth (*buqdjeh*) and carries back to their resting place in the Ṣaḫrah. The participients in the procession of the flags are wildly enthusiastic, but no dancing or *sêf u turs* take place.

On this and the next day most of the Nebî Mûsâ pilgrims leave Jerusalem. One *'iddeh* after the other leaves the city and goes home. In every case a small procession with the *šêḫ* the banner-bearer, the musicians and some followers is formed. While the *saiyârât* of the villages go home they stop at or even march around every important *welî* whose sanctuary they pass. Every time a *saiyârah* approaches a *welî* the *fâtiḥah* is recited, the band plays, the *bêraq* is lowered in honour of the *welî* and the procession stops. They believe that honour shown to these men of God will be counted to them as an *adjr*.[3]

The shrines of the native village are also visited one by one, while the inhabitants of the village go out to welcome the pilgrims home, and make the day a feast.

While the Nebî Mûsâ feast is the largest *môsam*, there are others of equal rank and still others of less importance. The fact that makes Nebî Mûsâ so important is that several shrines have their *môsam* or *ziyârah* at the same time or a week later. The following list gives some of the more important *mawâsim*:

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[1] The old tree has nearly dried up. Three new ones have been planted around its remains.

[2] Cf. *Aberglaube*, p. 87.

[3] Once the *'iddeh* of Ṣaṭâf passed Dêr Yâsîn, as it was going to Nebî Mûsâ. As it did not pay the usual honours to *eš-šêḫ* Yâsîn, i. e., it did not stop to play the music, nor did the attendants read the *fâtiḥah*, the *welî* obliged them in a miraculous way to go back and to perform this duty.

Name of *welî*	Location	Date of festival
Nabî Ṣâleḥ	Dêr Ghassâneh	*Djum'et el-'Alêmât*
Nabî Ṣâleḥ	Ramleh	Friday next to *Djum'et el-'Alêmât*
Nabî Aiyûb (called Ibriyet Aiyûb)	near ed-Djôrah	Tuesday afternoon and Wednesday of Nebî Mûsâ week
el-Ḥusên	near ed-Djôrah	Wednesday of Nebî Mûsâ feast
en-Nabî 'Annîr	Benî Ḥâriṭ	*Djum'et el-'Alêmât*
'Alî ibn 'Alêm	N. of Jaffa	During the melon season (the feast is called *Môsam el-Ḥaram*)
en-Nabî Rûbîn	Nahr Rûbîn, S. of Jaffa	In the lunar month falling in August-September
en-Nabî Aiyûb	Râs ibn Simḥân	Wednesday of the Nebî Mûsâ feast
en-Nabî Kafl	Between Dêr Ṭârf and Wilhelma	14th of Ša'bân
el-Ḫaḍr	Lydda (known as *'Îd Lidd*)	
el-Ḫaḍr	Haifa (Carmel)	
ez-Zarqâ	Spring between Dêr Ghassâneh and 'Abûd	With *'Îd Lidd*[1]
eš-šêḫ I'mar	Bêt Duqquh	Djum'et el-'Alêmât
Ibrâhîm el-Ḫauwâs	Dêr Ghassâneh	Ḫamîs eṭ-Ṭal'ah[2]
el-Ḫaḍrâ	Nâblus	'Ašûrah

During the festival of Nebî Rûbîn the people gather in great numbers at the river which bears this name. The festival extends over one month, beginning with the new moon of August. During the full

[1] Some Christian saints have also a *môsam*. *Mâr* Djirius and *mâr* Eliâs enjoy only one day, while in the case of St. Mary several days are spent in amusement.

[2] In this day the animals are dyed.

moon nights the place is most popular. The number of visitors to en-Nabî Rûbîl[1] exceeds that of en-Nabî Mûsâ. More coffee-houses and shops are erected. The plain around, especially that to the N. W. of the sanctuary, is full of tents. The pilgrims come principally from Jaffa, Lydda, Ramleh and the surrounding villages. It is a picturesque sight to see a small caravan of camels carrying a whole family with the necessary household equipment for spending several days or a few weeks at this place. The sanctuary itself is a small building composed of the shrine proper with the tomb (1,75 m. long by 1 m. broad), a small room east of it and a *ruwâq* with three arches open to the north, with a *miḥrâb*. A minaret is connected with it. The whole complex is surrounded by a wall, which encloses a few trees.

Nebî Rûbîn and 'Alî ibn 'Alêm are the summer feasts of the inhabitants of the plain — so much so that it is related that the Jaffa Mohammedan women say to their husbands: *yâ bitrobinnî yâ bittalliqnî*, "Either you take me to Rûbîn or you divorce me," or *yâ bitrobinnî yâ babrîlk*, "Either you take me to Rûbîn or I give you your freedom (divorce you)."

Many local feasts are connected with smaller shrines. On Friday the last day of the Nebî Mûsâ feast (*dj. el-'Alêmât*) most of the important shrines of the villages are visited by the inhabitants. The afternoon is spent in the fields around the sanctuaries and many unpaid vows are fulfilled.

In some districts, like Nâblus, most of the great saints, especially el-Ḫaḍrâ, are visited in Lêlat 'Ašûrah and on the next afternoon, while the *zyârah* of the less important shrines is performed on Saturday. This last is true of:

eš-šêḫ Moḥammad	es-Sabtî	all situated in the eastern cemetery
„ „	es-Safârînî	
„ „	el-Baqqânî	
„ „	el-'Aqrabânî	
„ „	el-Buḫârî	

[1] Both *Rûbîn* and *Rûbîl* are pronounced. On the tomb there is a writing which reads: باسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
وروبيل نبي الله
On many shops we may find the following sentence heading the announcement:
مخصوص لزوار النبي روبين

Another custom prevailing in Palestine among the Mohammedans may be described in this connection. I have no doubt that it is found wherever Moslems live. It is of importance for two reasons: 1. it is a popular feast of the women; 2. it shows the relation of the living to the dead. Even the Mohammedan books of theology advise one to visit the dead. According to *Râqî el-Falâḥ*[1] the dead are aware of these visits, especially on a Thursday, and the days preceding and succeeding it. Every Thursday afternoon the relatives of the dead, especially of those who have died during the year, go to the cemetery, sit around the grave and read some parts of the Qorân. But of all Thursdays, Ḫamîs el-Amwât, "the Thursday of the Dead" (also known as *dj. el-Amwât*), is the most important. It lies fourteen days before Good Friday of the Eastern Church. On this Thursday some take with them dyed eggs, sweets, cakes and even cooked food and meat. The peasants prefer taking dried raisins and figs. The greater part is distributed to the poor, as an *adjr* (recompence). That is, just as help is given to the needy in the name of the deceased, God will reckon such an act in his favour. In some villages the women go before sunrise to the cemetery, believing that a visit after this time is not so good. Soon after sunrise they come home. The children of the peasants go on Thursday afternoon to the houses of their neighbours and beg *a'ṭûnî bêḍah 'an rûḥ amwâtkum*, "give me an egg for the (sake) of the soul of your dead." Those in the house give an egg, dried figs, raisins or a piece of bread. The children express their thanks with the words: *allâh yirḥamhum*, "God be merciful unto them." This day therefore bears also the name Ḫamîs el-Bêḍ (Thursday of Eggs).

Ḫamîs el-Amwât is a feast day of the women. The visiting of the dead is in most cases very superficial, and the time is actually spent in good company out in the fresh air. No men mix with the women, except in Hebron, where the young unmarried and betrothed girls go to the cemetery of eš-Šuhadâ and dance. Unmarried men are allowed to look on from a respectful distance.

8. PROCESSIONS

The word "processions" is not used here in the sense of pilgrimages to a *welî*, as already described above, but only *ṭwâf* performed in

[1] Aḥmad et-Taḥtâwî, p. 608.

or around a holy place and only on special occasions. Apparently there are only two types belonging under this heading, circumcision and rain processions.

I. Circumcision Processions

I have above described the custom of taking the child to be circumcised around the whole building of Nebî Mûsâ. The same thing is done in most villages. Thus the people of 'Anâtâ take the child out to the sanctuary of 'Abd es-Salâm. All friends and relatives, of both sexes, accompany the child, who is dressed in his best clothes. He sits either alone, or in front of his father on a beautifully decorated horse. The *šabâb* join in singing, dancing and playing *sêf u tars*, while the local band of music plays. The child is always adorned on this occasion with several amulets, which are supposed to protect him from the evil eye. The procession advances very slowly. After going around the *maqâm* of *eš-šêḫ* 'Abd es-Salâm where all recite the *fatiḥâh*, the whole crowd goes back to *eš-šêḫ* Ṣâleḥ. The small operation is performed in the courtyard of the *maqâm*. The procession is not called *ṭwâf* but *zaffet eṭ-ṭhûr*. *Ṭwâf* is the name given to the procession around the *maqâm*.

Such processions are found in most villages, but they do not necessarily accompany every circumcision. The most important *welî* is chosen. It is believed that the saint will look favourably at this act and will certainly bless the child. We have seen elsewhere that many mothers vow to have their children circumcised in a special *maqâm*. In such cases a *zaffeh* also takes place. Sometimes the bridegroom must visit the *awliâ* of his village.[1] Such a visit is also accompanied with most of the ceremonies just described.

A procession may also be made in the case of the death of a person who is the descendent of a family of *šiûḫ*, who are connected with a *welî*. If the dead person lived in another village than that in which the principal *šêḫ* of his family lives, this procession will

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[1] In Bêt Djâlâ we hear the following verse, which points to the custom of taking the bridegroom to a shrine:

yâ mâr Djirius wiḥnâ el-yôm zuwârak
djînâ inzaiyn el-'ursân f'î maqâmak.

O St. George, we are today your visitors,
and have come to shave (and thus to beautify) the bridegrooms in your shrine.

take place. It is a quiet one. The company, headed by the *šêḫ*, moves slowly to the village of the defunct. They are preceded by a person who announces their coming, who carries a *bâzeh* (a small drum) on which he plays all the way, abstaining completely from conversation. As soon as he reaches the house of the dead person all those assembled stand up and say *lâ ilâh illâ allâh*. Some go at once to meet the procession, whose *'iddeh* plays the same tune all the way. Such a procession is never called *zaffeh*.

II. Rain processions

Processions of this category[1] are practiced everywhere in Palestine, by Mohammedans, Christians and Jews, each in his own way. Only those of the Moslems interest us here, and the customs of the Christians will only be mentioned to complete the study, as well as for the sake of comparision.

The success of the whole year's work of the peasant, his entire agricultural life, even his existence depend upon the amount of rain which falls during the winter months. The *fellâḥ* studies the clouds and the signs of the sky; he examines the direction from which the wind comes, in order to be able to foretell the rain. His observations have led him to fix many weather rules. But when heaven holds back its blessing, he tries to get the help of the saints to intercede for him with God, for he believes that men's transgressions have caused the wrath of the Almighty:

min qillit hidânâ ṣâr ṣêfnâ šitânâ,[2]

"From the lack of our true religion, our summer has become our winter."

Old and young gather in a procession which marches around the village,[3] comes to the *welî* regarded as most important, and goes around it. They enter the *maqâm*—in some cases stand only at the door—recite the *fâtiḥah*, and sometimes even ascend to the roof of

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[1] Canaan, *ZDPV* XXXVI, 266—300; Bauer, *ZDPV* XXXVIII, 54—57; Bauer, *Volksleben im Lande der Bibel*, pp. 112—118, with weather rules taken from *Blätter aus Bethlehem*; Canaan, *JPOS* III, 21—35.

[2] Cf. *ZDPV* XXXVI. This means that the seasons have changed and have thus caused an upheaval in all our work and life.

[3] Heard from Abû Dîs, Sûrbâhir and Nebî Ṣamwîl.

the sanctuary[1] to be nearer to God. They raise their hands to heaven and pray for rain. Imm el-Ghêṯ, "the Mother of Rain,"[2] which may be carried all through this procession, is a large, primitively made doll.[3] Two pieces of wood are fastened to each other in the form of a cross and are dressed in female attire. It seems to me that originally this expression[4] referred to the Virgin Mary, but at present it is used vaguely.[5] The procession ends in front of the head of the village (*šêḫ el-balad*). The women carry one or more *gharâbîl* (pl. of *ghurbâl*, "grain sieve"), *manâḫîl* (pl. of *munḫul*,[6] "flour sieve") and a *ṯâḥûneh*[7] (hand mill) all the way. These are the most important utensils for preparing bread. All are carried empty to show how poor they are, since they do not even possess the most vital necessities of life.

The statement of Curtiss[8] that Imm el-Ghêṯ[9] is sometimes called *'arûs allâh*, "the bride of God," has been already shown by Jaussen[10] to be groundless. Nor have I ever heard this expression, either from the peasants or from the Bedouin. I am also unable to verify the expression mentioned by Jaussen, *nuṣṣ 'arûs*, "half bride," which he heard in the Negeb. This custom of carrying a large doll in rain processions is commoner among the Bedouin of Transjordania than among the inhabitants of Palestine Proper. The former dress the wooden framework with better clothes and more ornaments than the peasants of this side of the Jordan. Christians as well as Mohammedans use the expression, although they have no clear idea about its meaning.

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[1] Heard from S'ûd Abû Sa'îd from Abû Dîs.

[2] Kahle, *PJB* VIII, 164.

[3] This custom is more common among the Bedouin than among the peasants.

[4] The hooded crow (corvus cornix) is also called in Arabic Umm el-Ghêṯ (also Zâgh), cf. A. Gustavs, *PJB* VIII, 88. But this expression has apparently nothing to do with Imm el-Ghêṯ.

[5] No peasant could tell me exactly who is meant by Umm (Imm) el-Ghêṯ.

[6] Not *môḫul* with Kahle, *PJB* VIII, 162.

[7] Not *ṯhûneh* with Kahle.

[8] Curtiss, l. c., chapter XI.

[9] In Morocco they carry a well decorated doll through the fields and in a great procession. They think that such an act will give them a good harvest; see Goldziher, *Material zur Kenntnis der Almohadenbewegung*, *ZDMG* 1887, 42.

[10] Jaussen, p. 328.

During all these processions they sing one of the following songs:[1]

el-ghêṯ yâ rabbî *isqî zar'ak el-gharbî*[2]
el-ghêṯ yâ raḥmân *isqî zar'ak el-'aṯšân*
yâ rabbî bill eš-šâleh *'abîdak fuqarâ u kaiyâleh*
yâ rabbî bill eš-šaršûḥ[3] *iḥnâ 'abîdak wên inrûḥ*
yâ rabbî bill eš-šambar[4] *ḥâdj et-tudjdjâr titqambar*
yâ rabbî šû hal-ghêḍah *dju'nâ u akalnâ el-ḥummêḍah*
yâ rabbî itbill il-mandîl *iḥnâ fuqarâ wên inšîl*

(Send) the rain, O Lord, and water Thy western grain!
(Send) the rain, O Merciful One, and water Thy thirsty grain!
O Lord, wet the mantle, Thy servants are poor and grain-measures (obliged to measure their grain)!
O Lord, wet the rags (with which so many are dressed because of poverty), we are Thy servants wherever wo go!
O Lord, wet the head-cloak, put an end to the strutting of the merchants!
O Lord, what is this (Thy) anger, we hunger and eat the woodsorrel!
O Lord, wet the veil, we are poor, where shall we go!

In Bêt Djâlâ I heard:

yâ rabbî lêš hal-ghêbeh *akalnâ 'urûq el-ḥullêbeh*
yâ rabbî bill eš-šammûṯ *iḥnâ 'abîdak biddnâ nmût*
yâ rabbî tbill el-qaṣr *willâ bnirḥal 'a-Maṣr*[5]
yâ rabbî el-maṭar wis-sêl *ta-nisqî el-baqar wil-ḥêl*

O Lord, why this Thy absence, we have eaten the roots of the spurge!
O Lord, wet the spadix (of the plants), we Thy servants, are on the verge of dying!

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[1] Most of these verses have been given in *ZDPV* XXXVI, 290, 291, while two lines were noted also by Kahle, *PJB*, l. c. The verses given here may be sung separately or together.

[2] A variation of this is found in Dalman, *Palest. Diwan*, p. 56.

[3] Neither *šarmûḥ* (Kahle) nor *šaršûḥ* are known to the lexicographer. A variant of the second line is: *iḥnâ fuqarâ wên inrûḥ*, "we are poor; where shall we go?"

[4] *Šambar* (also *šanbar*, not *šumbar* as noted by Fr. Ulmer, *Südpaläst. Kopfbedeckung*, *ZDPV* XLI, 113, 114) is a black head-dress with long tassels hanging down from the two sides. It is worn by peasant women in festivals.

[5] So also the sons of Jacob, had to go to Egypt for the same reason.

O Lord, wet the hut,[1] or we shall (be obliged to) go to Egypt!
O Lord, (we ask for) the rain and the stream to give our horses and cows to drink![2]

The following verse is put in the mouth of the shepherd:

imbû imbû yâ rabbî
ḫubzî qaḥmaš fî ʿubbî
imbû imbû yâ samâ
ḫubzî qaḥmaš ʿar-ramâ
imbû imbû anâ ẓâmî
irḥamnî anâ u ḥalâlî.

Water, water, O Lord,
My bread has dried in my bosom!
Water, water, O heaven,
My bread has dried upon the (garden) walls!
Water, water, I am thirsty
Have mercy upon me and my cattle!

In Nebî Ṣamwîl they sing, along with parts of the above, also the following:

yâ rabbî lêš hal-kanneh wakalnâ ʿurûq el-kirsenneh
yâ rabbî lêš u lêš wakalnâ ʿurûq el-ḫurfêš
yâ rabbî mâ hû minnâ kulluh min mašâyḫnâ
naššaft el-qaṭr ʿannâ

O Lord, why this calmness (indifference) while we have eaten the roots of chick-peas!
O Lord, why, why—and we have eaten the roots of thistles!
O Lord, it is not due to our faults; all is the fault of our elders,
Thou hast dried (withheld) the rain from us!

A variant from Bêt Iksâ is:

yâ ṛabbî lêš hal-qaʿdeh wakalnâ ʿurûq ed-djaʿdeh
yâ rabbî yâ rabb en-nâs tisqî zarʿnâ el-yabbâs
yâ rabbî tbill ez-zardeh wiḥnâ wridnâ ʿa Yardeh.

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[1] *Qaṣr* means "castle" or "palace." Here it stands for the summer lodges of the peasants, built in the vineyards and made of rough stones and brush-wood.

[2] Other verses may be found in Dalman, *Palest. Diwan*, p. 56—58. Baldensperger gives two verses in his book, *The Immovable East*, p. 256. The transcription is so faulty that the fourth line of the first verse in unintelligible.

O Lord, why this neglect, while we have eaten the roots of the lupine!
O Lord, O Lord of men, water our drying crops!
O Lord, wet the thorny bush, and we have gone to drink from (Ên) Yerdeh!

Other verses are:

yâ rabbî lêš haṭ-ṭûleh *wakalnâ ṭḥûnet inḥûleh*

O our Lord, why this delay and we have eaten dough of bran!

zûleh ʿannâ yâ šôbeh *ḥaraqtnâ haš-šôbeh*

Go away from us, O heat—this heat has burnt us.

yâ rabbî yâ ʿauwâd(î) *akalnâ ṣarâr el-wâdî*
yâ rabbî yâ ghaiyûr(î) *akalnâ ṣarâr el-bûrî*
wil-bêt mâ fîhâ walâ ṭaḥneh walâ qirš maṣrûr(î)

O my Lord, O Accustomer (Thou who hast accustomed us to Thy gifts), we have eaten the pebbles of the stream-bed!
O my Lord, O Zealous One, we have eaten the pebbles of the uncultivated land!
And the house does not contain even a mess of flour or a wrapped-up piaster.

From the Bedouin of the ʿIdwân I heard the two following verses:

ḥuṭṭ el-qamḥ bidj-djarrah yâ allâh ḥanntak yâ allâh
ḥuṭṭ el-moiyeh bil-ibrîq yâ allâh yâ blûl ir-rîq

Put the corn in the jug, O God, (show) Thy mercy, O God!
Put the water in the pitcher, O God (we beg Thee for) the wetting of the spittle.

The following verses are intended to show the bad results of the lack of rain on health, especially that of children and women:

imbû imbû yâ qâdir *min el-ʿaṭaš mânî qâdir*
imbû imbû yâ raḥîm *inšifna bzâz el-ḥarîm*
imbû imbû yâ ghaiyûr *inšifnâ djuwâ ed-dûr*
imbû imbû yâ Qaṭrâwy min el-ʿaṭaš djîtak ẓâmî

Water, water, O Almighty, I am weak with thirst!
Water, water, O Merciful One, the breasts of the women have dried up!
Water, water, O Zealous One, we are dry within the houses!
Water, water, O Qaṭrâwy, I am coming to you driven by thirst!

Another is:

yâ rabbî el-ghêṯ yâ raḥîm tirḥam kull el-ḥarîm
waṭ-ṭifâl el-murḍi'ât yâ rabbî nišif en-nabât[1]

O Lord, (send) the rain, O Merciful One, have pity on all women! And suckling babes, O Lord, (for) the plants have dried up.

The children often gather alone, and march through the streets, going around one or more *awliâ*, reciting continually and monotonously a few lines of a song in which God is asked to pity their condition. The old people of the village are accused of having done wrong, but not the children. They take off their head-dress as a sign of humiliation. Generally a great noise is made by beating with sticks on empty petrol tins. Songs used by children at these occasions are:[2]

yâ rabbî mâ twâḫiḏnâ kulluh min mašâyḫnâ
mašâyḫnâ hal-(i)kbâr yâ rabbî ṭiḫriqhum bin-nâr.

O Lord, do not blame us, all (evil) is from our elders;
Our elders, our old ones—O Lord, burn them in hell-fire.

yâ rabbî yâ rabbunâ tib'at[3] *šitâ lazar'unâ*
hunn(i) kbâr il-aḏnabû[4] *iḫnâ eṣ-ṣighâr šû ḏanbunâ.*

O my Lord, O our Lord, send Thou rain for our crops,
It is the old people who have sinned: we young people—what is our sin?

min ẓulm mašâyḫnâ nišif mâ' yanâbi'nâ

For the injustice of our elders, the water of our springs has dried up.

min ẓulum kull eš-šiûḫ ḏjismî min eš-šams maṭbûḫ.

For the injustice of all the elders, my body is baked by the sun.

yâ rabbî yâ ghaiyûr(i) inšifnâ nšâf el-bûrî
lâ twâḫiḏnâ bil-(i)kbâr(i) walâ (i)bšâhdîni iz-zûri

O Lord, send the rain, O Zealous One; we have become as dry as uncultivated land!
Do not blame us for the (sins of the) old ones, neither for the bearers of false witness!

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[1] This verse and the one mentioned before are used in 'Aṭârah.

[2] Cf. Jer. 14 13.

[3] Not *tib'a*, as Kahle offers.

[4] Abbreviated from *illî aḏnabû*.

šorabbanna šorabbanna *mâ binrûḥ illâ ib-balleh*
haiyâ yâ rabb el-ʿibâd *haiyâ sitrak lil-adjwâd*
lâ twâḫiḏnâ biẓ-ẓullâm *wiḥnâ fuqarâ mâ bninlâm.*

What! O Lord, what! O Lord,[1] we shall not go without a wetting! Give, O Lord of men, give Thy concealment[2] for the generous men! Do not blame us for (the acts of) the unjust, since we are poor and can not be blamed!

yâ rabbî ḥaraqnâ eš-šôb *ramênâ el-ghaṭâ wiṭ-ṭôb*
lâ twâḫiḏnâ bil-muḫṭâr *ʿan afʿâluh mâ bitûb.*[3]

O my Lord, the heat has burned us; we have thrown away the cover and the garment.
Do not blame us for (the faults of) the headman of the village; he will not repent from his evil doings.

yâ rabbunâ yâ rabbunâ *iḥnâ eṣ-ṣighâr šû ḏanbunâ*
ṭalabnâ ḫubzeh[4] *min ummînâ ḍarabatnâ ʿa-ṭummînâ*

O our Lord, O our Lord, we young people—what is our sin? We asked a piece of bread from our mother—she struck us on our mouth.

At times even specific families are accused of being the cause of God's anger:

yâ rabbî tbill el-ghurbâl *kulluh min ʿAbd ed-Djabbâr*[5]

O my Lord, wet the sieve; all (the mischief) is from ʿAbd ...

yâ rabbî tbill il-ḥnâbeh *kulluh min Abû Ḥabâbeh*

O my Lord, wet the wooden plate; all (the mischief) is from Abû ...

yâ rabbî tbill eš-šâleh *kulluh min eš-šêḫ Ṣḥâdeh*[6]

O my Lord, wet the cloak; all (the mischief) is from eš-šêḫ Ṣ ...

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[1] The expression *šorabbanna* may be a contraction from *šu hadâ yâ rabbnâ.*

[2] That is, concealment of the poverty of those who have been very generous up to now, but who can not help any more, since they have nothing of their own.

[3] All these five verses come from ʿAṭârah.

[4] I heard also *fatteh*, "a piece of bread."

[5] A family in Nebî Ṣamwîl, where I heard the song. The name Ḥasan Ḥamdân is used by some instead of ʿAbd ed-Djabbâr.

[6] Another verse is:
yâ rabbî tbill el-kondêl
kulluh min ahl Ṣamwêl
O my Lord, wet the calycotome villosa;
All (the mischief) comes from the inhabitants of Nebî Ṣamwîl.

I shall describe now more fully a rain procession in 'Ên Kârim. An old woman mounted on a donkey held a cock[1] in her hands. A great procession of men, women and children followed. Some women carried empty jars on their head, as a sign of lack of water, others ground a small hand-mill, in which no grain was put. Still others carried grain and flour mills, to denote, as already mentioned, poverty and misery. The whole crowd shouts rather than sings a "rain song." During the whole procession the old woman squeezed the cock from time to time, thus forcing the poor animal to crow or squawk. In this way they think that the animals join in their request and implore the Almighty God for help. The cock is chosen because he is considered as a *muaḏḏin*. The procession went to the *maqâm* of Ḥadj 'Abêd and then to the house of the headman of the village. As soon as they reached this place one could hear them begging:

billùnâ yâ dâr eš-šêḫ *yâ rabbî ta'ṭînâ el-ghêṭ*
yâ (I)mm el-Ghêṭ ghiṭṭînâ *ubillî bšêt râ'înâ*
urâ'înâ Faradjallah *byuṭlub min 'indak yâ allah*

Wet us, O house of the *šêḫ*, O my Lord, give us the rain!
O Imm el-Ghêṭ, help us and wet the mantle of our shepherd.
Our shepherd is Faradjallah: he begs of Thee, O God (the rain).

The *muḫtâr* came out, sprinkled the crowd, saying: *allah yisqîkû min raḥmit rabbkum*, "May God give you water from the bounty of your Lord!" The sprinkling with water is a symbol of the rain (rain charm). After this the crowd dispersed.

The Palestinian believes that God sends drought as a punishment to chastise human beings for their continuous transgression, but He will not in His mercy punish the poor dumb animals. In the same way little children are guiltless and thus are not the object of the Divine wrath. For this reason a hen, a cock, or both are carried in the procession, and little children are sent by themselves, as noted above. In their rain songs the peasants very often allude to this:

yâ rabbî ršâšeh ršâšeh *ta-nisqî hadj-djḥâšeh*[2]

O Lord, give us a sprinkling rain, a sprinkling rain, that we may water these young donkeys!

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[1] Kahle has seen a black hen and a white cock. I heard that sometimes several hens and cocks are carried in the procession.

[2] Heard in Nebî Ṣamwîl.

yâ rabbî nuqṭah nuqṭah ta-nišqî hal-quṭṭah!
O Lord, give us a drop (of rain), a drop (of rain), that we may water this cat!

yâ rabbî el-maṭar wis-sêl tanisqî el-baqar wil-ḫêl[1]
O Lord, give us rain and a running stream, that we may water the cows and the horses!

The following, mentioned by Kahle,[2] is another:

šû biddak yâ qâqî[3] *el-lêl*
biddî maṭar biddî sêl
biddî fatteh lal-yatâmâ.

What do you want, O crower of the night?
"I want rain, I want stream,
I want a piece of bread for the orphans."

A variant is:

dîknâ byiż'aq ṭûl el-lêl
biddû maṭar biddû sêl
biddû raḥmeh min rabbuh

Our cock crows all the night through,
He wants rain and a stream,
He wants mercy of his Lord.

There are some shrines which are more efficacious in giving this blessing than others, especially the following (among the Moslems): *es-sitt* el-Badrîyeh, *eš-šêḫ* Ghêṭ, *eš-šêḫ* Maṭar, *eš-šêḫ* Lêmûn,[4] *eš-šêḫ* el-Qaṭrawânî, etc. It is believed that these holy men or women are most powerful and will hear prayer most quickly, being able to influence the Almighty in a special way. But it must be emphazised that every *welî* may help if asked. A man of Abû Dîs assured me that a procession which went around the *djâmi'* of Ṣalâḥ ed-Dîn was answered the next day by a heavy rain, which filled all the cisterns. The people waited until two months of the winter were

[1] Known nearly everywhere.

[2] *PJB loc. cit.* The last two lines do not properly belong here, but come under the general heading of rain songs. They have been given elsewhere.

[3] *Qâqa* is really used fot the cackle of the hen (*qâqat ed-djâdjeh*, "the hen cackles"), *biṣîḥ* means "the (cock) crows;" *qâqî el-lêl* is, however, known as a name of the cock.

[4] Kahle, *PJB* VIII.

gone, after which they decided to make the procession, whereupon abundant rain fell. In some villages the people go from one *welî* to another, hoping that if one cannot or will not help, the other will answer the prayers.[1]

Among the rain songs in which a special *welî* is called upon for help are the following:

yâ sittî yâ Badrîyeh isqî zarʿ el-barrîyeh[2]
O my Lady, O Badrîyeh, water the grain in the fields.[3]

yâ rabbî tisqînâ el-maṭar ib-barket eš-šêḫ Maṭar[4]
O Lord, give us rain to drink, for the sake (blessing) of my master, *šêḫ* Maṭar.

yâ rabbî tisqînâ el-ghêṯ ib-barkat sîdî eš-šêḫ Ghêṯ[4]
O my Lord, give us rain to drink for the sake (blessing) of my master *eš-šêḫ* Ghêṯ.

yâ (I)mm el-Ghêṯ[5] *ghîtînâ billî bšêt*[6] *râʿînâ*
râʿînâ Ḥasan el-Aqraʿ ṭûl el-lêl u-hû yizraʿ
yizraʿ fî qamiḥ qaṣrî ta-nmallî ḫawâbînâ

O Mother of Rain, help us and wet the mantle of our shepherd,
Our shepherd is Ḥasan el-Aqraʿ,[7] who has been sowing all the night
Sowing *qaṣrî*[8] grain to fill[9] our granary.[10] [through,

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[1] Heard from Bêt Djibrîn.

[2] Canaan, *ZDPV* XXXVI, 292.

[3] *Barrîyeh* means "wilderness, desert." The Palestinians use it often in the sense of "fields," as here.

[4] The words *maṭar* and *ghêṯ* mean "rain." and from them the names of the saints are taken.

[5] The *imâm* of ʿAṭârah said that there is also an Abû el-Ghêṯ, the "Father of Rain," a statement which I have been unable to verify in other places.

[6] *Bšêt*, dim. of *bišt*, is a long, wide woollen mantle.

[7] *El-aqraʿ* means "bald-headed."

[8] A specially good variety of wheat, not mentioned in my article in *ZDMG* LXX (1916), 166.

[9] The *ḫâbiyeh* is made of sun-dried clay. Nearly every village house has such a granary, made by the women.

[10] A variation to this verse was mentioned in *ZDPV* XXXVI, 292. When the prayers are answered and rain falls down, they say:
"The Mother of Rain went to bring thunder; scarcely had she come back—the corn was as high as a camel,
The Mother of Rain went to bring rain; scarcely had she come back—the corn was as high as the trees."

yâ (I)mm el-Ghêṯ ghiṯînâ qaṭṭa'nâ lawâṭînâ[1]

O Mother of Rain, help us; we have cut off the coins on our head-dress.

From the 'Idwân Bedouin I heard:

yâmm el-Ghêṯ yâ ṭaq'ah[2] *qatalnâ l-bard wis-saq'ah*[3]

O Mother of Rain, O—, cold has killed us.

Jaussen[4] mentions a song about Imm el-Ghêṯ which is a variant to the combination of two verses, cited above.[5]

yâ djâmi'nâ nistardjîk rušq el-maṭar yudḫul fîk

O our mosque, we implore thee, may a flood of rain enter thee!

yâ šêḫ (nabî or mâr) . . . rušq el-maṭar yudḫul fîk[1]

O *šêḫ (nebî* or *mâr)* . . . we implore thee, may a flood of rain enter thee!

yâ sîdî anâ nâḫîk
rušq el-maṭar yu'bur fîk
lêlit ed-djum'ah la-aḍwîk

O my Lord, I extol Thee!
May a flood of rain enter Thee!
(Then) I shall indeed light Thy *maqâm* Friday night!

yâ nabî Ṣamwîl tisqînâ yâ rabb es-samâ tisqînâ

O Prophet Samuel, give us to drink; O Lord of Heaven, give us to drink!

---

[1] The more elegant sort of this decoration is called *ṣaffeh.*

[2] I have not secured any explanation for *ṭaq'ah.* It may point to the pealing of the thunder.

[3] *Bard* and *saq'ah* are synonyms

[4] *Coutumes,* pp. 326, 327.

[5] The translation of Jaussen in the first verse should be changed. *Yâ Imm el-Ghêṯ yâ dâiym,* "O Mother of Rain, O Immortal (appellation of God, and not of Imm el-Ghêṯ)." The verb *billî* goes back to Imm el-Ghêṯ.

[6] I heard: *yâ šêḫ* 'Abdallah
yâ nabî Ṣamwîl
yâ nabî Lêmûn
yâ Mâr Eliâs
yâ Mâr Mûsâ

To the last expression my attention was drawn by Mr. S. H. Stephan. Any other *weli* may be invoked.—The second line of the verse given by Kahle, *PJB* VIII 165, is not *mitwaṣṣlîn bir-rabbe dînak,* but *mitwasslîn* (with *s* and not *ṣ*) *birabb(e) dînak,* i. e., "We entreat the Lord of your religion."

yâ rabbî tbill el-kondêl wiḥnâ wridnâ 'a Ṣamwêl

O y Lord, wet the calycotome villosa, for we have come to Samuel to ask (his mediation) for water![1]

In 'Aṭarah and the surrounding villages they sing:

yâ rabbî el-ghêṭ samâwî ib-djâh eš-šêḫ el-Qaṭrâwî
ib-djâh eš-šêḫ Abû l-'Ênên yâ rabbî nišfat el-'ên
yâ rabbî tbill eš-šûšeh karâmeh l-Abû Šûšeh
yâ rabbî el-ghêṭ dqîqah ib-djâh en-nabî u ṣadîqah
ib-djâhuh tirḥam el-(a)wlâd bil-maṭar 'imm el-blâd
yâ rabbî el-ghêṭ yâ djauwâd nuṭlub minnak djarret wâd
ib-djâh eš-šêḫ el-Qaṭrâwî yâ rabbî wâd Silwâd

O Lord (send) the heavenly rain (I beg Thee), by the high rank (and influence) of el-Qaṭrâwî.

By the high rank of eš-šêḫ Abû l-'Ênên, O Lord the fountain has dried up.

O Lord, wet the lock of the scalp, in honour of Abû Šûšeh!

O Lord, (send) the rain one minute, by the rank of the Prophet and his friend!

By his rank (I beg Thee) to have mercy upon the children and cover the land with rain!

O Lord, (we beg for) the rain; O Generous One, we ask Thee for a flowing stream-bed!

In respect of *eš-šêḫ* el-Qaṭrâwî O my Lord, the valley of Silwâd!

The Christians call on *mâr* Inqûlâ (St. Nicholas) and *mâr* Eliâs. In Bêt Djâlâ I heard the following song:[2]

mâr Inqûlâ djînâ lêk
šuḫb el-maṭar dâḫil lêk
iḥnâ el-yôm 'abîdak
muftâḥ es-samâ fî îdak
haiy imbû yâ haiy imbû

---

[1] The exact wording of the translation is correctly given by Kahle, *PJB* VIII, 103, but the intention of the verse is not to go to the village and bring water from it, but to ask the Prophet for help. I heard this verse from a woman of Nebî Ṣamwîl, so the translation of Kahle would hardly fit the case.

[2] Given in part in my paper, *Der Kalender*, *loc. cit.*

ḥuṭṭ el-fûl fidj-djarrah
wistannû raḥmit allah.
mâr Inqûlâ yâ djârnâ
yâ ḥabîb zghârnâ wikbârnâ
titšaffa' la-ilâhnâ
umṭur yâ rabb 'alâ blâdnâ
yâ rabbunâ yâ rabbunâ
tumṭur 'alênâ yâ rabbunâ
min qillit el-maṭar 'alâ blâdnâ
mâr Inqûlâ itšaffa' la-ilâhnâ
mâr Inqûlâ djînâ lêk
naḥnu zghâr u ḥaḍa'nâ lêk
u-naḥnu el-yôm fî ḥimâytak
tumṭur 'alênâ yâ rabbunâ.

We have come to you, St. Nicholas!
O stream of rain, I implore you!
We are today your servants;
Heaven's key is in your hand—
Bring water,[1] Oh bring water,
Put the broad-beans in the jar,[2]
And wait for God's mercy,
St. Nicholas, O our neighbour!
O friend of our young and old,
Intercede (for us) with our God,
Send rain, O our Lord, on our land!
O our Lord, O our Lord,
Let it rain on us, O our Lord.
Because of the scarcety of rain on our land
(We implore you) O St. Nicholas to intercede (for us) with [our God.
We are coming to you, St. Nicholas;
We are young and we submit to you;
We are to day under your protection;
Send us (therefore) rain, O our Lord.

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[1] The exclamation *hay imbû* (at times pronounced *himbû*) perhaps means "bring water." *Imbû* is baby talk all over Palestine for "water."

[2] A variant is *ḥuṭṭ el-'ûd fidj-djarrah*, "Put the stick in the jar." I really cannot say what these two expressions mean.

We see that *mâr* Inqûlâ is called *šuḫb el-maṭar*[1], "a stream of rain," and is believed to possess the keys of heaven (for sending rain). Dalman notes in his *Dîwân*:[2]

qaṣadnâ l-ʿAḏrâ u-mâr Yaʿqûb
tiṣqî zarʿnâ l-maṣyûb[3]
qaṣadnâ l-ʿAḏrâ u-mâr Eliâs
(i)tḥadder zarʿnâ el-yabbâs[4].

We went to the Virgin and to St. James,
(And ask:) Water our suffering grain!
We went to the Virgin and to St. Eliâs,
(And ask:) Make green our dying grain!

A variant heard from a Mohammedan leper is:

yâ sîdî Ḫaḍr el-Aḥḍar
tisqî zarʿnâ el-aḥḍar
yâ sîdî mâr Eliâs
tisqî zarʿna el-yabbâs.

O Lord, O St. George, water our green crops!
O Lord, O St. Eliâs, water our drying crops!

From a beautiful song which I heard from a man of Ḫalḥûl I quote the stanzas which belong to our subject:

yâ rabbunâ yâ rabbunâ yâ ḥaiy yâ qaiyûm irḥam ḍuʿfanâ
yâ rabbunâ yâ rabbunâ biḥalîlak il-auwâhi[5] *ḥassin saʿyanâ*
yâ rabbunâ yâ rabbunâ bis-saiyd el-ghaiyûri anbit zarʿanâ
yâ rabbunâ yâ rabbunâ birasûlika Isrâyla aḏrir ḍarʿnâ
yâ rabbunâ yâ rabbunâ biṣ-ṣaddîqi Yûsufa ʿummanâ
bis-saʿŷ wadjbir yâ muhaimin kasranâ.

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[1] *Šuḫb* means primarily "stream of milk."

[2] The last part of the first song on p. 56.

[3] *Maṣyûb* means "attacked with disease," or "dried up by the heat of the sun."

[4] The following verse shows how St. Mary is thought to welcome her visitors:

ṭallat el-ʿAḏrâ u qâlat
marḥabâ yâ zâyrîn
marḥabâ fî eš-šêḫ minkum
wil-ḫawârnî l-bâdilîn.

The Virgin looked down and said, Be welcome, O visitors,
Be welcome, (O) elders and gowned priests.

[5] *Auwâh*, "he who sighs and cries to God."

O our Lord, O our Lord, O Living One, O Self-existing, have mercy upon our weakness!
O our Lord, O our Lord, For the sake of Thy friend,[1] continually sighing, make our intents good!
O our Lord, O our Lord, For the sake of the zealous lord[2] make our crops grow!
O our Lord, O our Lord, For the sake of Thy prophet Israel[3] make our udders flow (with milk)!
O our Lord, O our Lord, For the sake of the true friend Joseph include us all
in good endeavour, and mend, O Watcher, our broken hearts!

Another rain procession[4] described to me by the *imâm* of 'Aṭârah has many biblical parallels. He said that when the Almighty holds back the rain for a long time[5] the *imâm*[6] of the village asks all the inhabitants to fast, and appoints, together with the chief of the village, a day in which all the people, men women and children, leave their houses and go to some distant valley or mountain. In this procession every one puts off his good clothes and dresses in the worst rags he has. Babies are not allowed to suckle. All animals of that village are also taken out, but no food or water is given them. Out in the fields on their way of "emigration" from their habitations they implore the Almighty God to have pity on them, their children and their animals. Before they leave the village every one forgives the faults of the others, and in this way they hope to deserve the forgiveness of their God. In nearly the same way the ancient Israelites[7] tried to gain the favour of their gods. They used to fast and pray, removing their clothes and putting on coarse sackcloth. Their prophets and highpriests promised them

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[1] That is, Abraham.

[2] That is, Isaac.

[3] That is, Jacob.

[4] It was called by the *imâm, el-istisqâ.*

[5] Even in the Bible we observe that public fasts were proclaimed to express national humiliation on account of sin and misfortune, and to supplicate divine favour in the face of threatening danger.

[6] In the time of the Israelites the chief used to proclaim a fast: Samuel (1 Sam. 7 9), Jehoshaphet (2 Chr. 20 3), Jeremiah and Baruch (Jer. 36 6-10), etc.

[7] Joel 2 12; Esther 4 3, 16; Bar. 1 5; Judith 4 7, 11; Jonah 3, 5, 7.

always that their God would hear their prayer and help them, just as today. Stories of ancient and modern times illustrate this practise.

In conclusion I will quote several verses of Jeremiah, chapter XIV, which show many points of resemblance between rain processions of biblical times and of to day. This chapter seems to me to describe customs connected with rain processions: „Judah mourneth, and the gates thereof languish; they are black unto the ground; and the cry of Jerusalem is gone up. And their nobles have sent their little ones to the waters: they came to the pits, and found no water; they returned with their vessels empty; they were ashamed and confounded, and covered their heads. Because the ground is chapt, for there was no rain in the earth, the plowmen were ashamed, they covered their heads. Yea, the hind also calved in the field, and forsook it, because there was no grass. O Lord, through our iniquities testify against us, do thou it for thy name's sake, for our backslidings are many we have sinned against thee."

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

UNE NOUVELLE INSCRIPTION GRECQUE DÉCOUVERTE À CAPHARNAÜM

Le Rév. Père ORFALI
(JERUSALEM)

Mesdames et Messieurs,

L'HONNEUR assurément immérité, dont vous m'avez jugé digne, m'oblige à vous témoigner ma reconnaissance la plus sincère. Je suis persuadé que votre choix aurait pu tomber sur d'autres de notre Société, qui par l'éclat d'une longue et fructueuse carrière scientifique, aussi bien que par le prestige de leurs cheveux blancs, auraient mieux que moi honoré la chaire présidentielle. Je ne suis pas loin de croire que par ce choix vous avez voulu honorer mon pays et ma bure monastique: ce pays, dont nous tous, Palestiniens d'origine ou d'adoption, nous sommes fiers, cette contrée deshéritée (comme le disait le premier Président de notre Société le T. Rév. P. Lagrange) avec ses collines arides du haut desquelles Jérusalem regarde vers le desert et la mer, ce pays aux frontières si étroites, mais si grand dans l'histoire surtout religieuse, assis au confluent des grandes civilisations antiques où bien des races humaines, nourries sur ce sol se sont endormies du sommeil de la terre. Oui, au nom de ce pays, qui m'est si cher, et de cette robe, à qui appartiennent ma vie, mon cœur et mon âme, je vous renouvelle mon cordial merci!

*

Il y a près d'un mois une circonstance accidentelle nous faisait découvrir à Capharnaüm un nouveau document épigraphique, que je suis heureux de porter à la connaissance de mes collègues. C'est une inscription grecque, gravée en beaux caractères onciaux sur la partie inférieure d'une des colonnes du côté nord (colonnade transversale).

La superficie occupée par l'épigraphe mesure 0m,48 de longueur, sur 0m,32 de hauteur. Les caractères distribués en six lignes de longueur inégale, ont une hauteur moyenne de 0m,05. En voici la teneur:

HPWΔHC MONI (KΘI ou KI)
MOY KÀI IOYCTOC
YIOC ÀMÀ TOIC
TEKNOIC EKTI
CÀN
TON KIONÀ

Le nom de Ἡρώδης est un de ceux qui ont le moins de représentants épigraphiques. Outre le sceau gravé sur plomb carré, trouvé en Syrie, mais provenant de Gaza[1] il n'y a que quelques inscriptions trouvées en Transjordane: a) à *el-Hit* (Eitha) en Batanée, où il est question d'Aelios Maximos, vraisemblablement chef d'une cohorte de garnison dans la province, et qui aurait construit διὰ Ἡρώδου Ἡρώδου le petit temple, sur le mur duquel est gravée l'inscription;[2] b) celle d'*el-Djrein* (en Trachonite) où dans la liste des citoyens composant la commune d'Agraena figure un Νίδρος Ἡρώδου;[3] c) l'inscription de *Oum-ezzatoun* (en Trachonite) où parmi les noms de gens appartenant à des tribus de la Batanée il y a un Δρακοντίου Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἡρώδου;[4] d) deux inscriptions de la Palmyrène, où il est question de Ἡρώδης Ἀιράνη Σοβαίχου[5] et de Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἡρώδου;[6] e) enfin l'inscription de *Bariska* où nous lisons encore le nom de Ἀντώνιος Ἡρώδης.[7]

Le nom de Μόνιμος d'une orthographe variable entre Μόνιμος et Μονημος est fréquent dans l'onomastique du Hauran et de la Palmyrène. Il doit correspondre au nom sémitique de מנעם, qui se lit dans une inscription safaïtique d'*el-Hifne*, éditée par E. Littmann[8] parmi les *Semitics inscriptions*. De la forme grécisée nous avons plusieurs

[1] Κολωνίας Γάζης ψῆφι Ἡρώδου Διοφάντου. *Waddington*, Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie, Paris 1870, p. 465, nº 1904.

[2] *Waddington* op. cit. p. 501, nº 2115.

[3] *Waddington* op. cit. p. 559, nº 2457.

[4] *Waddington* op. cit. p. 578, nº 2547.

[5] *Waddington* op. cit. p. 592, nº 2595.

[6] *Waddington* op. cit. p. 595, nº 2610.

[7] *American Arch. Expedition to Syria* (1899—1900), W. Kelly, Prentice, III. Greek and Latin inscriptions, London 1908, p. 82—84.

[8] *American Arch. Exp. to Syria*, IV. Semitic inscriptions, by E. Littmann, London 1905, p. 140, nº 29.

exemples a) l'inscription de *Bousan* (Bosana) en Batanée se rapportant à Πρίσκος τε Μόνιμος;[1] b) deux inscriptions d'*el-Hit*, également en Batanée ayant trait à Μόνιμος, Γαφάλου[2] et à un autre Μόνιμος;[3] c) d'autres inscriptions de *Btheine*[4] et d'*el-Kefr* (Kapra)[5] en Batanée et d'*Oum-el-Haretein* en Trachomite[6] où le nom de Μόνιμος est orthographié invariablement avec l'ι. Mr Clermont-Ganneau a signalé un philosophe de nom Μόνιμος, dans une inscription de Soueida au Hauran.[7]

Malgré l'apparente évidence de la lecture du nom Μόνιμος, on pourrait avec une égale chance de probabilité proposer celle de Μοκίμος, étant donnée la cassure du tronçon, à l'endroit où est gravé le nom. Le nom de Μοκίμος est aussi repandu que le précédent dans les monuments épigraphiques de la Palmyrène et ailleurs. Avec ou sans l'altération de ι = αι, le nom de Μοκίμος peut bien correspondre à la forme sémitique מקימו, dont nous possédons plusieurs textes épigraphiques. Le nom de Μοκίμος se rencontre: a) sur un autel avec dédicace datée du 20 Octobre de 162 de notre ère;[8] b) à Palmyre sur une colonne isolée, au nord du temple du Soleil,[9] sur une autre colonne faisant pendant à la précédente au sud du temple.[10] Dans trois autres textes épigraphiques le nom de Μοκίμος est associé à celui de Ζεβεῖδα.[11] Cette constatation ne manque pas d'intérêt, étant donné que l'inscription hébraïque découverte il y a quelques mois à Capharnaüm porte le nom de זבידא. Un certain זבידא figure comme le fils de מקימו dans une inscription funéraire palmyrénienne, relatant l'arbre généalogique des propriétaires de l'hypogée dont בר זבידא בר מקימו.[12] L'association des noms de זבידא et de מקימו a été notée dans une autre inscription publiée par la *Rev. Biblique*

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1 *Waddington* op. cit. p. 521, nº 2243.
2 *Waddington* op. cit. p. 502, nº 2117.
3 *Waddington* op. cit. p. 502, nº 2118.
4 *Waddington* op. cit. p. 503, nº 2128.
5 *Waddington* op. cit. p. 528, nº 2293.
6 *Waddington* op. cit. p. 577, nº 2544.
7 *Clermont-Ganneau*, Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale I, Paris 1888, p. 13—14, nº 14.
8 *Waddington* op. cit. p. 594, nº 2571.
9 *Waddington* op. cit. p. 596, nº 2586.
10 *Waddington* op. cit. p. 596, nº 2587.
11 *Waddington* op. cit. p. 597, nº 2591; p. 599, nº 2955; p. 608 nº 2627.
12 *Revue Biblique* (VI) 1897, p. 593 f.

זבידא בר מקימו בר חילן.[1] Quelque tentant qu'il soit le rapprochement qu'on peut établir entre les deux noms portés par les bienfaiteurs de la synagogue, il n'y a pas lieu d'y insister, les deux noms étant si fréquents aux premiers siècles de notre ère en Palestine, Palmyrène et ailleurs.

Le dernier nom signalé dans l'inscription est celui de Ἰοῦστος. Qu'il suffise de citer le fils ainé de Flavius Josèphe[2] et dans la période chrétienne Ἰοῦστος, surnom de Joseph Barsabbas, d'un certain Jésus compagnon de Saint Paul et d'un Titus, craignant Dieu, dont la demeure était contiguë à la synagogue de Corinthe.[3] Passé à l'hébreu sous la forme de יוּסְטָא, il figure sur plusieurs documents épigraphiques des premiers siècles: a) sur le titre funéraire de Jaffa ayant trait à Ἰοῦστος «le foulon, fils de Jacob»;[4] b) sur deux dédicaces à l'empereur Sévère et Julia Mamaea, découverts à Gerasch de l'an 294 (ère de Pompée) où le nom de Ἰοῦστος est associé à celui de Ἀντωνίου;[5] c) sur un ossuaire de la nécropole de Chafat[6] et enfin d) dans une inscription palimpseste découverte par le Prof. N. Slousch à Hamat, près de Tibériade.[7] J'ai omis de faire mention de l'historien Justos de Tibériade, dont le père portait le nom de Πίστος, d'où Ἰοῦστος, ὁ Πίστου, que lui donne Flavius Josèphe dans l'Autobiographia (Vita).[8]

Nous ne nous arrêtons pas à l'inscription elle-même, qui ne diffère point de tant d'autres textes dédicatoires analogues. C'est «Ἡρώδης *fils de Monimu (ou de Mokimu) et Justos son fils avec leurs enfants qui ont erigé cette colonne*». Malheureusement, parmi les noms qui figurent dans l'inscription, il n'y en a pas un (me semble-t-il) qui puisse nous guider à établir la date approximative du texte. Seul l'examen paléographique peut nous l'indiquer d'une façon assez probable.

Remarquons avant tout l'*A* avec la barre médiane droite, qui paraît avec fréquence au Ier siècle de notre ère, pour dominer au

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[1] *Revue Biblique* (I) 1892, p. 436.
[2] *Flav., Jos.*, Vita 76 (ed. Dindorf), p. 796.
[3] *Act. Ap.* 1, 23; 18, 7; Col. 4, 11.
[4] *Revue Biblique* (XII) 1903, p. 612.
[5] *Revue Biblique* (III) 1894, p. 622; Idem (IV) 1895, p. 381.
[6] *Revue Biblique* (XXII) 1913, p. 275.
[7] *Revue Biblique* (XXXI) 1922, p. 121.
[8] *Flavius, Jos.*, Vita 9; 70 (ed. Dindorf) p. 796 et 830.

temps de Trajan et d'Hadrien sans jamais exclure la forme brisée.[1] Le *C* lunaire, qui se lit déjà sur les médailles de Rhodes contemporaines d'Alexandre[2] et l'Є en forme lunaire qui est signalée dans une inscription sur bronze à Carthage et antérieure à l'an 150 de notre ère.[3] De certaines autres inscriptions antérieures à l'avènement du Christianisme découvertes en Asie Mineure, on peut deduire que les lettres lunaires ont été en usage en Asie Mineure avant d'être adoptées en Grèce.[4] Le Δ avec le jambage de droite plus prononcé, se rencontre dans des inscriptions de l'Asie Mineure, antérieures à notre ère. Et pour finir, l'ω à branches courbes a passé de l'écriture cursive à la paléographie métallique, et de celle-ci à la paléographie lapidaire, mais seulement vers l'avènement de l'Évangile, sur pierre.[4] En outre la gravure des lettres est élégante, sans être parfaite; on y constate une propension aux *apices*, des sillons fermes, autant de faits qui évoquent assez bien les usages paléographiques du I^er^ au II^e^ siècle de notre ère.

Tout en voulant vous communiquer ces modestes observations au sujet de l'inscription récemment découverte, je n'ai nullement l'ambition de m'improviser en épigraphiste de profession. Ceux parmi vous, qui m'ont devancé dans ce genre de recherches, tel que mon ami le P. Vincent O. P., à qui je dois nombre de renseignements utiles, obligeamment communiqués ces derniers jours, voudront bien agréer d'avance mes meilleurs remerciements pour toute observation de nature à jeter une nouvelle lumière sur cette inscription, une des rares épaves épigraphiques de l'ancienne Capharnaüm.

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[1] *Reinach, S.*, Traité d'épigraphie grecque, Paris 1885, p. 204—205.
[2] *Reinach, S.*, op. cit., p. 208.
[3] *Reinach, S.*, op. cit., p. 208.
[4] *Reinach, S.*, op. cit., p. 208.

A HITHERTO UNNOTICED MEANING OF נפל

DAVID YELLIN
(JERUSALEM)

JOB 29 24 reads: אשחק אליהם לא יאמינו ואור פני לא יפילון. The meaning of the latter part of this verse has puzzled all the commentators. Of Jewish commentators Ibn Ezra, for example, explains the passage as follows: "It is well known that laughter removes the light from off the countenance of the ruler. I (i. e. Job) was laughing, and in as much as they greatly feared (me) they believed not that I would laugh. Consequently they will not cast down the light of my countenance." This makes no sense, and is very far fetched.

Modern commentators also have failed to find a satisfactory solution. Various suggestions have been made, e. g. (a) לא יפילון is a corruption of אבלים ינחם in v. 25 (Bickell, Budde, Beer and Duhm, who thus read 24^b: ואור פני אבלים ינחם), (b) 24^b should be emended to read: ואור פני לא יִפֹּל (Siegfried), ומכל דברי לא יפילון (Torczyner), and אשחק אליהם לא יפללון יָאוּרו פני (Torczyner, this being parallel to לא יאמינו). Driver has already shown that interpretation (a) cannot be said to be probable, and I submit that the others are also not very satisfactory.

Of all the commentators Budde was nearest to the true solution, but he failed to realize that the expression he would have liked to find in the text was actually there. He says: "לא יפילון ist unmöglich. Der Form nach, denn man kann ein (erhobenes Angesicht) sinken machen (Jer. 3 12, etc.), oder das Licht des Antlitzes verfinstern, nicht aber das Licht senken."

In my opinion no emendations are required at all, I believe that יַפִּילון is nothing else but יַאֲפִלון presented in another grammatical

form, the justification for which I will presently explain. This is the verb which Budde would have liked to see, and which undoubtedly fits in well with ואור פני. The author wishes to say that none has succeeded in darkening the light of his countenance. That this was the intention of the author is borne out by the phrases קודר הלכתי בלא חמה ואיחלה לאור ויבא אפל, in the next chapter (30 28 and 26) in which he contrasts his present feelings and those in the past.

The omission of first radical א occurs not only when it follows the א prefix of the first person imperfect, e. g.: אֹכַל, אֹמַר, but also in the case of other imperfect prefixes, e. g. וַיֹּאחֶר = וַיֹּוחֶר (2 Sam. 10 5) יַהֵל = יַאֲהֵל to pitch a tent (Is. 13 20), i. e. in the case of י, and not א, being the imperfect prefix (3rd person m.). This elision of the א is compensated for either by lengthening the preceding vowel, as in the case of the examples just quoted (in the case of יַהֵל the patah has not been lengthened into a qames probably in order to distinguish it from יָהֵל meaning to shine, root הלל), or else by doubling the following consonant by means of a dagesh forte, as in the case under discussion, i. e. יַפִּילוּן = יַאֲפִילוּן. Another conjugation providing examples of the latter alternative is the פ״י conjugation. Compare הִצִּיב = הֵיצִיב, יִצַּק = יְיצֵק.

יַפִּילוּן, however, is not the only פ״א verb which illustrates this phenomenon. וַיִּצַּל = וַיַּאֲצֵל in ויצל אלהים את מקנה אביכן (Gen. 31 9) and מַכֶּלֶת = מַאֲכֶלֶת (1 Kings 5 25; see Gesenius-K. 23f.) are similar cases.

An alternative explanation of this doubling of the second radical is that the פ״א has changed into פ״נ, or *vice versa*; that is to say, these verbs originally consisted of two radicals to which an additional letter (נ or א) was afterwards prefixed, e. g. נצר and אצר (cf. Assyrian *bît nişirti* under אוצר in Gesenius-Buhl) and אֵזוֹר, נֵזֶר and אבל, נבל (in אבלה נבלה הארץ, Is. 24 4).

These explanations will account for the rather strange expression of the "falling down of one's countenance" (נפילת פנים) which occurs not only in the passage under discussion, but also in ויחר לקין מאד ויפלו פניו (Gen. 4 5) and למה חרה לך ולמה נפלו פניך (Gen. 4 6), where אפל = נפל.

To these instances the following may also be added:

1. הבאתי להם . . . . שודד בצהרים הפלתי עליהם פתאם עיר . . . . באה שמשה בעוד יום (Jer. 15 8-9). In this verse האפלתי עליהם פתאם

עיר = הפלתי עליהם פתאם עיר is certainly very appropriate after בצהרים, and is a suitable parallel to the following באה שמשה בעוד יום. For a similar expression to עיר . . . . האפלתי עליהם compare ואקדיר עליו לבנון (Ez. 31, 15).

2. לא אַפִּיל פני בכם (Jer. 3 12) = לא אאפיל פני בכם which is the opposite expression of, and construed in the same way as: האר פניך בעבדך (Ps. 119 135) where both הָאַפֵּל and הָאֵר are followed by the preposition ב.

Continuation from page 182 :

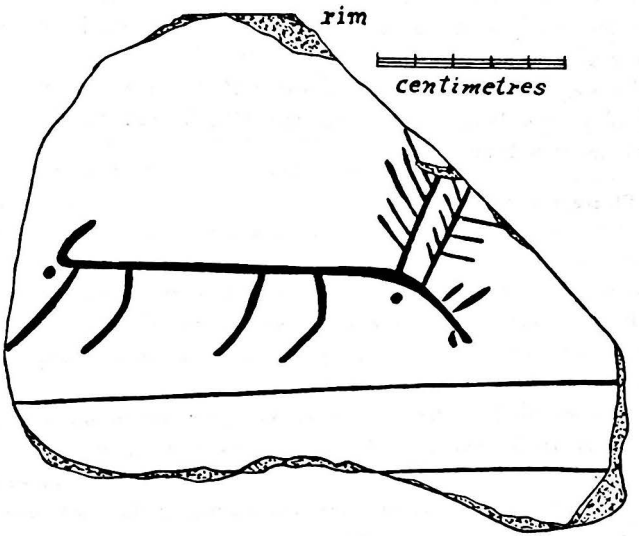
the interpretation of the Old Testament. Though this contribution has been relatively small it has, at certain stages, been indispensable to the Gentile world. Though much of it has been of the nature of a too ingenious juggling, the Jewish "intensive" study of the text as it stands can serve as a desirable corrective to the too irresponsible latitude taken by textual students in the past century. Professor Box describes the numerous ways in which the New Testament has been influenced both in its literary form and theological content by the Old Testament and especially by the Septuagint. The concluding essay, by the late Professor Buchanan Gray, shows what vast fields have yet to be covered in Old Testament research.

W. F. Albright

AN INCISED REPRESENTATION OF A STAG FROM TELL EL-ʿOREIMEH

W. F. ALBRIGHT
(JERUSALEM)

THE potsherd reproduced in the accompanying cut was picked up by the Rev. Mr. BRIDGEMAN, of St. George's Church, on Tell el-ʿOreimeh, ancient Chinnereth.[1] It is from the upper part of a



round clay vessel with a flat rim and a diameter of thirty centimetres inside the rim. The walls are very thick, varying from 2.5 to 3 cm. The interior of the walls is black, while the surface is burned to a

[1] See DALMAN. *Orte und Wege Jesu*[2], p. 140; ALBRIGHT, *Bulletin of the American School*, no. 11, p. 14.

reddish buff. The paste is full of tiny particles of lava, like most of the pottery from this basaltitic region. The date is uncertain, but may be Late Bronze or beginning of the Early Iron, like most of the pottery from the site.

The figure of the stag was incised deeply in the still moist clay by the potter. Below it are two parallel incised lines, which suggest that there may have been a procession of deer or other animals represented on the original vase. There is nothing very remarkable about the representation, aside from its extraordinary crudeness. As an example of the conceptual character of primitive art, which we understand much better since the publication of SCHÄFER's epoch-making book *Von ägyptischer Kunst* (second ed. Leipzig, 1922), it is very curious. Given the lineal character of the drawing, the potter could not clearly indicate the eye and anus except by placing them outside the drawing, but at the proper points.[1] Horns and ears were characteristically shown as though seen from in front, in order that there might be no doubt of their number.

The stag is relatively rare in early Palestinian art, where the ibex plays the leading rôle. In the Old Testament it is called *'ayyāl*, as is well-known.

[1] Cf. SCHÄFER, p. 108, fig. 55.

A LA MÉMOIRE DU PROFESSEUR ALBERT T. CLAY

Le RÉV. PÈRE DHORME
(JERUSALEM)

CHAQUE fois que la mort terrasse l'un de ces savants dont la personnalité s'impose à ses admirateurs et à ses amis, comme à ses ennemis et à ses détracteurs, j'éprouve l'impression très nette d'une rupture dans le développement historique de l'esprit humain. La ligne est brisée qui reliait, d'un mouvement continu, le présent à l'avenir. L'ascension de la montagne est arrêtée par un trou béant. Quelque chose d'irréparable s'est produit. On en reculait la perspective et, quand arrive l'événement, on se surprend à répéter la plainte de David sur Saül et Jonathan: «Comment sont-ils tombés, les héros?»

Tous ne sont point saisis de la même émotion. Pour apprécier la place qu'un homme occupe dans la catégorie des «roseaux pensants» et pour sentir le vide que doit laisser sa disparition, il faut avoir été témoin de l'effort de sa vie ou de son cerveau; il faut avoir connu, pour les avoir soi-même éprouvées, les difficultés de la tâche; il faut pouvoir mesurer ce que le mort avait apporté à l'œuvre commune de la recherche de la vérité, soit qu'il ait eu à cœur de préparer l'avenir, soit qu'il ait préféré plonger dans les sombres abîmes du passé pour en extraire les perles brillantes dont l'histoire compose son collier jamais achevé. On se demande alors pourquoi ont été supprimées, toujours trop tôt, les possibilités qui reposaient dans cette tête et qui ne demandaient qu'à se réaliser au jour le jour, sous l'impulsion d'une volonté intelligente et sous la pression des circonstances qui offrent souvent à l'esprit le champ d'action où il donne toute sa mesure. Sans doute, comme des reliques spirituelles, il nous reste les écrits, lettres, articles de revues, ouvrages plus ou

moins volumineux, qui empêchent la pensée et l'érudition du savant de se perdre pour les générations futures. Mais ce qui disparaît à jamais, c'est un je ne sais quoi d'incommunicable, un ensemble d'attitudes, de sons de voix, de lueurs du regard, d'apparences que commande l'âme invisible et qui composent la personne visible, irremplaçable, dont on ne peut que déplorer la perte, sans songer à la réparer.

Le professeur Clay appartenait à cette catégorie de savants dont la silhouette accuse la vivacité de la flamme intérieure. Il ne s'était point calfeutré dans le «poêle» où Descartes nous raconte avoir passé de longues journées seul à seul avec sa pensée philosophique. La sévère discipline des études cunéiformes n'avait point éteint, chez lui, l'exubérance d'une nature ardente et qui aime à se prodiguer. Ses longs tête-à-tête ou corps-à-corps avec les tablettes d'argile où, pour exercer notre patience, les scribes de Chaldée ont inlassablement poinçonné ces signes multiples et variables qui déconcertent et découragent les esprits mal trempés, c'était comme un temps de contrainte volontaire, d'inhibition et de compression de toutes les facultés, auquel succédait l'élan joyeux de la mise en liberté, la détente de tout l'être, l'échappement de la vapeur longtemps refoulée dans le piston.

Sa vocation assyriologique avait été déterminée par les fouilles de Nippur. D'immenses richesses s'étaient amoncelées dans les salles du Musée Babylonien de Philadelphie. Les ouvriers capables d'exploiter ces trésors étaient rares en Amérique. Clay fut appelé par Hilprecht et il se mit à la besogne. La part qui lui était allouée n'était point la plus attrayante. Il sut la faire fructifier au centuple. Ceux qui ont pratiqué ses diverses publications sur les textes commerciaux de l'époque cassite, néo-babylonienne et perse, savent combien de renseignements précieux y sont contenus, non seulement sur la vie sociale, mais encore sur les idées religieuses et le rôle historique de ces populations auxquelles se trouvèrent mêlés les Juifs de la captivité. De nombreux volumes et articles, dont une liste a été dressée déjà par Miss Grice[1], attestent que le professeur de l'université de Yale ne se cantonnait point exclusivement dans la comptabilité des commerçants de Nippur. Mais ce perpétuel contact

[1] *Journal of the american oriental society*, XLV, 4, p. 295ss.

avec des textes en caractères cursifs avait aiguisé l'œil de l'assyriologue et lui avait assuré une maîtrise incontestable dans la lecture et la reproduction des signes, ce qui l'avait rendu légitimement susceptible dans les discussions sur la teneur exacte des inscriptions qu'il avait éditées.

Je ne veux point insister longuement sur ses travaux d'ordre purement technique. Clay n'y voyait que des jalons dans sa course vers plus de lumière. La Bible exerçait sur son esprit une véritable fascination. Et ce fut le choc entre les données du Livre Saint et les découvertes en Mésopotamie qui détermina, dans son esprit, l'hypothèse pour laquelle il devait livrer de véritables combats, par la parole et l'écriture. Tous les sémitisants savent maintenant que, jusqu'au dernier moment, il a bataillé pour situer au pays amorrhéen le foyer des Sémites qu'on s'entendait généralement à faire venir de la péninsule arabique. Dans le train qui, en octobre 1923, nous emmenait, M. Thureau-Dangin et moi-même, d'Alep à Karkémish, nous avions eu la bonne fortune de rencontrer notre ami commun, le professeur Clay. Durant tout le trajet, celui-ci me découvrait l'horizon et me disait: «Beaucoup de tells, Père Dhorme. Beaucoup de tells!... Amourrou! Amourrou! Le «home» des Sémites ... La vérité progresse. Vous y viendrez! Vous aussi, comme tel et tel...» Je n'y suis point venu. Mais je ne puis oublier l'accent d'enthousiasme avec lequel il m'exprimait sa conviction qui prenait l'aspect d'une inébranlable certitude, presque d'un acte de foi.

C'est cet enthousiasme qui avait poussé le regretté professeur à fonder la Société Orientale de Palestine à Jérusalem. Il revenait de Bagdad où il avait posé les bases de la bibliothèque et de l'institut américains pour les études babyloniennes. Il estimait que l'issue de la guerre devait conduire à une reprise des relations internationales entre les orientalistes. Et c'est à Jérusalem, ce confluent de toutes les langues, de toutes les races et de toutes les religions, qu'il espérait créer un centre de compénétration entre les savants du monde entier. Des séances auraient groupé, de temps à autre, ceux qui, à demeure ou de passage, s'intéressent aux questions palestiniennes ou orientales. La discussion aurait rempli une grande partie de ces rendez-vous académiques. La société a vécu, elle a évolué dans un sens qui n'était point toujours celui qu' avait envisagé le fondateur, car il a fallu tenir compte des contingences et, en particulier, des

difficultés qui proviennent de la diversité des langues. Chacun tient à s'exprimer dans son idiome national. Or, pour engager et soutenir une discussion, il est nécessaire de s'entendre et de se compendre, sans l'interposition de truchements d'occassion ou de bonne volonté. Malgré cet obstacle, la société orientale de Palestine, depuis sa fondation le 8 janvier 1920, n'a pas tenu moins de vingt-cinq séances. Je regrette que la mort du fondateur vienne endeuiller la réunion d' aujourd'hui. Six ans seulement depuis que le professeur Clay nous conviait, par un joyeux «Allo!», à unir nos efforts pour les recherches dans tous les domaines de la philologie, de l'archéologie et de l'histoire orientales. La Providence l'avait épargné dans ce terrible accident qui, en 1923, avait interrompu son retour de Bagdad. Vous n'avez point oublié avec quelle émotion, et néanmoins quelle verve, il nous narrait les péripéties de cette chute d'automobile où le guide arabe avait trouvé la mort. Moins de deux ans après, c'est dans son lit et au milieu des siens, que le rejoignait celle qui arrive infailliblement à son heure.

Les deuils de notre société se multiplient. Ils nous avertissent que la vie est brève et qu' il faut travailler pendant que le temps nous est accordé. Ne gaspillons point nos forces, ne les éparpillons point. Nos œuvres seules nous suivent au delà de la tombe.

PROFESSOR ALBERT T. CLAY—AN APPRECIATION

W. F. ALBRIGHT
(JERUSALEM)

ALBERT TOBIAS CLAY was born Dec. 4th, 1866, at Hanover, Pennsylvania. After passing through college and theological seminary, he entered the Semitic department of the University of Pennsylvania, from which he received his doctorate in 1894, at the age of twenty-seven. While in the university he specialized in Assyriology, receiving his training in copying texts from the late Professor Hilprecht, then beginning his career at the University of Pennsylvania. After a year's instructorship in the Semitic department of this institution he went to Chicago, where he remained until called back to Philadelphia by Professor Hilprecht, who secured a post in the university and an assistant curatorship in the museum for him. He then remained in the University of Pennsylvania for eleven years, being promoted successively to an assistant professorship and a full professorship in Semitic philology and archaeology. His excellent work in editing texts and in popularizing cuneiform discoveries had by this time made him by far the most promising of the younger American Assyriologists. It was, therefore, well deserved that he should receive the appointment as Professor of Assyriology and Babylonian Literature on the foundation established at Yale University by J. Pierpont Morgan, the famous millionaire and collector. Mr. Morgan had become acquainted with Professor Clay while the latter was working on the publication of the Babylonian tablets in his collection, and his establishment of the Laffan Professorship of Assyriology in honor of the former editor of the *New York Sun* was a striking tribute to Clay's personality.

With his incumbency of the Laffan chair at Yale, Professor Clay entered upon the final, and most remarkable phase of his career. He

held this position for the last fifteen years of his life, extending his activities in all directions, but always single-minded in developing the Babylonian Museum of the University, which at his death must have been the most important one of its kind in the country, unsurpassed in some respects even by the University of Pennsylvania Museum. His unexpected death, Sept. 14th, 1925, in the full vigor of productive scholarship, was a profound shock to American Orientalistic circles, as well as to his many acquaintances abroad. To the members of the Palestine Oriental Society, which owes its very existence to his indefatigable energy and enthusiasm, it becomes a sacred duty to pour out a libation to the *eṭimmu* of the departed, who now drinks pure water with the blessed shades.

Professor Clay's main contribution to scholarship lay in his superb editions of cuneiform texts, of which he published no less than fourteen volumes, containing more than two thousand tablets, some of very great importance. As a pupil of Hilprecht he learned accuracy and neatness in copying from that acknowledged master. Early in his career, however, he discarded the ultra-refinement which led some of Hilprecht's students to copy every scratch in the tablet, and fill their copies with a labyrinth of meaningless strokes, from which the cuneiform characters stood out far less clearly than on the original documents. Since then his copies have been increasingly characterized by a union of fidelity and beauty which is the admiration and dispair of most other Assyriologists. Almost the only others who have approached his skill are his own pupils, especially Professor Dougherty and Miss Grice. If we add to the total of Professor Clay's text publications those of his students, prepared under his auspices, we have a grand total of thousands of texts, all copied with accuracy and legibility—indeed an impressive contribution to our knowledge of the Near East in antiquity. Though Professor Clay was not a trained philologist, and frequently failed to understand difficult passages in his texts, his copies are practically impeccable, and others may correct his translations with ease. But the toil and the merit of publication remain entirely his. Not every trained philologist can copy cuneiform tablets accurately, and few indeed can copy them as well as he.

It would carry us beyond the space at our dispósal to mention all the individual contributions to our knowledge which we owe to

Professor Clay. While most of his work lay in the field of Neo-Babylonian contracts and letters, he also published a number of historical, literary and lexicographical texts of great importance, such as the Old Babylonian version of part of the Gilgames Epic, and the Yale Vocabulary. Among the new discoveries which he owed to his texts we may mention especially his determination of the reading of the divine names *KUR-GAL* = *Amurrû* and *NIN-IB* = *'nwšt* and *Ninurta*. It was these observations that started him on the search for Babylonian origins in Amurru, and inaugurated the debate which absorbed most of his time and interest for the last sixteen years of his life.

The first gun in the Amurru campaign was the publication of the book *Amurru, the Home of the Northern Semites*, Philadelphia, 1909. The sub-title, "a study showing that the religion and culture of Israel are not of Babylonian origin," explains the purpose of the book, which was to overthrow the then popular pan-Babylonian hypothesis. *Amurru* made a sensation in many places; the originality of the matter and the arguments advanced was such that it made a great impression, and effectually stemmed the tide which was setting in toward pan-Babylonianism. In his first book Clay presented the main evidence on which he later relied; later works, such as *The Empire of the Amorites*, *A Hebrew Deluge Story in Cuneiform*, *The Origin of Biblical Traditions*, *The Antiquity of Amorite Civilization*, etc., were, strictly speaking, only a *rifacimento* of *Amurru*. Just how far he went in the direction of a true pan-Amorite theory is not certain, since he realized the treacherous character of the evidence, and was a little vague as to details of his theory. His views naturally led to opposition, which drew him into controversy, sometimes acrimonious, though his tone remained surprisingly moderate, considering the depth of feeling which went into the defense of views, held with an intensity of which only a great personality is capable.

It is yet too early to attempt a definitive evaluation of the Amurru theory. It is generally recognized that the onomastic data adduced by Clay will not support the constructions which he erected on them. It is also true that his efforts to demonstrate the existence of numerous Amorite loanwords in cuneiform, especially of the First Babylonian Dynasty, have proved quite unsuccessful; not a single Assyriologist accepts the philological method employed. On the

other hand, we owe a profound debt of gratitude to Professor Clay for the untiring persistence with which he dinned the failure of pan-Babylonianism into our ears. Willingly or not, we have been forced to look at the situation with a greater breadth of vision, which naturally finds pan-Babylonianism wanting. Two main contentions of his will probably be victorious; the writer, for one, accepts them without hesitation. These contentions are: the non-Babylonian origin of most of the biblical traditions, and the importance of northwestern Mesopotamia and Syria in very early times. It is, however, true that we must interpret them differently than was one by Clay, since we now know that a practically homogeneous culture was spread over the whole of the two river valleys and adjacent lands. While the preëminence in this region was naturally held by the richest district, Babylonia proper, we cannot say for a moment that civilization here originated in Babylonia, any more than we can say that Aegean civilization originated in Crete, where it attained its first bloom. The student of ancient oriental history now generally feels with Professor Breasted that ancient civilization originated in a cultural ellipse, the two foci of which were in Egypt and Mesopotamia. Just as we are still uncertain whether the honor of priority belongs to Upper Egypt or to the Delta, so we are still at a loss to determine the order of precedence of Babylonia and Northern Mesopotamia. Disregarding, therefore, the philological arguments for the priority of Amurru, we may well be grateful to Professor Clay for having opened the gates into fresh pastures, which are still ours to browse.

Professor Clay was one of those who make a deep impression on all who known them, but are hard for others to understand. The loveableness of his nature, combined with his zeal for justice and his enthusiastic initiative, made him hosts of friends. On the other hand, his very zeal and enthusiasm sometimes carried him too far, and made bitter enemies. He was kind-hearted, always ready to stand up for the cause of the weak, as he saw it, generous to subordinates and younger colleagues. Though sometimes a violent antagonist, he did not carry a grudge, and was always anxious to bury the hatchet, even after a bitter conflict.

Characteristic of his whole nature was the energy and initiative which he displayed in organization and development of the institutions dear to him. To these qualities of his we owe the foundation and

development of the Assyriological department and museum of Yale University, the recent development of the American School of Oriental Research in Baghdâd, and the foundation of the Palestine Oriental Society. Our society owes its existence entirely to his indefatigable persistence, which would not be denied or discouraged by lukewarm support or open opposition. It cannot well become a great organization, from the very nature of things, but it will remain unique among organizations devoted to the furtherance of international scholarship, and a monument to Professor Clay's unselfish energy. May we prove able to maintain our society, whose future holds so much of promise for the community of scholarly interest in the Holy City. A lady residing in Jerusalem once attended a meeting of our society for the first time. Afterwards she said to me: "Why, you're all so friendly—I thought that the archaeologists were all fighting one another!" If we can only continue "friendly," our society will be able to exert an influence far greater than might be expected from a modest membership. We may become the model for international and interracial organizations of greater size and more direct influence upon the destinies of the world. By holding aloft the torch of coöperation in purely intellectual research, we may light the way for others who are struggling toward the attainment of humanistic ideals.

In the preceding remarks we have only mentioned a few of the more important aspects of the life of a many-sided scholar. To enumerate all his talents, his writings, his honors, would carry us far beyond our scope. He was a great man, to whom the world of scholarship can only repay its debt by reverencing his memory and holding fast to the high standard of idealism in research which he steadfastly maintained.

BOOK REVIEWS

The People and the Book, Essays on the Old Testament, contributed by H. R. HALL, S. A. COOK, G. R. DRIVER, A. C. WELCH, T. H. ROBINSON, J. E. McFADYEN, W. F. LOFTHOUSE, A. S. PEAKE, W. E. BARNES, W. O. E. OESTERLEY, H. W. ROBINSON, R. H. KENNETT, I. ABRAHAMS, G. H. BOX, G. BUCHANAN GRAY. Edited by Arthur S. Peake. Pp. xx + 508 (small octavo); Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1925.

This volume is a collection of essays on various Old Testament problems of contemporary interest. While there has been a certain amount of division of the field, there is not a little overlapping and some contradiction, which adds to the interest of the book. The essays are naturally of unequal value; some are very popular in style, like WELCH's treatment of the history, while others are technical, like DRIVER's account of the modern attitude to Hebrew philology. On the whole, however, it has seldom been our lot to take up a more interesting volume than the one before us.

Characteristic of the rapidly changing attitude toward Old Testament science is the fact that HALL's essay on *Israel and the Surrounding Nations* has been placed first. In forty pages Dr. HALL discusses the relations between Israel and the Gôyîm from the Exodus down to the post-exilic age. As always he shows a singularly wide knowledge of the literature, with a balanced historical judgement. It goes without saying that entire agreement is impossible in so debated a field. Thus his treatment of the problem of the Exodus will arouse controversy. It is true that HALL's identification of the Exodus with the expulsion of the Hyksos is gaining ground on all sides, especially since it has been adopted by GARDINER, SPIEGELBERG and WRESZINSKI. Yet it can only be maintained rigidly by those who doubt the historicity of the memories of Israel preserved in the

narrative documents of the Heptateuch. HALL sees justly that there are only two reasonable alternatives for the date of the Exodus: (1) time of the Expulsion of the Hyksos; (2) Nineteenth Dynasty. The arguments for the latter date seem, however, still the stronger, though elements in the conflate Hebrew story of the Exodus may well go back to the Expulsion of the Hyksos (cf. JBL XXXVII, 137ff.; JPOS IV, 134ff.). HALL accepts the identity of the Ḫabiru with the Hebrews; all recent attacks on this equation have been unsuccessful. On the other hand, the identification of the Midianite *ʿpr* with the Hebrews is a case of *pars pro toto*; the names have no connexion, though the Midianites were probably a branch of the great Hebrew race.

The historical background of Genesis 14 is probably to be sought in the period of barbarian irruption after the fall of the First Dynasty of Babylon; see especially BÖHL, *Het tijdperk der aartsvaders*, Groningen, 1925 (seventeenth century B. C.) and ALBRIGHT in the *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research* for 1926 (eighteenth century B. C.). At all events, Amraphel and Ḫammurabi are entirely distinct persons.

On p. 20 it is stated that the language of the ostraca of Samaria, as well as that of the ostracon from Jerusalem is Aramaic. This is a strange error, probably due to Dr. HALL's philological adviser. The ostraca of Samaria are written in a Hebrew dialect practically identical with Phoenician, while the Jerusalem ostracon is written in pure biblical Hebrew (i. e., the dialect of Jerusalem) as far as it goes; even the script of the latter is Hebrew cursive, not Aramaic cursive, which was very different in the seventh century B. C. HALL's observation on the next page, that "the Solomonic culture seems to have departed from Jerusalem to the more congenial soil of Samaria," is typical of the numerous illuminating comments scattered through his article, which only a trained historian could have written.

Dr. HALL's discussion of the movements of the Sea-peoples is the result of long study of the documentary and archaeological materials for this interesting, but obscure episode in Mediterranean history. It may be observed that it is risky to derive the Sardinians from Sardes, called *Sfard* in Lydian and *Sepharad* in the O. T. The identification of the *Ṯkr* with the Sicilians (Sikel), which is surely the most natural, is not mentioned. The word *Kftyw* is an Egyptian

appellative, which may originally have meant "pirate;" Eg. *kf*, *kfy* means "rob," as well as "repulse, expel," etc. *Kftyw* is strictly parallel to *Iwntyw*, "foes;" *Śttyw*, later "Asiatics," etc., and may have been later combined with Kaptara-Caphtor (Crete), but the terms are not necessarily identical.

The identifications of Zerah the Cushite with Osorkon I of Egypt (originally a Libyan) and of Sewe (So) with Šabaka are philologically untenable. A comparison of the Egyptian transcriptions of Semitic names with the Semitic transcriptions of Egyptian names outside of the O. T. will show that consonants cannot be disregarded with impunity. Since all the evidence on which the historian builds his structure is either philological or archaeological, it must be emphasized that neither discipline may be slighted with safety.

Professor Cook's study of the *Religious Environment of Israel* is a recognition that it is no longer possible to advance our knowledge of the religion of Israel without thorough research in the fields of Egyptian and Western Asiatic literature and archaeology. The interdependence of Israel and the surrounding nations was as marked in the religious as in the political sphere, though the former attained an eminence in religion denied it in the world of international relations. Cook's treatment of his subject is really an analysis of methods in comparative religious research; on the whole his discussion is judicious, though one may sometimes feel that skepticism is not the only way to exhibit a balanced judgement. On p. 70 the name *Aḫi-yami*, found in the Taanach correspondence of the early fifteenth century B. C., is identified with biblical *Aḥîyâhû*, as suggested by others before. Since *w* is always written with the *PI* sign in Canaanite cuneiform, the identification is very improbable; the spelling *Akhi-yawi* is quite unfounded.

In his article on *The Modern Study of the Hebrew Language*, Mr. Driver gives us nearly fifty pages of comparative Semitic philology. His treatment is, on the whole, satisfactory, at least when judged from the standpoint of Brockelmann and Bauer. Comparative Semitic philology might be developed much more rapidly if Semitic philologists knew more about such basic principles as morphological and paradigmatic analogy, polarity, congeneric assimilation, irradiation, back formation, and other fundamental principles of up-to-date modern philology. To show how these principles affect Hebrew grammar

and lexicography would take far more space than we have at our command. We shall, therefore, content ourselves by calling attention to a few points worthy of mention, either in commendation or in criticism.

On p. 80 Mr. DRIVER speaks with unnecessary contempt of the revival of the Hebrew language in recent times. His discussion of the broken plural overlooks the fact that it is properly a collective, and as such is found sporadically in Hebrew and Aramaic (form *aqtâl* in *argôb*, *alḷlâm*, etc.; PRAETORIUS has called attention to other cases in Aramaic). On the laws governing broken plurals in Arabic cf. the fundamental article by WORRELL in AJSL XLI, 189ff. The discussion of the tenses in Semitic (pp. 92ff.) is very useful, as might be expected from his father's son, but there is a little more BAUER perhaps than necessary. It is a pity than the remarkably interesting Old Egyptian material was not utilized. Now that the vocalization of the early qualitative (permansive) has been established by SETHE's researches, its identity with the Semitic qualitative-intransitive is certain. DRIVER unfortunately does not know Egyptian; otherwise he would not express himself as he does on p. 101, nor quote such novel Egyptian forms as *'nky* (for *'nk*), "I"; *myw*, "water"; *ḥshb*, "to reckon"; *pth*, "to open" (a fanciful theory in explanation of the name *Ptaḥ*); *sfḥ*, "seven". These interesting new words are on a par with the curious spelling *Tell-el-'Amarnâ*, which occurs several times for *Tell el-'Amârnah* (تل العمارنة), properly "Mound of the Benī 'Amrân." His treatment of the Amarna glosses is useful, but might be more original. Thus the Canaanite *badiu* (p. 107) clearly stands for *b-yadêyû* (בידיו, later vocalized wrongly *be-yadaṷ*) for *bi-yadaihû*, "in his hands."

The foregoing three essays have all been instructive and useful. Professor WELCH's sketch of the history of Israel, which follows, is neither, though one must grant him an attractive style. He does not appear to realize that there have been any recent discoveries bearing on the early relations between Hebrews and the external world. Thus he insists on placing the Exodus in the reign of Amenophis II. (cf. HALL against the possibility of such a date). His knowledge of ancient oriental history should perhaps not be judged from his use of the ideogram *SA-GAZ* as a gentilic *Sagaz*, or his persistent formation of a singular *Hykso*, as a back-formation from the supposed plural (!) *Hyksos*. The total absence of footnotes and

the highly eclectic bibliography at the end of the book are suspicious, but the content of the essay forces the conclusion that Professor WELCH, however successful he may be in casting suspicion on WELLHAUSEN, is quite out of touch with the basic facts of history, archaeology and topography (Jerusalem was an "eagle's nest;" Shiloh was in Benjamin—if we understand the author correctly, p. 132).

The next two papers, by ROBINSON and MCFADDEN, on *The Methods of Higher Criticism* and *The Present Position of Old Testament Criticism*, are both good, and MCFADDEN's essay is really admirable. He exhibits a strikingly full knowledge of recent German Old Testament research, which he analyzes in a most interesting and stimulating way. Old Testament science is far from being bankrupt, though extreme views must naturally be modified, and many problems will remain obscure for some time to come.

Principal LOFTHOUSE and Professor PEAKE discuss the development of Hebrew religion, the first dealing with *Hebrew Religion from Moses to Saul*, the second with the *Religion of Israel from David to the Return from Exile*. LOFTHOUSE gives us a sane, well-balanced discussion of the earliest religion of Israel, with full recognition of the historicity of Moses. Unfortunately he adopts the lucubrations of BURNEY regarding the original lunar character of the supposed Amorite Yau. LANDSBERGER has convincingly proved that Yau in early Babylonian names is not the name of a god at all (cf. ZA 1923, 24, n. 2, and JBL XLIII, 370). PEAKE's study of the prophetic period is an excellent introduction to the subject, combining a vivid and sympathetic presentation with an attractive style. Especially good is his treatment of Hosea, Jeremiah and Deutero-Isaiah.

The religious development from The Return to the death of Simon the Maccabee is described by Dr. Emery BARNES, who brings out clearly the new elements which were introduced at this stage into the Religion of Israel and help to stereotype it into Judaism. Dr. OESTERLEY gives a summary of the external characteristics of religious practice from the earliest to the latest stages of the Old Testament. An essay on "Hebrew Psychology" is offered by Dr. H. Wheeler ROBINSON, and Professor KENNETT re-asserts the importance of the Old Testament as a factor—now too often depreciated—in the religious development of mankind. The late Dr. Israel ABRAHAMS details the work done by Jewish scholars towards

(Continued on page 166)

THE ARRANGEMENT OF DEUTERONOMY 12—26

HAROLD M. WIENER
(JERUSALEM)

IN a suggestive paper on Classifications of Legal Rules which forms the last chapter of his Early Law and Custom, Sir Henry Maine has some valuable remarks on the light thrown on the views of early lawgivers by the so-called Code of Manu. This "is believed by orthodox Hindus to be the very collection of 'sacred laws' which Manu, 'whose powers were measureless,' declared to the 'divine sages' who approached him as he 'sat reclined with his attention fixed on one object.' But the sacred laws thus promulgated in no way answer to the modern conception of a Code. They are contained in a book which, among other things, is a treatise on the seen and unseen worlds, on the art of government, and on the various classes of Hindu society. Similarly the Christian Brehon laws are found mixed up with discussions on cosmogony and logic; and the Roman Twelve Tables clearly consisted in some parts of ritual. The Code of Manu would in fact by itself suggest that Law, as a subject of conscious reflection, is the result of a gradual evolution. It was not at first dissociated from all sorts of propositions which affect life in this world or the next."[1]

The bearing of such facts as these on the Pentateuchal problem is obvious and need not be laboured. The classification of laws, like all other parts of legal study, 'as a subject of conscious reflection is the result of a gradual evolution,' and in dealing with an old book like Deuteronomy we must always bear this in mind. For this reason

[1] Page 376. The true affinities of the Pentateuch lie with books of this class rather than with the Assyrian, Babylonian or Hittite law books.

alone no weight attaches to the objections of critics who with no training in ancient law proceed to declare any portions which do not square with their own ideas of arrangement to be later additions. We are dealing with a totally different civilization from any with which we are familiar today, and we must be content to accept its own premisses.

If we turn to the order of the laws in Deuteronomy, certain matters at once become apparent. In every statute that deals with a variety of topics there must of necessity be a number of new departures from time to time. For instance, if the lawgiver wished to deal with leprosy or weights and measures and with no other subject that was akin to them, the provisions relating to these matters would of necessity stand in no connection with their context. A change of subject in laws that are physically contiguous is therefore no reason for doubting the originality of the arrangement or the authenticity of the material.[1] It is merely a necessary incident of the work of every lawgiver, ancient or modern.

A somewhat similar remark applies to commands that might have had a natural position if the principles adopted by the legislator had been different from those actually pursued. For instance in Dt. 25 4 we read "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out." This is strikingly unrelated to its context, and *if* it had been in the lawgiver's mind to frame a division of his law dealing especially with animals, it would have had a natural position. But it is abundantly clear that any such thought was entirely foreign to his intention. Its present position may conceivably be due to an accident in the transmission, but it would be hazardous to assume this. Dt. 22—26 is in the main a division dealing with miscellaneous matters which called for attention, and it is no objection that, as is inevitable in such a division, the order is often disjointed. This is so in the portions of

[1] It is merely wrong-headed to suspect the originality of a law for such a reason. Laws are made to meet the real or supposed needs of a human society and not because they fit symmetrically into a particular context. Nothing could be more absurd than to picture a legislator as saying "True, I ought to deal with such and such a subject, but cannot do so because there would be no good connection for the provisions relating to it with any other law in my code." A lawgiver naturally considers first what legislation is required, and then puts his enactment in the best order he can.

modern statutes that are devoted to miscellaneous provisions, because it is inherent in the nature of the material.

If we desire to show that a precept is in fact misplaced, we can only hope to make out a plausible case by proving (1) that *on the views adopted by the lawgiver* some other position is better for it, and (2) that on those views its removal to that other position suits (a) both its new context, and (b) its old, better than the place it at present occupies. That gives us a threefold test.[1] If we apply this to Dt. 25 4, we may or may not be able to show that according to *our* ideas it would be in a better position elsewhere and suit its new context, but we shall break down on the other tests; for (1) we certainly cannot show that *on the lawgiver's views* any other position is better, and (2) its removal would leave in juxtaposition Dt. 25 1—3 (not more than 40 stripes to be given as a judicial sentence) and 5—10 (levirate law), which are as foreign to each other as the prohibition of muzzling is to either.

The endeavour to improve the order of the legislation is the most salutary way of testing the present arrangement. The student who takes the task in hand and finds how hard it is to do any better with due regard to the cautions that have just been laid down, will rise from his studies with an enhanced respect for the work of the lawgiver and a deeper distrust of the theories of the modern destructive school. There are not more than three or, at the outside, four instances in which improvements can be suggested, and only one or two of these can be supported by arguments that carry much weight.

We turn now to consider what principles govern such arrangement as can be traced. Two main conceptions stand out. First, the lawgiver is dominated by his religious interest. Above all things he wishes to protect the religion from the dangers which do or may menace it, and to strengthen its hold on the people as a body and on every individual member of the people. Secondly, he is guided in his arrangement by the association of ideas. He has not thought out any elaborate theory of jurisprudence which would give rise to a

[1] We should also be able to give some reasonable and probable account of the way in which it got misplaced; but in the case of a short precept accident may be a sufficient cause.

scientific classification. His order is more natural and less artificial than anything science would give. One thought suggests another: and when it fails to do so, he makes a new start, as all lawgivers must do when they have exhausted a particular group of kindred topics. One thing must be remembered. The circumstances of the time and actual experience may often have caused the Deuteronomist to associate ideas between which there is no necessary or natural connection. For example in Lev. 24 10–24 we find two distinct matters treated—the penalty for blasphemy and the applicability of Israelite law to strangers—which might more naturally have been treated separately had the questions arisen in other circumstances. The reason for the combination is plain. It happened that one of the mixed multitude blasphemed. That raised two points together: (1) What was to be the penalty for blaspheming? (2) What law was to be applied to a non-Israelite criminal? Had it happened either that an Israelite had blasphemed, or that a foreigner had committed some other crime before this case occurred, we should not have had the juxtaposition of the two ideas. But in practice courts of justice and lawgivers have to deal with the problems of life as they occur, and this often leads to the association of matters which have no natural affinity to one another. So it was in the case of Shelomith's son reported in Lev. 24 10–24, and so, for all we know, may it have been with many of the topics which are treated in the code of Deuteronomy.

It may be added that to some extent the author is guided by the relative importance of his various enactments and the difficulty of securing their full observance.

With these preliminary observations we may turn to the code itself and consider the order.

In the first ten chapters (12—21) there is only one section where the arrangement gives any difficulty. Dt. 17 2–7 appears to be out of place. It deals with the apostacy of an individual and consequently should probably stand in or immediately after 13. There are traces of this order in the present arrangement, for that chapter deals with a number of cases of apostacy. The passage would fit that context better according to what seems to be the lawgiver's own principle, and the connection between Dt. 16 18—17 1 and 17 8ff. is obvious. The earlier section treats of certain local institutions—first

the local justiciary (16 18—20) and then local sacrifice (16 21—17 1):[1] the latter begins the division on national institutions starting with the central justiciary (17 8—13) to which were to be referred cases too hard for the local tribunals.

To these considerations another may be added. Dt. 17 7 terminates with the phrase ובערת הרע מקרבך. So does 13 6. If 17 2—7 originally stood immediately after the last-named verse, homoeography would be responsible for its accidental omission. It may then have been inserted in the margin or some blank space, and have been taken into the text at its present erroneous position. It is therefore submitted that there is a strong case for transposing it to stand after 13 6.

With this one change the order of 12—21 is transparent. The lawgiver begins by dealing with the dangers to the religion—this is the uppermost thought—and some of its central ideals and institutions. 'Do not fall into heathenism' appears to have been a more pressing conception than even 'Be holy'; and in this he shows shrewd practical sense and knowledge of the actual and probable conditions. Accordingly he opens with one of the most pervasive dangers — the existence of heathen centres of worship — and commands their destruction and the adoption by Israel of a single central sanctuary for pilgrimages and such sacrifices as they might otherwise be tempted to bring to heathen centres.[2]

From this enticement to idolatry Deuteronomy passes to a prohibition of heathen practices and an injunction to keep the

[1] It is now increasingly recognized that this passage relates to local altars: see M. Kegel, Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift, 1924. 498 ff.; W. Staerk, Das Problem des Deuteronomiums, 1924, 51 f., note; M. Löhr, Das Deuteronomium, 1925, 185. Once this is recognized the connection between 16 21—17 1 and 16 18-20 is obvious. The lawgiver has in mind local institutions.

[2] Attempts have been made to dismember Dt. 12 1-28. That the passage is repetitious will not be denied. But every author is entitled to choose his own methods of expression, and in this case there was very good reason for seeking to emphasize the main commands as far as possible. It must be remembered that the book was intended for public reading every seven years (Dt. 31 10 f.), and the repetition would be most advantageous for impressing the hearer with the lessons sought to be enforced. As to the theory that we should divide into singular and plural sources, no reason has ever been advanced in its favour. The Versions often differ from the Massoretic Text as to the number, and we do not know either what principles the autograph followed in this matter, or what canons of style found favour with the author.

commandment now given (12 29—13 1). Then come a series of laws relating to apostacy (13 1—6, 17 2—7, 13 7—19). Up to this point the leading idea of the code is 'Ye shall be perfect with your God in resistance to all temptations to forsake His religion.'

This leads to the kindred theme, "Ye are sons of the living God —ye are a holy people" (14 1, 2, 21), with precepts as to mutilation and food of which these ideas form the keynote. The prohibition of seething a kid in its mother's milk (21b) attaches naturally to the latter.

Then come a group of laws relating to gifts of produce, remission of money or of service demanded by the religion annually or at longer intervals (14 22—15 23). In each case the Israelite is required to give up something that but for the law would unquestionably be his: in each case he is to do it at a considerable interval of time. Thus we have first the annual vegetable tithing (14 22—27), then the triennial vegetable tithing (28f.), the septennial remission of debts (15 1—11), the manumission of Hebrew slaves after six years' service (12—18), and the law of firstlings which are to be eaten annually in the place of choice (19—23). This last leads naturally to the law of the three pilgrimages (16 1—17).

Here the arrangement is perspicuous. It is due to the association of ideas and is not at all scientific. Many alternative orders would have been possible, but we see clearly what was in the lawgiver's mind, and that is all that matters. The annual tithe leads him to the triennial: that again to renunciations of property rights to be made by the Israelite at longer intervals. Then he returns to another annual due and so comes to the pilgrimages. There are two other laws which might have been grouped with this section, viz., 26 1—11, relating to the basket of firstfruits, and 26 12—15, on the law of triennial tithing. As it is, they are placed together at the very end of the code. The reason for this seems to be that the regulations of 26 1—15 deal mainly with mere matters of procedure, the formulae of prayer to be recited on particular occasions, and not with the enactment of substantial and important institutions. Beautiful as the ceremonies may have been, they are ancillary to the institutions themselves and must be regarded as mere matters of detail. They are therefore relegated to an inconspicuous position at the end of the more miscellaneous portions of the code instead of being permitted to encumber the treatment of its main enactments.

After the pilgrimage law a fresh start is made with local institutions, the judiciary (16 18—20) and local sacrifice (16 21—17 1). It is noticeable that here the code deals first with an institution in which it lays the main emphasis on the personnel and their behaviour, and thereafter with one in which the chief stress falls on local or material matters. This feature reappears in the next division, relating to national institutions. Those in which the personnel is most important (central court, 17 8—13, central government, 14—20, priestly tribe, 18 1—8, prophets, 9—21),[1] precede the cities of refuge (19 1 13) where the local, material element predominates.

The cities and the law of homicide which is bound up with them suggest two other topics to the lawgiver. Like the provision of cities, the preservation of boundary marks is an inanimate local subject for legislation, and accordingly an enactment dealing with this is suitably interposed here (19 14). And the law of homicide recalls the necessity for stating the law of evidence that is to be applied in all criminal cases including, of course, murder trials (15—21). The association of ideas appears very clearly here.

Homicide not unnaturally suggests war. Thus the following chapter (20) is an obvious position for the laws of war, and they too are coloured by the fear of the Israelites being led to apostatize (20 17 f.).

War in its turn calls up two other matters which are duly regulated — violent death (21 1—9) and female captives (10—14). The last-named enactment by an easy transition leads to other family laws, the provision as to the marriage of the captive being followed by the case of a man who has two wives both of whom have issue (15—17). The protection of the birth right of the son in turn leads to the case of the undutiful son (18—21), and the death penalty to be inflicted on him is used as an introduction to a general law relating to another form of the death penalty (22 f.).

Thus we see that in these ten chapters (and also in 26) the order, though unscientific according to modern ideas, is thoroughly comprehensible and based on the association of ideas. The lawgiver here treats all his main subjects and works off some of his miscellaneous matter in contexts that suggest them to him.

[1] Here again the lawgiver characteristically begins by prohibiting analogous heathen institutions (9-14), before providing for the true prophecy (15-22), and even in the latter portion gives much attention to false prophets.

The principles of arrangement in 22—25 are precisely the same: but owing to the miscellaneous nature of the material and the shortness of some of the precepts, there are more instances of new starts being made and more cases in which doubt may be felt whether the original order has been maintained. At the same time there is no instance where the grounds for transposition are as strong as for 17 2-7, and the suggestions that are here made must be read in the light of the cautions given above.

Dt. 22 5, the prohibition of wearing the clothing etc. of the opposite sex, is a verse that seems to be out of place. Apparently it would more naturally follow 22 12. The chapter begins with a law of lost property (predominantly straying animals, 1—3), and this leads to the case of an ass or an ox that has fallen on the way (4). The provisions as to bird's nesting (6f.) would appropriately follow on this; but no association of ideas can be traced between 5 and either 4 or 6. On the other hand 11f. are concerned with dress, and they would more naturally suggest the law of 5.

Another passage that might be better placed is 23 20f., relating to the taking of interest. In its present position it breaks what looks like a natural connection between the vow of 19 and the law of vows in 22—24. Its true affinity is with 24 6 (prohibiting the taking in pledge of millstones and chariot), for on every loan two questions necessarily arise: What security will the lender have for the money? And what remuneration will he receive for the loan? The inevitable association of ideas is responsible for the position of Lev. 25 35–38. Men in financial straits would sell or pledge their lands and their persons and might be charged ruinous rates of interest. Hence Dt. 23 20f. may conceivably have stood before 24 6: but it is not possible to feel any confidence in the transposition. There is no palaeographical ground for it; and the balance of probability is on the whole against it. There is no attempt to collect into a group the provisions relating to loans and security.

Another verse is perhaps misplaced. Dt. 24 16, which enacts that fathers and sons should not die each for the other's offences, breaks the connection between 24 14f. and 17—22, both of which passages deal with the protection of the weak. It might more suitably stand before or after 25 1—3, which limits the number of stripes in a judicial penalty. Both laws are concerned with the sentences of

courts of justice. Or, again, according to our ideas, it would attach easily to 19 21 or 21 23; but it may be doubted if these ideas were shared by the author.

Those are the only cases in which I have found it possible even to suggest changes of order which (on the lawgiver's principles) could conceivably be regarded as improvements. There are other passages like 24 8 f. (leprosy), which, if removed to other positions, might leave the order of their present context in a slightly better condition: but there is no part of the code to which they are naturally akin.

Subject to these remarks, the order of the last five chapters shows the influence of the association of ideas quite clearly. The laws relating to lost property (22 1—3) lead to the case of a fallen animal (4). Possibly this suggests the provision as to bird's nesting (6 f.). Then come two laws restricting the otherwise absolute right of an owner to do what he likes with his own immovables. It is provided that he must make a parapet when building a new house, and that he may not sow his vineyard with two kinds (8 f.). The connecting link here is very obvious to a lawyer. It lies in the limitations placed on absolute ownership. The second provision suggests to the lawgiver other cases in which the right to make use of two like things jointly is restrained by the law (10 f.), and, as the last of these relates to clothing, it naturally introduces another enactment on the same topic (12). It has already been submitted that perhaps 22 5 should follow here.

A new start is made at this point, and we find a division dealing with sexual offences (22 13—23 1). Then comes another group of laws providing for the purity of the congregation (2—9). Possibly this sequence is due to some association of ideas between sexual offences and verses 2 f.

Purity of the congregation calls up other notions, and it introduces the somewhat similar idea of cleanliness of the camp (23 10—15). Then the consideration of who may enter the congregation suggests the case of runaway slaves who are to be allowed to dwell with the Israelites (16 f.). As in some previous instances we find one topic leading up to separate associated ideas which are successively treated.

Yet a third subject is akin to the purity of the congregation. No daughter of Israel is to profane it by becoming a hierodule. And so

the prohibition of cultic prostitution follows (18), and is inevitably succeeded by a law relating to the proceeds of another branch of religious immorality (19).

The law of interest which comes next (20f.) stands in no relation to what precedes. If it is in its original place, the remainder of this chapter deals with three miscellaneous topics (interest, 20f., vows, 22—24, and plucking grapes or ears of corn, 25f.), which are not associated by any idea that we can trace. It is of course possible that for some reason which is unknown to us they stood in some material relation in the lawgiver's mind: it is equally possible that we find them here because they had to be placed somewhere and were not felt to have any particular association with any other subject of the code. They stand in no relation to the succeeding chapter.

Dt. 24 opens with an enactment prohibiting a first husband from taking back a divorcée after she has been united to a second husband (4), and this suggests a law relating to exemption from public service for the newly married (5). Two laws against oppression follow —the prohibition of the taking in pledge of the millstones or chariot, and the enactment of the death penalty for a kidnapper (6f.). Next comes the law of leprosy (8f.), then laws for the protection of the weak (loans against pawned objects 10—13, and the daily labourer, 14f.). These two are connected by kindred subject-matter and by the common idea of giving relief before night. The succeeding verse (16) appears, as we have already seen, to be out of place. Provisions for the benefit of the stranger, orphan and widow (17—22), who, like the poor people treated in 10—15 stood in special need of the law's benevolence, conclude the chapter, which owing to the character of its contents contains many fresh starts.

The laws of Dt. 25 are purely miscellaneous like those of 23 20—26, and the remarks made about the last-named apply equally to this chapter. It is, of course, natural that short miscellaneous subjects should be treated at the end of the code when the principal topics have been exhausted. In some measure this observation applies to the whole of the division formed by 22—26, but its relevance increases the nearer we come to the end.

Of 26 1—15 we have already spoken. The passage is a kind of appendix to the code. The concluding verses (26 16—19) sum up the

legal effect of the whole covenant transaction,[1] which places God and people in a peculiar mutual relationship.

Thus, with the exception of a very few passages where there are grounds for assuming that transpositions have taken place, we find that the code follows an order based on intelligible principles except to the extent to which the inherent necessities of the lawgiver's task made it inevitable that he should juxtapose unrelated topics.

[1] On this see further H. M. Wiener, Studies in Biblical Law, 1904, Ch. II.

WORTSPIELE IM ALTEN TESTAMENT

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DAS Thema „Volksetymologie und Wortspiele in den Erzählungen der Genesis" behandelte ich vor kurzem ausführlicher in einer „Mitteilung" vor der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Amsterdam. Was ich an dieser Stelle biete, ist ein vielfach erweiterter und veränderter Auszug aus jener in holländischer Sprache abgefassten Arbeit.[2] Ausdrücklich möchte ich hier vor allem nochmals betonen, was ich dort bereits ausführlicher auseinandergesetzt habe: dass es sich bei volkstümlichen Namendeutungen und Wortspielen für den antiken Menschen beinahe niemals um reine Spielereien handelt, sondern um tiefen Ernst, und daß diese Wortspiele (den Ausdruck „Spiel" müsste man demnach eigentlich lieber vermeiden) für uns ein äusserst wichtiges und noch zu wenig beachtetes Hilfsmittel sind bei der Rekonstruktion der alten Volkserzählungen. Das Material entnehme ich in erster Linie — doch nicht ausschliesslich — dem Buch Genesis.

Unser Ausgangspunkt sei der Name der Stadt, welche wir jetzt hier in Palästina ausgraben und welche unsere Kraft und unser Interesse in diesen Wochen und Monaten in Anspruch nimmt: Shekem, Sichem. In Genesis 48 22 verleiht der sterbende Patriarch Jakob seinem Liebling Joseph einen Vorzugsteil seines Erbes. Er drückt dies aus in Versen und mit Hilfe eines Wortspiels:

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[1] Vortrag, gehalten vor der Palestine Oriental Society, Jerusalem, 13. Mai 1926.

[2] F. M. Th. Böhl, Volksetymologie en Woordspeling in de Genesis-verhalen (Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling Letterkunde, Deel 59, Serie A, No. 3. Vgl. auch manche Einzelheiten in den beiden Bändchen meiner holländischen Erklärung der Genesis (Groningen, J. B. Wolters, 1923 und 1925, 322 pp.).

הנה נתתי לך שכם אחד
אשר לקחתי מיד האמרי
בחרבי ובקשתי:

Die Pointe liegt in den verschiedenen Bedeutungen des hebräischen Wortes „שְׁכֶם“. Dieses Wort bedeutet „die Schulter“, dann wahrscheinlich „Teil, Anteil“ (eigentlich die Keule des Opfertiers als der Anteil der Priester) und schliesslich die Stadt Sichem in Mittelpalästina, welche — wie wir heute wissen — einer menschlichen Schulter vergleichbar gegen den „Kopf“ des Berges Ebal an lag. Stünde die nähere Bestimmung nicht dabei, dann könnte man Jakobs Worte an Joseph übersetzen: „Ich lasse dich eine Schulterhöhe (d. h. um Haupteslänge, wie Saul, 1 Sam. 10 23) deine Brüder überragen“. Wie der Text jetzt lautet, ist die richtige Übersetzung: „Ich gebe dir einen Vorzugsteil (eigentlich „Schulterteil“, wie bei den Opfertieren), welchen ich den Amoritern mit Schwert und Bogen abgenommen habe, dass du ihn vor deinen Brüdern voraushabest.“ Aber die eigentliche Meinung ist doch die letzte der drei möglichen Übersetzungen: „Ich gebe dir die (von mir mit Schwert und Bogen von den Amoritern eroberte) Stadt Sichem zum Eigentum.“ Durch Hinzufügung des unbestimmten אחד bleibt der Name dieser Stadt absichtlich im Hintergrund. Die Zweideutigkeit ist beabsichtigt; es handelt sich um ein Wortspiel; der Hörer oder Leser soll den Namen der Stadt raten. Mit Recht hat bereits Gunkel in seinem Kommentar die Stelle in diesem Sinne erklärt.

Niemand wird dem Erzähler zumuten wollen, dass er dem sterbenden Patriarchen etwas Kindisches in den Mund legt, etwa nach Art eines Calembourgs. Nichts wäre weniger richtig. Alles ist tiefer Ernst, kein Spiel. Es handelt sich um den Namen der späteren Hauptstadt der Josephstämme und um alles, was aus diesem Namen abgeleitet werden kann. Der Name aber bedeutet für den antiken Menschen das Wesen, und die Sprache kommt geradewegs von Gott. Tatsächlich gibt es für den Israeliten nur eine wirkliche Sprache — die hebräische — ebenso wie nur eine wahre Religion. Die Fremden stammeln bloss oder „spotten“ (vgl. Psalm 114 1).

Wir teilen nun zunächst das gesamte Material in vier Gruppen und geben von jeder Gruppe ein paar charakteristische Beispiele.

1. Zur ersten Gruppe zählen wir die etymologischen Namenserklärungen, insofern diese — wenigstens für uns — lediglich den Charakter und die Bedeutung einer Volksetymologie oder eines Wortspiels tragen. Der Name wird abgeleitet aus einem Vorfall, welcher am Anfang — bei der Geburt des Menschen oder bei der Gründung der Stadt oder des Heiligtums — stattgefunden hat, oder auch aus einem Wort, welches damals gesprochen wurde. In Wirklichkeit ist das Verhältnis in den meisten Fällen umgekehrt: Der Name ist das Primäre, die Erzählung oder Erklärung das Abgeleitete. Der Mensch heisst אדם, weil er von der אדמה („Ackererde") genommen ist, die Frau heisst אשה von איש („Mann") oder חוה als אם כל־חי („Mutter alles Lebenden"). Kain heisst so, weil seine Mutter bei seiner Geburt קניתי sagte (Gen. 4 1), und der jüngste Bruder Seth (שת), weil sie sagte: שתלי אלהים זרע אחר תחת הבל (Gen. 4 25). In vielen Fällen genügt der Gleichklang, oft der vage Gleichklang einzelner Silben. Der Name des ältesten Jakobssohnes Ruben ראובן wird in Gen. 29 32 erklärt, dass seine Mutter Lea bei seiner Geburt sagte: ראה אלהים בעניי („Gott hat mein Elend angesehen"), also *Re'u-be'on* (mit der ersten Silbe von „angesehen" und den ersten Buchstaben von „Elend") oder auch, was die zweite Hälfte des Namens betrifft, mit Hilfe des Wortes יאהבני „er wird mich liebhaben" (עתה יאהבני אישי), also — denn in diesem Fall kommt es lediglich auf die Silbe *-ban-* an —: *Re'u-ban.* Dergleichen ist natürlich nur in Sprachen möglich, in denen es auf die Vokale weniger ankommt als auf die Konsonanten. Eine weitere Eigentümlichkeit ist hierbei, dass die verschiedensten Etymologien und Erklärungen unvermittelt nebeneinander stehen können. Die eine schliesst die andere keineswegs aus. Im Gegenteil: hier gilt — je mehr je lieber. Auch hierfür bieten die Namen der Jakobssöhne in Genesis 29 und 30 zahlreiche weitere Beispiele.

Etwas komplizierter ist die Sache bei der Erklärung des Namens „Babel" in der Geschichte vom Turmbau und der Sprachenverwirrung. „Babel" (בבל) wird erklärt aus בלל (נבלה „umrühren") in Gen. 11 7 und 9, und — denn dies ist eine selbständige Anspielung auf eine wahrscheinlich etwas abweichende Form dieser Geschichte — aus בלע („vernichten, verwirren") in Psalm 55 10. In diesem Falle kann man nun meiner Ansicht nach drei Stadien der Bearbeitung unterscheiden. Die beiden älteren Stadien müssen wir rekonstruieren.

Gleich werden wir für solche dreifache Bearbeitungen derselben Geschichte weitere Beispiele finden, z. B. in der Paradiesgeschichte. Das älteste Stadium war wahrscheinlich ein Loblied zu Ehren Babels mit seinem berühmten Heiligtum E-sag-ila und mit dem himmelhohen Stufenturm E-temen-an-ki, der „Grundfeste von Himmel und Erde". Solche Lobhymnen zu Ehren Babels sind in Keilschrift und in akkadischer Sprache in Assur wiedergefunden. Der Name der Stadt Babel wird hier volksetymologisch erklärt als *Bibil Enlil* („Liebling des Gottes Enlil oder Bêl") oder auch (in anderem Zusammenhang) als *Bâbilat hegallim* („Bringerin des Überflusses"). Dergleichen volksetymologische Erklärungen des Namens waren für die Israeliten natürlich undenkbar. Für den Israeliten und Anhänger des prophetischen Gottesglaubens war die Stadt Babylon — ebenso wie wahrscheinlich auch schon für gewisse anti-babylonisch gesinnte Kreise in Assyrien — der Mittelpunkt menschlicher Sünde und Abfalls. Also hat ein israelitischer Bearbeiter mit Hilfe anderer Wortspiele — zunächst wahrscheinlich assyrischer Wortspiele — die Sache im antibabylonischem Sinne verändert. Der Namen der Stadt „Babel" — welcher ursprünglich „Gottespforte" bedeutet — wurde in dieser zweiten Bearbeitung sehr wahrscheinlich zusammengestellt mit den babylonisch-assyrischen Wörtern *babâlu* „wegtreiben", „vertreiben" und mit *bubbiltu* „Spreu". Gleich Spreu hat Gott die sündige Menschheit von hier zerstreut und vertrieben! Daneben käme höchstens noch das Wort für „Flut, Überschwemmungsflut" *bubullu(m)* in Betracht. Aber wie dem auch sei, diese und derartige Wortspiele gehörten nicht dem hebräischen Sprachgebrauch an und wären hebräischen Hörern oder Lesern somit unverständlich geblieben. Ein dritter und letzter Bearbeiter hat somit diese Wortspiele, so gut oder so schlecht es ging, in das Hebräische zu übertragen versucht. Da ein בבל (*bâbal*) im Hebräischen unbekannt und ungebräuchlich ist, boten sich hierfür nur das hebräische Verbum בלל (*bâlal*) „umrühren, durcheinander mengen" und daneben in zweiter Linie auch בלע (*balla'*) „vernichten, verwirren". Das erste steht als volksetymologische Namenserklärung in Gen. 11 7, 9 und das andere als Wortspiel in Psalm 55 10. In der Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft von 1916 habe ich diese Hypothese (dort jedoch noch ohne Berücksichtigung von Psalm 55 10) näher auseinandergesetzt.[1]

[1] ZAW 36 (1916), S. 110–113.

2. In eine zweite Gruppe gehören die Anspielungen auf bereits bestehende Namen. Wortspiele dieser Art können (hierauf hat vor allem Alfr. Jeremias aufmerksam gemacht) geradezu den Wert erhalten von Motivworten. Auf Grund solcher aus dem Namen abgeleiteter Motivworte können der Erzählung und dem Charakter der handelnden Personen geradezu ganze Züge hinzugefügt oder beigelegt werden. So gehört zu Isaak das צחק („lachen"), zu Jakob das עקב („betrügen"), zu Ismael das שמע („hören"), zu Lot das המלט („entkommen": nicht weniger als fünfmal, wie H. Gunkel bereits bemerkte, in den Versen Gen. 19 17—22) und zum Ortsnamen Pniel das פנים („Antlitz"). Letzteres Wortspiel findet sich z. B. in dem einen Vers Gen. 32 21 viermal: „Ich will sein (nämlich Esau's) Antlitz versöhnen (eigentl. bedecken) — so sagt hier Jakob — durch das Geschenk, das vor meinem Antlitz hergeht; dann werde ich sein Antlitz schauen; vielleicht wird er mein Antlitz erheben (mir verzeihen).

Mit diesen Motivworten verwandt, aber noch viel zahlreicher ist die Gruppe der Wortspiele, welche sich lediglich aus Freude am Gleichklang und gelegentlich auch aus Freude am Reim erklären. Besonders zahlreich sind derartige Wortspiele bekanntlich im Jakobssegen; z. B. Gen. 49 19:

גָּד גְּדוּד יְגוּדֶנּוּ וְהוּא יָגֻד עָקֵב׃

also nicht weniger als drei verschiedene Anspielungen auf den Namen Gad in einer einzigen Verszeile. Aber auch in Prosa sind solche Wortspiele häufig. Wir erinnern an die zahlreichen Anspielungen und Hindeutungen auf den Namen der Stadt Machanaïm מחנים in Gen. 33 4—8: Esau zieht seinem Bruder Jakob mit einem Heerlager (*machanae*) von 400 Mann entgegen; Jakob verteilt die Seinen in verschiedene Lager (*machanae*); er stellt die Frauen und Kinder, welche Gott ihm „bescherte" (*chana*) dem Esau vor, und er bietet ihm eine „Gabe" (*mincha*) an, um von ihm „Gnade" (*chen*) zu erhalten. In solchen Fällen ist es tatsächlich schwer zu entscheiden, inwieweit die Geschichte aus den Wortspielen oder die Wortspiele aus der Geschichte abgeleitet sind.

Dergleichen Wortspiele gibt es übrigens auch in der Josephsgeschichte, wo man sie bisher, wenn ich richtig sehe, noch nicht gesucht und gefunden hat. Im Traum des Pharao (Gen. 41 1 ff.) gehören die Worte für „Kuh" (*para*) und die für „fruchtbar sein" (*para*) und „Frucht" (*peri*) zusammen, ebenso wie auch die für „Ähre"

(*Śibbol, šibbult*), „sieben“ (*šeba'*) und Überfluss (*śaba'*) und vielleicht auch „Getreide“ (*šeber*). Und wenn es in Gen. 42 7 heisst, dass Joseph seine Brüder zwar „erkennt“, aber sich ihnen gegenüber „fremdstellt“ ויכּרם ויתנכּר, dann ist das ebensowohl ein Wortspiel, wie wenn Esau in Gen. 27 36 klagt, dass Jakob von ihm erst die „Erstgeburt“ (*bekorati*) und dann seinen „Segen“ (*birkati*) weggenommen habe. Solche Beispiele lassen sich beliebig vermehren.

3. Ein spezielleres Gebiet betreten wir mit der dritten Gruppe: Wortspiele in der Form von absichtlich zweideutigen Ausdrücken. Dergleichen findet man begreiflicherweise hauptsächlich in Orakelsprüchen und Traumdeutungen, ferner im Rätsel. Das bekannteste Beispiel ist die Zweideutigkeit der Präposition *min* in den Orakelsprüchen, welche der blinde und betrogene Patriarch Issak nacheinander über seine beiden Söhne Jakob und Esau ausspricht, Gen. 27 28, 29:

. . . . מטל השמים ומשמני הארץ . . . .

Die Präposition *mi(n)* bedeutet im Fall Jakobs den Anteil am Tau des Himmels und an der Fettigkeit der Erde, also Segen; im Falle Esaus bedeutet sie dagegen „fern von“, also Fluch. Dasselbe gilt nun aber auch von der Traumdeutung Josephs an den Bäcker und den Schenken des Pharao im Gefängnis. Auch hier können wir die ursprüngliche, noch sehr viel kürzere Form der (jetzt novellenartig ausgearbeiteten) Erzählung rekonstruieren. Die Deutung der beiden Träume wird ganz kurz und gleichlautend geklungen haben: ישא פרעה את ראשך „Der Pharao wird dein Haupt erheben“ oder „er wird dich erhöhen“. Diese Erhöhung oder „Haupterhebung“ bedeutet im Fall des Schenken Wiedereinsetzung ins Amt, im Fall des Bäckers jedoch die Hinrichtung am Galgen (Gen. 40 13, 19, 20).

Schliesslich das Rätsel des Simson, Richt. 14 14, 18. Die Lösung war nach der geistreichen Hypothese von H. Bauer ursprünglich wahrscheinlich das zweideutige Wort ארי (*arj*), welches sowohl „Honig“ wie „Löwe“ bedeuten konnte. Das im (späteren?) Hebräischen ungebräuchliche Wort für „Honig“ wurde durch einen Bearbeiter durch das gebräuchliche דבש ersetzt und dadurch die Pointe verdunkelt.[1]

Auch hier liessen sich die Beispiele vermehren. Ein weiteres Beispiel eines absichtlich zweideutigen Wortspiels (auf Grund der

[1] H. Bauer, Das Rätsel des Simson, ZDMG 1912, S. 473f.

doppelten Bedeutung des Wortes *'arum*) werden wir weiter unten bei unserer Besprechung der Paradieserzählung antreffen. Im weiteren Sinne gehört auch die Erzählung 2 Kön. 1 9—15 zu dieser Gruppe, welche den Erklärern schon manche Schwierigkeit bereitet hat. Wie kommt der Prophet Elia zu der scheinbar so unmotivierten Grausamkeit, Hauptleute und Soldaten, welche lediglich das Werkzeug erhaltener Befehle sind, dem Feuertod preiszugeben? Wie kommt der Erzähler — er möge noch so jung oder sekundär sein — dazu, dem verehrten Propheten eine solche Handlungsweise zuzuschreiben? In der Tat bietet 2 Kön. 2 23—25 hierfür keine genügende Analogie. Die Erklärung liegt vielmehr in der Zweideutigkeit eines Wortspiels: trotz ihres anscheinend so grausamen Charakters ist die Erzählung nicht ohne Humor. Die Hauptleute rufen, dass *îš ha-Elohim* herabkommen möge; der Prophet antwortet: „Bin ich *îš ha-Elohim*, so komme *êš Elohim!*" Und in der Tat: was vom Himmel (ursprünglich von Gott, *Elohim*) herabkommt, ist nicht der „Mann" Gottes (איש), sondern das „Feuer" Gottes (אש). Die beiden Ausdrücke sind im Hebräischen beinahe gleichlautend. Man muss wohl Orientale sein, um auch in solchem Fall die Pointe voll und ganz zu würdigen.

4. Genaueres Studium erfordert die vierte und letzte Gruppe: die wortspielerisch entstellten Eigennamen von Götzen und Götzendienern. Hier mag vieles erst der jüngsten Bearbeitung und zum grossen Teil sogar erst den Masoreten zuzuschreiben sein. Wir beschränken uns an dieser Stelle aus einer reichen Materialsammlung auf einige wenige Beispiele. Der Name des akkadischen Kriegsgottes *Nimurta* (*Nin-urta*) wurde Nimrod vokalisiert und ausgesprochen, weil man den Namen dieses gottlosen Jägers und vermeintlichen Begründers der babylonischen und assyrischen Städte und Reiche wortspielerisch mit dem hebräischen נמרד *nimrod* „wir wollen uns widersetzen", nämlich gegen Gott, zusammenstellte (Gen. 10 8ff.). Eigenartig ist übrigens, dass Ähnliches gerade von dem babylonischen Hauptgott Marduk nicht gilt, sondern dass sich Marduk — hierin dem Gott Israels vergleichbar — in der Form *Merodach* (*Merodak*) der Vokale von *Adonaj* erfreut zu haben scheint. Schlimmer noch wurden die Namen von Götzendienern bei der Vokalisation behandelt. Der Gegner des Patriarchen Abram, Amraphel von Sinear, dankt seine überlieferte Aussprache offenbar dem Wort ערפל *'arafel* „Wolkendunkel", sein.

Bundesgenosse Kedor-Laomer ist nach dem hebräischen Wort *la-bôšet* („zur Schande!") vokalisiert, und auch die Namen der Könige von Sodom und Gomorra ברע „in Bosheit" und ברשע „in Gottlosigkeit" sind bekanntlich schimpflich entstellt (Gen. 14 1ff.).

Eines der bekanntesten, aber noch immer rätselhaftesten Beispiele eines schimpflich entstellten Eigennamens ist ferner der „Mohr doppelter Bosheit", der „mesopotamische" Unterdrücker der Judäer und Kenisiter in Richt. 3 8—11. Trotz aller Schwierigkeiten (auch chronologischer und geographischer Schwierigkeiten) kann ich mich des Eindrucks nicht erwehren, dass hinter diesem כושן רשעתים irgendwie wortspielerisch ein König Tušratta von Mittanni steckt. Diese Frage kann jedoch nur in einem grösseren geschichtlichen Zusammenhang (Einfall eines Teiles der Leastämme vom Süden her bereits geraume Zeit vor den Rahelstämmen?) entschieden werden. Die beste Analogie für diesen „Mohr der Doppelbosheit" ist übrigens das „Land der doppelten Widerspenstigkeit" מְרָתַיִם in Jerem. 50 21, womit der südlichste Teil Babyloniens gemeint ist: *Marratu*, der an das „Bittermeer" grenzende Küstenstrich, die Heimat der Dynastie des Nebukadnezar.

Interessant und in diesem Zusammenhang noch ungenügend beachtet sind auch die Namen der beiden Midianiterfürsten: der Gegner des Gideon in Richt. 7 25 (vgl. 8 3) und in Richt. 8 5ff. Diese Namen — Oreb und Zeëb einerseits, Zebach und Salmunna' andererseits — dürften tatsächlich ursprünglich identisch sein. Die erste Gruppe bietet die hebräische Übersetzung, das zweite Namenpaar die schimpflich entstellten ursprünglichen Formen derselben Namen. Die hebräische Übersetzung dieser Namen lautete nach Richt. 7 25 und 8 3 somit זאב „der Wolf" und ערב „der Rabe". Aber natürlich haben die Midianiter kein reines Hebräisch gesprochen und somit auch keine rein hebräischen Namen gehabt, wenngleich ihr Dialekt dem Hebräischen (aber noch weit mehr dem Aramäischen) nahegestanden haben mag. Mit Hilfe des zweiten Namenpaares in Rich. 8 5ff. können wir tatsächlich den Versuch wagen, die ursprünglichen midianitischen Formen dieser Namen zu rekonstruieren. Sie dürften gelautet haben: זְאִבָא *zi'ba* „der Wolf" (im Status emphaticus) und צַלְמוּנָא *çalmôna'* „der Schwarze, der schwarze Vogel, der Rabe". Letztere beiden Namen wurden nun aber absichtlich und schimpflich entstellt: aus *zi'ba* „Wolf" machte man *zebach* „das Schlachtopfer" und der „Rabe"

çalmôna' wurde zu *çalmunna'*. Letzteres würde, als hebräischer Ausdruck aufgefasst, bedeuten: „sein Schatten oder Schutz (צֵל) ist abgeschnitten. Gemeint wäre, ebenso wie mit *zebach* „Schlachtopfer" eine (wortspielerische) Anspielung auf das Schicksal dieser midianitischen „Könige" oder Häuptlinge.

Nun noch ein paar Einzelheiten aus der Fülle des Stoffes. In den Genesis-Kommentaren noch nicht genügend erörtert sind unserer Ansicht nach die zahlreichen und höchst charakteristischen Wortspiele, welche der Erzählung von der Erschleichung des Erstgeburtssegens in Gen. 27 zugrunde liegen. Die ursprüngliche Meinung der Erzählung ist, dass der Erzvater Isaak trotz seiner Blindheit schon aus den Namen und der Art seiner beiden Söhne raten sollte, welchem von beiden in Wirklichkeit der Segen und das Erbe zukommt. Der „glatte" Jakob betrügt in diesem Kapitel seinen „haarigen" Bruder Esau um den Segen der Erstgeburt. Der Ausdruck für „haarig" oder „rauh" שָׂעִיר enthält natürlich — das ist allgemein anerkannt — eine Anspielung auf Esaus Namen und Wohnort Seïr. Dieses שָׂעִיר war der (im Altertum bewaldete) Teil des edomitischen Berglandes, welcher südlich von Beerseba gelegen ist, wo unsere Erzählung spielt. Hier, in diesen „rauhen" Waldungen, ist somit der Jäger Esau zuhause. Zwischen diesem Gebiet und der Stadt Beerseba lag nun aber — noch in Palästina selbst, dessen südlichste Grenze es bildete — nach Jos. 11 17 und 12 7 das „glatte" oder kahle Gebirge הָהָר הֶחָלָק „das gen Seïr aufsteigt" und dessen Identifikation als erstem P. Alois Musil gelungen ist.[1] Hier, in diesen fruchtbaren Weidegründen bei Beerseba, ist der Hirte zuhause. Die Grenze des gelobten Landes läuft somit genau zwischen dem „haarigen" und dem „glatten" Gebirge (dem הַר שֵׂעִיר und dem הַר חֶלֶק) hindurch. Somit ist bereits auf Grund hiervon alles deutlich: der „glatte" Berg, mit der Stadt Beerseba, dem Schauplatz der Erzählung, und mit dem ganzen gelobten Land nördlich davon gehört dem „glatten" Hirten Jakob, während der „haarige" Esau wie ein bockgestaltiger Satyr שָׂעִיר in den Wäldern draussen bleiben muss. Dazu kommt dann noch ein zweites Wortspiel (welches wir übrigens in etwas

[1] Vgl. P. Alois Musil, Arabia Petraea II, 1, S. 170: der *Djebel Halaq* bei *es-Sbejṭa*, nördlich vom *Wadi el-Marra*, der westlichen Fortsetzung des *Wadi el-Fikre*.

anderer Form auch in Jes. 57 6 wiederfinden): dem Glatten חֶלֶק kommt der Anteil oder das Erbe חֵלֶק zu! Kompliziert wird die Sache nun natürlich vor allem dadurch, dass der „Kahle" oder „Glatte" betrügerisch die Rolle des „Haarigen" spielt. Doch ist bereits auf Grund der Wortspiele alles deutlich. Nun müssen diese Wortspiele freilich in einer früheren Bearbeitung der Erzählung noch deutlicher gewesen sein. Der letzte, prophetische Bearbeiter hat für diese hübschen Pointen weniger Interesse gehabt. Für ihn handelte es sich um Wichtigeres: um den Segen und das Erbe, welche dem Stammvater des auserwählten Volkes nicht verloren gehen durften.

So können uns die Wortspiele helfen, ältere Stadien der Bearbeitung zu rekonstruieren. Freilich bleibt hier noch vieles hypothetisch. Im allgemeinen möchte ich in den Genesiserzählungen drei Stadien von Bearbeitungen unterscheiden, welche über- und untereinander liegen. Die älteste Schicht ist noch mehr oder weniger mythologisch gefärbt; in der zweiten, darüber liegenden Schicht ist mit Hilfe von Volksetymologie und Wortspielen alles Mythologische ins Idyllische und Volkstümliche umgebogen; die dritte Bearbeitung, aus den Kreisen der grossen Propheten und ihrer Vorläufer, hat die Erzählungen mit kräftiger Hand auf das Niveau des Religiös-Sittlichen erhoben und ihnen dadurch ihren unvergänglichen Wert verliehen. Darüber liegt in manchen Fällen noch eine jüngste und vierte Schicht, welche rationalistischen Geist verrät.

Nur an zwei Beispielen möchte ich diese Hypothese noch eben ausarbeiten. In der Paradiesgeschichte können wir, wenn ich richtig sehe, den Versuch wagen, das erste und das zweite Stadium der Bearbeitung zu rekonstruieren. Im Zusammenhang mit unserem Thema handelt es sich hier um die zweite Bearbeitung: die volkstümlich-idyllische, welche alles Mythologische mit Hilfe von Volksetymologie und Wortspielen ins rein Menschliche und Irdische umgebogen hat. Die Paradiesschlange, ursprünglich ein Gott der Unterwelt oder ein Dämon — welcher zugleich über die Weisheit verfügt, die in der Tiefe des Ozeans verborgen ist — ist in dieser Bearbeitung bereits absichtlich gemacht worden zu einem klugen und listigen Tier. Das hebräische Wort für „klug" oder „listig" lautet nun nach Gen. 3 1 *'arûm* עָרוּם: die Schlange war עָרוּם, mehr als alle übrigen Tiere des Feldes. Genau dasselbe Wort bedeutet nun aber im unmittelbar vorhergehenden letzten Vers des zweiten Kapitels

„nackt“: sie waren beide ערומים, der Mensch und seine Frau, doch schämten sie sich nicht.

So wird das alte Wortspiel deutlich. Wir würden die Rekonstruktion nicht wagen, wenn wir nicht auch sonst im Buche Genesis dieses zweite Stadium einer idyllischen Bearbeitung fänden, voll von Wortspielen und Humor. Nach dieser Bearbeitung muss die Schlange den Menschen die Klugheit oder Weisheit versprochen haben, wie sie sie selbst besass, und zwar mit den Worten: „Ihr werdet ערום werden, wie ich es bin!“ Und sie hält ihr Wort. Die Menschen werden tatsächlich *'arûm*, bloss nicht in der Bedeutung „listig“ oder „weise“, sondern in der anderen Bedeutung dieses Wortes: „nackt“. Sie bleiben, was sie gewesen sind, nur dass sie sich von nun an mit Schmach und Schande davon bewusst werden. So betrog die listige Schlange die armen Menschen durch ein doppelzüngiges Spiel mit Worten.

In dieser Form steht die Erzählung aber nicht in der Bibel. Es ist begreiflich, dass man hierbei nicht stehen bleiben konnte. Hier ist nun der grosse und geniale prophetische Bearbeiter — der Vertreter der Religion Israëls in all' ihrem Werte und ihrer Tiefe — gekommen und hat der Erzählung durch seine Bearbeitung erst ihre volle Tiefe und symbolische Bedeutung verliehen. Auch für ihn ist die Schlange nur ein Tier; neben dem Gott des Himmels ist für keinen Gott der Unterwelt Platz, und der eine Gott duldet keinen anderen neben sich. Aber die Zweideutigkeit in den Worten der Schlange hat er durch eine andere Wortwahl absichtlich entfernt. Was das Tier den Menschen versprach, war nach ihm nicht die Schlauheit, welche es selbst besitzt (das *'Arum*-sein), sondern die Erkenntnis des Guten und des Bösen, welche allein Gott zukommt. „Eritis sicut Deus, noscentes bonum et malum!“ Durch diesen einen Ausdruck wird die Erzählung mit einem Schlage auf das Niveau des Religiös-Sittlichen erhoben, welches sowohl der ältesten noch mehr mythologisch gefärbten Erzählung, sowie auch der zweiten, mehr idyllischen und volkstümlichen Bearbeitung zwar nicht völlig fremd gewesen sein kann, aber doch ihrem Wesen nach ferner lag. Und in dieser letzten, prophetischen Form, in dieser Form allein, hat die Erzählung vom Sündenfall die Jahrhunderte überdauert, in ewiger Schönheit und Wahrheit.

Eine der tiefsten und religiös bedeutungsvollsten Erzählungen in der Bibel ist ferner die von Abrahams Opfer in Gen. 22. Auch

hier kann man hinter der heutigen Form der Erzählung noch eine ältere Bearbeitung unterscheiden, welcher es hauptsächlich auf die Wortspiele ankam. Bereits H. Gunkel hat in seinem Kommentar zur Genesis — in welchem Werk man ja überhaupt eine Reihe wichtiger Beobachtungen zu unserem Thema findet — bemerkt, dass in diesem Kapitel in zahlreichen Anspielungen auf den Namen des Heiligtumes hingewiesen wird, welches später auf dem Schauplatz dieser Handlung errichtet wurde. Er dachte an Jeruel, in der Wüste Juda, östlich von Thekoa.[1] Hier hat E. Sellin dieses Jeruël jedoch mit Recht ersetzt durch Ariel: den alten Namen des Heiligtums auf dem Zion. Abraham ist gottesfürchtig *jere'-êl*; er sieht einen Widder *jar'-ajl*; Gott sieht *jir'e-êl*; Gott erscheint *Jera'e-êl*.[2] Die Meinung war, dass der Hörer oder Leser aus den Anspielungen den Namen des Heiligtums raten solle. Wir erwarten am Schluss: „Darum nannte er die Stätte Ariel." Hier hat nun aber der letzte, prophetische Bearbeiter wieder eingegriffen, welcher für die Wortspiele kein Interesse mehr hatte. Der Name Ariel erschien ihm und seinen Gesinnungsgenossen verwerflich (vgl. Jes. 29 1 f.): also ersetzte er ihn — ohne sich um die Wortspiele zu bekümmern — schon gleich am Anfang der Erzählung (Vers 2) durch das in späterer Zeit nach 2 Chron. 3 1 gebräuchlichere Moria.

Ein wichtiges Beispiel ist ferner Gen. 30 25—43: die launige Erzählung von der Bereicherung Jakobs auf Kosten der Herden seines Oheims Laban. An dieser Stelle ist die alte Volkserzählung mit ihren Wortspielen ziemlich unverkürzt erhalten geblieben neben der prophetischen Bearbeitung in Gen. 31 6—13, in welcher alles dem direkten Eingreifen Gottes zugeschrieben wird und in welcher die Wortspiele fehlen. In diesem Fall sind wir also in der günstigen Lage, Volkserzählung und prophetische Bearbeitung nebeneinander zu finden. Nur dass die Volkserzählung (30 25ff.) durch den Bearbeiter, der sich für diese lustigen Hirtenstreiche nicht mehr interessierte, stark zusammengestrichen wurde, wodurch manche Einzelheit schwer verständlich wurde und wodurch auch manche Pointe verloren gegangen sein dürfte. Die Meinung war, dass es sich schon auf Grund der beiden Namen Laban und Jakob eigentlich von selbst versteht, dass dem Laban die weissen Schafe und Ziegen zukommen,

[1] H. Gunkel, Genesis, 4. Aufl., S. 214f.
[2] E. Sellin, Einleitung in das Alte Testament, 3. Aufl., S. 45.

dem Jakob dagegen die scheckigen und gesprenkelten. Der Name Laban לָבָן bedeutet „weiss", der Name Jakob dagegen wurde in diesem Fall — auch diese Kombination lag auf der Hand — mit dem Wort *'aqôb*, welches in Jes. 40 4 „ungleich, uneben" und in Hos. 6 8 „(mit Blut) befleckt oder besprengt" bedeutet, zusammengestellt. Nun war die Schwierigkeit allerdings die, dass man dies letztgenannte Wort nicht in der Bedeutung „scheckig" oder „gesprenkelt" von Schafen oder Ziegen gebrauchen konnte. Das hätte offenbar dem hebräischen Sprachgebrauch widersprochen. Der Erzähler musste seine Meinung in diesem Fall mit umschreiben, wählte aber hierfür vor allem Wörter, welche mit *'aqôb* dem Klange nach so viel wie möglich übereinkommen, nämlich *'aqod* und *naqôd*.

Auch in diesem Fall wird die richtige Lösung (ebenso wie in Gen. 27) durch besondere Verwicklungen absichtlich erschwert. Jakob macht sich seine Aufgabe durch seinen eigenen Vorschlag so schwierig wie nur möglich. Die Rollen sind anfänglich vertauscht: Jakob weidet die „weisse Herde", welche gemäss ihres Namens und der Verabredung eigentlich dem Laban zukommt, und in Vers 40 denn auch ganz einfach (die scheinbare Undeutlichkeit ist hier wohl auf Rechnung der Verkürzung zu schreiben) צֹאן לָבָן genannt wird. Dagegen sind Labans Hirten mit den Tieren, welche Jakobs Kennzeichen tragen, nicht weniger als drei Tagereisen von diesem entfernt. Trotzdem gelingt es dem Jakob, auf listige Weise zu bewerkstelligen, dass seine weissen Schafe und Ziegen gesprenkelte und scheckige Junge werfen, welche somit nach Namen und Verabredung sein Eigentum bleiben. Dass er dies ausgerechnet mit Hilfe abgeschälter Storaxstauden tut, ist eine besonders feine Pointe: denn der Name der Storaxstaude *libne* לבנה enthält eine wortspielerische Andeutung des Namens Laban. Auf diese Weise überlistet Jakob den Laban oder — wie der hebräische Ausdruck, wieder mit einem Wortspiel auf den Namen des armen Laban, in 31 20 wörtlich übersetzt lautet —: „er stiehlt das Herz des Laban (*lêb Laban*)".

Und nun schliesslich das grosse Musterbeispiel unserer Hypothese: die Erzählungen, die sich um Jakobs Heimkehr aus dem Osten und um die Gründung der Heiligtümer Pniël, Sukkot und Machanaïm gruppieren. Hier sind wir in der glücklichen Lage, dass alle Bearbeitungen (bis auf die allerälteste, welche wir rekonstruieren müssen) mehr oder weniger unverkürzt nebeneinander erhalten

geblieben sind. Es handelt sich um zwei älteste, noch mythologisch gefärbte Schichten, darüber eine volkstümliche, mit vielen Wortspielen, darüber wieder eine prophetisch erbauliche Schicht und schliesslich als die oberste eine jüngste, im rationalistischen Geist überarbeitete. Die landläufige Quellenscheidung versagt, wie die vielen voneinander abweichenden Versuche beweisen. gerade in diesen beiden Kapiteln.

Wir müssen in diesen Kapiteln in der Hauptsache zwei Gruppen von Erzählungen unterscheiden: die, welche sich um den Namen Machanaim und diejenigen, welche sich um den Namen Pniel gruppieren. Beide Gruppen sind nahe miteinander verwandt und in der heutigen Form der Erzählung eng zusammengearbeitet; aber ursprünglich waren sie doch selbständig. Gleich in den ersten Versen von Kap. 32 finden wir ein altes Bruchstück. Dieses Bruchstück stammt aus der zweiten der soeben erwähnten Schichten: der volkstümlichen mit den Wortspielen. Der Name מחנים wird hier volksetymologisch erklärt, weil der Patriarch Jakob hier das Lager der himmlischen Heerscharen erblickt habe, welche den Gott der Heerscharen (der Ausdruck צבאות wird in diesen Bearbeitungen vielleicht wegen seines polytheistischen Beigeschmacks vermieden) begleiten. Die älteste, noch mythologisch gefärbte Schicht, welche hierunter liegt, können wir mit Hilfe der analogen Pniel-Erzählung in Vers 22—32 zu rekonstruieren wagen. Hier wird nicht bloss von einer Vision die Rede gewesen sein, sondern von Kampf und von Sieg: wahrscheinlich von einem Ringkampf Jakobs mit dem „Anführer des Kriegsheeres Jahwes", wobei Jakob den Sieg errang und den Ehrennamen Israel erhielt. Dasselbe wird ja auch von Josua bei seinem Eintritt in das gelobte Land erzählt: Jos. 5 13—15, und auch an dieser Stelle ist der Kampf genau wie bei Jakob in der Machanaim-Szene ins Friedliche und Erbauliche umgebogen.

Spätere Bearbeiter sind aber hiermit nicht zufrieden gewesen. Auf das sorgfältigste haben sie alles vermieden, was irgendwie mit dem strengsten Monotheismus zu streiten schien. Somit haben sie die Engel, aus welchen nach jener Bearbeitung das himmlische Heerlager bestand, ersetzt durch menschliche Boten, welche Jakob an Esau sendet. „Engel" und „Bote" ist ja im Hebräischen (wie im Griechischen) dasselbe Wort. Und auch die beiden „Lager" מחנים werden rein menschlich erklärt. Um wenigstens mit einem Teil der

Seinen dem drohenden Untergang zu entrinnen, teilt Jakob seine Knechte und Herden in „zwei Lager“ (Gen. 32 8 f.).

Noch deutlicher und ausführlicher ist dies nun alles in den parallelen Pniel-Erzählungen. Hier ist selbst das Motiv des Ringkampfes mit der Gottheit erhalten geblieben. Dass dies der Fall ist, verdanken wir in erster Linie einem Wortspiel, welches selbst der letzte Redaktor nicht verloren gehen lassen wollte. Der Name des Flusses Jabbok יבק war in den alten Volkserzählungen wortspielerisch zusammengestellt worden mit dem Wort für „ringen“: יאבק „er ringt“. Ausserdem fand man in den Namen „Pniel“ und „Israel“ so deutlich den Bestandteil *-el* „Gott“, dass man die alte Volksetymologie doch schliesslich nicht entbehren konnte.

Das Allerälteste müssen wir freilich auch hier — hauptsächlich mit Hilfe der selbständigen Anspielung in Hos. 12 5 — rekonstruieren. An der Spitze der Seinen (der älteren Gruppe der Leastämme) steht der Stammvater an der Grenze des Landes, das ihm und seinen Nachkommen gehören soll. Da stellt sich ihm der göttliche Besitzer und Beherrscher dieses Landes zum entscheidenden Zweikampf. Jakob ringt mit ihm und überwindet ihn: — übrigens, seinem Namen יעקב (d. i. volksetymologisch „Schalk“) getreu, nicht durch Gewalt, sondern List. Der überwundene Gott verschwindet im Morgengrauen. Jakob nimmt von nun an seine Stelle ein und empfängt den neuen Namen als Zeichen der neuen Würde. Beschrieben wird ein Kampf zwischen Göttern und Heroen. Der „Hinktanz“ (vgl. 1 Kön. 18 21, 26) gehörte wohl zum Kultus am Heiligtum von Pniel.

Das ist Rekonstruktion und in manchen Einzelheiten hypothetisch. Diese Erzählung steht nicht in der Bibel. Was uns in Gen. 32 22—32 überliefert ist, muss aufgefasst werden als eine Bearbeitung im prophetisch-erbaulichen Sinn, mit möglichster Beibehaltung der alten Elemente. Mit wenigen Pinselstrichen ist es diesem Bearbeiter gelungen, die alte Erzählung auf das Niveau des Religiös-Sittlichen zu erheben und ihr die Bedeutung zu verleihen, welche sie zu einer der schönsten und tiefsten des Alten Testaments macht. Jakobs Streit wird bereits in dieser Bearbeitung zum Gebetsstreit. Er betritt den Boden des gelobten Landes nach langer Abwesenheit und langen Abwegen, und nun ringt er mit seinem Gott im Gebet. Und sein Gott erbarmt sich seiner und segnet ihn. Der nächtliche Streit ist gestritten, die Läuterung ist vollbracht. Zwar erinnert ihn

das Hinken bis zum Tode an den Streit; doch trägt er den Segen und den Sieg davon, und der Anbruch der Morgenröte ist ebenso wie der neue Name Israel ein Symbol dieses Segens und dieser Läuterung. In den Wortspielen findet dies alles seine Abspiegelung. Zusammen gehören einerseits יעקב („Schalk, Betrüger"), יאבק „er ringt" und der Name des Flusses יבק; andererseits steht dem gegenüber der neue Name ישראל, welcher volksetymologisch mit שרר „König sein, sich königlich betragen", שרה „streiten, überwinden" und vor allem auch mit ישר „recht sein, lauter sein" (vgl. ישורון) zusammengestellt wurde.

Doch das ist noch nicht das letzte Stadium. Auch hier finden wir dieselbe weitere Bearbeitung wie oben bei der Machanaim-Erzählung, und auch hier blieb das Ältere neben dem Jüngeren der Wortspiele wegen erhalten. Selbst mit dem Gebetsstreit war man nicht zufrieden; nicht einmal in dichterischer und erbaulicher Bildersprache kann Gott ein Antlitz haben, das man erblicken (*Pni-el*), oder eine menschliche Gestalt, mit der man ringen könnte (vgl. Exod. 33 20ff.). Somit hat diese jüngste Bearbeitung, bei welcher rationalistische Züge in der Durchführung des monotheistischen Prinzips unverkennbar sind, das Antlitz Gottes lieber ersetzt durch das Antlitz Esaus. Gleich „Gottes Angesicht" — so sagt Jakob nach dieser Bearbeitung in 33 10 — hat Jakob das Antlitz seines Bruders Esau erschaut. Auf diese Weise wird hier der Etymologie des Namens *Pni-êl* („Gottes Antlitz") Genüge getan. Der Ringkampf, der schon durch den vorigen Bearbeiter als Gebetskampf aufgefasst war, wird zunächst ersetzt worden sein durch das schöne Gebet (eines der schönsten und tiefsten Gebete im Alten Testament), welches jetzt in Kap. 32 10–13 erhalten geblieben ist. Schliesslich wurde aber dieser Ringkampf selber in mehr rationalistischem Geist ersetzt durch die Umarmung zwischen Jakob und Esau. Der Ausdruck „er (Esau) umarmte ihn" ויחבקהו tritt in 33 4 auch als Wortspiel an die Stelle des „Ringens" mit der Gottheit (ויאבק 32 25) in der Volkserzählung und ihrer älteren Bearbeitung. Selbst der Segen von 32 27ff. ist in 33 11 ins Menschliche umgebogen: Jakob dringt dem Esau ein „Begrüssungs-Geschenk" — wörtlich „Segen" ברכה, somit dasselbe Wort — auf, da Gott ihn selber reichlich gesegnet hat. Esau verweigert das Geschenk anfänglich; dann verschwindet er mit den Seinen,

doch in Frieden und Freundlichkeit, ebenso wie der Gott verschwand.

Auf solche Weise kann man der Entstehungsgeschichte dieser Erzählungen bis in alle Einzelheiten nachgehen, und hierfür bieten die Wortspiele ein ebenso wichtiges Hilfsmittel wie etwa bei unseren Ausgrabungen die Scherben. Mit der Quellenscheidung allein erreicht man das Ziel nicht. Man darf nicht auf der Oberfläche bleiben; man muss in die Tiefe gehen; man muss graben. Wir können diese Kapitel im ersten Bibelbuche Genesis vergleichen mit einem unserer Ruinenhügel, unseren Tells hier in Palästina. Wer nur auf die Oberfläche achtet, sieht Sand und Trümmer. Wer ins Wilde hinein gräbt, wird verderben und verletzen. Wer das Vergangene in all' seinem Glanz erstehen lassen will, muss vorsichtig und mit Pietät zu Werke gehen. In religiöser und auch in ästhetischer Hinsicht ist die prophetische Bearbeitung von unendlich höherem Wert als die alten Volkserzählungen, die wir mit Hilfe der Wortspiele rekonstruieren.

ADONIBEZEQ

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Und nach dem Tode des Josua fragten die Söhne Israels Jahwe: Wer von uns soll zuerst gegen den Kanaaniter hinaufziehen, um gegen ihn zu kämpfen? Und Jahwe sprach: Juda soll hinaufziehen; siehe, ich gebe das Land in seine Hand. Da sprach Juda zu seinem Bruder Simeon: Zieh mit mir hinauf in mein Los, damit wir gegen den Kanaaniter kämpfen, dann will auch ich mit dir in dein Los gehen. Da ging Simeon mit ihm. Und Juda zog hinauf, und Jahwe gab den Kanaaniter und den Perizziter in ihre Hand, und sie schlugen sie bei Bezeq, — zehntausend Mann. Und sie fanden den Adonibezeq in Bezeq und kämpften mit ihm. Und sie schlugen den Kanaaniter und den Perizziter; da floh Adonibezeq, und sie jagten hinter ihm drein. Und sie ergriffen ihn und schnitten ihm die Daumen seiner Hände und seiner Füsse ab. Da sagte Adonibezeq: Siebzig Könige mit abgeschnittenen Daumen an Händen und Füssen sammelten unter meinem Tische auf; wie ich getan habe, so vergilt mir Gott. Da brachten sie ihn nach Jerusalem; dort starb er. Und die Söhne Judas kämpften gegen Jerusalem und nahmen es mit der Schärfe des Schwertes; die Stadt gaben sie dem Feuer preis."

Das ist der Anfang des Richterbuches, und zugleich das Stück, in welchem uns die in der Bibel sonst nicht erwähnte Gestalt des Adonibezeq entgegentritt. Offenbar spielen nach dem Zusammenhang des Textes die hier geschilderten Vorgänge in und bei Jerusalem. Das folgt einmal daraus, dass Adonibezeq zum Sterben nach Jerusalem geschafft wird, also offenbar in eine Stadt, die dem Schlachtfeld nahe liegt. Das geht ferner daraus hervor, dass im Anschluss an diese Schlacht von der Eroberung Jerusalems die Rede

ist, — übrigens ein Vorgang, der nach Meinung der meisten Ausleger eine Vorwegnahme der späteren Eroberung der Stadt durch David darstellt, meines Erachtens eine unnötige Annahme, denn warum sollte es nicht möglich sein, dass in den wechselvollen Eroberungskämpfen Jerusalem den Einwanderern zum Opfer gefallen ist? Der Ton, in dem die betreffenden Teile der Amarnabriefe gehalten sind[1], lässt mit solcher Eroberung immerhin rechnen; es könnte sich allerdings nur um eine vorübergehende Eroberung gehandelt haben.[2] Der dritte Grund ist, dass es sich in den hier geschilderten Kämpfen deutlich um das Stammesgebiet Judas dreht, zu dessen Eroberung Juda hier den Bruderstamm Simeon aufruft und an dessen Nordgrenze ja nach Jos. 15 Jerusalem liegt.[3]

Nun ist es von jeher aufgefallen, dass ein König ganz ähnlichen Namens, Adonişedeq, in Jos. 10 Erwähnung findet, als ein wichtiger Gegner des Josua und Führer eines gegen die Israeliten gerichteten Städtebundes. Dieser Adonişedeq wird König von Jerusalem genannt. Sein Ende in der Höhle Maqqedah wird im gleichen Kapitel erzählt. Es lag nahe, die beiden Personen, Adonişedeq und Adonibezeq, zusammenzubringen. In der Tat ist die Meinung weit verbreitet, dass es sich in Jud. 1 von Hause aus um den gleichen König handele wie in Jos. 10. Nowack[4] z. B. ersetzt geradezu das Wort *Adonibezeq* in Jud. 1 durch *Adonişedeq*; auch Zapletal ist dazu geneigt.[5] Budde[6] u. a. wollen *melek jerušalajim* in v. 5 eingesetzt wissen. Ed. Meyer hält *Adonibezeq* für das Ursprüngliche und *Adonişedeq*

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[1] Vgl. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, S. 863. 871 u. ö.

[2] Die Tatsache, dass Jerusalem endgültig erst durch David erobert wurde, war im alten Israel sicher so allgemein bekannt, dass die Mitteilung von einer früheren (vorübergehenden) Eroberung Jerusalems nur dann sich hätte erhalten sollen, wenn die Überlieferung der ersten Kämpfe in Kanaan tatsächlich von solcher Eroberung etwas wusste. Vgl. Dalman in *Baudissinfestschrift*, S. 108.

[3] Zu der schwierigen Frage der Stammeszugehörigkeit Jerusalems vgl. den einschlägigen Aufsatz Dalmans in der *Baudissinfestschrift*, S. 107 ff. Praktisch wird Jerusalem weder zu Jerusalem noch zu Benjamin gehört haben, sondern war als „Stadt Davids" ein dem Machtbereich eines bestimmten Stammes entzogenes Gebiet; vgl. Alt in *ZDMG* 79, 1925, S. 14 f.

[4] *Richter, Ruth und Bücher Samuelis übersetzt und erklärt*, zur Stelle.

[5] *Das Buch der Richter, übersetzt und erklärt*, zur Stelle. Vgl. auch Baudissin, *Adonis und Esmun*, S. 71; Gressmann, *Die Anfänge Israels*. 2. Auflage, S. 154; u. a. m.

[6] *Das Buch der Richter erklärt*, zur Stelle.

für spätere Umnennung.[1] Die Verwechslung der beiden geht schon in alte Zeit zurück; die LXX lesen in fast allen Handschriften in Jos. 10 *Adonibezeq* statt *Adonişedeq*.

Die Gleichsetzung der beiden ist nur möglich, wenn man irgendwie gewaltsame Eingriffe in den Text- und Überlieferungsbestand vornimmt. Man streicht das Wort Bezeq als aus dem Namen Adonibezeq herausgesponnen.[2] Man lokalisiert den Ort in der Nähe Jerusalems, obwohl sich beim besten Willen kein Äquivalent dafür finden lässt.[3] Man ändert es in *'azeqah*, das Jos. 10 10 erwähnt wird.[4] Oder man erklärt alle Anspielungen an Jerusalem mitsamt der ganzen Erzählung von Jos. 10 für spätere Entstellung.[5] In allen diesen Fällen macht man sich die Sache zu leicht. Ganz sicher ist, dass das Jerusalemer Milieu in beiden Kapiteln einfach vorliegt. Es ist nicht zu bestreiten, dass der Führer in Jos. 10 der König von Jerusalem ist. Das bietet ja auch durchaus nichts Überraschendes. Jerusalem ist doch schon in den Amarnabriefen als eine Stadt von einem gewissen Rang genannt, wenn man sich natürlich auch ihre Dimensionen und ihren Machtbereich nicht allzugross vorstellen darf.[6] Auch der Name des Königs ist durchaus unverdächtig. Er heisst ebenso Adonişedeq, „mein Herr ist *ṣedeq*", wie ja auch sein bekannter Vorgänger Malkişedeq, „mein König ist *ṣedeq*", heisst *Ṣedeq* ist aber als altsemitischer Gottesname längst erkannt und nachgewiesen.[7] Ich halte es für durchaus möglich, dass Jerusalem eine Verehrungsstätte dieser Gottheit gehabt hat, ja, ich könnte mir sogar denken, dass dieser Gott *ṣedeq* = Gerechtigkeit, dessen Diener Malkişedeq in Gen. 14 bis hin in den 110. Psalm und den Hebräerbrief des Neuen Testamentes geradezu als Prototyp des Priestertums auftritt, mit

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[1] *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, S. 440.

[2] Rudolf Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Bd. I, 5.-6. Aufl., S. 406. 437. Vgl. auch Budde zur Stelle.

[3] Vgl. Budde; dagegen u. a. Nowack und Ed. Meyer, S. 439; Anm. 2.

[4] Steuernagel, *Die Einwanderung der isr. Stämme in Kanaan*, S. 85. Gressmann, *op. cit.*, S. 154. Sellin, *Gilgal*, S. 69. Letzterer findet in Jud. 1 1ff, das jahwistische Seitenstück zu dem elohistischen Bericht Jos. 10. Vgl. auch Eissfeldt, *Hexateuchsynopse*, S. 74 u. 83.

[5] Ed. Meyer, S. 438f.

[6] Alt in *ZDMG* 1925, S. 10ff.

[7] Kittel *op. cit.* S. 436. Baudissin, *op. cit.* S. 247f. Näheres bringt der Aufsatz desselben Verfassers *„Der gerechte Gott in altsemitischer Religion"* aus der *HARNACKFESTSCHRIFT*, S. 1—25.

dazu beigetragen hat, daß die Gerechtigkeit später immer als die hervorstechendste Eigenschaft Jahwes, des Gottes Jerusalems, betont wird, — man denke nur an das *Jahweh ṣidqenu* bei Jeremia (23 6. 33 16). Jedenfalls wird man das festhalten müssen, dass Adonişedeq als König von Jerusalem und Gegner der Israeliten richtig ist; und soweit ich sehe, wird das auch, abgesehen von Ed. Meyer, allgemein getan.

Schwieriger liegt die Sache mit Adonibezeq. Ist die Meinung im Recht, die seinen Namen für eine entstellte Form aus Adonişedeq hält und in den Jud. 1 geschilderten Kämpfen nur eine andersartige Darstellung der Kämpfe um Jerusalem sieht, in deren Mittelpunkt Adonişedeq steht?

Ich glaube, dass diese Meinung im Unrecht ist, und führe drei Gründe dafür an, dass die Geschichte von Adonibezeq nicht mit jener anderen verwechselt werden darf, sondern dass es sich in dem ursprünglichen Bestand der Jud. 1 1ff. berichteten Dinge um eine andere Sache handelt.

Der erste Grund, der schon sonst gelegentlich betont worden ist, ist der, dass in Jud. 1 ausser dem Stamm Juda der Stamm Simeon beteiligt ist. Nun treten Aktionen des Stammes Simeon an zwei Stellen Palästinas auf. Einmal sind solche vorauszusetzen im eigentlichen Stammesgebiet Simeons, also im südlichsten Teil des Landes; dass das hier nicht in Betracht kommt, liegt auf der Hand. Dann aber auch in der Gegend von Sichem. Es ist schon längst erkannt und hervorgehoben worden, dass die eigenartige Geschichte von der Dina, Gen. 34, ihren historischen Hintergrund hat in Kämpfen des Stammes Simeon, im Bunde mit Lewi, in der Gegend von Sichem. Es wird sich dabei um kriegerische Verwickelungen zwischen den israelitischen Beduinen und den eingesessenen Landesbewohnern handeln, gewiss vor der effektiven Eroberung des Gebirges Ephraim durch die Josephstämme. Jedenfalls ist festzuhalten, dass der Stamm Simeon in ältester Zeit bei Kämpfen um Sichem erwähnt wird.

Den zweiten Grund liefert eine Tatsache, auf die, soweit ich sehe, noch nicht aufmerksam gemacht worden ist, dass nämlich als die Gegner der Jud. 1 geschilderten israelitischen Aktion die Kanaaniter und Perizziter zweimal ausdrücklich genannt werden. Und zwar werden bei der Darlegung des Planes Judas in v. 1 und v. 3 nur die Kanaaniter genannt, bei der Ausführung desselben in v. 4 und v. 5 Kanaaniter und Perizziter; man wird sagen dürfen, dass die

Perizziter bei der Durchführung der Kämpfe nicht namhaft gemacht worden wären, wenn nicht die dem Bericht zugrundeliegenden Tatsachen wirklich etwas mit ihnen speziell zu tun hätten. Wer sind die Perizziter? Sie gehören zu den Völkerschaften, die das Alte Testament mehrfach als die Urbevölkerung angibt. Zu ihrer näheren Bestimmung hat der etymologische Weg[1] zu keinem nennenswerten Ergebnis geführt. Wir müssen statt dessen die Stellen ins Auge fassen, die, abgesehen von den Zusammenstellungen der sieben bis acht Urvölker, die Perizziter erwähnen. Gen. 13 7 scheinen sie in der Gegend von Bethel und Ai wohnend gedacht zu sein. In Jos. 11 3 werden die Perizziter zu den Gebirgsvölkern gerechnet. In Gen. 34 30, — aus dem ebenerwähnten Dinakapitel, — werden die Bewohner der Gegend, in der die Geschichte spielt, ebenfalls Kanaaniter und Perizziter genannt; das ist in Anbetracht der Tatsache, dass gerade Gen. 34 das Kapitel ist, welches sehr ausführlich von Simeon redet, doch bedeutungsvoll. Die am meisten charakteristische Stelle bringt aber das Ende des Kapitels Jos. 17. Da heisst es zuerst, dass Manasse nicht vermochte, die Kanaaniter in der Ebene Jesreel auszurotten. Dann beklagt sich „Joseph", dass sein Erbteil zu klein sei. Es wird ihm gesagt, falls das Gebirge Ephraim zu eng sei, so solle er doch in den „Wald" hinaufziehen, wo die Perizziter und Rephaiter wohnen. Die Antwort ist, das Gebirge sei zu klein, und die Kanaaniter in der Ebene hätten eiserne Wagen. Josua erwidert noch einmal, sie möchten sich doch, im Blick auf ihre Menge und Macht, den Bergwald nehmen und ausroden; mit der Zeit würden sie dann auch der Kanaaniter und ihrer eisernen Wagen Herr werden. So scheint der Sinn zu sein. Darnach sind die Kanaaniter in erster Linie die Bewohner der Ebene; die Perizziter gehören dann deutlich zu den Bewohnern des Waldlandes, d. h. des Gebirgslandes zwischen dem eigentlichen Gebirge Ephraim (südlich Sichem) und der Ebene Jesreel.[2] Für Jud. 1 dürfen wir festhalten, dass auch

[1] Die Beziehung zu hebr. *perazot* und *perazi*, — also „Bewohner der offenen Ortschaften" im Gegensatz zu den Kanaanitern, den „Bewohnern der festen Städte", Ed. Meyer, S. 331.

[2] So fasst auch Steuernagel, *Übersetzung und Erklärung der Bücher Deuteronomium und Josua*, zur Stelle, den „Wald" auf. Sellin, *Gilgal*, S. 49, denkt an die Waldgebirge Gileads und Basans. Aber mit dem „Gebirge", v. 16, = „Gebirge Ephraim" wird hier wie Gen. 12 8 das Land südlich Sichem bezeichnet sein, so dass für den „Wald" die Gegend nördlich Sichem übrig bleibt.

die Erwähnung der Perizziter uns von Jerusalem weg und in die Gegend des nördlichen Samariens hinführt.

Und als Drittes kommt der Name Bezeq in Betracht. Wie erwähnt, gibt es dafür kein heutiges Äquivalent bei Jerusalem. Wohl aber findet sich die gleiche Konsonantenzusammenstellung südöstlich von *ǧenîn*, halbwegs zwischen *nâblûs* und *bêsân*, in der *ḫirbet ibzîq* und dem *râs ibzîq*.[1] Die Identifikation der Ortschaften ist heute meist angenommen worden.[2] So führt uns auch die topographische Erwägung in die gleiche Gegend.

Aus diesen drei Gründen geht hervor, dass es sich bei dem Jud. 1 zugrundeliegenden Tatbestand um die Landschaft nordöstlich Sichem handeln wird. Dann ist Adonibezeq ein Führer oder König aus jener Gegend und nicht mit dem König von Jerusalem Adoniṣedeq identisch. Dass der Name etwas Ursprüngliches darstellt, geht anscheinend ja auch daraus hervor, dass die LXX nicht nur in Jud. 1, sondern auch in Jos. 10 Adonibezeq schreiben.

Und was besagt nun dieser Name? Man hat ihn punktieren wollen (Zapletal) *adonê bezeq*, der Herr von Bezeq. Doch ist das für Eigennamen ganz singulär. Ich sehe auch nicht ein, warum die Verbindung nicht die gleiche sein soll wie in Adoniṣedeq, Adonijjah u. a., — Adonibezeq = „mein Herr ist Bezeq". Dann würde man also eine Gottheit Bezeq anzunehmen haben.[3] Nun ist solch ein Gott allerdings sonst nicht bekannt. Aber wer kennt all die verschiedenen Gottheiten, die wir uns damals nicht viel weniger zahlreich denken dürfen als heute die *aulia* und *anbia*? Gerade in der Gegend der *ḫirbet ibzîq* ist die Geschichte Israels ein unbeschriebenes Blatt, und

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[1] Vgl. dazu die Beschreibung der Ortslage durch Alt in *PJB* 22, 1926, S. 49 f. Alt hebt besonders die günstige verkehrsgeographische Lage der *ḫirbet ibzîq* hervor.

[2] Nowack nimmt die Gegend von *ḫirbet ibzîq* als Schlachtort und liest zugleich „Adoniṣedeq, König von Jerusalem"; nach ihm hat also die für das Schicksal des Königs von Jerusalem entscheidende Schlacht beim heutigen *ibzîq* stattgefunden; das erscheint in Rücksicht auf die Entfernung ausgeschlossen. Zapletal, der auch *Adoniṣedeq* liest, verzichtet auf die Lokalisierung von Bezeq. Alt identifiziert in *PJB* 1926, S. 49 f., *ḫirbet ibzîq* mit dem I. Sam. 11 8 genannten Bezeq, lehnt aber die Gleichsetzung mit dem Bezeq von Jud. 1 5 ab, — und zwar mit Rücksicht auf die in dieser Erzählung sich findende Erwähnung Jerusalems (mündl. Mitteilung); dieses Bedenken fällt bei der hier (siehe unten) vorgeschlagenen Lösung fort.

[3] So auch vermutungsweise Kittel S. 436.

auch später ist die Gegend nur selten besucht worden. Es spricht auch nicht dagegen, dort in der Stadt Bezeq die Verehrungsstätte eines Gottes gleichen Namens anzunehmen; das kann man hier ja bis heute häufig erleben.[1] Immerhin muss solches Heiligtum ein nicht unbedeutendes gewesen sein, da ein seiner eigenen Schilderung nach doch recht mächtiger Mann sich nach diesem Gott benennt.[2] Nun gibt es heute inmitten der *ḫirbet ibziq* das Heiligtum des *šêḫ* oder *nabi ḥezqîn*.[3] Der einfache Kuppelbau bietet an sich nichts Merkwürdiges. Bemerkenswert ist aber, dass dieser *weli* der einzige Bibelheilige weit und breit ist. Die Bezeugung des Heiligtums ist nicht alt. Ich habe es nur bei 'Abd-al-ghani 1690 erwähnt gefunden.[4] Aber das besagt nicht viel, dass jene Gegend, wie gesagt, eine recht unbegangene ist. Nun ist das Grab des Hesekiel in jener Gegend unmöglich. Sein Grab gehört nach Mesopotamien und wurde und wird dort auch gesucht. In Palästina findet man meines Wissens eine Hesekieltradition überhaupt nicht, was ja auch durchaus zur Bibel stimmt; nur der Pilger von Bourdeaux hat das Grab des Hesekiel in Bethlehem gesehen, doch ist das schon längst als eine einfache Verwechslung erkannt.[5] Ich wage die Vermutung, dass sich in diesem gänzlich unmotivierten *nabi ḥezqîn* jener alte Perizzitergott Bezeq erhalten hat! Die Änderung *bezeq* in *ḥezqîn* könnte sich einfach daher erklären, dass die Tradition den Bibelheiligen mit dem ähnlichsten Namen nahm; der Name Bezeq geriet in Vergessenheit, aber der Name Hesekiel blieb bekannt. Solche Beziehungen zu biblischen Persönlichkeiten einfach aus Ortsnamen heraus sind hier ja keine Seltenheit (Gabriel: *bêt ǧibrîn;* Japhet: Jaffa; Jeremia: *irjat je'arim* u. a.[6] Aber diese Vermutung wäre nicht haltbar, wenn

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[1] Vgl. Hertzberg in *PJB* 22, 1926, S. 96f.

[2] Auch dass Saul auf dem Zuge gegen die Ammoniter das Volk in Bezeq mustert, spricht dafür, dass es in Bezeq ein bedeutendes Heiligtum gab; denn die Musterungen finden in Alt-Israel gern an den Orten bedeutender Heiligtümer statt (z. B. Tabor, Gilgal, Miṣpah).

[3] Die Aussprache *ḥezqîn* statt korrekt *ḥezqîl* bietet nichts Auffallendes. Man hört *daniân* neben *daniâl*, *ǧibrîn* neben *ǧibrîl*. Sehr charakteristisch für die Verwechslung zwischen n und l ist die Aussprache des jedem heutigen Palästinenser bekannten Namens Schneller; man hört neben *šneller* auch *šnêner* und gar *šlêner*.

[4] *ZDMG* 36, 1882, S. 391.

[5] Über die Hesekieltradition in Palästina vgl. *PJB* 1926, S. 89. 95.

[6] *Ibidem* S. 96f.

nicht die genannten drei Gründe uns für die Adonibezeq-Geschichte ebenfalls in die Gegend des heutigen *nabi ḥezqîn* wiesen; das Vorhandensein des *nabi ḥezqîn* ist jedenfalls geeignet, das Gewicht der drei anderen Gründe zu verstärken.

Das scheint mir nunmehr deutlich zu sein: es liegt der Erzählung Jud. 1 1ff. ein Stück sehr alter Geschichte zugrunde, aus der Zeit der ersten kriegerischen Berührungen israelitischer Stämme mit den Bewohnern Palästinas, wahrscheinlich aus der gleichen Zeit, aus der der historische Tatbestand stammt, der hinter der heutigen Erzählung Gen. 34 sichtbar wird. Erst spätere Jahrhunderte haben diese Szene mit den Einwanderungskämpfen bei und um Jerusalem zusammengebracht[1], — einmal infolge der Ähnlichkeit der Namen Adonibezeq und Adonişedeq, dann auch wegen der Verbindung, in der die Brüder Juda und Simeon in der Patriarchentradition und in dem Stammesbefund der historischen Zeit miteinander stehen, und endlich auch wohl, weil die judäischen Redaktionen an Jerusalem ein besonderes Interesse hatten. Der heutige Textbestand von Jud. 1 1ff. enthält die gewiß richtige geschichtliche Tatsache, dass bei den judäischen Einwanderungskämpfen der Stamm Simeon mit Juda im Bunde war; Simeon wird im Laufe dieser Kämpfe dann seine Sitze südlich des judäischen Stammesgebietes erhalten haben. Als Grund für diese Bundesgenossenschaft wird angenommen, dass Simeon damals bereits zu schwach war, um allein vorgehen zu können. Die Schwächung Simeons steht, wie aus dem Simeon-Lewi-Spruch in Gen. 49 hervorgeht, offenbar im Zusammenhang mit dem heimtückischen Verhalten in der Dinaangelegenheit; die Stämme sind, wie das schon Gen. 34 vorahnend gesagt wird, dezimiert worden. Dann müssen die Kämpfe Simeons mit Adonibezeq einer noch älteren Zeit angehören, als Simeon noch stark war. Das Jud. 1-1ff. vorliegende historische Material weiss uns in seinem ursprünglichen Bestande von jener Zeit zu erzählen; es sind in diesem Material also zwei Stufen zu unterscheiden, die sich zwar nicht textkritisch, wohl aber stoffkritisch voneinander trennen lassen.[2] Auf diese Weise lässt

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[1] Ähnliche Umdatierungen älterer Ereignisse, aus den früheren in die späteren Einwanderungskämpfe, glaubt Albright, *AnnASOR* 4, 1922/23, S. 146ff. in Bezug auf Ai und Jericho feststellen zu können. Vgl. auch Sellin in *Gilgal*.

[2] Bei dieser Erkenntnis, dass dem heutigen Textbestand eine im wesentlichen in zwei Stufen verlaufende Geschichte des hier überlieferten historischen Materials

uns der Anfang des Richterbuches, sowohl seinem ursprünglichen wie seinem heutigen Stoffbestande nach, in Verbindung mit den anderen Nachrichten des Alten Testaments, in die Geschichte des Stammes Simeon hineinblicken. Simeon hat seine grosse Zeit vor der Haupteinwanderung gehabt; er hat damals den mächtigen Adonibezeq besiegt. Aber durch sein gewalttätiges Verhalten hat er offenbar die Landesbewohner so gereizt, dass sie ihm ein schweres Schicksal bereiteten. Wir müssen annehmen, dass der Stamm so geschwächt worden ist, dass er erst wieder im Verein mit einem stärkeren Stamm, Juda, neuen Eroberungskämpfen nähertreten konnte. Lewi scheint es noch schlechter gegangen zu sein; er wird nicht mehr erwähnt und hat auch kein eigenes Stammesgebiet. Simeon lebt dann südlich Juda und geht allmählich in diesem auf.[1] Aber bis zum heutigen Tage erzählt uns die hohe Kuppe des *râs ibzîq*, aber mehr noch die *ḫirbet ibzîq* und der *nebi ḥezqîn* von der einstigen Grösse des Stammes Simeon und seinem mächtigen Gegner Adonibezeq.

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voranging, erledigen sich die von Kittel S. 405 f. geäusserten Bedenken. S. 436 kommt Kittel dieser Erkenntnis sehr nahe, ebenfalls Gressmann *op. cit.* S. 167. Auch Nowack findet in dem Kampf des „Adoniședeq, Königs von Jerusalem" bei Bezeq einen „Rest alter Erinnerung, der mit Gen. 34 gut zusammenstimmt". Ähnlich der Aufriss bei Guthe, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, S. 61.

[1] Vgl. das Verhältnis der Stammeslisten Jos. 15 26ff. und 19 1ff. zueinander und besonders 19 9.

BOOK REVIEWS

JOHANNES PEDERSEN, *Israel—its Life and Culture.* I—II. 8vo., pp. x + 578. Copenhagen, 1926 (Oxford University Press).

This work by the professor of Semitic philology in the University of Copenhagen is the translation of a Danish book with the same title, published in 1920. Its importance was recognized at the time by Scandinavian and German reviewers, but it naturally remained inaccessible to the great majority of foreign scholars. At the request of his English-speaking friends Professor PEDERSEN has now presented his book in an English dress. In a future edition the style must be thoroughly revised, and purged of the numerous un-English idioms and strange word-forms which now appear. The translation is punctiliously accurate for the most part, though errors like "scriptures" for "writings" are perhaps hardly avoidable except where the translator is a specialist as well as a linguist. The English edition has been thoroughly reworked, and both text and notes show ample evidence of the author's desire to keep abreast of the progress of knowledge. Elaborate indices are a valuable feature of the new edition.

The book is divided into three parts, the first of which is introductory, discussing Canaan before the immigration of the Israelites, the making of Israel, tribe and city, social order, the family and family life. The introduction is followed by an elaborate discussion of Hebrew psychology, under the general title of "The soul, its powers and capacity," with the chapter headings Soul, blessing, honour and shame, name. Finally we have a still more elaborate treatment of Hebrew social and religious psychology, under the title "Common (properly social) life and its laws," with the chapter headings Peace and covenant, peace and salvation, righteousness and truth, maintenance of justice, sin and curse, world of life and death.

As will be seen from the preceding outline of its contents, the book might well be entitled "Prolegomena to a Hebrew psychology, individual and social." The reader who looks for a history of Israel in the light of the latest research will be disappointed. As a study of Hebrew psychology and sociology, however, it is epochmaking in the fullest sense. Compared with it, the best treatments of these subjects which we have appear thin and superficial. All students of the Old Testament should study PEDERSEN's *Israel*, which will doubtless become a standard work, especially if the translation is thoroughly revised before the next edition is printed.

The description of pre-Israelite Palestine (pp. 1—11) is very brief, but well balanced and up-to-date. A detailed criticism would bear mainly upon disputed points, such as the exact relationship between the Canaanites and Amorites. The account of the settlement of Israel in Palestine is a model of caution, since all the data needed by the author for his purpose have been included, without passing judgment on disputed questions. On pp. 27—29 we have an admirable estimate of the source analysis of the Pentateuch, to which the reviewer would subscribe with few reservations. That the essential correctness of the critical analysis is now established seems as clear as that much of the detailed division of sources will have to be discarded. That the latest forms of JE, D and P belong respectively to the early seventh, late seventh and late sixth centuries B. C., seems as certain as that a great deal of their material is centuries older than the final recension in which it appears.

The penetrating analysis of the Hebrew conception of *nefeš* (pp. 99ff., especially pp. 154—157) shows that the author is fully up-to-date in the philosophy of animistic and pre-animistic conceptions, though preserved from pitfalls by a thorough acquaintance with Hebrew and particularly with Arabic thought. Without an intimate knowledge of Arab life and literature the book could never have been written, and it is not an accident that Professor PEDERSEN is primarily an Arabist and student of Islam.

Special attention should be called to the illuminating study of the terms *berakah*, "blessing," *kabôd*, "honour," and their connotations. So thorough is the treatment that it seems impossible to suggest any improvement, at least until we know more about ancient Semitic psychology. While it might be possible to introduce very interesting

semasiological factors into the author's discussion, they would at best have a certain subjectivity which would be out of keeping with his objective method.

The author's study of the covenant brings him into a field which he has made peculiarly his own, with his book *Der Eid bei den Semiten*. The chapters on social ethics and justice are not particularly original, though the material is well presented; but these fields have been so frequently covered by recent students that it is not easy to innovate. The description of the Israelite conceptions of sin and the curse is more original. Here, as elsewhere, one advantage of the author's objective method of handling philological and psychological data appears: the remarkable clarity and consistence of outline in his definition of Hebrew abstract terms. A good illustration is the discussion of the word *beliya'al* (pp. 431—432).

The last chapter, on the world of life and death, is perhaps the poorest in the book. It deals mainly with cosmological and cosmogonic conceptions, which require a comparative and historical treatment. It must, however, be conceded that it is seldom possible to make a direct criticism, since the author avoids entering into problematical matters. Perhaps, on the whole, his method here is the best, since it aims only at presenting the standard Hebrew ideas in the simplest and clearest possible way. Another student of the subject might have filled the space with learned discussions, without half the success which the author has attained. In short, *Israel* is a work of fundamental importance, the best introduction to Hebrew thought ever written. It requires only a good translation to receive all the praise which is due the author for a really remarkable achievement.

W. F. Albright

F. M. Th. Böhl, *Genesis*. Vol. I, pp. 160, Groningen, Den Haag, 1923; Vol. II, pp. 162, 1925. J. B. Wolters.

Professor Böhl's two small volumes on Genesis will be welcomed by all who can read Dutch, especially since there is no really up-to-date commentary on this important book. The author is one of the leaders in the new school of moderate critics, mostly composed

of pupils of KITTEL. To members of this school the results of the documentary analysis, while valuable, and perhaps in large part correct, are no longer certain. On the other hand, the results of comparative literary and folkloristic research deserve equal recognition, at least. Most members of this school consider the religion of Israel as essentially Mosaic, and accept the generall reliability and antiquity of the historical traditions of the Hebrews.

Professor BÖHL believes that the composition of the Pentateuch is to be explained more stratigraphically than has been the case hitherto. Numerous myths and traditions, as, e. g., the story of the Fall and the Joseph story, are demonstrably the product of successive recensional stages, each with its deposit of débris to mark its existence. That the stratigraphical theory has much in its favour cannot be denied, though there is danger of pushing a principle too far. In the same way, the fruitful principle that ancient oriental legal and religious writings tend to exhibit superimposed layers of glosses, belonging to successive commentators, may be carried too far, as is apparently being done by WIENER. However, we can only hope that both BÖHL and WIENER will continue the development of their new methods, from which much may safely be expected.

BÖHL's commentary is divided into two parts, each of which gives a new translation of one half of the book of Genesis, followed by a detailed commentary. The commentary contains many interesting and important new viewpoints, as might be expected from a scholar who is as much at home in the field of Assyriology and ancient oriental history as in the Old Testament. To discuss it fully would take altogether too much space; we can only single out a few points which have attracted our attention while perusing it.

It is hardly probable (p. 57) that the Heb. *rahef* means "to brood, to hatch (an egg);" cf. the reviewer's discussion JBL XLIII, 367f., where the cosmogonic meaning of Gen. 1 1-3 is fully treated, in the light of ancient oriental conceptions.

BÖHL adopts the patristic identification of the Pishon with the Indus, so that the four rivers of paradise (p. 66) would be the Euphrates, Tigris, Nile and Indus, a view also held by PAUL HAUPT. Eden he locates in southern Babylonia. In the reviewer's opinion Eden was at the legendary source of the rivers, the Mesopotamian and Egyptian paradises at the sources of the two sivers and the Nile,

respectively, being identified and placed in the far West, from which the ancients believed that both river systems took their rise. In other words, the Hebrews, perhaps following older Canaanite or Phoenician conceptions, combined the strikingly similar Egyptian and Mesopotamian conceptions with one another, as well as with the typical Mediterranean romance of the terrestrial paradise in the far West. The reviewer has developed this view in various papers, especially AJSL XXXV, 161—195; XXXIX, 15—31, which might now be supported by additional arguments, not then available. The vital contention, that "Mouth of the Rivers" is an expression meaning "Source of the Rivers," and that the Babylonian Elysium is fundamentally identical with the Hebrew *gan 'Eden* is now accepted by GRESSMANN, who had independently reached very similar conclusions; cf. *Archiv für Orientforschung*, Vol. III, p. 12; ZAW 1926, 157. The date at which this syncretism took place is uncertain; its beginnings doubtless go back far into the second millennium, as thought by BÖHL, while the reviewer's contention that the latest recension of the story dates from the seventh century is probably also correct. Attention may be called to one point which has been overlooked hitherto, it would seem. The name of the fountain Gihon ('Ain Sittī Maryam) is not only identical with that of the river of paradise, but it is probably the original of it. In other words, the river of paradise was originally thought to rise to the earth's surface at Jerusalem, just as many Moslems of the present day believe that the springs of Jerusalem derive their water from the sacred spring of Zamzam at Mecca. Hence the name *Gihon*, originally belonging to the spring, was transferred to the stream of Eden, whose name may have been very different. Similarly, Pishon may have been the name of a spring on the western side of Jerusalem, perhaps the later 'Ain hat-Tannîn (Dragon's Fountain) or another spring in the Tyropoeon Valley (cf. the source of Ḥammâm eš-Šifā and the intermittent spring connected with the Pool of Bethesda, all of which may, for that matter, have been identical). The source of Ḥammâm eš-Šifā is to-day believed to draw its water from Zamzam. This theory would explain the names, which have hitherto been an obstacle to the reviewer's theory that the two sources of the Nile were originally meant by the Gihon and Pishon.

The treatment of the Fall (pp. 68ff.) is very interesting, though

little attempt is made to trace the constituent elements of the story — an attempt which would be quite out of place in such a commentary. The suggestion that the word *'arûm* is used with the double sense "clever" and "naked" is excellent, and undoubtedly throws light on an intermediate stage of the development of the Fall story.

On pp. 93ff. Professor BÖHL discusses the Table of Nations (Gen. 10), justly emphasizing the essential unity of this chapter, which the reviewer has always held. It may be observed that Pût can hardly be the Egyptian "Punt" = Eritrea, Somaliland, since the final *t* of the latter would disappear at an early date, and could not be written with *ṭêt*, despite occasional assertions to the contrary. The vocalization of the Egyptian name is quite obscure. *Pût* is rendered "Libya" in the Greek text, and there is no reason to doubt that the true equivalent was still known, since *Pûṭa* still appears as the name of a people in the inscriptions of Darius Hystaspes, less than three centuries before the Greek translation of Genesis. In the well-known fragment of the annals of Nebuchadrezzar, the name appears in the compound *Pûṭu-Yaman*, that is, Pût of the Ionians (Greeks), an expression which can only refer to Cyrene. Since the Egyptians had their own hoary names for Libya, it is not surprising that we do not find *Pût* in the hieroglyphic texts of the later period.

BÖHL's discussion of the patriarchal period is probably the best that has so far appeared, striking a very happy mean in his attitude toward the historicity of the Hebrew traditions, and carefully considering the external evidence. The discussion of Gen. 14 will be illuminating to most readers, who probably are not in touch with the interpretation of this chapter by BÖHL, JIRKU, and the reviewer. According to us, Gen. 14 is a genuine historical document, perhaps somewhat embellished with saga, and is to be dated in the period of barbarian invasions between 1800 and 1600 B. C. Professor BÖHL was the first to come to this conclusion, which he has gradually developed since his first paper on the subject, which appeared in ZAW 1916, 65—73. The reviewer propounded the same theory independently, JPOS I, 68ff., and has discussed the whole subject at length in a paper on "The Historical Background of Genesis XIV" to appear in the *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*, Oct., 1926.

Passing over the following pages of the commentary, many of which deserve a full discussion, we may single out for special mention the treatment of the Jacob cycle (vol. II, pp. 53ff.). The discussion of the popular etymologies of names which are found so frequently in this part of Genesis is very instructive. Professor BÖHL's work on this subject is throwing much light on the exegetical methods of the scribes who compiled the documents of Genesis. His treatment of the Joseph cycle also offers many new points of view, though the reviewer, who believes that Joseph lived during the Hyksos period. is not ready to accept the author's contention that Joseph flourished in the latter part of the fourteenth century B. C. But we must refer to the commentary itself for his views on this and other subjects, which deserve the fullest possible consideration. No student of Genesis can afford to neglect these volumes.

W. F. ALBRIGHT

Vorgeschichtliches Jahrbuch, für die Gesellschaft für Vorgeschichtliche Forschung herausgegeben von MAX EBERT. Band I: *Bibliographie des Jahres 1924.* Pp. VI + 157 with several plates. Berlin and Leipzig (Walter de Gruyter), 1926. 15.— marks, 17.— marks bound.

This new annual of the German society for prehistoric research is edited by the same man to whom the *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte,* now about half completed, is due. To the oriental archaeologist it marks the beginning of a new era, and the end of the period of seclusion. Hitherto students of early European archaeology have seldom known anything about oriental archaeology, while students of the latter have even more rarely been in touch with the achievements of the former group. Professor EBERT has chosen the most propitious time to launch his coöperative undertakings, at the moment when Asiatic proto-archaeology joins European as an equal, thanks to the discoveries in Galilee, in the Caucasus and in Siberia, and when the aeneolithic culture of Mesopotamia and the Indus Valley begins to be the object of serious research. To take a single illustration, the problem of the megalithic culture cannot be solved

without the closest coöperation between European, Palestinian and Egyptian archaeologists; the link between the East and the West, between prehistory and history is here provided by Crete, to judge from the discoveries of XANTHOUDIDES.

The only sections of this annual which may be justly appraised by the orientalist are the bibliographies of Egyptian, Palestinian and Western Asiatic (Mesopotamian and Anatolian) archaeology by SCHARFF, THOMSEN and UNGER respectively. The editors of these sections have been well chosen; SCHARFF and UNGER are themselves trained museum archaeologists, acquainted also with field work, while THOMSEN is a scholar of the most amazing industry, accuracy and good judgment. But the bibliographies are very inconsistent and unequal in their character. SCHARFF gives only archaeological *books* and the articles in the *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* pertaining to his field; articles and monographs in journals are not included. UNGER gives a much fuller, but decidedly eclectic bibliography, including articles in journals. THOMSEN furnishes us with an exhaustive survey of books and articles throwing light on the archaeology and epigraphy of Palestine and Syria, with brief description of the contents of important books and papers. All students of the subject should consult his bibliography.

W. F. ALBRIGHT