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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABEL, F.-M. Sappho et Arous . . . . .	89
— Koursi . . . . .	112
ALBRIGHT, W. F. The End of the Inscription on the Ahirâm Sarcophagus . . . . .	122
CANAAN, T. Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine . . . . .	1
+ The Child in Palestinian Arab Superstition . . . . .	139
MADER, A. E. Neue Dolmenfunde in Westpalästina . . . . .	95
NIELSEN, DITLEF, The Site of the Biblical Mount Sinai . . . . .	187
WIENER, HAROLD M. The Ramah of Samuel . . . . .	109
— The Relative Dates of Ezra and Nehemiah . . . . .	145
[Arabic text: Animals in Palestinian Folklore II . . . . .	1—17]
<hr/>	
Notes and Comments . . . . .	142
Book Reviews . . . . .	128, 209
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## MOHAMMEDAN SAINTS AND SANCTUARIES IN PALESTINE

T. CANAAN  
(JERUSALEM)

*(Continued)*

### C. NATURE AND CHARACTER OF THE SAINTS

In the course of our study we approach the most important part, namely, the saints themselves. This subject is a very complicated one, but it is undoubtedly of the greatest possible interest to the student of comparative religion. On the whole, the conceptions of the people of Palestine have been surprisingly little changed, considering the extraordinary vicissitudes to which this land has been subject. Invasions, conquests and occupation by new races have modified their beliefs by giving them different colour, but they were yet unable to extirpate them entirely. Even the great revolutions produced by the three great monotheistic religions, whose cradle lay in or near Palestine, were not able to suppress all primitive beliefs. This condition will surely not continue unaffected by the present social and political transformations. In the past twenty years conditions have already changed so much, that it is at present decidedly more difficult to gather genuine folklore material than it was about 1900. It becomes the duty of every friend of Palestinian folklore to work as intensively as possible, if what remains is not to be lost.

The subject of the saints will be described under the following heads:

1. Characteristics of the *Awliâ*.
2. Miracles.
3. Relation of the Saints to Men.
4. Relation of the Saints to God and Popular Religion.
5. Origin of the Saints.

I shall restrict myself entirely to modern Palestine and shall leave the task of comparison to specialists.

### 1. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE *Awliâ*

The following two points demand particular consideration:

- I. Bodily Characteristics.
- II. Religious and moral characteristics.

#### I. Bodily Characteristics

All saints were once human beings, and they have kept many human characteristics even after their transformation into *awliâ*. It is important to note from the beginning that although the statements one receives about the same *welî* vary in different places, we find these differences to be only superficial while the fundamental ideas remain the same. Let us approach the subject from the following points of view:

- a) Sex and age,
- b) Mode of life,
- c) Imprints of their hands, feet, etc.,
- d) Appearance in the forms of animals.

#### a) Sex and Age of the Saints

*Awliâ* belong to both sexes<sup>1</sup> though male saints are by far the more numerous.<sup>2</sup> This fact does not justify the statement of Kobelt that the Arabs have no female saints.<sup>3</sup> Nor is Perron<sup>4</sup> right when he writes that the way to holiness is too difficult for women, therefore we rarely find a woman in Islam taking it.<sup>5</sup> One who critically

<sup>1</sup> The Preislamic Arabs had male as well as female gods. Wellhausen, *Reste Arab. Heidentums*.

<sup>2</sup> Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes*, pp. 302 and 303, mentions some female saints.

<sup>3</sup> Globus, 1885, no 3, p. 40 (after Goldziher).

<sup>4</sup> *Femmes arabes avant et depuis l'Islamisme*, p. 350 (Goldziher).

<sup>5</sup> Er-Râzi thinks—in explaining Sûreh 12 109, 16 45 and 21 7—that God never sent a female prophet.

reviews the position of women in the earliest periods of Islam, and carefully studies the teachings of its founder will find no real obstacles to the religious development of the female.<sup>1</sup> Whenever male *awliâ* arose, we find reference to female *awliâ* also. Among the shrines which I have visited 13.2 per cent are dedicated to female saints.<sup>2</sup> In reviewing the list of female saints one observes that the greater part of them are of some importance, 60 per cent of the female saints enjoying a wide reputation, as compared with only 31 per cent of the male list. It is curious that some villages have no *waliyât* pl. (of *waliyeh*, fem. of *welî*), e. g., 'Anâtâ, Ša'fât, Šôba, en-Nabî Šamwîl, Bêt 'Anân, etc. Female saints enjoy the same reputation as the male ones of the same locality or an even greater one. El-Badriyeh is the most important saint of Šarâfât and the surrounding villages. El-'Azêrât is held by the inhabitants of 'Awartah in nearly the same respect as al-Mufađđil or al-Manšûrî. Al-Ḥađrâ of Nâblus and Al-Ḥađrâ of Djôrah—two different saints—are more honoured and more visited than all other *awliâ* of their localities. But there are also female saints of minor importance. Such are Banât *eš-šêḥ* Šaleḥ (Jericho), 'Irâq el-Badawiyeh (Mâlḥâ), el-Ḥadjdjât (Mâlḥâ), eš-Šâmiyeh (Koloniâ), Banât er-Rfâî ('Awartah), etc.

It is curious that practically all holy trees, which have as their own name the simple name of a tree,<sup>3</sup> are thought to be inhabited by female saints.<sup>4</sup> Below I gave a list of such trees.

An explanation of this belief is the fact that all tree names are feminine in the Arabic language.<sup>5</sup> In one sense it is true, as Jaussen says, that all such trees are themselves regarded as saints. But investigation will show that every such tree is believed to be the habitation of a spirit of a saint, who appears on different occasions to different people. In many cases the expressions *sittnâ* (our lady)

<sup>1</sup> Goldziher, *Mohammedanische Studien* II, 299.

<sup>2</sup> Of 255 saints (not including the 163 visited by me) for whom material was gathered, only 8.6 per cent were female. In most cases the peasants did not give me a complete list of the *awliâ* of their village.

<sup>3</sup> See page 71.

<sup>4</sup> An exception is *eš-šêḥ* Abû Ḥarrûbeh, south west of eđ-Dâbriyeh, who is a male saint.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. also the fact that the tree deities of ancient Palestine and Egypt were generally considered as female; e. g., Ašîrat (Ašerah) and the Sycomore Goddess (nb.t nh.t) [W. F. Albright].

and *es-šāḥah* (fem. of *ch-šāḥ*) are used instead of *waliyeh*. The female saints are believed in popular Palestinian religion to possess the same powers as the male *awliā*. They heal the sick, help the oppressed, guard the property of their neighbours, protect the village from its enemies, etc.<sup>1</sup>

Few female saints are of Biblical origin. In er-Rām one is shown the tomb of Samuel's mother. In Nablus a shrine is dedicated to el-Ḥaḍrā, who is supposed to be the daughter of Jacob. Her history is as follows: The son of the leader of a tribe asked Jacob to give him his daughter as wife. The patriarch refusing his request, as he was an idolator, the young man bribed the 40 followers of Jacob who were all *mu'minūn* (believers), giving each one a sack of gold.<sup>2</sup> These persuaded their master to accept the offer. Jacob answered, "You may accept such a bargain, but I will not."<sup>3</sup> They nevertheless sent their wives to prepare el-Ḥaḍrā for the marriage. Her father, assuring her that the God of his fathers would not allow such an act, asked her to shout three times, just as her bridegroom entered her room:

O grand father (help me)!

O Prophets (help me)!

O God (help me)!

She followed this advice and her bridegroom fell dead at the moment of his entrance into the room. Thus she kept her virginity and was called el-Ḥaḍrā, "the Green."<sup>4</sup>

The male saints, who predominate, forming about 86.8 per cent of all *awliā*, are generally regarded as Bedouin, Soudanese Maghrebine or peasants. The saints appear mostly in night visions. Sometimes they are seen in the dusk of evening. While some love to visit and converse with human beings, others are seen only rarely. Most of the male *awliā* have been observed to be reverend *šēḥs*, with a white beard and white hair. *Iḥtiyār*, *šāiyyb* and *šēḥ* are the usual expressions used to denote this appearance. Very few have been found to be middle aged, like *es-šēḥ* Aḥmad of Ḥirbet Qaryet S'ideh.

<sup>1</sup> In the case of Fâtmeḥ el-Barrî (Zakâriyah) no male visitors are allowed to enter the shrine. QS, 1915, 175.

<sup>2</sup> From that time it is believed that bribery began.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps this story is an echo of the story told in Gen. 34.

<sup>4</sup> The story was told to me by the *šēḥ* of the shrine.

Female saints appear mostly as maidens, sometimes as middle-aged women, but very rarely as an old woman (*adjûz*). Saints may be recognized on their appearance by a majestic walk, a penetrating eye, a serene look and an erect stature.

While most of them are of the white race some are negroes, while some are described as *qamhî* or *sudânî*, "darky," "Nubian." Among negro saints are:

<i>eš-šêh</i> Aḥmad	Ḥirbet Q. Sîdih
<i>eš-šêh</i> 'Abdallâh	Šu'fât
<i>eš-šêh</i> 'Anbar	'Êsawiyeh
<i>eš-šêh</i> Mbâarak	Bêt Iksâ
<i>eš-šêh</i> Abû Ismâ'il	'Lîkiâ
<i>eš-šêh</i> 'Ubêd	Şatâf

I have not seen a sanctuary of a negress.

#### b) Mode of Life

The dress of the *awliâ* generally conforms with the two following conditions:

1. The native costume of their land of origin.
2. The locality of the sanctuary.

If the saint is supposed to have been during his life a *Badawî*, *Mughrabî*, peasant, *madaneh* (city dweller), *'abd*, (slave, negro) rich or poor, he wears the corresponding dress. Each of these has his own costume, which he is thought to keep even after death. At the same time most of the saints of a locality are supposed to wear the clothes of that locality, even if their native home may have been in some foreign country.

In general, the following description is given: a *laffeh*, *šâšeh* *šaraf* or *'amâneh* covers the head. On the body they wear a *tôb*, *djibbeh*, *'abây* and a *zunnâr*. The Bedouin saints wear an *'uqâl*.

It is interesting to note the colours of the various garments. I have noticed that they always belong to one of the three colours red, green and white. White predominates, while green is the holy colour. Often we hear the expression *lâbis abyad fî abyad*, "he is clad in pure white." Several saints have a white headgear and a green

*djubbbeh*, or a red *laffeh* and white *tôb*. All those saints who are supposed to be descendants of the Prophet (*šurafâ*) wear a green head-dress. The colour of this article of dress is always decisive, while that of other pieces is less important.

The dress of the *waliyât* is said to be *madanî*, *badawî*, or *fallâlî*. Eš-Šâmiyeh (Koloniâ) has been seen wearing the clothes of a city woman with a white 'izâr (an ample veil). Banât eš-šêḥ Šalâḥ dress themselves like Bedouin. El-Badriyeh and *sittnâ* el-Ghârah (Bêt Nûbâ) each wear a green veil and a white 'izâr. The latter lady has a greenish band on her forehead.

Bišr el-Hâfî<sup>1</sup> (Nâblus) is said to appear walking barefoot, as he used to do during his lifetime. This characteristic gave him his surname *el-Hâfî*, "the barefooted." We often hear that some are seen wearing a crown, *tâdj*, which is described in every case as of green colour.<sup>2</sup> Such are

<i>en-nabî</i> Dâniân	near el-Ḥaḍr
el-Ḥaḍr	in all of his shrines
<i>eš-šêḥ</i> Aḥmad	Ḥirbet Q. Sîdeh
<i>eš-šêḥ</i> Ḥusên	Bêt Sûrik
<i>eš-šêḥ</i> Ḥusên	Bêt 'Anân.

In the case of *en-nabî* Mûsâ many assured me that they have seen him with a greenish halo surrounding his face. A staff (*miḥdjâneh*), a spear (*rumḥ*) and a sword have been observed to be carried by some holy men. *Eš-šêḥ* 'Abd es-Salâm, es-sultân Ibrâhim el-Adhamî (Šafât), Barrâq (Bêt Djibrîn) and *en-nabî* Aiyûb (Râs ibn Simḥân) appear mostly with a spear; *eš-Moḥammad* (Wâdi en-Naml), *en-nabî* Tarfinî and *sittnâ* el-Ghârah (both in Bêt-Nûbâ) carry at times a sword dripping with blood. *Eš-šêḥ* Šarîf and many others carry a *miḥdjâneh*.

In most of the cases the *awliâ* appear walking or sitting, occasionally also they are seen riding on a horse. This is a special privilege of el-Ḥaḍr, St. George. Dâniân has also been seen riding to his *maqâm*. As soon as he reaches it, he ties the horse to one of

<sup>1</sup> He is said to have been the banner-bearer of the Prophet.

<sup>2</sup> See also *QS*, 1916, 66.

the oak trees and proceeds walking to the holy spot. *Es-šēh* Husên<sup>1</sup> has a green horse.<sup>2</sup>

In examining further details we learn that some still continue performing the habitual acts of their lifetime. Thus Banât *es-šēh* Šalâh have often been seen boiling coffee and singing. *Es-sultân* Ibrâhim el-Adhamî (Bêt Haninâ) was observed sitting in front of his shrine and smoking his pipe (*ghalyûn*). *Es-šēh* Aḥmad el-Ḥwêš (Biddû) often walks from his tomb to the cave bearing his name, where he used to spend a great part of his time while alive. El-Ḥaḍr is supposed to take a bath every Thursday night in Hammâm ed-Daradjeh (in Nablus). *Es-šēh* Ḥâlid<sup>3</sup> spends the summer months under his oak tree, and lives in the winter in his *tâqah*.<sup>4</sup> Aḥmad ed-Djabbârah (Yâlô) spreads his bed on the surface of his well. The bed is made of a *farweh* (a sheepskin coat) with long white wool. Šadjaret Abû Nâr has, whenever irritated, a menstrual flow.<sup>5</sup> The word *bithîd* was used and the fluid was described as viscous. In the case of Bîr 'Ônah (Bêt Djâlâ) the stones on the brim of the well are dyed red once every year on St. Mary's feast. They are the only cases I have heard where female saints still possess the property of menstruation.<sup>6</sup>

The saints are attached to their habitation, where as a rule they appear and where most of the miracles take place. But they may change their shrine, settling in some other village or even in another country. This is established in the case of the Banât *es-šēh* Šalâh of Jericho. When their habitation was ruined during the war, being

<sup>1</sup> Bêt Sûrik.

<sup>2</sup> Even the horses are described in verses as being of green colour:

*siâdî râkbîn hiûl huḍḍar*  
*lahum zên el-mabâsim mâ ṭhaḍḍar*  
*'alâ 'Arâfât wada'ûnâ niṭṭhaḍḍar*  
*qlûb šâkieh kiṭr eš-šadâ*

My lords are riding green horses.

They have beautiful features (lit. mouths) with the early growth of moustaches.

They called us to 'Arâfât to pray and become sanctified.

Our hearts complain of lack of attention.

<sup>3</sup> Dêr Ghassâneh.

<sup>4</sup> By this *tâqah* is meant a small cave situated near the tree.

<sup>5</sup> See JPOS IV, 71.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. JPOS I, 163.



changed by the Turks into a stable, they punished them by helping the English to occupy all the Jordan valley. At the same time they moved to Hisbân.<sup>1</sup>

c) Imprints of Hands, Feet, etc.

One of the great characteristics of *awliâ* is that they may leave the imprints of their hands, feet, knees, etc., in the solid rock. Such a sign is found only in the case of very important prophets. In 50 per cent of the cases we find impressions of the feet, in some those of the hands and in very few those of the head, knees, or the whole body. At times the impressions of two different parts of the body of the same saint can be seen in the same rock. The following is a list of all such impressions which I have seen:

1. The 12 footsteps of the Prophet Mohammed, on the Şaḥrah (I, 3),<sup>2</sup>
2. 12 footsteps of Idris on the Şaḥrah (I, 2),
3. One footstep of the Prophet Mohammed near the Şaḥrah (III, 14),
4. The right foot of Christ el-Aqṣâ,
5. The feet of Christ Mount of Olives,
6. Two feet and two hands of Abraham<sup>3</sup> Masdjad el-Yaqîn,
7. Two feet and two hands of Lot<sup>4</sup> near masdjad el-Yaqîn  
in a *ḥuwêṭah*.<sup>5</sup>
8. Knees and hands of St. Mary Bîr 'Ônâ (Bêt Djâlâ),
9. Knees of Christ Bîr 'Ônâ (Bêt Djâlâ),
10. The head of the Prophet Mohammed eş-Şaḥrah (II, 7),
11. The hand of Gabriel eş-Şaḥrah (I, 1),
12. The body of St. Elias<sup>6</sup> opposite the convent  
Mâr Ilyâs,

<sup>1</sup> See IV, 84.

<sup>2</sup> The numbers in parenthesis refer to the enumeration given on pages 81 and 82, in vol. IV.

<sup>3</sup> See IV, 79.

<sup>4</sup> See IV, 78.

<sup>5</sup> Some *ḥuwêṭât* are not at all religious, but are made for catching birds and are generally situated near a spring. I have seen a *ḥuşş* of this sort near Ḥirbet Zîf. Another sort of enclosure (known as *kifreh*) is made by highway robbers. Between Hebron and Yaṭṭâ I saw a circle of this kind.

<sup>6</sup> See IV, 80.

13. Srîr 'Isâ.<sup>1</sup> in the entrance to the  
Stables of Solomon,  
14. Srîr es-Saiydi<sup>2</sup> Bêt Djâlâ.<sup>3</sup>

The people of Bêt Djâlâ tell us the following about numbers 8 and 9: While the Virgin was carrying her child on a hot summer day, she passed the valley beside Bêt Djâlâ. She and her baby became thirsty, but on reaching a well she discovered that it was dry. The Virgin bent over the brim and said: *intlî yâ bîr layšrab el-walad es-šghîr*, "become full, O well, so that the young child may drink!" The water began immediately to flow from a subterranean source until it had filled the pit up to the brim. St. Mary and Christ bent down and quenched their thirst. The impressions of the knees of both, and those of the hands of Mary remained in the rock. From that time on it was also observed that the brim became dyed red on the feast of the Virgin.<sup>4</sup> The well received the name Bir 'Ônah, "the well of Help,"<sup>5</sup> since it responded to the call of the Virgin.

El-Mashûtah<sup>6</sup> is a large field of rocks of all sizes, which are said to be petrified men and women. This place lies to the NW of Bêt Djâlâ, and its story runs as follows: The peasants of a village celebrated a wedding. The *'arûs* (bride) was brought from her father's house on a camel, as the custom used to be and is still in some villages. She was followed by a great crowd of friends, who sinned so glaringly that the Almighty God punished them by changing the whole of the procession into a field of rocks. Once their shapes could be clearly recognized, but through the disintegration caused by weathering only a few can still be identified. Thus one is still shown the bride riding on the camel, and many rocks are explained as representing a woman, a man or a child.<sup>7</sup> This awful punishment,

<sup>1</sup> The real impression of the body is not seen.

<sup>2</sup> See IV, 80, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> One impression of a foot is shown between Dêr Ghassânch and 'Ên ed-Dêr. It is thought to be that of the Prophet.

<sup>4</sup> Canaan, *Haunted Springs and Water Demons*, JPOS I, 164.

<sup>5</sup> Whenever a peasant—especially a woman—is called, she answers, 'ônah, "(what) help (can I give you?)"

<sup>6</sup> Mudjir, I, 80, says that God had changed at the time of Pharaoh many Egyptians into stones.

<sup>7</sup> Jaussen, *Coutumes*, p. 337, mentions a similar but simpler case.

which somewhat resembles the story of Sodom, Gomorrah and Lot's wife,<sup>1</sup> served as a warning to all the surrounding villages, who repented and began to serve Allah.

Such petrified stones are the opposite of the imprints of saint's bodies. While the latter are the signs of the greatness and the miraculous power of their owners, the former represent one form of the punishment of the sinners by God. The former are honoured, the latter cause horror.

#### d) Appearance in the Form of Animals

A very curious and interesting feature is that *welīs* may appear in animal forms.<sup>2</sup> This idea certainly goes back to primitive religion.<sup>3</sup> *Eš-šēḥ* 'Abdallāh of Bêt Surik even takes the form of the awful *ghûl*, while on other occasions he has appeared as a serpent and as a hyena. I have in my collection fifteen such cases. The animals represented are:

<sup>1</sup> Gen. XIX.

<sup>2</sup> A *ḥadīṭ* says that God puts the souls of the martyrs into green birds which live in paradise. Taqiy-d-Din es-Sabkī, *šifâ-l-asqâm fi ziyârat ḥēr el-'anâm*, 143.

<sup>3</sup> In Christian folksongs we observe the same idea:

<i>raḥalnâ uinzilnâ 'aqabr el-masîḥ</i>	
<i>laqênâ mâr Yūḥannâ qâ'id yistarîḥ</i>	
<i>farašelnâ bsâṭuḥ</i>	<i>uqalnâ uq'udû</i>
<i>fataḥilnâ indjîluḥ</i>	<i>uqalnâ ismâ'û</i>
<i>ismî'nâ qrâyeḥ</i>	<i>ismî'nâ ḥsûs</i>
<i>ismî'nâ qrâyeḥ</i>	<i>btîḥiyek-en-nifûs</i>
<i>tlî'nâ 'ad-djabal</i>	<i>laqênâ talât hamamât</i>
<i>wâḥdih bitšallî</i>	<i>ucâḥdih bitšûm</i>
<i>ucâḥdih bturšûq bil-baḥḥûr.</i>	

We journeyed and went down to the tomb of Christ,  
(Where) we found St. John sitting down to rest.  
He spread for us his carpet (his cloak),  
and said, "Sit down!"

He opened for us his gospel and said, "Listen!"

We heard reading, we heard voices,  
we heard reading which revives the spirit.

We ascended the mountain, and found three doves,

One prays, one fasts and one waves the censer to and fro.

These three doves probably stand for Peter, Paul and John, as may be inferred from an evening prayer.

in seven cases	birds,
in three cases	serpents,
in one case	a rabbit,
in one case	a goat,
in one case	a lion,
in one case	a white sheep and
in one case	different forms.

In analyzing these animals we find that they belong to two categories:

1. Animals whose forms are preferred by demons. These are the goat (*djidi*), hyena (*dabi'*), *'arbid* and *ghul*. The colour of these animals is black or dark, which points, as we know from Palestinian demonology, to a bad *djinn*.<sup>1</sup> *'Arbid*, not *haiyeh*, is used in these cases to denote a serpent. *'Arbid* means primarily "troublesome, petulant,<sup>2</sup> quarrelsome, ill-natured."<sup>3</sup> In classical Arabic *'irbidd* means "a bad and poisonous serpent," as well as "the male of every serpent."<sup>4</sup> Popular use has combined these forms and characteristics, so that *'arbid* now means "an illnatured, poisonous male serpent." Common belief always gives it a dark colour. A goat stands, as was shown in *Haunted Springs and Water Demons*, for a bad demon. The *ghul* is one of the worst demons, while the hyena is reckoned as the most insidious and ill-natured of animals.<sup>5</sup>

2. Animals whose shape is generally taken by good spirits. In my collection we have the dove (*hamameh*), the green bird (*têr ahḍar*), the peacock (*ta'ûs*), sheep (always described as white), the *ghreyib* bird, the lion and probably the rabbit. The dove has always been

<sup>1</sup> Canaan, *Haunted Springs*, *JPOS* I.

<sup>2</sup> Kassâb and Hanmâm, p. 415.

<sup>3</sup> Hava, p. 454.

<sup>4</sup> *Muḥit el-muḥit* II, 1364.

<sup>5</sup> It is thought that a hyena always tries to hypnotize a person who happens to meet it, before devouring him. By crossing his way and crocking its tail the beast hypnotizes (*biyḍbâ*) the person, who loses his faculty of judgement and follows the animal unwillingly. If he does not fall by accident and lose a few drops of blood—by means of which his power of judgement will return—he follows the hyena to where he is led and is finally devoured.

the symbol of good tidings and piety.<sup>1</sup> The same may be said about the green bird,<sup>2</sup> while spirits in the form of sheep are always good natured.<sup>3</sup> All I know about the rabbit is that I never heard that a bad demon takes the shape of this animal. It is further said that the saints who take the shapes of the last described animals have always been seen in this form while they were helping human beings, saving a village from enemies, caring for people in great danger, etc. On the other hand, all saints who are supposed to take the shapes of the animals mentioned under number 1 are represented as punishing people, injuring and frightening them.

This curious phenomenon of transformation is very interesting since it can be hardly explained except as a survival from ancient religion. Only in this way we can see how saints—chosen men of God—can take the shapes of furious, malicious animals.

In this connection it may be noted that there are animals which guard the sanctuary from being defiled. These protecting genii are always described as *haiyeh* (serpent), and never as *'arbid*. The following story is told about *en-nabî Mûsâ*. During the War a heathen Indian (Sikh) troop encamped in the building. Since they defiled the place a large serpent appeared and drove them out. In these cases we are never told that the prophet or *welî* takes the form of the animal, but that he sends the latter to punish the trespassers.

The following is the list of the saints who have appeared in animal forms:

Name of the saint	Location	Animal
Aḥmad et-Taiyâr	Šarâfât	large bird,
Moses	near Jericho	green bird,
El-'Azêrât	'Awartah	three doves,
Abû el-'Ôf	Sindjil	dove,
Eš-Šuhadâ <sup>4</sup>	Jerusalem	white sheep, <sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gen. 8 11; Cant. 1 15, 2 14, 5 2; Ps. 68 14; Math. 3 16; Marc. 1 10; John. 1 32; Luc. 3 22; etc.

<sup>2</sup> According to Mohammedan superstition the Almighty God made at the creation a peacock in which the soul of the Prophet was placed, eš-Šyûfî, *ed-durar el-hisân* (on the margin of *daqâiq el-'aḥbâr*), p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> See JPOS I, 153—171.

<sup>4</sup> Outside Bâb es-Zâhirah (es-Sâhirah)=Herod's Gate.

<sup>5</sup> Related by Imm Moḥammad Ql.

Name of the saint	Location	Animal
er-Rifā'i		peacock,
el-Badawī		green bird,
ed-Dāsūqī		a small bird called ghreiyb,
ed-Djilānī		lion,
Lot,	Banī N'ēm	rabbit,
Abū Šūseh	Bêt 'Ūr el-Fôqah	'arbîd,
Ĥamdallāh	Biddū	'arbîd,
'Anbar	'Ēsawiyeh	'arbîd,
el-Brēdiyeh	ed-Djib	goat,
'Abdallāh	Bêt Surik	ghûl, hyena or 'arbîd,
Ĥasan el-Baqarī	Ĥirbit en-nabī Târi <sup>1</sup>	gazelle.

The following stories illustrate the foregoing descriptions. The inhabitants of the villages surrounding 'Awartah reinforced by some Bedouin tribes attacked the inhabitants of this village, who seeing that they were lost, implored the 'Azêrât for help, and behold three green doves flew from the shrine and hovered over the village. The enemy, as they confessed later, saw everything green, and could no longer recognize the situation of the village. All their efforts to locate the houses were frustrated, and they had to go back with disappointed hopes.

Abū el-'Ôf appears as a dove to every one who asks his aid when in difficulty, especially to one who is in danger of being drowned.

## II. Religious and Moral Characteristics

### a) Irritability and Forbearance

Every one who has taken the trouble to investigate the cult of the saints will be struck by the simple division made by the peasants of Palestine, based on a very interesting aspect of their character. The saints are *ṭawīlīn er-rūḥ* (forbearing) or *nizqīn, ḥiṣrīn* (irritable, temperamental).<sup>2</sup>—The first group treat human failure with patience.

<sup>1</sup> Buried in the court of the prophet Târi.

<sup>2</sup> Many of the saints of this group do not allow a building to be erected on their tomb. This superstition exists also among the Jews. Goldziher, *Moh. Tradition über den Grabesort des Jonas*, ZDPV II, 13, etc.

They give mortals time to repent, and wait patiently for the fulfilment of vows. They may remind them gently of their obligations. This forbearance may go even so far that people begin to doubt their power. But as soon as such a doubt arises they at once respond and show their power and ability clearly. The story of *es-šēh* Abū el-Ēnēn in 'en Qīnā illustrates this point.

The irritable saints, on the other hand, do not show any pity to transgressors. They demand their rights and sometimes use very severe methods of punishing those who trespass on their rights and make a false oath, dishonour their *maqām* or speak irreverently about them. This group of saints is, therefore, more feared and respected than the former group. When a man is suspected of having committed a major crime, the judge may ask the defendant to take an oath at the shrine of a well known saint, who is always chosen from this class. When a person is maltreated and oppressed by an influential man, from whom he cannot get his rights, he hurries to such an easily irritated *welī* and asks for aid. Generally the saint is treated in such a way as to irritate him still further, as already described above in treating the subject of oaths. The following stories are characteristic.

A man of Liftā cut a stick from one of the trees of *es-šēh* Hūsēn (Bêt Surik) in order to drive his mule while he was threshing corn. No sooner did he strike the animal with this stick than a disease attacked it and the animal was unable to move. The frightened peasant returned the stick at once, made a vow and begged the *šēh* to forgive him. The mule was cured as miraculously as it fell ill.

A poor man of Gaza went to Qaṭṭaneh to glean olives from trees which had already been harvested.<sup>1</sup> He placed all that he had gathered in the house of a peasant of the village, who denied the next day that anything had been entrusted to him. The man of Gaza then went to *es-šēh* Ramaḍān, where heaps of thistles (*qašš*)<sup>2</sup> were deposited, and begged him: "I beseech you, O *šēh* Abū Qašš<sup>3</sup> (behold) I have entered your village (as a guest) and the inhabitants

<sup>1</sup> Such a work is called *bitsaiyaf*.

<sup>2</sup> Such thistles are used for fuel instead of wood.

<sup>3</sup> He did not know the name of the *welī*. Seeing the heaps of thistles, he called him "Father of Thistles."

have stolen my hardly gathered olives." No sooner had he finished his exclamation than a fire attacked the house of the thief, who came running to the saint acknowledging his sin, promising to repay what he had taken tenfold, and begging him to extinguish the fire and save his house.

Much severer was the punishment inflicted by *es-šēh* 'Abd es-Salām. An inhabitant of 'Anâtâ—a descendant of the *šēh*—had a quarrel with a person of *Ḥizmâ*, who cursed him and his *šēh*. The insulted person went to the shrine of the latter and, reproaching the *welî*, said "Thus, O *šēh*, they curse me and you, and you will not protect me and yourself!"<sup>1</sup> The same night the man of God appeared to the *Ḥizmâ* man. He fell sick with general paralysis and died a few days later.

As a rule all negro saints are thought to be *nizqîn*. The Maghrebine come next.

#### b) Supernatural Phenomena

We meet with four different appearances which have been observed in connection with all saints, namely, a green light, burning of incense, religious music and prayers. It is curious that these signs are perceived by the three most important senses, since a light is seen, while incense is smelled and music and prayers are heard. With the sense of touch mortals can very rarely perceive a saint. When a person becomes a *darwîš*, he begins to feel the saint with his hands. But even then this method of identification remains incomplete and thus far behind the other three. It was the same in the ancient times, when deities could be seen and heard, but not touched.<sup>2</sup>

The green light is seen in the dusk of the evening or at night, and appears and disappears at intervals. The light is described always as greenish. Every time a person approaches the sanctuary where such a phenomenon is observed, the light disappears completely, but no tempest can put it out.<sup>3</sup> Such a sign is accepted by

<sup>1</sup> In QS. (1916, 131 and 132) a story with the same idea is given.

<sup>2</sup> Moses saw God but did not touch him. In Christian legends Christ and the saints may touch the person to whom they appear.

<sup>3</sup> This is especially true of el-Mbârakeh (Kalandiah).



all the Arabs of Palestine<sup>1</sup> as a sure indication that the place is inhabited by some good-natured superhuman power. In many cases it has been the only means of recognizing holy sites. We have had already several examples.

The incense smelled at the sanctuaries is said to have a sweeter odour than the usual one. No one who visits a place where he has smelled incense will find any indications pointing to the burning of incense, since supernatural phenomena never leave any physical trace. In some important shrines one smells burned *baḥyūr* every Friday.

Often religious music, coming from a shrine, is heard. It is either the singing or rather the melodious recitation of *madāyḥ* (pl. of *madīḥ*) or it is *darwīš* music, produced by the combination of several musical instruments. Such an '*iddeh* sometimes plays so loudly that all the peasants in the neighbourhood of the *maqām* have to leave their houses, as in the case of *eš-šēḥ* Frêdj (Bêt Haninâ). Loud music is an exception. The '*iddeh* of *eš-šēḥ* Abû Yamîn (Bêt 'Anân) plays while the saint flies over and around the village.

It is interesting to note the following in connection with the hearing of prayers. The *welî* has been heard to say his prayers alone, but more often many *awliâ* or *ṣullâḥ* perform their devotions together.<sup>2</sup> It is often related that the Prophet Mohammed and his *ṣaḥâbeh* attend such meetings. In Nablus el-Ḥaḍer holds a meeting with the *ṣaḥâbeh* in his shrine. In the sanctuary of en-Nûbânî<sup>3</sup> the *aqṭûb* assemble. The saints are rarely seen walking in meditation around their shrine.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is slowly vanishing.

<sup>2</sup> *Eš-šēḥ* es-Sidrî ('Anâtâ) goes every Friday to the Mosque of Omar to perform *ṣalât ed-djum'ah*.

<sup>3</sup> Nablus.

<sup>4</sup> The following verses throw light on the subject:

*el-Ḥauwâš mîn qaḍluḥ hû sîdî u'anâ 'abduḥ*  
*yndahnî u'anâ aruḍluḥ yâ darâ 'uṣû biḍluḥ*  
*taniḍuḍluḥ el-qanâḍîl quḍdâm es-salâṭîn*

Who is so mighty as el-Ḥauwâš?  
 He calls me and I answer.  
 (He asks) to light his lamps

he is my lord, and I am his servant;  
 Who knows what he wishes?  
 before (we do it for) the sultans.

Before passing on to the description of other features we may summarize the preceding. The four phenomena described are manifested as follows:

1. During the night or the dusk of the evening only;
2. More regularly Thursday night;
3. Until a human being approaches, when they vanish;
4. Two or more of them may take place together.

From the foregoing discussion we note that the green colour predominates: the coverings of the tomb and the clothes of the *awliā* are mainly of a green colour. The headgear, sometimes the horse, the doves, the birds and the light are greenish. In one case the halo around the face of Moses was greenish. Green is the colour of light and common in modern Oriental superstition.<sup>1</sup>

As a supplement to this section we may describe some of the conversation of the saints. It is interesting to analyze speeches which are heard in night visions. While in most cases the *awliā* express their wish in a gentle but imperative way, at times they use coarse language, unworthy of them. Thus *en-nabī* Aiyūb appeared once to 'Abd er-Rahīm of Ḥarbatā and said: "Why do you not visit me? If you do not do so soon, I shall cut off your life."<sup>2</sup> *Es-sultān* Ibrāhīm el-Adhamī threatened a boy who had stolen some olives, with the words: "By God, I shall kill you or make you lame if you steal another time." *Eš-šēḥ* Aḥmad el-'Adjamī,<sup>3</sup> appearing to Ḥamdān Moḥammad Šāleḥ ordered him to tell a man who was

*Yā Ḥauwās yābū naḥleh tawīleh  
fāḥat riḥtak 'as-salāḥīn  
yā Ḥauwās dīnā-el-yōm inzūrak  
niḍwī šam'itak u niḍ'aq baḥḥūrak  
fāḥat riḥtak 'as-salāḥīn*

O Ḥauwās, O owner (father) of a tall palm tree!  
His perfume is diffused over the *sultāns*.  
O H., we come today to visit you,  
to light your candle and to burn your incense.  
Your perfume is diffused over the *sultāns*.

"*sultāns*," stands here for "saints."

<sup>1</sup> A green coat seems to be characteristic of saints. See Mudjir I, 42.

<sup>2</sup> 'aqṣuf 'umrak.

<sup>3</sup> East of Bēt Maḥsir.

building a wall in the property of the *welî*: "*in mâ ridjî 'an turquh la'aqta' eš-suršen.*"<sup>1</sup> "If he does not turn back from his course, I shall cut off his posterity."

### c) The Two Antagonistic Classes of Saints

Every one who has visited several shrines or who has investigated the *awliâ* will have noticed the distinction made by the people between 'Adjamî and *derwîš* or *šêh*. The word '*adjamî*' denotes originally a Persian, but it is used at present for foreign or exotic things or persons in general. It is, therefore, a mistake to think that these saints are Persians; on the contrary, not a single *welî* in my list of '*adjam*' came from that country, and all my enquiries in this respect were answered in the negative. Most of them bear the simple appellation *el-'adjamî* or the plural *el-a'djam*. Few are known by personal names, like *eš-šêh Salmân* (Bêt Surîk), *eš-šêh Abû Riš* (Bêt 'Anân), Aḥmad *el-'Adjamî* (Bêt Maḥsir), *irdjâl el-Arb'în* (Biddû), Ismâ'îl (Bêt Duqquh), Maṣṣûr (Ḥizmah). Other *awliâ* of this group, bearing the name of *el-'adjamî* or *el-a'djam*, are:

<i>el-A'djam</i>	Dêr Ghassâneh,
'Irâq <i>el-A'djam</i> <sup>2</sup>	Bêt Idjzâ,
four different 'Adjamîs	'Awartah,
<i>el-A'djam</i>	'Awartah,
<i>el-A'djam</i>	Bêt Djibrîn,
<i>el-'Adjamî</i>	<i>el-Mdjêdel</i> .

These holy men are respected in some villages and neglected in others. The honours paid to them in the first are less than those to the other saints. All of them belong to the irritable class. All I could learn about them is the following, related to me by a *šêh* of Dêr Ghassâneh. Aḥmad *el-Badawî* had a clever woman, Fâtmeḥ the daughter of *el-Barri*,<sup>3</sup> as one of his disciples. As soon as she was elevated by the master to the rank of sainthood, she left him, and began to be honoured more and more by the people, many of whom became her devoted followers. She and her disciples had many

<sup>1</sup> *šuršen*, "two roots," means "the descendants of both a man and of his son."

<sup>2</sup> They are also called *Irdjâl el-Maḥsûmiyeh*.

<sup>3</sup> According to some she is the daughter of Šarîfeh the daughter of *el-Ḥadrâ*.

religious quarrels with el-Badawî from the very beginning. Therefore her group was called by the *aqtâb* by the despised name of "foreigners," *a'djâm*. The following verse refers to her:

*es-saiyd illi maqâmuh madjma' el-aqtâb*  
*lôlâ mâ salab bint el-Barrî hâtruh mâ tâb*  
*rûhî yâ mridî uitqallab 'al-a'tâb*  
*uin massak dêm ybqâlak 'alênâ '(i)tâb.*

The master whose shrine is the assembling place of the *aqtâb* had he not captured the daughter of el-Barrî, he would not have been satisfied,

Go, O thou who lovest me, and turn yourself (as a sign of humiliation) on the thresholds, and should difficulties befall you, then have you the right to be angry with us.

This Fâtme<sup>1</sup> is supposed to have her shrine in Zakariâ. No male visitors are admitted in the shrine. She is supposed, according to what was told Masterman and Macalister, to have come from Persia,<sup>2</sup> but compare what is said above.

The greatest importance of the *'adjamî* saints lies in their hostility to all *darâwîs* saints, who belong to the *şûfiyeh*. I have never found that they oppose the prophets. As they cannot hurt the dead *awliâ* they persecute their descendants and followers. The following stories are excellent illustrations. If a man of 'Anâtâ—and all inhabitants of this village claim to be descendants of *es-şêh* 'Abd es-Salâm—should spend the night in Hizmâ, he is bound to remain all the night inside a house, for the moment he goes out Manşûr el-'Adjamî attacks him. Stones are thrown continually at him. In protecting himself he will also fight against his attacker. Nobody beside him is able to see the enemy; and even he can only perceive him vaguely. In case he is obliged to leave the village during the night, he must wear an *'abâye*h (cloak) of a Hizmâ man, turned inside out, so that the 'Adjamî will not recognize him.

<sup>1</sup> QS 1915, 175.

<sup>2</sup> The story noted in QS 1916, 126, about the origin of the *'adjamî* is not known to me, and it seems to me improbable, for the *aḥmadiyeh* *welîs* are not the descendants of *es-sultân* Badr.

When a member of the family of *es-šēh* el-Mahdī (Bêt Djibrin) dies and is carried to be buried, the A'djām try to prevent the burial by shooting sharp arrows at him, as well as at those carrying the *bêraq* and at the musicians. The best way to neutralize their action is to sprinkle pure water in the air, else the body of the dead will be badly injured.

Not only the descendants of a holy person, but every *darwīš* is afraid of their enmity.<sup>1</sup> From the many stories I heard and the explanations given to me, I conclude that:

1. The *a'djām* are hostile to the *šūfiyeh*, trying always to attack *darwīš* saints;
2. This can be accomplished only by attacking their descendants and followers;
3. Such explosions of wrath take place especially during the night;
4. None but the ones attacked—and these only vaguely—can see the *a'djām*;
5. The danger of such attacks can be prevented by simple measures;
6. In other ways these *awliā* resemble the other saints, but they are generally less honoured.

*Eš-šēh* Mbārak (Bêt Iksâ) is the only negro<sup>2</sup> 'Adjamī. He is renowned for his hatred to negroes, who never dare to enter the village for fear of being strangled by him. I have never heard of female saints belonging to this group, and have never heard of 'adjamī inhabiting a spring, while all other sanctuaries may be haunted by them.

Whenever I was shown a shrine and the people began to tell me something about the *welī*, I enquired whether he was an 'adjamī. "Lā" used to be the answer, when he did not belong to this class, "*hū Aḥmadī* (or *Mohammadī*)". This expression was always used for the non-'adjamī saints. Why such an appellation, derived from the name of the prophet, is given to them, I cannot say.

We rarely hear that an Aḥmadī *welī* becomes jealous. *Eš-šēh* el-Bakrī<sup>3</sup> went as usual to pay his visits to the saints of Dêr Ghassâneh.

<sup>1</sup> From these two examples we note how easy it is to mislead the saints. Demons can also be misled.

<sup>2</sup> The forty 'adjamī of Biddû are said to come from Morocco.

His first visit was directed to Irdjāl Sûfâ. This irritated Ibrâhîm el-Hauwâs so much that he inflicted general stiffness upon him. El-Bakrî who was a *darwîš*, knew at once the cause of his affliction, begged el-Hauwâs for forgiveness, and went directly to his shrine.<sup>1</sup>

This leads to a very important distinction which the present Palestinian has certainly inherited from his forefathers, namely, that one group of demigods is in continual conflict with the others. The 'Adjami are on a lower grade of sanctity and have perhaps inherited some characteristics of the heathen local divinities of antiquity.

We may now go one step further and see how some shrines of saints are inhabited at the same time by evil spirits which do not dwell in the holy place itself but in the immediate vicinity. We have already seen in the beginning of this work that five springs belong to this group. Other shrines of this character are:

The cave situated below eš-Šadjarah el-Mubâarakah (Dêr Djîrîr) is inhabited by demons, appearing as a hen with its chickens.

The cave Qaṭṭârah, which lies near *en-nabî Nûn* (Yanûn) is haunted by seven young brides.

In eš-šêḥ Ibrâhîm's shrine (el-Haḍer) a woman combing her hair has been seen. In Mghâret ez-Zuṭṭ near the shrine of Ḥaṣan Ghreiyb<sup>2</sup> a bride was observed.<sup>3</sup>

These *djinn* keep their attributes as illustrated by the following story. A Turkish soldier was ordered by his commander to cut some wood from the grove of Mghârat el-Qaṭṭârah. On the point of beginning his work, a *djinn* warned him not to intrude on the demons' property. The spirit showed him that the whole adjacent plain was full of *djinn* soldiers, who were ready to attack his regiment. The frightened soldier hurried back and reported the case. The commander, laughing at his superstition, ordered the exact execution of his instructions. The soldier returned and while cutting off the first branch fell dead. The spirits of the lower world then united with the English troops and crushed the Turkish army.

<sup>1</sup> Related by O. S. el-Barghûṭî.

<sup>2</sup> He is an 'adjamî.

<sup>3</sup> In eš-šêḥ Sarrâdj's *maqâm* a woman has been seen combing her hair.

## 2. MIRACLES

Beside the well-known belief as to miraculous cure of diseases by the saints, we meet with many other marvels. All are illustrated and supported by widely reported facts, which are said to have happened within the last two generations. Miracles are known by the names *mu'djizet*, *'adjibet* and *karâmeh*. The first and last are the best known expressions. A *mu'djizet* (like the resurrection of a corpse) is a sure sign of a prophet, while the *karâmât* are characteristic of the *awliâ*. The latter expression denotes the common belief of the honour and regard in which the saints are held by God who gives them this thaumaturgical power.

A favourite motif of such miracles is the way a saint punishes people who steal from his property, or from material put under his protection. A person, who stole horse-beans (*fîl*) from el-Hauwâs was punished with a skin disease of which the eruption looked like beans. The cucumbers (*faqqûs*) stolen by a boy from a garden adjacent to *eš-šêl* Ramaḍân (Qaṭṭaneh) were all changed into centipedes (*aṣât Mûsâ*). Abû Zaḥariâ (Bêt Ša"âr) changed the stolen peas into small serpents, scorpions and centipedes, which squirmed and crawled in the pockets of the thieves. Some poor wayfarer took oil to fry eggs from the shrine of *eš-šêl* Šnêt (Hebron) without asking *dastûr*. The moment he poured it into the pan it turned into blood. He returned the oil at once and, behold, it was nothing but simple oil! A girl who anointed her hair with oil, stolen from the sanctuary of 'Abd es-Salâm, was attacked immediately with stiffness of the neck. A boy went with his mother to visit *eš-šêl* Ibrâhîm (Bêt Djibrîn). While the mother entered the shrine, he began to gather olives from the trees of the saint. After filling his pockets, the boy also entered the *maqâm*, whereupon a loud thundering, lightning and the beating of many drums took place, so that the whole mountain began to shake. Both mother and child were frightened to death, and left the shrine, the boy throwing away the stolen olives. The wrath of the saint was appeased and the quaking stopped. The mother at once vowed a gift.

The following story heard in Biddû is told in many villages, with slight modifications. Some thieves, intending to steal goats, entered the cave (situated near *eš-šêl* Aḥmad el-Huwêš) where they knew

for sure that the animals were kept. They saw and felt nothing but rocks of different sizes. But as soon as they left the cave, the bleating of the goats was again distinctly heard. Every time they reentered or went out they had the same experience. Discouraged, they left the spot without attaining their aim.

Other miracles point to superhuman muscular power. Thus it is said that several saints can lift one or even two large stone pillars with one hand. This characteristic is found especially in Nablus: *es-sultân* 'Abd el-Ghâfir, Irdjâl el-'Amûd and *es-sêh* Tâhâ 'Abd el-Qâder possess it.

Whenever *es-sêh* Damrah<sup>1</sup> (Mazâri' en-Nubânî) went on a journey, a hyena<sup>2</sup> assigned to serve him<sup>3</sup> appeared and the saint rode on it.<sup>4</sup> St. Nicholas (Bêt Djâlâ) used to fill oil jars, placed half-full in his church, in a miraculous way so that the priest always had to take out some oil in order that the jars should not overflow.<sup>5</sup>

The common belief that the Rifâ'iyeh *šêhs* walk on fire and that el-Badawi walks on the sea, is also known among the Palestinians.<sup>6</sup>

Many of them are said to possess the faculty of flying. They may use some means of transport (like rocks), or may fly without support. Some enjoyed this advantage during their lifetime, but most did not manifest the power until after death.<sup>7</sup> The best examples of the first category are ed-Dawâ'ir<sup>8</sup> of Sûrbâhir. Their camels died during their stay in Mecca for the *ḥaddj*. When they asked a rich man to help them to procure other camels, he answered mockingly, "Go, ride on those rocks!" They went, did as they were told and observed that the rocks began to rise higher and to move in a NW direction. One descended in Qrûn el-Ḥadjar,<sup>9</sup> because the saint riding

<sup>1</sup> He is said to have been the milk-brother of the Prophet.

<sup>2</sup> This story may serve to illustrate the belief that the Almighty may assign evil spirits to serve saints.

<sup>3</sup> QS 1917, 72 gives another such case. Mudjir attributes this faculty to some *awliâ* like Abû Tôr.

<sup>4</sup> See also *lawâqih el-'amcâr* II, 144.

<sup>5</sup> From the written notes of my father.

<sup>6</sup> Mudjir, 93, relates that a severe tempest arose whenever an unclean woman entered the shrine of Nebi Mûsâ.

<sup>7</sup> See Jaussen, I. c. 295; Curtiss, chapter IV; QS 1916, 176.

<sup>8</sup> Not Duwâ'ere with Kahle, PJB VI, 92.

<sup>9</sup> East of Sûrbâhir.



on it had died. In this spot, in the Sawâhri territory, he was buried. The others reached Sûrbâhir. This wonderful journey, which was seen in all of the countries passed over, established their sanctity for ever. Similar stories are told about *es-šêh* Aḥmad el-Ghmâri<sup>1</sup> (ed-Îâhriyeh) and his son *es-šêh* 'Alî. In the case of el-Qaṭrawânî, Abû Ḥalâwî, *es-sitt* Slêmiyeh<sup>2</sup> and *es-šêh* Ḥâlid<sup>3</sup> we hear one and the same story. After death, while being carried for burial, the coffin flew off the shoulders of the bearers and moved in the air until it reached the place chosen by the saint for his tomb.<sup>4</sup> The Arabic expression is *târ 'an ktâfḥun u haddâ . . .*, "It flew off their shoulders and came down . . ."<sup>5</sup> There are many *awliâ* who are seen during the night hovering over their village. *Eš-šêh* Abû Yânin (Bêt 'Anân) may serve as an illustration.<sup>6</sup> Beside this miraculous mode of travel, some saints belong to *ahl el-ḥitmeḥ*,<sup>7</sup> i. e. they can go from any place to any other one in an instant. El-Ḥaḍer<sup>8</sup> is the best representative of this class. A common proverb well states this power: "Like saint George wherever we go we meet him." This faculty may be so extensive that the saint is regarded as all pervasive. Only a few saints besides St. George belong to this category, but the others do not enjoy a wide reputation. *El-ḥaḍj* Šḥâdeḥ<sup>9</sup> may serve as an example. The Arabic expression used for such saints, *btinṭwî el-arḍ ilhum*, "the earth is folded (moves rapidly)

<sup>1</sup> The rock which carried him from Morocco to Palestine still lies before his shrine.

<sup>2</sup> Nablus. See also Jaussen, *JPOS* V, 78.

<sup>3</sup> Dêr Ghassâneh.

<sup>4</sup> This is an old belief in the Mohammedan world. See *es-Ša'rânî* II, 146.

<sup>5</sup> It is to be noted that in many cases the first miracle performed by a *welî* after his death is in the way his body behaves while carried for burial. It may get so heavy that those carrying the coffin (*suhliyeh*) have to stop and put down their load. On other occasions it becomes very light or even, as is mentioned in the text, may fly from their shoulders.

<sup>6</sup> See also *QS* 1915 on flying derwishes.

<sup>7</sup> This expression is unknown to *nadîr el-muḥîl*, Hava, Bellot and Wahrmond.

<sup>8</sup> Christians put on the head of children with high fever a plate of metal on which the picture of St. George is engraved. Peasants who used to visit the sanctuary of St. George in el-Ḥaḍr used to put one of the chains several times around their neck in order to safeguard themselves against future mental trouble.

<sup>9</sup> Dêr Ghassâneh.

under them," denotes that the earth moves while they remain where they are.<sup>1</sup>

The story<sup>2</sup> told below is also related with slight modification about the following saints:

<i>eš-šēh</i>	Têlah	Bêt Surik
<i>eš-šēh</i>	'Anbar	'Êsawiyeh
<i>eš-šēh</i>	'Aşfür	Dêr Ghassâneh and
<i>eš-šēh</i>	Dâhûd	Jerusalem.

*Eš-šēh* Moḥammed of Bêt Surik went to Mecca to perform the duties of the *ḥadj*. On the great feast (*'id el-kbîr*) his mother prepared some cakes backed in oil (*mḥammarât*). She wished that her absent son could also enjoy them. Têlah her other son, who observed how sorry she was, asked her to give him some to distribute among the poor. He went back to his flock of sheep, and finding a wolf near by, entrusted to his care the sheep and went in an instant to Mecca. He found his brother on the mountain of 'Arâfât, handed him the cakes in a warm and fresh condition, and came back as miraculously as he went. The sheep were well cared for by the wolf, and as a sign of gratitude Têlah gave the wolf one. Nobody knew anything about the affair until his brother came back from his pilgrimage. The inhabitants went out to welcome him. He, telling the whole story, said "I am not worthy of these honours, my brother Têlah is a real man of God, a *welî*." From that time Têlah was regarded as a saint.

The following verses describe this and other powers in a beautiful way:

*tarâ auwal el-lêl ḥallû š'urhum ḥallû*  
*faraşû saljâdîdhum 'al-môdj mâ (i)nballû*  
*tarâ fî 'âḫir el-lêl fî ḥaram en-nabî şallû*  
*şallû şalâh tfikk el-karb winḥallû.*

<sup>1</sup> In QS 1915, 174, 175, one such is mentioned. In QS 1917, 122 the story of er-Râb'ah (not *šēh* which is masc., but *sittnâ*) is given. She is said to have flown after death.

<sup>2</sup> In some cases the power of flying is inherited. Thus *eš-šēh* 'Alî of ed-Dawâymî, as well as his father Aḥmad el-Ghmârî, came in this miraculous way from Morocco.

Behold, at night-fall, they loosened their hair,  
 They spread their carpets on the waves and became not wet;  
 Behold, at the end of the night, they prayed at the sanctuary of  
 the Prophet,  
 They prayed a prayer which removes all troubles, and then disappeared.

*šôbeš<sup>1</sup> 'ar-rđâl yôm el-ḥarb mâ wallû  
 furašû saljâdîllhum 'alul-môdj mâ (i)nbullû  
 fî araval el-lêl fallû širhum fallû  
 uđîr el-lêl fî ḥaram en-nabî sallû.*

Recite a *šobâš* for the men who in the day of war do not flee!  
 (Behold) they (the *welîs*) spread their carpets on the waves and became  
 not wet;

At the beginning of night they loosened their hair,  
 And at its end they prayed at the sanctuary of the Prophet.

<i>sârû mâ er-rîḥ</i>	<i>qâlû er-rîḥ battâlî</i>
<i>ḥattû mâ el-barq</i>	<i>qâlû ḥaddû sirr-el-'abûlî</i>
<i>yâ rîḥ sallim 'alêhum</i>	<i>nint mîrsâlî</i>
<i>sâdât ḥattû-n-nuljîm</i>	<i>layfrû el-ḥâlî</i>

They sped with the wind, but said "the wind is too slow;"  
 They took to themselves the lightning and said "there is the secret  
 of the heroes."  
 O wind, salute them and be my messenger!  
 For these lords vie with the stars in speed, that their followers may  
 rejoice!

<i>sârû mâ er-rîḥ</i>	<i>n Djubrâyl idillibhim</i>
<i>hazzû qarwâym el-'arš</i>	<i>nîn uzûm saṭuathim</i>
<i>er-râd sabbû iqûl</i>	<i>allâh isâ'idhim</i>
<i>ul-mubtalâ in sihir</i>	<i>išûf sirr ilhim.</i>

They sped with the wind while Gabriel led them.  
 The feet of the Throne (of God) trembled from their great might.  
 The thunder praised (their power) saying: "God help them!"  
 And the afflicted (with devotion) will behold—if he watches their secrets.

<sup>1</sup> Unknown to *muḥîṭ el-muḥîṭ*, Bellot, Ilava, Wahrmond, Kassâb and Hammâm.

Another important feature is the ability of the *awliâ* to foretell the future. I have already mentioned the story of *es-šêh* Abû Ḥalâwî. The grandson of *es-šêh* Abû Yâmin (Bêt 'Anân) is *es-šêh* Moḥammad Abû Kaškûl, who spent all his time in the fields living on herbs, had a wide-spread reputation for telling the future. The following stories illustrate miracles of types that have not yet been mentioned.

Abû Miṭâ had a quarrel with a peasant of his village. His opponent seeing that it was impossible for him to subdue the *šêh*, said "You tire me, O Abû Miṭâ." The answer was: "Forget not that I am a man of God," and pressing with his thumb on his pipe a greenish flame came out, rising to the sky. The astonished peasant, assured that he had to do with a *welî*, spread the news of the miracle.

Ed-Daḥî<sup>1</sup> went one day with a camel driver to Transjordan to buy two sacks (*'idlên*) of corn. On the way he lost the money, and unable to buy wheat, he filled the two sacks with earth. Reaching home the *'idlên* were found to be full of corn.

When *es-šêh* Djâber was elevated to the rank of *darwîš*, Allah sent some men to prove his abilities. He not knowing their mission, welcomed them as guests and killed a *q̣bîḥah* in their honour. When the food was ready the visitors said: "O *šêh*, how can we eat your food without lemons?" Now Djâber knew that he was being tried, for it was not the season for this fruit. Lifting his hands towards heaven, he exclaimed: "O my lord Badawî, give me a lemon!" and behold a large ripe lemon fell from the roof. The men then congratulated him on the stage of sanctity which he had attained.

While the *šêh* M. Abû Kaškûl was roaming in the fields, he met a shepherd and being thirsty asked for a drink. The shepherd, hiding the water-skin, denied that he had water. Mohammad, irritated by the lie, pierced the belly of the shepherd with his finger, and a clear stream of fresh water poured out. After drinking, the water stopped flowing, and the shepherd, uninjured, followed the *šêh* and became his disciple. Such stories are told by the peasants to prove the superhuman power of the saints. It is still considered as natural as ever that a saint who performs no miracles, and thus does not prove his godly character, can not expect to be honoured or respected.

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<sup>1</sup> On a mountain bearing the same name.

This miraculous power manifests itself also, though less strikingly, in living derwishes, who handle fire without being burned, pierce themselves with swords without being hurt, and pass a thin and sharp *sîh* (iron spit) through their cheeks without bleeding or suffering pain. They stand and dance on drums without breaking the skin. Such mysterious acts are regarded by the people as a sure sign of sanctity.

In his imagination the peasant sees these *šêhs* even after their death. They remind him of unpaid vows, threaten the thief, order the erection of their shrines,<sup>1</sup> etc. In such ways the villagers are kept under the continuous domination of the *awliâ*.

A critical review of all these miracles<sup>2</sup> shows that they closely resemble the stories told in the Arabian Nights. The only (and, of course, fundamental) difference is that the first are ascribed to the power of God, the latter to the power of the *djinn*. Here again—namely in the apparent result of their work—we have a point where the powers of the upper and lower worlds coincide.<sup>3</sup>

In closing this part we may quote some verses which describe supernatural qualities other than those mentioned:

*es-saiyed illî min eš-šubbâk madd 'îduh*  
*djâb el-'asîr min blâd el-kufur iblâdîduh*  
*fî auwal-el-lêl biqrâ el-wirdî u bi'îduh*  
*u 'âlîr el-lêl sallam 'an-nabî 'ibîduh*

The master who stretched out his hand from the window,  
 and brought the prisoner, still fettered, from the land of the un-  
 believers,

In the first part of the night he reads and repeats a section of the  
 Qoran,  
 and in the last part of the night he saluted the Prophet (Mohammed)  
 with a handclasp.

<sup>1</sup> Several examples were mentioned in the course of our study. Another characteristic one is *eš-šêh* 'Anbar who appeared to every one who spent the night in a cave beside the shrine and ordered him to tell Ḥasan Muṣṭafâ to repair the shrine.

<sup>2</sup> Saints of other countries and other times performed the same sort of miracles. See 'Abd el-Wahhâb eš-Šarânî, *luwâqîh el-amûr*.

<sup>3</sup> Many stories about miracles performed by the Mohammedan leaders are told in 'Abdallah 'Alawî Ḥasan el-'Attâs, *zuhûr el-ḥuqâiq fî bayân el-ṭarâyk*, 239 ff.

*fî hâlet el-bûdî rûhî kuntu 'arsilhâ  
 tqabbel el-arda 'annî uhî na'ybatî  
 fahâdî dôlat el-aşbâhî qad haḍarat  
 jamdud yamînak kai taḥdâ bihâ şifatî*

While I was far from thee (O Prophet Mohammed) I used to send  
 my spirit  
 To kiss the ground (around your grave) in my place—for it is my  
 representative.

Behold the dominion of the spirits has come;  
 Therefore stretch out thy right hand, that my lip should be blessed  
 (by kissing it)!<sup>1</sup>

*qâl-er-Rifâ'î anâ şêh el-'awâdjiz<sup>2</sup> dôm  
 uillî şataḥ<sup>3</sup> fî hawânâ mâ 'alêş lôm  
 wallâh l'arâ mrîdî fî djhannam yôm  
 larfuş djhannam walâ aḥallîhâ ti'mar dôm*

The Rifâ'î said: "I am always the şêh of the weak,  
 He who enjoys our love is blameless,  
 By God, if I ever see my follower in hell  
 I shall smite hell and never let it flourish more."

*qâl ed-Djîlanî anâ latârifû aḥwâlî  
 hudt djamî' el-blûr mâdjat laḥîlḥâlî  
 uillî bîtrîḍ lal-fuqarâ fil-ḥâleh  
 ma'î sêf el-'azal iquşş el-i'mârî*

Ed-Djîlanî said: "If you only knew my state,  
 I have waded through the encircling ocean, but the water never  
 reached my ankles.  
 Every body who opposes the *darâwîş* while they are in the state  
 (of exaltation)  
 (must remember) that I possess the sword of eternity which cuts  
 short life."

<sup>1</sup> Supposed to have been recited by the Rifâ'î while visiting the Prophet's tomb. God heard his prayer and allowed the Prophet to stretch his hand out of the grave.

<sup>2</sup> One of the names of the Rifâ'î, as we shall see later.

<sup>3</sup> *şataḥ* in vernacular Arabic means "to make a picnic."

*qâl ed-Dasûqî anâ law ti'rifû êš sawwêt  
 nahart sab' el-falâ fîs-sâqî 'alqêt  
 uihyât makkeh uzamzam uil-bêt  
 ma'î sêf el-'azal lal-mu'tariḍ qaṣṣêt*

Ed-Dasûqî said, "If you only knew what I have performed,  
 The lion of the desert I slew and threw into the ditch.  
 By the truth of Mecca and Zamzam, the ḥaram of Medina (and  
 the Ka'beh),  
 I possess the sword of eternity with which I cut short the life of my  
 opponent."

*qâl el-Mulattam<sup>1</sup> uanâ el-Muzhir lal-'urbân  
 šauwart 'alâ el-baḥr laḍjlî sabahû-l-ḥitân  
 uihyât turbit sayid walad 'Adnân  
 barfuṣ dḡhannam bridjlî uabattîl el-mizân*

El-Mulattam said, "I am he who appears to the Arabs;  
 I walked on the sea. For my sake the great fishes came swimming  
 (to salute me).  
 By the truth of the tomb of the lord, the son of 'Adnân  
 I will smite hell with my foot and stop the balance (if they stand  
 in the way of my follower)."

### 3. RELATION OF THE SAINTS TO MEN

Human beings feel the great necessity of remaining in constant good relation with the saints, for they are the helpers, physicians, and comforters of men as well the intermediaries between them and God. The more one studies this phase of Palestinian folklore, the more one is struck by the inseparable bond which unites men with saints. As the greater part of the facts belonging to this section have already been described in preceding chapters, I shall be brief, and treat the subject under the following headings:

- a) Saints as Neighbours;
- b) Saints as Leaders;
- c) Saints as Judges;
- d) Saints as Superhuman beings.

<sup>1</sup> One of the names of the Badawî, see later.

## a) Saints as Neighbours

We have already seen that most of the shrines lie inside the villages or in their immediate neighbourhood. This makes a *welî* the neighbour of men, bearing all the responsibilities incumbent upon a neighbour. An Arabic proverb says: "A neighbour is responsible for his neighbour, even if he acts wrongfully." The saints keep these rules very exactly. Every saint protects the property of his neighbour, guards whatever is put under his protection and helps in case of need. Even animals who have taken refuge in his sanctuary are safe. A pregnant woman passing *eš-šêh* Mûsâ (Ḥarbatâ) discovered under his carob tree a nest full of partridge's eggs. She took them away, an act which irritated the *welî*. Soon afterwards she gave birth to a daughter, whose one hand was malformed, looking like the head of a partridge and showing the beak clearly.<sup>1</sup>

*Welîs* will not accept any bribe (*barṭîl*, *baḥšîš*). An old man of Ḥizmah stole some cereals (*qaṭânî*) one night from the field adjacent to *eš-šêh* Manšûr. Before going to work he thought to gain the favour of the *welî* and thus escape his wrath, by reciting for him the *fâtîḥah*. But as soon as he cut the first plant a whirlwind arose and threw him over the wall. He broke his leg and lay a long time in bed.<sup>2</sup>

Sometimes the saint employs ways of protection which will prevent for ever any further violation of the "neighbour's rights." An inhabitant of Kufr 'Aqab had stored his figs under the oak tree of Mgheirit *eš-Šêh*. Some thieves tried during the night to get possession of the fruits, but no sooner had they put the figs into the sack than a whole army surrounded them. They could not escape, for the soldiers drew nearer and the circle became continually closer. At once they threw the figs away and begged the *šêh* for pardon, whereupon the army disappeared.

Once some of the family of Abû Ghêt from Bêt Faddjâr climbed the roof of the church of St. Nicholas (Bêt Djâlâ) to steal olives, which were spread there to ripen. After filling their cloaks they

<sup>1</sup> Jaussen, l. c., 331.

<sup>2</sup> Rašîd the son of Muḥammed 'Âghâ of Jerusalem once lost his way between *en-nabî* Mûsâ and the Dead Sea. At this time a great part of this area was still covered by *dôm* (*sîdr*) trees. The prophet Moses sent two large birds every night to guard him. One sat at his head and the other at his feet.



tried to descend but saw that the sanctuary was surrounded by a stormy sea. At once they replaced what they had stolen and behold there was no sea anywhere.<sup>1</sup>

Persons, who have committed some fault or even a crime, coming to a shrine and asking the *welî* to hide them from their pursuers, will be protected, as they have become his *ṭanîb* (suppliant, client), a relation even stronger than that of neighbour. *Eṣ-ṣēḥ* el-'Umari ed-Djbēî protected all deserters from the Turkish army who fled to him. The soldiers who came to catch them searched in vain, for the *welî* struck them with blindness. The same story is told about *eṣ-ṣēḥ* Aḥmad el-Ḥwēs of Biddû and many other saints.

For the same reason, some notables buried their dead in the direct vicinity of some shrine.<sup>2</sup>

#### b) Saints as Leaders

Many of the saints of Palestine were historical characters and enjoyed during their life the privileges bestowed on the village elders. Meetings took place in their houses to discuss questions of general interest. They gave orders and superintended their exact execution, especially when enemies attacked the village. They prevented quarrels, settled misunderstanding, and were in this way the local judges. Their reputation did not fade with death. This explains why many villages have local protectors, who were inhabitants of them. Incidents are related to prove the marvellous help given by them whenever enemies attacked the village. I have already mentioned the story of Mâr Inqûlâ and that of el-'Azêrât ('Awartah). But as both of them are regarded as foreign saints I mention the story of *eṣ-ṣēḥ* Maṣṣûr of Hizmah who protected the village against the attacking Bedouin by making them see a strong and high wall surrounding it. Sometimes a whole army is sent by the *welî* to surround the village so that the approaching enemy will face well-armed soldiers wherever he goes.

Often when a dispute arises between the inhabitants of a village, and the difference cannot be settled by the living elders, the holy patron of that place takes an active part in bringing peace. Once

<sup>1</sup> From the written notes of my father.

<sup>2</sup> For other examples see *QS* 1916, pp. 17, 64, 129, etc. Cf. *JPOS* IV, 9.

the women of Bêt Hanînâ had a quarrel. In the evening when the men came back from work the dispute became acute and a regular fight took place. A reverend *šêh*—who was nobody less than *es-sultân* Ibrâhîm—appeared and separated the two parties. He even prevented the stones, thrown by each party at the other, from hurting anybody.

When the peasants forsake their old customs of hospitality or abstain from their religious duties the patron *šêh* may appear, request and advise them to return to the righteous old paths. A misunderstanding divided the inhabitants of Šufât in to two parties. They stopped giving alms to the poor during Ramaḍân and no longer attended prayers, for having only one place of prayer they did not wish to meet each other there. *Es-sultân* Ibrâhîm of the village appeared to the *muḥtâr* in a dream, and reproaching him said "I advise you to reunite and to resume your old customs of helping the poor and praying in my shrine, else I shall punish every one most severely." The *muḥtâr* called all the people together next morning, and telling them the vision begged that all hatred should be put aside. After succeeding in his mission he went to the mosque. The moment he entered the *ruâq*, the door of the sanctuary was closed by some unseen power. For a whole hour he sat in front of the closed door, praying, weeping and begging the *sultân* for forgiveness. The door opened as mysteriously as it was closed. He entered, prayed and was reconciled with the man of God.

Not only in such small affairs and village disputes do the saints lend their assistance, but also whenever the Mohammedans, as a whole, are attacked by the *kuffâr* (infidels). On such occasions *awliâ* have been seen coming back from the fight with swords dripping blood. They may even become wounded and some of their blood appears in the shrine. The picture of Mâr Inqûlâ (Bêt Djâlâ) was seen to sweat profusely after the saint had delivered the village from the attack of the Bedouin. *Es-šêh* Ibrâhîm el-Ḥauwâš (Dêr Ghassâneh) helped the Mohammedan inhabitants of Tripoli against the Italian invasion. He was seen leading a whole army of *awliâ*, all armed with spears and carrying their flags. *En-nabî* Šâliḥ, of the village bearing his name, dislikes all *mušrikîn*. While returning from such a battle er-Rifâ'i, who was wounded, bled in the place where afterwards his *maqâm* was erected (one hour to the west of Dêr

Ghassâneh).<sup>1</sup> The story of *sittnâ* el-Ghârah (Bêt Nûbâ) has been mentioned. *En-nabî* Tarâfinî (Bêt Nûbâ) was seen during the war standing on his horse with a sword dripping blood.

There are some verses which will illustrate how the saints are asked for help:

*âh bil-wâdî nadâhî nadhahî  
sârat ma' er-rîhî bil-wâdî  
simîhâ 'Alî qâl hissak  
akhal el-'ên binâdî  
qûmû ifza'û yâ 'isbat el-dân kullukum  
hadû n-nhâr illî tbîn fîh el-adjawdî.*

Ah, I cried out in the valley—

It was carried with the wind in the valley.

'Alî<sup>2</sup> heard it and said,

Your voice calls the blacked-eyed one (the prophet);

Get up, help (all of you), O (men of the) league of religion!

This is the day in which the generous will appear.

*bânat sawâder dahab umqattabehî hêrî<sup>3</sup>  
umqattabehî bid-dahab uil-qalb ilhâ imêlî  
in tâlnî el-îlêm bandah hê yâ 'Atêrî  
nadêl yâ hê uadjî mîl el-matar uis-sêlî  
uil-ba'î râkîb hidjî uil-ba'î râkîb hêlî  
uammâ er-Rifâ'î idarridj fî nazîl el-hêlî.*

Golden tents decorated with golden pieces appeared,

Decorated with gold and the heart inclines to it.

Should difficulty befall me I will call "Hê, O 'Atêrî!"

I called "yâ hê" and behold they came (rushing) like the rain and the torrent,

Some riding dromedaries, other horses,

But er-Rfâ'î (at once) began helping the weak.

<sup>1</sup> Some of the above stories were told me by O. S. Barghûfî.

<sup>2</sup> 'Alî ibn Abî Tâlib.

<sup>3</sup> Instead of *hêrî*, *'imêlî* and *'Atêrî* we hear also  
*binûr*, *nâtûr*, *'Aşûr* and  
*bidjras*, *djallâs*, *Hauwâş*.

*nadēt hē min el-Başrah sim'inî  
qâlû n'iddak mtaiyam qult 'iddünî  
şart 'alekum min bal'r el-hôf it'addünî.*

I called "hê" and they heard me from Başrah,<sup>1</sup>  
They asked, "Shall we count you enslaved by love?" I said (yes)  
count me,  
But on condition you shall get me (safely) from the ocean of fear.

*ya-(i)bn er-Rfâ'î yâllî fiş-şafâ gharqânî  
biḥyât djiddak Moḥammad şâḥib el-burhânî  
mahmâ djarâ lar-r'iyeh ylzam er-r'iyânî*

O son of er-Rfâ'î. O one submerged in purity!  
By the life of your grandfather Mohammad, he of the Proof (of  
religion),  
The shepherds (i. e. thou) are responsible for whatever may befall  
the flock.

<i>sadâtnâ bsûfâ</i>	<i>uillum dark u(i)siûfâ</i>
<i>nadēt nadhet 'âdjiz</i>	<i>yâ râdl el-mallûfâ</i>
<i>Sûfâ 'alêhâ el-hêbeh</i>	<i>min 'ind rabb el-hêbeh</i>
<i>mîn şallâ fihâ el-ghêbeh</i>	<i>nâl hanâ uis'ûfâ</i>
<i>Sûfâ 'alêhâ el-qadrî</i>	<i>min 'ind rabb el-qadrî</i>
<i>mîn şallâ fihâ badrî</i>	<i>nâl hanâ uis'rûfâ</i>
<i>Sûfâ mlîhah uzên</i>	<i>ma miṭilhâ fiz-zên</i>
<i>uîşyûlnâ fihâ (i)ṭnên</i>	<i>zâdû şaraf ma'rûfâ</i>
<i>Sûfâ 'alêhâ ḥallat</i>	<i>barakât rabbî 'alêhâ ḥallat</i>
<i>uî'qûd 'usr ḥallat</i>	<i>bikarâmâthim malḥûfah</i>
<i>yâ şêhnâ yâ Râbî</i>	<i>'alâ l-hêr fi'luh râbî</i>
<i>râs el-frandj djâbi</i>	<i>ib' azâymuh uik'ûfah</i>
<i>sîdî yâbû Hamâdî</i>	<i>yâ sâkin fi bâb el-wâdî</i>
<i>faz'ah uḥêl djyâdî</i>	<i>yâ sâknîn ibsûfâ.</i>

Our lords are in Sûfâ  
I cried the cry of a weak one,

Sûfâ is invested with dignity

They have shields and swords.  
"O thou who answerest the  
broken-hearted!"  
Radiating from the Lord of  
Dignity.

<sup>1</sup> ed-Djlânî is buried in Mesopotamia.

He who says the evening prayer	Obtains happiness and help.
therein	
Sûfâ is girt with might	Coming from the Lord of Might.
He who prays there early (in the morning)	Obtains happiness and honour.
Sûfâ is fair and comely	There is not her equal among the fair ones.
Our <i>šêḥs</i> therein are two <sup>1</sup>	who have increased in honour renowned.
On Sûfâ there have descended	Blessings of my Lord on her have descended.
And difficulties have been cleared away	By their good deeds they were cancelled.
O our <i>šêḥ</i> , O Râbî, <sup>2</sup>	His (good) deeds outnumber all good things.
The head of the Frank (the infidels) he has brought	With his (superhuman) resolution and (mighty) blows.
O my Lord, O Abû Ḥamâdî	O thou who livest at the entrance of the valley,
(I beg thee for) help and horses	O thou who livest in Sûfâ.
of noble breed	

Nor should one forget the generosity of the saints, as a quality which belongs to every leader of every village or Bedouin tribe. Whenever a *ḏbiḥah* is offered it belongs in reality to the saint, thus all who partake in the meal are his guests. As during life so also after death a true saint has an open house for all visitors and needy persons. He still satisfies the hungry and welcomes the wayfarer. A man once had a dispute with his wife, so that he ran away from home and lived in the shrine of el-Qaṭrawânî. The *welî* supplied him with his daily food, commanding him to keep the way he was fed a secret. As long as he kept the secret he was never in need. But the moment he spoke about it, the *welî* withdrew his help.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> El-Madjdûb and *šêḥ* Ibrâhîm.

<sup>2</sup> He is the grandfather of all the saints in Sûfâ. His name was Maḥmûd er-Râbî and he was the father of el-Madjdûb.

<sup>3</sup> It is often said that *madjâḏib* receive their food in a miraculous way. See I Kg. 174.

## c) Saints as Judges

In the chapter on oaths we got a glimpse of this important feature of the saint's office. There are many phases of life where a misunderstanding, a crime or an act of oppression cannot be solved, settled or revenged. In most of these cases recourse is had to a saint. It is firmly believed that *awliâ* who know all the hidden secrets, are also able to pronounce a true judgement, to disclose the guilty party and to take just revenge. If a person is suspected of a murder and the Bedouin judges as well as the accusers are unable to find proofs of his guilt, he is asked to take an oath which must be seconded by a notable man<sup>1</sup> chosen by the accusers. Three<sup>2</sup> have to sanction the oath of the two. The four persons who swear with the accused go to a well known saint or prophet. The judge either goes with them himself or sends somebody to act as his representative. They take off their shoes and enter with reverence. The accused man couches (*biqarrfis*) in the niche, stretches out his hand and swears. The *djaïyed el-'amâneh* comes next. The three others follow to sanction the oath of the two. If one is absent a rifle held by one of the *muzakîn* takes his place. The oath, which must not be interrupted, runs as follows: "By the great God (repeated three times), the creator of night and day, the only One, the victorious, who deprives children of their fathers and makes women widows, who vanquishes kings, who subdues oppressors, I have not acted, nor killed nor seen, nor heard, nor known nor accomplished evil, nor helped to do it."<sup>3</sup> If such a person is guilty and he swears falsely the saint will surely, sooner or later—in many cases not later than in seven days—punish him very severely. His hand, which he has stretched out while swearing, will wither; he may, while leaving the shrine, fall and break a limb, or a disease may assail him. This part has been treated more fully under the head of oaths.

## d) Saints as Superhuman beings

All acts hitherto described comprise only things which could be done—in a more or less imperfect way—by any chief. We now come to actions which cannot be accomplished by any mortal, and thus

<sup>1</sup> Called *djaïyed el-'amânah*.

<sup>2</sup> Called *muzakkin*.

<sup>3</sup> JPOS 11, 51.

show clearly the superhuman powers of the saints. Disease is an infliction sent by God, *min allâh*, "from God." No human being can cross the way of the Divine. The saint is a friend of God, he is chosen by him, to work in his name and for his honour. Through this distinction he can accomplish miracles which really are only a property of God. The reputation of the saints for curing disease is widespread and every peasant believes in it.

The same idea holds true in ascribing to the *awliâ* the power of preventing or removing the scourges which may befall human beings. In the first place there is lack of rain. On rain depends the whole agricultural year of the Palestinian, and even his whole existence. This subject has already been treated above, so we need not dwell on it longer here. In some places certain saints are regarded as the givers of good crops, the donors of successful harvests, the protectors of undertakings, and the like.<sup>1</sup> This idea can be traced back to Biblical times.<sup>2</sup>

#### 4. RELATION OF THE SAINTS TO GOD AND POPULAR RELIGION

##### a) Relation to God

All saints were once human beings and became more like God through their piety. It is their degree of nearness to God which puts them in different classes. But, to whatever class they may belong, the saints stand higher than men and nearer to the deity. There are no precisely known methods by means of which a person may become a *welâ*. When discussing their origin we shall come one step further toward the solution of this problem. The honours which the saints receive from their Creator differ according to their rank. Their power depends in most cases also on this point. But there are many *awliâ* belonging to the middle or even to one of the lower classes, who enjoy in the eyes of the peasants as great a reputation as those of the higher classes.

In what follows I shall give the classes of the saints according to their importance, without going in detail, for such a classification

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<sup>1</sup> Curtiss, Chapter XVII.

<sup>2</sup> Hosea 2 3, 7 12-14.

is no longer specifically Palestinian, but belongs to the whole Mohammedan world. Nor do I claim that the list is absolutely complete or safe from criticism. It has been compiled after a critical study of my list of saints and a thorough examination of the stories and definitions given to me by different people of Palestine. This study may throw some new light on very important points of comparative religion.

The Palestinian distinguishes the following classes of saints:

1. Al-anbiâ (pl. of nabî), prophets.<sup>1</sup> Although the Qoran knows only of 25 prophets,<sup>2</sup> the Palestinian has given many others this title. Thus *en-nabî* Dâniân, Zêtûn, Raiyâlûn, etc. Even Samuel who is greatly honoured by all Palestinians is not mentioned in the Qoranic list. There are many so-called prophets whose shrines are well known in Palestine, but whose personalities are not at all known. One example is *en-nabî* Ḥanẓal near Tell Bêt Imm Mirsim. He is supposed to be the son of the prophet Şafwân; neither of them is known.<sup>3</sup> I have been told the following difference between a prophet and a simple *welî*. *En-nabî ḥaiyûn yurzaq yankah*, "the prophet is living, may have children and coitus," while a *welî* is living and may have children. Although this distinction is not known everywhere in Palestine, we find that it has some parallels in the Qoran.<sup>4</sup> The martyrs who are raised to the degree of sanctity after death, are said to live, eat, drink, marry and beget children. While the belief extends these abilities to all saints, the present superstition reserves the sexual power to the prophets alone. I was told

<sup>1</sup> Some Palestinians make the distinction between a prophet, who is at the same time *mursal* (sent to a tribe) and a simple prophet.

<sup>2</sup> Generally counted as Adam, Idris, Noah, Hûd, Şâleh, Ibrâhîm, Ismâ'il, Ishâq, Ya'qûb, Yûsef, 'Aiyûb, Şu'eb, Elyâs, Hârûn, Alÿsa', Mûsâ, Lot, Dûl-Kafl, Dâhûd, Suleimân, Yûnis, Zakaryâ, Yaḥiâ, Christ and Moḥammad. Some believe that Alexander the Great was a prophet, others that he was a pious king, while still others say that his mother was a *djinniyeh* (*dâiratu l-ma'ârif*, VIII, 411.)

<sup>3</sup> *Handal* means Colocynth plant and *Şafuân*=stone. The shrine is a built cave, a part of a Byzantine church. A *'adqah* (another name for *sarris*=*pistacia lentiscus*) grows there. Some broken columns and a row of hewn stones are still visible above ground.

<sup>4</sup> Sura III, 166. See also 'Abdallâh el-'Attâs, *zuhûr el-ḥaqâiq* 231, etc.; Taqiy ed-Din es-Sabkî (*šifâ l-'asqâm fî ziâret ḥêr el-'anâm*) gives many sayings of the *ḥadîṭ* to prove this theory (pp. 134, 135, 136, 142, 143, 145, 147, 154).



that *en-nabî* Şâleḥ<sup>1</sup> appears at times during nocturnal dreams to women who feel that they have had sexual intercourse with him.<sup>2</sup>

Although the prophets belong to the highest class, they do not take offence when people visit others of their class, or even of a lower one. Thus a *ḥadîth* says that the prophet Mohammed exclaimed once, *man zârâ 'aḥî Yûnis ka'annahu zâranî*, "If one visits my brother Yûnis, it is as though he had visited me."<sup>3</sup> A woman of el-Bireh assured me that Moses said once: *illî mâ biṭiqṣ 'aziârtî izûr Şibân ibn ḥâltî*, "Let one who cannot visit me visit Şibân the son of my maternal aunt."

2. The *ṣaḥâbeh* are the companions of the Prophet.

3. *Awliâ*<sup>4</sup> (friend, companion of God) is the collective name for several subdivisions. The peasants compare them with the stars, while they liken the prophets to the moon, because when the latter appears, it dims the light of the former. It is easier to recognize the Almighty God than to recognize a *welî*, for the latter *yatasallat min al-karâmeh kamâ tatasallat el-ḥurmah min el-ḥêd*, "He conceals himself from (being known as the doer of) a miracle, as the woman conceals her menstruation."<sup>5</sup> In practice this rule is not true, as we shall see later.

Another slight difference between the different classes of saints must still be noted. The sanctuary of a prophet is generally called *ḥudrah*,<sup>6</sup> that of a common saint *maqâm*, while those of especially honoured and recognized *welîs* are known as *maṣḥad*.<sup>7</sup> The subdivision of *awliâ* includes:

<sup>1</sup> Heard from O. S. Barghûṭî.

<sup>2</sup> See also Gen. 6 1-4. Another difference is well expressed in the sentence *an-nabî lahu el-mu'djizah wal-walî lahu l-karâmah*, "The prophet has (really, shows himself through) a miracle (like the resurrection of the dead) and the *welî* shows thaumaturgical powers (as the healing of the sick)."

<sup>3</sup> Another saying is *la tufaḍḍilûnî 'alâ 'aḥî Yûnis*, "Do not prefer me to my brother Yûnis." For other sayings see Mudjîr I, 53.

<sup>4</sup> According to Abû Bakr Furîk the *welî* does not know while he is living that he is chosen by the Almighty, while according to Abû 'Alî ed-Daqqâq he does know, *ér-Râzî* V, 465.

<sup>5</sup> *Zuhûr el-ḥaqâiq*, 235.

<sup>6</sup> The place of his presence, his abode.

<sup>7</sup> This is true of the shrines of Ḥasan, Ḥusên, Dja'far eṣ-Şâdiq, etc. The Şadiliyeh call the sanctuary of 'Alî a *maṣḥad*.

- a) *al-aqlâb* (pl. of *qutb*<sup>1</sup>), "Poles," the four who founded their four orders bearing their names: 'Abd el-Qâder ed-Djilânî, Aḥmad el-Badawî, Ibrâhîm ed Dasûqî, and Aḥmad er-Rifâ'î. The first who is the descendant of the Prophet's family, is called *qutb el-aqlâb* (the main pole). It is generally believed that the Almighty has given these four the control of this world.<sup>2</sup> The greatest number of *šîuḥ* and *darâwîš* follow one of the *aqlâb*. The following verse expresses the devotion of a follower of er-Rifâ'î to the four *aqlâb* and especially to his own master:

*zaiy 'anzâm uisjâdî ḥumât el-ḥaiy  
arba' salâṭîn ḥum lâbsîn ez-zaiy  
uallâh law šarrahû laḥmâ usâih zaiy  
mâ 'afût lašêḥî bitanfiq el-ḥaiy.*

How can I be oppressed while my masters are the protectors  
of the quarter,

Four kings<sup>3</sup> wearing crowns are they.

By God, even if my flesh should be cut and roasted,

I shall not leave, by the help of the Merciful, the Living (God),  
my *šêḥ*.

It is related that every one of these leaders received his inspiration from a prophet, whose instructions (*ḥittâḥ* = pathway) he followed. These men of God are also known by different appellations which are derived from some of their characteristics or from a miracle performed. El-Badawî is also called al-Mulattam,<sup>4</sup> "the Muffled (of mouth)." Er-Rifâ'î is known by the names Abû el-'Awâdjiz<sup>4</sup> (the Father of the Needy), el-'Isâwî, Abû Hammâdî and Šêḥ el-'Erôdjah. The last name is derived from his curing a lame woman (*'ardjah*) by touching her with the seam of his mantle. Verses mentioning these names are:

<sup>1</sup> *Muḥîṭ el-muḥîṭ* gives as a synonym *ghôṭ*.

<sup>2</sup> According to 'Alî el-Hauwâs, the Almighty God favours only one *qutb* at a time with his solitude. When he dies another *qutb* is chosen. *Lauwâqih el-awcâr*, II, 157.

<sup>3</sup> They are often called *salâṭîn*, as being the monarchs of their order. Lane, Customs and Manners of the Modern Egypt. II, 155, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> In the text there is a verse with this appellation.

*sâdât lēnâ lēnâ*

*sîdî yâ-Abû Hammâdî*

*tâl el-matâleh 'alēnâ*

*dîr anẓârah 'alēnâ*

Our master (twice repeated).

Our waiting (for your help)  
has become too long.

O my master, O Abû Hammâdî, Cast thy gaze upon us.

*min sughur sinnî u'anâ fî ḥubbukum sawwâl*

*uallâ zamân eṣ-ṣibâ uis-ṣeb atânî urâl*

*uihyât turbit nabî sârluh ed-dalîl urâl*

*biddî min ṣeḥ el-'Arêdjah lafhah fîhâ nadjâl*<sup>1</sup>

Since my youth have I been a pilgrim in your love,

Youth has flown and white hair (old age) has come and gone  
(i. e. even my white hair has fallen out).

By the life (= truth) of the tomb of that Prophet (= Mo-  
hammed) to whom the guide led and went away,

I ask ṣeḥ el-'Arêdjah for a blast of success (cure).

*ṣîwânûh 'alâ šatt baḥr en-Nîl mansûb ṣîwânûh*

*el-'Isâwî illî mâ šakâ eḍ-ḍem 'aiyânûh*

*nâdâ l-mnâdî fî eṣ-ṣabâḥ uil-masâ*

*tihtazz silslit en-nabiyn 'alâ šânûh*

His tent is pitched on the bank of the Nile,

El-'Isâwî whose patients have never complained of oppression  
(want).

It is the herald who cries (his power) in the morning and evening.  
Even the chain of prophets tremble in his honour!

Ed-Djilânî is also called el-Bâz, as he is supposed to have been the first one to use this kind of drum in religious music. Often the name is written el-Kilânî, and is then connected with *kâlâ* (from *kayala*, "to measure grain"). This name is explained by the following story. The saint once went to Baghdad to buy wheat. The merchant tried to cheat him in measuring the corn. Irritated by this mean behaviour ed-Djilânî snatched the measure from the hands of the merchant and threw it on the heap of wheat, whereupon it began to be filled by an unseen power

<sup>1</sup> This verse is thought to have been said by 'Abd el-'Âl.

which emptied it into the sack of the saint. Ed-Dasûqi is known by his first name Ibrâhîm.

Each *qutb* had a devoted disciple, who was endued with the supernatural powers of his master. They are still known and greatly honoured. Some families in Palestine boast that they are direct descendants of these men of God. They follow their tenets and still produce *mašâyih* and *darâwiz* of the *ṭarîqah*. As has already been mentioned each *qutb* has the power to appear in the form of an animal. The following table gives a summary of their characteristics:

Name of <i>qutb</i>	Appellation	Inspired by	Family following his <i>ṭarîqah</i>	Name of favourite disciple	Appears in the form of
el-Badawî	el-Mulattam Ḥâiyd el-Bihâr <sup>1</sup>	‘Isa (Jesus)	ez-Zu‘biyeh (Hauran)	el-Jâzdjî	a green bird
er-Rifa‘î	el-‘Isâwî Abû l-‘Awâdjiz Abû Hammâdî Şêḥ el-‘Arêdjah	Gabriel	el-‘Arûrî	‘Abd el-‘Âl	peacock
ed-Djilânî	el-Kilânî Abû Şâleḥ <sup>1</sup> el-Bâz	Mohammed	en-Nûbânî	‘Abd eṣ-Şamad	lion
ed-Dâsûqî	Ibrâhîm Abul-‘Alamên <sup>1</sup>	Abraham	es-Sa’dî (Acco)	el-Bahlûl	the bird named Ghreiyb.

- b) *El-Abdâl* (pl. of *badal*) are saints who change their shapes whenever they like, according to common Palestinian belief.<sup>2</sup>  
 c) *Aṣḥâb el-Ḥaṭmih* or *Aṣḥâb el-Ḥaṭweh* are those saints who are able to go in an instant from one end of the world to the other. Thus they may be seen in the same day in widely separated cities.

<sup>1</sup> These names were given to me by šêḥ ‘Alî Šaraf (Nablus).

<sup>2</sup> According to *muḥîṭ el-muḥîṭ*, I, 73, *abdâl* is the pl. of *badîl*. They are pious men, 70 in number, of whom 40 are in Damascus and the 30 others are distributed elsewhere. Whenever one dies the Almighty God chooses another in his place. This explanation is based evidently on a different interpretation of *badal*, "to change."

- d) *Mašâiylh* are those who have withdrawn from all worldly affairs and live a purely religious life.
- e) *Halîfeh*, pl. *hulafâ* are the founders of a *zâwiyeh* (pl. *zawâyâ*) a sort of a convent, as well as the heads of such places. The head of all the *zawâyâ* of one and the same *ṭarîqah* is called *el-halîfeh el-'aẓam*. This name is not to be confounded with the title conferred on the religious head of all Mohammedans.
- f) The *Mudjâhidîn* (pl. of *mudjâhid*), "warriors" (in religious wars), *mghâẓîn* (p. of *mghâẓî*), also "fighters," and *ṣuhadâ* (pl. of *šâhid*),<sup>1</sup> "martyrs" are very numerous. In Jerusalem we have the following places, which are said to be dedicated to martyrs:
- aa) In el-Qêmarriyeh<sup>2</sup> five 'umarâ (pl. of 'amîr),<sup>3</sup> princes, namely: Husâm ed-Dîn Abû l-Hasan el-Qêmarî, Dîyâu'd-Dîn, Husam ed-Dîn Haḍer, Nâsir ed-Dîn el-Qêramî and Nâsir ed-Dîn Moḥammad Djâbir. Beside these princes many other martyrs are said to be buried here.
- bb) In eš-šêḥ Djarrâḥ we find the tomb of this man of God as well as of *mudjâhidîn*.
- cc) Irdjâl el-Badriyeh or Šuhadâ el-Badriyeh. Here Bader ed-Dîn Moḥammad Abî Qâsim el-Hakkârî<sup>4</sup> who died in the Jordan valley was buried.
- dd) Eš-Šuhadâ<sup>5</sup> outside Bâb es-Sâhirah. A few tombs are shown.
- ee) El-Mudjâhdîn in the cemetery of Ma'man Allâh.<sup>6</sup> The heads of 70000 martyrs are said to have been interred here.
- ff) Inside the Jaffa Gate there are two tombs dedicated to such saints.

<sup>1</sup> Near Qalansâwiyeh (S. of Ṭûl Karm) we are shown *el-mghâẓîn*. The Mohammedan historians tell us that the Benî el-'Abbâs defeated the Benî Umaiyah here (Yaqût).

<sup>2</sup> Situated near the English Mission Hospital. The *maqâm* is a beautiful large room. In front of the entrance is a *fustqiyeh* (room-like tomb) in which the dead members of the ḥuddâm are buried. The five tombs in the shrine lie parallel to each other. Every one has a head stone covered with a green *laḥfeh* and the cenotaphs have green *stârât*. The place is neglected.

<sup>3</sup> Mudjîr, p. 399.

<sup>4</sup> Mudjîr, p. 398.

<sup>5</sup> Mudjîr, p. 413, They appeared once to the mother of Imm Moḥammad Kl. as a great flock of sheep.

<sup>6</sup> They are supposed to be the most important martyrs of Jerusalem, but the place is completely neglected.

- gg) In the north of the Ḥaram Area one is shown several tombs belonging to the same category.<sup>1</sup>
- hh) Masdjad el-Mudjâhdîn,<sup>2</sup> situated near el-Aqṣâ, was built by the *sulṭân* 'Isâ, surnamed al-Mu'azzam.
- ii) The tombs of el-Mudjâhdîn in the court of the Ḥâldiyeh library.
- kk) El-Ghawânmi (near Bâb el-Ghawânmi of the Temple Area, NW corner) are by some considered martyrs; by others pious men.
- ll) Irdjal el-Arb'in in the western complex of the Temple Area, are said to be martyrs.
- mm) *eš-šēḥ* el-Mansi,<sup>3</sup> on the Mount of Zion.<sup>4</sup>
- g) The *Bahâlîl* (pl. of *bahlûl*) are a class of hermits who abjure all worldly riches, live alone in the fields and behave abnormally in many respects. *El-madjâdîb* (pl. of *madjdûb*) belong to this class.<sup>5</sup> More will be said later about this class.<sup>6</sup>
4. A'djâm are the enemies of the Šûfiyeh, as described above.
- There is one *welî* in my list who is supposed to have been a Christian converted to Islam, Yukannâ el-Ḥalaby. All female saints are reckoned in the *awliâ* group.

#### b) Position of the Saints in Popular Religion

The folk-religion of to-day differs greatly from orthodox Islam, though the same may perhaps be said about popular religions

<sup>1</sup> Opposite Bâb el-'Itim. According to some there are the tombs of scholars attached to the Mu'azzamiyeh school.

<sup>2</sup> Mudjîr, p. 355.

<sup>3</sup> Kahle mentions only six of these twelve places.

<sup>4</sup> There are many other places dedicated to martyrs scattered all over Palestine. Some were mentioned on p. 24.

<sup>5</sup> There is a slight distinction between *bahâlîl* and *madjdâîb*, which will be disregarded in this work.

<sup>6</sup> There are still other minor classes, such as:

*zuhhâd* (pl. of *zâhid*) "ascetics." Although they may possess some material riches, they abstain from the use of them, and spend their life in devotion and prayer, as in the case of Ibrâhîm el-Adhamî.

*nussâk* (pl. of *nâsik*) are those who leave their homes, with all their comforts, and live as pious hermits in caves. *Eš-šēḥ* Sa'îd of Lydda, who is still living illustrates this class.

I shall not enter into further descriptions of these classes, which do not play any great role at present.

everywhere. The orthodox Mohammedan religion knows only one God.<sup>1</sup> Every one who believes in more than one God is said to give God "associates" (*ṣurakā*) and is therefore a *muṣrik*, or polytheist. Even the prophets, as we read clearly in the Qoran, are nothing but *rusl allāh* (God's apostles), chosen by Him to fulfil His divine work. Many of them were simple, illiterate persons, some even with bodily afflictions. It needs no further discussion to prove that the holy book, el-Qoran, does not allow any created being to be worshipped.<sup>2</sup> Even more, according to the tenets of Islam, the Mohammedan should be a fatalist, where life cannot be prolonged by any prayers, tears, vows and sacrifices.<sup>3</sup> No prophet can change the *qadr*. Nevertheless human nature tries to overcome all difficulties. As nobody knows "his hour" (*sā'atuh*) duty obliges him to do all he can to escape misfortune. Human beings have always felt the great distance between them and God. They know that it is impossible for the sinner to approach the Holy One<sup>4</sup> directly, so he needs a reconciling mediator. *Lôlah-l-wâṣṭah ladāhab el-mawsūt*, "Were it not for the mediator, the person for whom mediation is made would perish." This feeling is characteristic of all peoples, ages and religions. The Palestinian has inherited it from his ancestors, Heathens, Jews and Christians. Many conceptions of these ancestors can be still traced in the folklore of the modern Palestinian.

Thus mediators arose who were slowly raised to the superhuman rank,<sup>5</sup> and gradually their number increased, and the conditions for becoming a *welî* became easier. Once having left the rigid paths of orthodoxy popular worship drifted into superstition. At present we

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<sup>1</sup> The many exclamations connected with the name of God and used in the daily life of the Palestinian point clearly to his belief in the almightiness of God. Dalman, *Der palest. Islam*, PJB XIII, 21 ff.; Canaan, *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin*, pp. 8, 106.

<sup>2</sup> The first heads of the Mohammedans were very strict in keeping their religion pure. Thus we are told that Abû Bakr said to those who were inclined to worship Mohammed, "Let those who wish to worship Moh. know that Moh. died, but those who worship God know that He is living and shall never die." 'Omar cut down the tree under which the Prophet was declared leader because many believed in its blessing.

<sup>3</sup> See also Curtiss, chapters V and VI.

<sup>4</sup> Lev. 11 44, 45; I Peter 1 16; Ex. 19 10-13.

<sup>5</sup> This is true also of other religions.

find that popular religion is completely different from the inspired one. This folk-religion interests us, for as Condor says: "It is in worship at these shrines that the religion of the peasantry consists. Moslems by profession, they often spend their lives without entering a mosque, and attach more importance to the favour and protection of the village saint<sup>1</sup> than to Allah himself, or to Mohammed, his prophet." Nor will this surprise those who realize that these same Palestine *fellâhîn* are heirs and to some extent descendants of the heathen inhabitants of prebiblical times, who built the first high places.

All *awliâ* were once human beings, who lived as we live, and experienced in their own flesh all miseries, difficulties, diseases and woes of our life. They also know human falsehoods and intrigues. Thus they feel with us in our afflictions and understand us better than God does.<sup>2</sup> At the same time their anger can be more easily soothed and thus one always hopes, by taking the necessary precaution, to escape or to moderate their punishment. This explains partly how they have gradually taken the place of God. More vows are made in their names, more offerings are brought to them and more help is asked from them than is the case with God. In reviewing the formulae used in oaths, vows, etc., this point becomes clear. The first recourse is always to them, while the Almighty is thought of only on especial occasions.

## 5. ORIGIN OF THE SAINTS

In studying closely popular superstition with regard to supernatural powers, we find that there are three classes: Spirits,<sup>3</sup> Saints and the Souls of the Dead.<sup>4</sup>

Spirits may be good (heavenly, upper, godly or believing spirits)<sup>5</sup> or bad (earthly, hellish, lower or unbelieving).<sup>6</sup> The soul or spirit of

<sup>1</sup> In the original *maqâm* stands for saint.

<sup>2</sup> Hosea 119.

<sup>3</sup> Canaan, *Aberglaube*, etc. pp. 7 ff.; *ibid.* *Haunted springs*, etc., JPOS I, 153 ff.; Doutté, *Magie*, etc., pp. 119, 120, 160, 222; Jaussen, *Coutumes*, etc., pp. 218 ff.; Einsler, *Mosaik*.

<sup>4</sup> Canaan, *Aberglaube*, p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> The respective Arabic words are *samâwîyeh*, *alâwîyeh*, *rahmânîyeh*, *mu'mînîn*.

<sup>6</sup> *'urđîyeh* and *turâbîyeh*, *djahanmamiyeh*, *sufîyeh*, *kâferûn*.



the dead may become a good or a bad spirit, according to its good or bad actions on earth. The souls of those who have met an unnatural end always haunt that spot where the blood of the slain flowed. Such a spirit is known as *mfâwil* (or *rasad*)<sup>1</sup>, Gen. 4 10. The good souls of the dead are in many a case elevated to sainthood.

We thus see that all supernatural powers are divided into good and bad ones. The first group contains the saints, good spirits and souls of the righteous dead.<sup>2</sup> The second category is formed by the bad spirits and the souls of wicked men. These two powers are continually at war with each other, but nevertheless they possess many points of resemblance. They appear in different forms, are able to fly, perform miracles, etc. The degree of supernatural power which they can exercise depends upon their rank. The saints are the most powerful of the good, and the *djinn* of the bad group. The almighty God reigns over all and they all have to obey his orders. The modern Palestinian believes just as his biblical predecessors that every thing—good and bad—comes from God. The Arabic expressions used when evil befalls a person express this idea well: *min allâh* (from God), *b'idn allâh*, (with God's permission), *taqdîr allâh* (God's irreversible decree).<sup>3</sup> Both good and evil powers are God's messengers<sup>4</sup> who fulfil his decrees.<sup>5</sup>

In some cases it is easy to find the origin of the saints, while in others it is most difficult. I shall try to catalogue the saints in the following categories:

<sup>1</sup> Such a spirit is always dreaded. Cemeteries are always avoided during the night. Any child who is beaten in a cemetery gets sick.

<sup>2</sup> It used to be a wide spread custom, which still exists but to a somewhat less extent, to place with the dead in his grave the things to which he was most attached, his gun, *argileh*, coffee pot or even his most beloved dish. This, as well as the belief that the soul may appear to the living (especially on the eve of Friday, see *Aberglaube*), shows that the peasants believe that the spirit continues to live and remains attached to the objects which it preferred during its life on earth (*JPOS* IV, 28). But I cannot verify for Palestine the statement of Curtiss (in chapter 11) that a dead man can approach his wife after his death.

<sup>3</sup> Job. 2 10; Amos 3 6.

<sup>4</sup> Ex. 19; 1 Sam. 16 14-16, 18 10, 21 5.

<sup>5</sup> Very interesting is the belief that where there are many *awliâ*, many *djinn* try also to be present. Thus some saints try to drive away these *djinn*. El-'Adjami in Bêt Djibrîn asked to be buried at the entrance of the village to prevent the *djinn* from entering (see also *QS* 1915, 172).

- I. Historical saints,
  - a) Biblical characters,
  - b) Qoranic characters,
  - c) Characters from Mohammedan history.

II. Saints whose descendants are still living.

III. *Darâwîš* of some *ṭarîqah* and saints of unknown origin.

Before describing the different items in the list, it will be important to give some details which may throw some light upon the origin of the *awliâ*. The examination of the names of *welîs* often is of value, though the explanations given by the peasants are often based on popular etymologies.<sup>1</sup> Here is a list to demonstrate this point:

Name of saint	Location	Origin of appellation
Abû Ša'r (Father of Hair)	Mâlḥah	Because of the thick hair on his back.
Ibrâhîm el-Ḥauwâš (I. the worker in palm-leaves)	Dêr Ghassâneh	From his craft of making baskets from palm-leaves.
Bišr el-Ḥâfi (the Bare-footed)	Nablus	He always walked barefoot.
Aḥmad Abû Sall <sup>2</sup> (the Father of the basket)	Irâk el-Manšiyeh	Said to have carried a basket full of water, without its leaking.
<i>en-nabî</i> Hušan	Hirbet Hūšah, SW of Šafâ 'Amr	He frightens and confuses robbers who approach his shrine.
'Asfûr (the bird)	Dêr Ghassâneh	He flew to Mecca.
Nâfûḥ (the blower)	E. of Kifr <sup>3</sup> ed-Dik	He blows up every transgressor so that he swells.
Abû 'Arqûb <sup>4</sup> (the father of the leg)	Dûrah	He fought the infidels with a camel's legbone (cf. Samson).

<sup>1</sup> Such etymological explanations are not new. See Goldziher, *ZDMG*, vol. XXIV, pp. 207 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *QS* 1915, p. 174.

<sup>3</sup> *Kifr* = *kafr*.

<sup>4</sup> *QS* 1916, 15.

Name of saint	Location	Origin of appellation
<i>en-nabî</i> Ša'leh (father of the flame)	Sebastiâ	He sent a flame to devour his enemies (cf. Elijah).
eṭ-Taiyâr (the flying)	in many places	They flew during their life.
Abû Harrûbeh (the father of the carob tree)	SW of ed-Dâhriyeh	A carob tree grew beside his grave.
el-Ḥaḍrâ (the Green)	Nablus	The Almighty saved her virginity.
Irdjâl el-'Amûd (the men of the column)	Nablus	They used to carry a column in one hand (originally pillar-saints).
Alî el-Bakkâ <sup>1</sup> (the Weeper)	Hebron	He used to weep much.
<i>en-nabî</i> Nûḥ (Weeper)	'Aṭâb	He mourned greatly in his life time.
Lûlû (Pearls)	Jerusalem	He changed kaskasûn <sup>2</sup> into pearls.
el-Kilânî (the Measurer)		He measured out grain.
Ḥalîl Allâh <sup>3</sup> (the friend of God)	Hebron	He was chosen, by God, as a friend.
Abû Tîr (father of the ox) <sup>4</sup>	Jerusalem	He used to ride on an ox. <sup>5</sup>

While for some of the shrines certain data can be secured from the sources we have, for many we must resort to conjecture. Many sanctuaries honoured by the modern Palestinian are doubtless older than Islam and even than the Christian period, as Renan writes:

<sup>1</sup> Mudjîr ed-Dîn II, 492.

<sup>2</sup> *kaskasûn* (Classical Arabic *kuskus*) = gruel of coarse semolina (Hava 645). *QS* 1917, 120.

<sup>3</sup> He is called in the Bible twice the "Friend of God", Is. 41, 8; James 2, 23.

<sup>4</sup> Mudjîr II, 488.

<sup>5</sup> Some saints govern the rain (eš-šêḥ Ghêt, eš-šêḥ Maṭar), the dew (Abû en-Nadâ, Schumacher, *Der Djolan*, *ZDPV* IX, 350), vapour (Abû Ḍabûbeh, Curtiss, chapter IV), etc.

"Men have since their beginnings worshipped at the same places,<sup>1</sup> which were often on mountain tops, where men of remote ages felt themselves nearer to the Divine, with whom they sought to hold converse,"<sup>2</sup> Ps. 121, 1. The Palestinian has often kept the place as a shrine, but has changed the name of the being worshipped there. Thus, for example, the cave situated on the Mount of Olives, honoured by the Mohammedans as the shrine of er-Râb'ah<sup>3</sup> was revered by the Christians as the place where Pelagia atoned for her sins, while the Jews cherish the still older belief that this place is the shrine of the prophetess Huldah.<sup>4</sup> Not only were many Christian churches changed to mosques, but many Christian sanctuaries became Moslem *awliâ*.

One of the best examples of this is *eš-šêlî* Moḥammad Ša'leh in Sebastia.<sup>5</sup> The following story is told about him. Once a fight took place between the believers (Mohammedans) and the unbelievers. The men of God helping the former sent fire from heaven which devoured their enemies. Hence this name Ša'leh (flame). In the ruins adjacent to the shrine Prof. Alt found a Greek inscription dedicating the church to Elijah the Tishbite in memory of the miracle of sending fire down from heaven to consume men sent by Ahaziah king of Israel. Tradition has preserved the Biblical story with slight modification; Ša'leh takes the place of Elijah.

It is very interesting to investigate different shrines, get the stories connected with them and note all the superstitious beliefs attached to them. Such data will often be of great topographical and even historical value.

Another very important fact which is to be noted is that many villages bear the name of their most important saint. The question arises whether the village is called after the name of the saint, or vice versa. As in most of such cases, either principle may apply. In my collection I have the following such cases:

<sup>1</sup> *Mission de Phénicie* (after Goldziher).

<sup>2</sup> A. R. S. Kennedy in Hasting's *Dictionary of the Bible*.

<sup>3</sup> Mentioned already *JPOS* IV, 57. Not Râb'ah el-'Alawiyeh as mentioned in *QS* 1917, 121, but el-'Adawiyeh. The story mentioned in *QS* is unknown to all whom I have questioned.

<sup>4</sup> Mudjîr, 238, thinks wrongly that er-Râb'ah was buried here.

<sup>5</sup> Alt, *Ein vergessenes Heiligtum des Propheten Elias*, *ZDPV* XLVIII, 393.

Village	Saint
El-Ḥader	El-Ḥader el-Aḥḍar
Dêr Yâsîn	<i>eš-šēh</i> Yâsîn
Qaryet el-'Inab	<i>eš-šēh</i> el-'Inbâwy
Bêt Laḥim (Galilee)	<i>eš-šēh</i> Laḥhâm
'Arûrah	<i>eš-šēh</i> el-'Arûrî
Dêr Šaraf	<i>eš-šēh</i> Šaraf
Ḥirbet Dêr es-Sidd	<i>eš-šēh</i> es-Sidri
Mazâri' en-Nûbânî	<i>eš-šēh</i> en-Nûbânî
Dêr <i>eš-Šēh</i>	<i>eš-šēh</i> ( <i>es-sultân</i> ) Bader
Bêt Djibrîn	<i>en-nabî</i> Djibrîn
Bêt Liqiâ	<i>en-nabî</i> Liqiâ
Dâniân (Lydda)	<i>en-nabî</i> Dâniân
Yânûn	<i>en-nabî</i> Nûn
'Alût	<i>en-nabî</i> Lût
Yâmîn	<i>en-nabî</i> Benyâmîn
Bêt 'Ūr et-Taḥtâ	<i>en-nabî</i> 'Ūr
Kaff Hâris	<i>en-nabî</i> Du l-Kaff
Ḥân Yûnis	<i>en-nabî</i> Yûnis
El-Êzariyeh	el-'Uzêr
Ḥalîl er-Raḥmân (Hebron)	Ḥalîl Allâh
Ḥirbet Tell el-Arb'in	el-Arb'in
el-Falûdjeh	Aḥmad el-Falûdji
Ḥirbet Idjdûr	<i>en-nabî</i> Idjdûr <sup>1</sup>
Dêr 'Aiyûb	<i>en-nabî</i> 'Ayûb
Ḥirbet 'Azzûnî <sup>2</sup>	Irdjâl 'Azzûn <sup>3</sup>
<i>en-nabî</i> Šâleḥ	<i>en-nabî</i> Šâleḥ
ed-Daḥî <sup>4</sup>	ed-Daḥî
Ḥirbet el-Kafîrah (Kfêrah)	Abû Kfêr
Dêr Istiâ	<i>en-nabî</i> Işyâ
el-Yahûdiyeh	<i>en-nabî</i> Yahûdâ
Ḥirbet Hûseh	<i>en-nabî</i> Hûşân.

<sup>1</sup> The biblical Gedor, Jos. 15 58; 1 Chr. 4 39, 13 7.

<sup>2</sup> Half an hour from Sannârîyeh.

<sup>3</sup> The full name is Irdjâl 'Azzûn bin 'Atmeh.

<sup>4</sup> The mountain on which the *welî* is built bears the same name.

Even some quarters of cities, small uninhabited places, mountains, etc., bear at present the name of a shrine, situated in or near them:

Hâret <i>en-nabî</i> Dâhûd	<i>en-nabî</i> Dâhûd
Hâret <i>eš-šêh</i> Djarrah	<i>eš-šêh</i> Djarrah
Hâret Sa'd u S'id	Sa'd u S'id
Bâb Sitti Mariam (Lion's Gate)	The Virgin Mary
Djabal et-Tôri <sup>1</sup> (Jerusalem)	<i>eš-šêh</i> Aḥmad et-Tôri (also pronounced et-Tôri)
<i>eš-šêh</i> Badr (NW Jerusalem)	<i>eš-šêh</i> Badr
Tell Bal'ameh <sup>2</sup>	Bal'ameh
Hariqet el-Liqâni <sup>3</sup>	<i>en-nabî</i> Lîqîâ
Nahr Rûbin	<i>en-nabî</i> Rûbin
Tell Yûnis (S. of Jaffa)	<i>en-nabî</i> Yûnis:

I shall try to analyse<sup>4</sup> a few of the above names to show how in some cases the saints receive the name of the villages, while in others villages are called after the name of their most important *awliâ*. It is unquestionably an important field for further investigations, for the results will clear away many obscurities in the topography and local history.

The two following cases, although not mentioned in the above list, well illustrate how saints perpetuate the names of ruined villages. Near Bisân is the mound of Tell eš-Šârim, once the Canaanite city of Rehob (a name meaning wide place), destroyed about the eleventh century B. C. In Byzantine and early Arabic times it was represented by a village of the same name, mentioned by Eusebius, now Hirbet er-Rhâb just to the south of Tell eš-Šârim. Here in the later ruin is a *welî* who has taken the name of the ancient city, and is called *eš-šêh* er-Rhâb. The same is true of the Canaanite royal city Eglon, probably Tell el-Ḥesî. A *šêh* 'Adjlûn

<sup>1</sup> According to Mudjîr II, 488, the mountain used to be called Dêr Mâr Morqus (from a Christian convent which had the same name). The name Dêr Abû Tôr was given to the place after the king Abû-l-Faṭḥ 'Oṭmân, the son of Šalâḥ ed-Dîn, presented the whole village (on the mountain) to *eš-šêh* Aḥmad Abû Tôr.

<sup>2</sup> Between Djenîn and Qahâṭiah.

<sup>3</sup> Bêt Lîkiâ.

<sup>4</sup> Mader, *Altchristliche Basiliken*, has given us much important information about this subject.

in the immediate vicinity of the mound, on a Byzantine or early Arabic ruin called Ĥirbet 'Adjlûn, commemorates the place and perpetuates in his name that of the long destroyed city. I owe these last two cases to the kindness of Prof. Albright.

*Eš-šêh* Yasîn<sup>1</sup> in Dêr Yasîn is also the original Christian St. Yason.<sup>2</sup> *En-nabî* Hûšân in Ĥirbet Hûšeh perpetuates the name of the Talmudic Osheh. Nabî el-Yaqîn (IV, 78) may perpetuate the city of Cain (Qâyin) mentioned in Joshua 15 57.<sup>3</sup> *Eš-šêh* Abû Tôr (originally Tôr, the father of the ox) is built on the site of the Christian convent of St. Luke,<sup>4</sup> whose emblem was an ox.<sup>5</sup> So also probably el-'Uzêr of Abû Ghôš is the originally Eleazar, the son of Abinadab, who was set apart by his father "to keep the ark of the Lord" during its stay in Kirjathjearim (I Sam. 7 1 ff.). The sanctuary was probably on the neighbouring hill.<sup>6</sup> Bêt 'Ûr is the ancient Beth Horon and has now as its most important saint a *nabî* bearing the name of the village—*en-nabî* 'Ûr. No such prophet is known.<sup>7</sup> In Bêt Djibrîn, the ancient Bêt Gabra or Bêt Gubrin,<sup>8</sup> *en-nabî* Djibrîn (or Djibril, Gabriel) is honoured. There is no prophet (but an angel) of this name, and the saint's name is clearly derived from that of the village.<sup>9</sup> Ed-Djazâirî, commemorates the ancient name of

<sup>1</sup> There is no *nabî* Šâleh in Dêr Yâsîn as Abel says in *Revue Biblique*, 1924, 620, but only a *šêh* Šâleh. The shrine is a very neglected, undecorated room, without a *mihrâb*, tomb, mattresses, oil lamps or votive offerings. The room forms a part of a building called ed-Dêr. The spear of the *šêh* is planted on the roof of the shrine.

<sup>2</sup> H. Goussen, *Über georgische Drucke und Handschriften* (after Abel in *Rev. Bibl.*).

<sup>3</sup> See for bibliography Mader, l. c., 166 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Meistermann, 1923.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. on the other hand the tradition transmitted by Mudjir, and already referred to.

<sup>6</sup> Dêr el-Azhar exhibits ruins of a Byzantine church probably dedicated to the "stay of the ark of the Lord." See Pierre le Diacre (1137).

<sup>7</sup> It may be that the town was connected in Jewish times with the Aaronical Ĥûr (probably Hôr), by a popular etymology, and that Bêt 'Ûr stands for Bêt Hôr [W. F. Albright].

<sup>8</sup> It is not mentioned in the Bible. Josephus calls it Begabris, the Talmud Bet Gubrin. The Crusaders built here a fortress which they called Gibelin (Meistermann).

<sup>9</sup> About the new *maqâm* see QS 1915, 171.

Gezer, Abû Šûseh being the new name. On Tell el-'Asûr the šêh el-'Asûr perpetuates the name of Baal Hazor of II Sam. 13 23.<sup>1</sup> I do not doubt that *eš-šêh*<sup>2</sup> el-'Inbâwy has the same origin as that of ed-Djazârî. Abû Kfêr perpetuates the name of the old Canaanite city whose ruin is still known as el-Kefîrah. Qabr Ḥabrûn<sup>3</sup> (near Hebron) perpetuates the Hittite Ephran<sup>4</sup> of Gen. 23 4-20.<sup>5</sup>

It is to be noted that these ancient city names are often certainly not derived from personal names, but the Palestinian has personified them with eponymous saints. In another set of cases the saint has given his name to the village in which he is honoured:

Old name of the locality	Name of the saint	Present name of the locality
Hebron	Ḥalîl Allâh	el-Ḥalîl
Bethany	Lazarus (el-'Uzêr)	el-'Ēzariyeh
Mizpeh of Benjamin	Samuel	<i>Nebi Samu'îl</i> <sup>6</sup>
no village	St. George (el-Ḥaḍer)	el-Ḥaḍer.
a hill	Jonas	Tell Yûnis.

*Kafl* in Kafl Ḥâris is originally Kafr. The change of consonants is due to dissimilation of the "r", as in Sûrbâhil for Sûrbâhir, etc., and is quite regular in Palestinian Arabic. After Kafr had been changed into kafl the latter was connected with the Qoranic prophet *Dul-Kafl*, and a sanctuary of this prophet arose.

<sup>1</sup> The trees are called *šadjarât* el-'Awâsîr. In oaths *Irdjâl* el-'Awâsîr is used. Both point to the plural. On the other hand the *mihrâb* and the cave are connected with the sing. 'Asûr. The *mihrâb* does not exist any more. Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, II, 264, note 1, mentions a *weli* on the top of the mountain.

<sup>2</sup> See also Rev. Bibl. 1907, 445.

<sup>3</sup> Mudjîr I, 40 calls him 'Afrûn.

<sup>4</sup> Mader, *Altchristliche Basiliken*, 146, note 3.

<sup>5</sup> Near el-Qaṭrawâny are the ruins of a Byzantine church. Some Christians of Bir Zêt cherish the tradition that there was a Christian convent bearing the name of "St. Katharina." The etymology of Qaṭrawânî corresponds more with *Katrînâ* than with Qaṭrah (a village near Gaza).

<sup>6</sup> Abel, Rev. Bibl. 1912, 167. The identification with Mizpah is disputed. Alt makes it=Mizpeh, but not Mizpah; Albright makes it=both (with G. A. Smith and Buhl).



Before leaving this part I venture to draw the following comparison. I have been told that *en-nabî Zôtûn*<sup>1</sup> (near Bêt Ūniâ) stands for Zebulon.<sup>2</sup> Raiyâlûn in the shrine of el-'Anbiâ (Nablus) stands also for the same patriarch. I would suggest that زبلون is the source of both زيتون,<sup>3</sup> and ريلون, and that an early Arabic or even a Qufic inscription with the word زبلون—which would be then written ريلون—was misread and changed by some to ريلون and by other to زيتون.<sup>4</sup>

In many cases we are told that many saints live in one and the same shrine. I have found the numbers 10, 40, 60 and 70 to predominate, forty being the most important and the most common. In analysing the shrines dedicated to the "forty" we find that this number is always combined with some descriptive appellation, such as *welî*, *nabî mu'mîn*, *mghâzî*, *rdjâl*, *šahîd*, *mal'sûmîyeh* and in one case *'adjamî*. Leaving the last expression aside for the present, we observe that these appellations may be grouped into two categories:

1. Those pointing to sanctity of life, like *welî*, *nabî*, *mu'mîn*.
2. Those pointing to martyrdom, *šahîd* and *mghâzî*.

It is a most difficult problem to know who the forty were. In the Oriental Christian church we have seven occasions on which forty persons are celebrated.<sup>5</sup> Six times they are martyrs<sup>6</sup> and once saints. One group of these seven were killed in Palestine.<sup>7</sup> The most im-

<sup>1</sup> The popular tradition about the origin of this saint runs as follows: Imm eš-Šêh (the daughter of Aḥmad ed-Dadjdjânî) whose shrine lies near, beheld one day a column of fire reaching from heaven to earth. The same night a reverend šêh appeared to her and said that his place lay at the point where the fire touched the earth. Early next morning she hurried to the site, which was known to be absolutely treeless and to her great astonishment found a large olive tree growing there. She called the place eš-šêh Abû Zôtûn. I cannot verify Drake's statement in QS 1872, 179, that Abû Zôtûn was the son of Imm eš-Šêh.

<sup>2</sup> Heard from several people of Bêt Ūniâ.

<sup>3</sup> Schumacher, ZDPV IX, 353 mentions an Abû Zêtûn (in Djûlân), whose name came also from an olive tree.

<sup>4</sup> Some have even misread the ز as a د and read Dabbilûn.

<sup>5</sup> See Greek SYNAXARY.

<sup>6</sup> In one case forty virgins, in another forty children suffered martyrdom.

<sup>7</sup> It is to be noted that out of 108 occasions on which Christians suffered persecution and death we find only seven times that the number of the martyrs was forty (Synaxary).

portant group, the forty martyrs of Sebaste (Asia Minor),<sup>1</sup> perished from cold in a frozen lake, due to the persecution of Licinius. Probably the Christian legends have given the impulse to the Mohammedan idea. This is doubtless the case with *maqâm* el-Arb'în in Nazareth, which was erected on the site of the church of the martyrs.<sup>2</sup> The same may be said of the *mašhad* el-Arb'în<sup>3</sup> on the djabal Rumêdeh (near Hebron),<sup>4</sup> and with probability of the sanctuary of the forty on the Mount of Olives, where according to Jerome there were thirty basilicas and many convents.

94 9

It is curious that the Mohammedans, whose sacred book makes very little use of this number, have so many shrines dedicated to the "forty," while the Christians and Jews, in whose literature we meet with so many references to this number, have far fewer.<sup>5</sup> I suppose that in many cases the original idea was "many" or "several" saints, who were thought to have been seen praying in one place. Sooner or later a person claimed to have seen as many as forty, whereupon his statement was at once accepted and the definite number replaced the vague one.

Forty is a much used number in magic formulae, superstition and religious beliefs, but it cannot compete with the holy numbers three, five and seven.

In examining the shrines dedicated to ten, sixty and seventy saints we find that they are less common than those mentioned. I have only one example representing each class:

<sup>1</sup> On the 10th of March the Orthodox Church has a feast in their memory.

<sup>2</sup> This church was mentioned by Burckhardt (1283) and Corsenus (1628), see Maṣṣûr, *Tarîḥ en-Nâsirah*, 1924, p. 188. He writes that while Şâleh Djabbûr was digging in his property, which lies to the SE of the *maqâm* four pillars of granite were found. Two were bought by the Franciscans and two by the Greek priest Nifon.

<sup>3</sup> Mentioned by Mudjîr II, 427.

<sup>4</sup> Mader, *op. cit.*, 148ff., gives the proofs for this theory.

<sup>5</sup> It is said that when the Prophet had forty followers he ordered his muaddîn to call for prayer.

Harrûbet el-'Ašarah	Êsawiyeh, <sup>1</sup>
Mghâret es-sittîn nabî	Banî N'êm, <sup>2</sup> and
sab'in 'Azêrât <sup>3</sup>	'Awartah.

In regard to the last I observed some contradiction. On the one hand their names denote that they are thought to be female saints, and they appeared as female doves; on the other hand some people of 'Awartah told me that they were male prophets.<sup>4</sup>

The following is the list of the "Forty" which I have visited. There are many others scattered all over Palestine:

Forty <i>welîs</i>	in the cave of Rdjâl el-'Amûd (Nablus)
<i>madjma'</i> el-Arb'in	in one of the rooms of R. el-'Amûd (Nablus)
Arb'in Mghâzî	Bêt Likîâ
Rdjâl el-Arb'in	Biddû
Djâmi' el-Arb'in	Êsawiyeh
arb'in Mghâzî	Şôbâ
el-Arb'in	el-Qubêbeh
el-Arb'in	between Şatâf and 'Ên Habis
Qubbet el-Arb'in	Mount of Olives
Rdjâl el-Arb'in	Temple area.

Before continuing, it should be stated that many shrines have completely disappeared, while the local name of the quarter, cistern, rock, hill, etc., still points to the old shrine. The following are some examples. In Bêt Djâlâ there used to be a sanctuary for Mâr 'Aiyâš,<sup>5</sup> St. George,<sup>6</sup> Gideon<sup>7</sup> and for his son Abimelech.<sup>8</sup> It was believed that the double miracle of the fleece placed on the threshing

<sup>1</sup> Another Harrubet el-'Ašarah used to be on the Mount of Olives. Mudjir II, 411, mentions Masjud el-'Ašarah which was connected with a carob tree.

<sup>2</sup> Mudjir I, 67; of the 60 prophets, 20 were apostles.

<sup>3</sup> In the Christian Church we have 60 occasions where 70 martyrs and three where seven martyrs are celebrated (Synaxary).

<sup>4</sup> The inhabitants of this village believe that these prophets prophesied during the time of Moses.

<sup>5</sup> A Greek Catholic sanctuary.

<sup>6</sup> At the place where at present the German Mission has its buildings. The whole quarter is still known as Hâret ed-Dêr.

<sup>7</sup> Where the Latin Patriarchat has its building.

<sup>8</sup> In the northern part of the village.

floor and given to Gideon<sup>1</sup> as a sign that he would smite the Medianites took place in Bêt Djâlâ. The place was known up to thirty years ago as 'Irâq ed-Djizzeh, "the rock of the fleece."<sup>2</sup> Into Bir ed-Damm (the cistern of blood) it is supposed that Abimelech threw his brethren whom he had killed.<sup>3</sup> A few other forgotten places have already been mentioned in the text.

## I. Historical Saints

### a) Biblical Characters

Palestine as the land of the Bible naturally possesses the sites where different persons of both Testaments lived, acted and were buried. Many prophets enjoy several sanctuaries, one commemorating the place of his nativity, a second the spot of one of his most important actions, the third his tomb, and still another the place where he is supposed to have appeared after death, etc. It goes beyond the scope of this work to give a list of all Biblical characters who are honoured at different spots of Palestine. Their number is very great.

Some of the prophets have changed their names completely, as we have seen in the case of Š'aleh and Abû Zêtûn. The shrine of en-nabî Yaqîn on the mountain al-Marṭûm, near Benî N'êm, has been already described (IV, 78). St. Jerome states that a sanctuary of Abraham was founded in the village of Benî N'êm, then called Caphar Barucha. The modern inhabitants place the tomb of Lot here. His sanctuary is certainly erected on the ruins of a church.<sup>4</sup> Other biblical persons who have changed their names are:

Raiyâlûn (Nablus) stands for Zebulon.

El-'Uzêr ('Awartah) stands for Ezra, originally Eleazar, son of Aaron.

El-'Uzêr (Abû Ghos)<sup>5</sup> stands for Ezra, originally Eleazar the son of Abinadab.

El-'Uzêr (el-Êzariyeh) stands for Ezra, originally Lazarus.

el-Manşûrî ('Awartah) stands for Phineas son of Eleazar.

<sup>1</sup> The inhabitants of this village believe that Gideon lived at this spot.

<sup>2</sup> Judges 6.

<sup>3</sup> From the written notes of my father.

<sup>4</sup> St. Jerome says that this was the spot to which Abraham accompanied the angels, who went down to Sodom, which belief is, as we have seen, still cherished by the inhabitants of Benî N'êm (and by Mudjir).

<sup>5</sup> It is curious that Mudjîr (138) thinks it was Jeremiah and not Ezra whose story is mentioned above (IV, 51).

There are many other examples. Cases like the classical Yaḥiâ for Yohannâ (John) and Idris for Enoch have been omitted. The following list illustrates how one and the same biblical prophet may be honoured in several shrines:

Abraham	north of Hebron	Bêt el-Ḥalil, <sup>1</sup>
	in Hebron	Bir el-Ḥalil,
	Benî N'êm	his tomb and Ballûtet el-Ḥalil, <sup>2</sup>
		the place from which he beheld
		the destruction of Sodom.
	Jerusalem	a <i>milḥrâb</i> where he is supposed
	(below the Şaḡrah)	to have prayed <sup>3</sup>
Jesus	Bethlehem	nativity and Mghâret es-Saiydi
		(the milk-grotto)
	North of Bethlehem	the field of the Grey Peas. <sup>4</sup>
	Jerusalem	Beside the tomb of Christ, there
	(Holy Sepulchre)	are many spots connected with
		his life history.
	Jerusalem (Aqşâ)	Foot imprint,
		below the Aqşâ Srîr 'Îsâ.
	Mount of Olives	imprints of both feet in the As-
		cension chapel.
	Bêt Djâlâ (Bir 'Ônâ)	Imprints of the knees.
	Jordan	Baptism.
	Mount of Quarantine	a grotto where Jesus spent his
		fast.
	Mount Tabor	Transfiguration.

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned by Mudjîr ed-Dîn II, 424, as the place where Abraham had his tents. It is to be noted that several places in the neighbourhood still indicate biblical places: en-Namreh (a summit of a mountain), er-Râmeh (another summit), djabal el-Baṭrak (the highest mountain in southern Palestine), 'En Sârah, Ḥallet el-Buṭmeh, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Really Ballûtet Sebtâ.

<sup>3</sup> In Berzeh, near Damascus, is supposed to be his birth place.

<sup>4</sup> The Arabic legend tells us that "one day a man was sowing dwarf peas in that field, when Jesus passing by asked him: 'What are you sowing there, my friend?' 'Stones' was the answer. 'Very well, you will reap stones.' And truly when the sower came to gather them, he found nothing but petrified peas" (Meistermann). See another version of the story given in IV, 80, note 2.

David	Bethlehem	David's cisterns (2 Sam. 23 14 etc.)
	Jerusalem	his tomb
	Jerusalem	<i>miḥrâb</i> Dâhûd
	(below the Şaḥrah)	
	Jerusalem	a <i>miḥrâb</i>
	(outside of el-Aqşâ)	
	In the "Tower of David" <sup>1</sup>	a <i>miḥrâb</i>
	In Qubbet es-Sinsleh	a <i>miḥrâb</i> .

The different shrines of the prophet Job<sup>2</sup> and those of el-Ḥaḍer<sup>3</sup> have been already enumerated. In some cases several tombs of one and the same prophet are shown. The inhabitants of each village are certain that their sanctuary is the correct one. A few examples are: Jonah has a tomb in Ḥân Yûnis, another in Ḥalḥûl<sup>4</sup> and a third<sup>5</sup> in Meşhed.<sup>6</sup> There are still other places commemorating Jonah: *Nebî Yûnis* at Nahr Sukrêr<sup>7</sup> (6 km to the north of Mînet el-Qal'ah), a Tell Yûnis six and half km south of Jaffa,<sup>8</sup> and Ḥân en-nabî Yûnis between Sidon and Beirut. In this place tradition tells us that the fish cast up Jonah upon the dry land.<sup>9</sup> Joseph has his main shrine near Nablus. This is honoured by Mohammedans, Christians, Samaritans and Jews, while the shrine (also with the tomb) in Bêt Idjzâ

<sup>1</sup> Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 213.

<sup>2</sup> 'En Aiyûb south of Ḥalḥûl was not yet mentioned.

<sup>3</sup> He is confused with St. George, Elijah, Eleazar and Phineas, Hanauer, *Folklore of the Holy Land*, p. 51. The last two names must be exceptionally rare, as I never heard them.

<sup>4</sup> Mudjîr I, 142. The minaret was built in the year 623 A. H. (1226). The Jews placed here the sanctuary of Gad (M. V. Guérin, *Descr. Geogr. et Archéol. de la Palestine*, Judée III, 284 ff.).

<sup>5</sup> Goldziher, *Moh. Trad. über den Grabesort des Jonas*, ZDPV II, 13, etc.; Abel, *Le Culte de Jonas en Palestine*, JPOS II, 176; Guérin, *Galilée*, I, 165; This place is the old Gath-Hepher associated with a prophet Jonas in 2 Kg. 14 25.

<sup>6</sup> Meşhed (place of martyrdom) owes its name to the story of the prophet.

<sup>7</sup> Abel, l. c. 179.

<sup>8</sup> Schick, QS 1888, p. 7 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Mudjîr's account about the place where Jonah was cast up is uncertain.

enjoys only local honour and was neglected when I visited the place.<sup>1</sup> A third shrine is shown in Hebron in Ḥaram el-Ḥalil.<sup>2</sup>

It is curious to note that for most of the sons of Jacob there are shrines situated in different villages on the western mountains of Middle Palestine. There are:

Raiyālūn (Zebulon)	Nablus	Yāmīn	Kafr Sābā
Yašadjār (Isachar)	Nablus	Binyāmīn	Yanūn
Ašar	Nablus	Yahūdā	Yahūdiyeh
Yūsif	Nablus	Dāniān (Dan)	Dāniān
Yūsif	Bēt Idjzā	Rubīn	S. of Jaffa
Simon	Qalqīliyah	Tārī (Ashar)	Rās el-ʿĒn
el-Ḥadrā (Jacob's daughter)	Nablus	Banat Ya'qūb	W of Kafr Ḥāris.

#### b) Qoranic Personages

In this group we count the personages who are first mentioned in the Qoran, and are not biblical. There are only few representatives, the most important of whom is Mohammed himself, whose main shrine is not in Palestine. In Palestine we have several places connected with his life history, namely, those of the miraculous night-journey (*līlatul-mī'rādj*). The following are the places I know of:

1. His twelve foot imprints on the Holy Rock,
2. The tongue of the Ṣaḥrah which spoke with him,
3. The place where he prayed, below the Rock,
4. Ta'djet eṣ-Ṣaḥrah,
5. The hole in the Rock through which he ascended to heaven,
6. The impression of his foot on a separate piece of stone,
7. The Prophet's hair,
8. Under the Aqṣā two *milrābs*,
9. The place where Brāq was tied,
10. Zētūnit en-Nabī,

<sup>1</sup> While the preceding and the next places are mentioned by Mudjir, he knows nothing about this sanctuary.

<sup>2</sup> See *Manāsik el-Quds wal-Ḥalil*, p. 34, and *Muršid laz-zāyir*, p. 40. Some Mohammedans believe that Joseph was thrown by his brethren in a pit (*bīr Sindjil*); others think that this well is inhabited by *es-šēḥ* Ṣāleḥ, Canaan, *Haunted Springs*, etc. *JPOS* I, Nr. 4.

11. Qubbet el-Mi'râdj,
12. A *qubbeh* in which it is said that the prophet prayed with the angels and the prophets,
13. A foot imprint near Dêr Ghassâneh,
14. Another in Hâram el-Halîl.<sup>1</sup>

The prophet is by no means connected only with these spots, but he meets every Friday with some *awliâ* in their shrines, where he has been observed praying.<sup>2</sup>

Beside the prophet Mohammed there are four prophets peculiar to the Qoran: Hûd,<sup>3</sup> Şâleḥ,<sup>4</sup> Şu'êb<sup>5</sup> and Dû l-Kafl. Hûd was sent to the tribe of 'Âd, Şâleḥ to Tamûd, Şu'êb to the Medianites and Dûl-Kafl<sup>6</sup> succeeded Alisa'. Of these four Şâleḥ and Dû l-Kafl are the more important for Palestine. I have collected the names of five places where Şâleḥ is honoured. Two (in Qariyet *en-nabî* Şâleḥ<sup>7</sup> and in Ma'lûl) show tombs of the prophet, although it is known that he died in Mecca.<sup>8</sup> The feast in Ramleh—where his third shrine is found—is called *ed-djûm'ah* el-Hâmiyeh and *dj. ed-djâmî* el-Abiad.<sup>9</sup> The shrine between Iqnah and Talqûmeh has no cenotaph. The

<sup>1</sup> See the above mentioned Arabic guide books.

<sup>2</sup> This same property is even more peculiar to el-Haḍr. If a person meets another several times a day, at different places, he says: "You are like el-Haḍr, wherever one goes, one finds him."

<sup>3</sup> Some think that he was Hebar, others give his genealogy as Hûd son of 'Abdallâh, s. of Rabâḥ, s. of Hîlûd, s. of 'Âd, s. of 'Auṣ (biblical Uz), s. of Arâm, s. of Sâm, s. of Noah.

<sup>4</sup> Son of 'Obêd, s. of Aṣâf, s. of Mâsiḥ, s. of Hâdir, s. of Tamûd. (This genealogy, as well as that of Hûd, is taken from Sale).

<sup>5</sup> Many think that he is identical with the father-in-law of Moses (Ex. 218). Mudjîr I, 68, knows his tomb in Hittîn (near Safad). The place is now called Hîrbet Madîn, which perpetuates the name of the Canaanite royal city of Madôn, but was identified with Madyan, Midian. [W. F. Albright.]

<sup>6</sup> Mudjîr I, 68, thinks with other writers that he was Biṣa the son of Job. See also *Dâiratu l-ma'ârif* IX, 232.

<sup>7</sup> A *šêḥ* of Dêr Ghassâneh justified the tomb of *nebi* Şâleḥ of his district by saying that tradition teaches us that his tomb lies on an elevation near which seven *wâlîs* arise; and this is true of the village of Nebî Şâleḥ.

<sup>8</sup> Sale, p. 6.

<sup>9</sup> *JPOS* II, 165.



fifth shrine is in Acre. Dû l-Kafl<sup>1</sup> has a shrine in Kafl Hâris<sup>2</sup> which bears his name (cf. above). The tomb lies outside the *maqâm*. It is said that a cave lies below the *maqâm*. Another shrine of this prophet is to be found in Kafr 'Aṭṭiyeh. Here we find again a tomb. En-nabî Šu'êb has a sanctuary in 'Adjûr which is very much neglected.<sup>3</sup>

We observe here again how uncertain these locations are, and we may agree with Mudjîr ed-Dîn who writes: "The site of the tomb of no prophet, except those of the prophet Mohammed, Abraham and his sons, can be located with certainty."<sup>4</sup>

### c) Saints from Mohammedan History

A large number of these saints were commanders or warriors of distinction in the armies which conquered Palestine. It is curious to note that many whom we know to have died and to have been buried in some other country,<sup>5</sup> nevertheless possess one or several shrines in Palestine. Many of the stories told to explain the origin of these shrines are legendary. As examples we may give the following:

Ed-Dasûqî has a shrine north of Dêr Ghassâneh, though his tomb lies in Egypt, and none of his important deeds were performed in Palestine. The shrine of er-Rifâî commemorates some of the blood of the *quṭb* which dripped here after his return from a fight with the *kuffâr*. Salmân el-Fârsî, who has a beautiful shrine on the

<sup>1</sup> He is said to have been called by this name because he made himself responsible to the prophet Elîsâ' to follow his steps in worshipping the Almighty. For further details see *dâiratu-l-mâ'ârif* VIII, 413.

<sup>2</sup> Mudjîr I, 68, thinks that this is the real tomb.

<sup>3</sup> According to Mudjîr.

<sup>4</sup> Mudjîr II, 424.

<sup>5</sup> An old man of Dêr Ghassâneh, a descendant of ʿaṣ-šâḥ 'Abdallâh assured me that the tombs of most of the *awliâ* cannot be located with certainty. He quoted:

uamâ ta'lamu maqâbiruhum biarḍin  
yaqînân gheiru mâ sakana er-rasûlu  
uafî Hibrâna aiḍan fihâ ghârun  
fihî rustun kirâmun ual-Ḥalîlu

No one knows with certainty the places of their tombs, except where the Prophet lived,

as well as in Hebron where there is a cave sheltering the honourable Prophets and Abraham.

Mount of Olives, showing his supposed tomb, was actually buried in el-Madâyin.<sup>1</sup> Although it is known that 'Okâseh<sup>2</sup> (one of the *ṣaḥābeh*) did not die in Jerusalem, his shrine here has a tomb.<sup>3</sup> It is said that he appeared to a person praying at this spot and ordered him to erect a *maqām* for him.<sup>4</sup> 'Obadah bin eṣ-Ṣāmet has his tomb in the cemetery, known as Turbet Bâb er-Raḥmeh. Mudjir ed-Dîn (pp. 231, 232) says that "nobody then knew whether his tomb lay in Jerusalem or Ramleh."<sup>5</sup> Abû Hureirah died in el-Medinah and was buried there,<sup>6</sup> but a shrine with a cenotaph dedicated to him is found at Tell Abû Hureirah between Gaza and Beersheba (on the Wâdi eṣ-Šallāleh). Mudjir thinks that this tomb belongs to one of his children. Some other saints having shrines with tombs, where the saints are known not to have died in Palestine, are:

Damrah	in Mazârî' en Nûbânî,
Ibrahîm el-Hauwās	in Dêr Ghassāneh, <sup>7</sup>
ed-Djunêd	in Ĥirbet ed-Djunêd, <sup>8</sup>
Abû l-'Ôf	in Sindjil. <sup>9</sup>

Shrines which are historically correct and which belong to this category are:

Šaddâd bin Aus	Bâb er-Raḥmeh, <sup>10</sup>
eṣ-šêḥ el-Ḥalilî	Temple area,
eṣ-šêḥ Aḥmad Abû T'ôr	S. of Jerusalem, <sup>11</sup>
eṣ-šêḥ 'Alî el-Bakka <sup>12</sup>	Hebron. <sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mudjir I, 232; Kahle, *PJB* VI, 79.

<sup>2</sup> 'Okâseh bin Muḥsin (not Miḥsin with Kahle) bin Ḥartân bin Kaṭîr, bin Murrah bin Ghunm bin Dudân bin 'Asad bin Ḥuzeimah el-'Asadî (*usdu l-ghābah*).

<sup>3</sup> On the tomb we find the following writing:

لا اله الا الله ومحمد رسول الله هذا ضريح سيدنا عكاشة صاحب رسول  
الله لروحه الفاتحة ١٢٨٠

The date is that of the reconstruction of the tomb.

<sup>4</sup> Canaan, *Aberglaube*, p. 102, note 1; Kahle, *PJB* VI, 78.

<sup>5</sup> El-Hâfiz Abû Bakr el-Ḥaṭîb states that he died in Jerusalem.

<sup>6</sup> Mudjir I, 233.

<sup>7</sup> Buried in Egypt.

<sup>8</sup> Buried in Mesopotamia.

<sup>9</sup> Buried in the Hidjâz.

<sup>10</sup> Mudjir I, 233.

<sup>11</sup> Mudjir II, 410.

<sup>12</sup> Mudjir II, 492.

<sup>13</sup> For other instances see Jaussen et Savignac, *Exploration du vallée du Jordain*.

After the Crusaders there was a Moslem reaction which led to the foundation of some sanctuaries and to the reconstruction of others.<sup>1</sup> Fear of future attacks caused the Mohammedan rulers to bend their efforts to keep a large Moslem population at the most important points, and to ensure the presence of numerous well armed Moslems at the most dangerous periods of the year. This goal was attained by founding sanctuaries of various renowned saints and assigning suitable times for their feasts. The rulers were supported by the religious leaders, interested rather in the development of religious life than in the political aspects of the new foundations. The authenticity of the new holy places was easily established, and the nation was encouraged to revere these *welîs* and to attend their feasts. The pilgrims came with their horses and weapons. For every important *welî* large tracts of land were set aside as *waqf*, so that all expenses connected with the celebrations were well covered without imposing any obligations on the pilgrims. These places were generally chosen near the most strategic centres: Jerusalem, Ramleh, Gaza and Acre. Not all such *maqâms* were newly created, but many unimportant and forgotten ones were elevated to new positions of honour. The repair of the roads and the restoration of the caravansaries made it possible for the people to be directed in time of need easily to any spot. This strategic policy was inaugurated by the *sultân* ed-Dâhir Bêbars and not by Şalâh ed-Dîn as used to be supposed. Thus were founded east of Jerusalem en-Nabî Mûsâ,<sup>2</sup> to the west (in Ramleh) en-Nabî Şâleḥ, and to the north (in the village of en-Nabî Şâleḥ) a second sanctuary for the latter. As the most dangerous period of the year to Islam was the Greek Easter when thousands of Christian pilgrims flocked to the Holy City, the week preceding this Christian feast was appointed for the festivals of these saints, so that a still larger number of Mohammedans was gathered around Jerusalem. In Gaza two *mawâsim* were founded, ed-Dârûm and el-Munţâr.<sup>3</sup> Near Acre a third shrine for en-nabî Şâleḥ and near Sidon one for en-nabî Yûnis were established.

King Bêbars' strategic plan required the destruction of the convent of Euthymos, situated at Ḥân es-Sahl (also called Ḥân el-

<sup>1</sup> I owe some of these considerations to the kindness of Aḥmad Zakî Pasha.

<sup>2</sup> Dalman states, PJB, IV, 98, footnote, that Bêbars built only the dome.

<sup>3</sup> Popular etymologies. Darûn = Aramaic Dârômâ; Munţâr = Aram. Manţârâ.

Aḥḍar<sup>1</sup>) which housed many monks,<sup>2</sup> so that the way from Nebi Mûsâ to Jerusalem would be free in case the pilgrims had to march on Jerusalem.

At those times only men attended the feasts which were even more fanatical than now. But gradually they became true popular feasts, and men, women and children flocked to them.<sup>3</sup>

In this connection we may give a brief account of the *zawâyâ* in Jerusalem. These are buildings erected to house either the *darâwîš* of a *ṭarîqah* or the pilgrims of a particular nation. The founder of such an order or some important *darwîš* connected with this place is buried in it and is still more or less honoured.

1. Zâwiyet el-Hnûd, also known as *eš-šêḥ* Farîd Sakrakandj, was originally built for the *fuḡarâ* of the Rifâ'î order. Later the Hindû Moslems took hold of it. The present head is *eš-šêḥ* Naẓîr Ḥasan el 'Anṣârî.<sup>4</sup> The tomb in the *zâwiyeh* has no special importance.

2. *Ez-zâwiyeh* el-Buḥâriyeh houses the pilgrims of Buḥârah. *Eš-šêḥ* Mohammed el-Buḥârî was buried here, and his tomb enjoys some honour. The present head is *eš-šêḥ* Ya'qûb el-Buḥârî.

3. *Ez-zâwiyeh* el-Mauwlawiyeh, headed by *eš-šêḥ* 'Âdil, has three tombs, two of which lie in the court and one in a room. The latter enjoys some honour.

4. Zawiyet el-Maghârbî contains a tomb dedicated to *el-ghôṭ* Abû Madian. It is the richest Mohammedan convent and has many *awqâf*. Abû Madian was one of the great Mohammedan theologians, who erected his building and built a tomb for himself, since he wished to be buried here, but he died in Morocco, after all, and was buried in Thelmecen. Tradition has it that his hand lies in the Jerusalem tomb.<sup>5</sup> The present head is *ḥadj* Moḥammad el-Mahdî.

<sup>1</sup> Not Ḥân el-Aḥmar which is Ḥaḍrûr. Ḥân es-Sahl was situated to the south of the Jerusalem-Jericho road, and WSW of Ḥân Ḥaḍrûr.

<sup>2</sup> Who lived in the convent and as hermits in caves.

<sup>3</sup> The preceding view is supported by Mudjîr I, 93, who writes that Bêbars built the *maqâm* in 663 A. H.; and by the inscription found on the minaret.

<sup>4</sup> Mudjîr II, 399.

<sup>5</sup> 'Abd el-Wahhâb *eš-Ša'rânî*, *lawâiqih el-anwâr* I, 153; Canaan, *Aberglaube*, 86, note 7.

5. Ez-Zâwiyeh el-Buṣṭâmiheh<sup>1</sup> is said to enclose the tomb of Abû Yazîd<sup>2</sup> el-Buṣṭâmî. According to another belief he was buried in his great *zâwiyeh* in Ramleh. The present place which contains two tombs (one for the *welî* and the other for his wife) is very much neglected. In the rooms above the shrine lives the *qaiym eš-šêh* Mûsâ el-Ghuṣên,<sup>3</sup> with his family.

6. Zâwiyet el-Qadriyeh (known at present as Dâr Abû es-S'ûd) lies in the SW corner of the Ḥaram area. It is the centre of the Šâf'iyeh sect, whose *muftî* belongs to the family Abûs-S'ûd.

7. Zâwiyet en-Nabî Dâhûd, on the Mount of Zion, contains the supposed tomb of King David, and used to be a very important convent. The present *ḥalîfeh* is *eš-šêh* Maḥmûd ed-Dadjânî.

8. Zâwiyet el-Ḥânqah (eš-Šalâhiyeh) at the SW corner of the Holy Sepulchre was founded by Šalâḥ ed-Dîn. The present *mutawallî* is *eš-šêh* Amîn el-'Alamî.

9. Ez-zâwiyeh el-As'adiyeh, on the Mount of Olives, used to enjoy a great reputation. It contains the tomb of the founder of the 'Alamî family who are *aš-râf* (pl. of *šarîf*, descendant of the Prophet Mohammed) through Ḥasan the son of Fâtîmeh (therefore called also Ḥasaniyeh). The founder, *eš-šêh* Moḥammed el-'Alamî, came from the mountain el-'Alam (therefore el-'Alamî) in Morocco, and is the descendant of *es-saiyd* 'Abd es-Salâm Maššîs.<sup>4</sup> The present head of the *zâwiyeh* is *eš-šêh* Tâhir el-'Alamî.

10. Ez-zâwiyeh el-Afghaniyeh lies in the NW corner of the Temple Area. The acting superior is called Beyram.<sup>5</sup>

It used to be customary, and is still, in most of these places to read a *dîker*<sup>6</sup> every Thursday evening. To this invocation of God, which may be combined with religious music and *dar'awîš* dances,

<sup>1</sup> Founded by *eš-šêh* 'Abdallâh el-Buṣṭâmî, Mudjîr II, 399.

<sup>2</sup> Abû Yazîd died in Ḥorasân. According to Mudjîr the members of this family were buried in the cemetery of Ma'mân Allâh.

<sup>3</sup> The family of el-Ghuṣun (Ramleh and Jerusalem) are said to be the descendants of el-Buṣṭâmî.

<sup>4</sup> The genealogical tree of the 'Alamî family may be found in Fêdý el-'Alamý, *fath er-raḥmân liḥâlîb 'ayât el-Qorân*, p. ب.

<sup>5</sup> There are a few other *zawâya* which are not important.

<sup>6</sup> The *muḥîṭ* explains *ed-dîker* as *tawḥîd*.

a *wird*<sup>1</sup> may be added. The last expression denotes a section of the Qoran recited at intervals, but it is also used for hymns praising God and the Prophet. One of the important *wirds* is *Wird el-Maḥyâ* which is employed in a special ceremony during the last ten days of Ramaḍân. The *muftî* with some members of the Huseiny, Yûnis, 'Anṣârî, and other families go in a procession from the *muftî's* old house, inside the city, to the shrine of the Qêramî and after reading the *fâtîḥah* they proceed to the Dome of the Rock. During all of this procession they repeat the *wird*.<sup>2</sup>

The primary aim of the *zawâiâ*—to feed and to house the poor and the pilgrims—is generally forgotten. In *zâwîet en-nabî* Dâhûd some poor are still fed. The food comes from the families of ed-Dadjânî, which take turns in providing the food. In the *zâwîyeh* of the Maghrebines, Mawlawiyeh, Buḥâriyeh and Hindus the expenses are covered by the income of the *waqf*. From the Tekiyeh Ḥaskeh Sulṭân<sup>3</sup> the poor receive food twice daily.<sup>4</sup>

## II. Saints whose Descendants are Living

In many villages we are told that the descendants of a *welî* are still living. Although in some places this relation may be legendary and doubtful, in most it has some historical foundation. The descendants are proud of their forefathers, and in many cases the eldest of the living family enjoys the honours of a *šêḥ*. It is customary to inter the principle descendants around the grave of the saint, or in its immediate neighbourhood.<sup>5</sup> An exception to this rule may be noticed in the case of the *šîyûḥ* (Ismâ'îl, Ramaḍân, 'Abd er-Raḥîm, etc.) el-Masâlmeh (Yâlô), who have never allowed any of their descendants to be buried in their neighbourhood. Whenever somebody tried to dig a grave beside theirs, it was always found that the irons of the picks bent.

<sup>1</sup> Not *burda* with Kable, *PJB* VI, 76, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> The last two days of Ramaḍân are known as *layâlî el-maḥiâ*, while *lêlatul-maḥiâ* is *lêlatul-qadr*, the 27th of Ramaḍân.

<sup>3</sup> According to Mudjîr II, 413, she was Ṭunsuq the daughter of 'Abdallâh el-Muzaḥfariyeh. She died 800 A. H. (See also Kable, *PJB* VI, 84.)

<sup>4</sup> The entire "Old Serai" belonged to the Tekiyeh, which was built as a *zâwîyeh*.

<sup>5</sup> See also Kable, *PJB* VI, 72, on *ḥadj* 'Obêd.

In a few cases neither the saint himself nor his descendants are much respected. This is true of *eš-šēḥ* Abû l-'Alamên (of Biddû), whose family is known as 'Êlet Samârah.

The following list gives those saints of this group whose shrines I have visited:

Name <sup>1</sup>	Location	Origin	Living family
Abû Yamîn	Bêt 'Anân	Yaman	'Êlet Abû Yamîn
ed-Dawâ'ri	Sûrbâhir	Mecca <sup>2</sup>	<i>eš-šēḥ</i> Ibneiyâ
Aḥmad el-Ḥuwēs	Biddû		'Êlet Šhâdeh <sup>3</sup>
Ḥamdallâh	Biddû	Biddû	Dâr eš-Šēḥ
Ḥasan Abû l-'Alamên	Biddû		'Êlat Samârah
'Abd es-Salâm	'Anâtâ	Ḥirbet 'Almît	the inhabitants of 'Anâtâ
Darwiš	Bêt Surik	Bêt Surik	See below
Têlah	Bêt Surik	Bêt Surik	See below
'Alî	Qaṭṭaneh	Mecca	The inhabitants of the village
Ramaḍân			
'Alî 'Obêd			
'Abd el-Mahdî			
'Abd el-Ḥādî	Abû Ghôš	Qariet el-'Inab	a part of the inhabitants
Isma'il el-'Inbâwy			
I'mar	Bêt Duqquh	Hauran <sup>4</sup>	a part of the inhabitants

Others of this category whose shrines I have not visited, are:

Name	Location	Living family
Taldjeh	Qabâṭiah	Abû er-Rabb
Quddâmeh	Djildjiliah	en-Nâbulsi (Nablus)
Sûfâ	Dêr Ghassâneh	el-Madjdûb
Djabr	Rafât	in Rafât and in Dânyân
Muḥammad en-Nûhî	Dêr Abân	en-Nûhî

<sup>1</sup> I have omitted the titles *šēḥ*, etc. in this list.

<sup>2</sup> But they did not originate in Mecca.

<sup>3</sup> I met Maḥmûd Šhâdeh as well as one member of each one of these families.

<sup>4</sup> He is supposed to have come from a village called Imm Walad.

Name	Location	Living family
Ḥalid	Dêr Ghassâneh	Barghûṭī Family
Maṭar	Dêr Ghassâneh	Dâr Kafar'înî
el-Habil	Dêr Ghassâneh	Dâr Nâsir
Ghêt	Dêr Ghassâneh	Dâr <i>eš-šêḥ</i> Ghêt
Madjdûb	Dêr Ghassâneh	Dâr er-Râbî
Ibrâhîm		
'Alî		
'Aşfür	Dêr Ghassâneh	Dâr Abû l-Aḥras <sup>1</sup>
Šhâdeh	Dêr Ghassâneh	Dâr Abû Harfil <sup>1</sup>
Dib	Dêr Ghassâneh	Dâr Abû Diâb <sup>1</sup>
el-Hilû	Dêr Ghassâneh	Dâr el-Hilû <sup>1</sup>
Muḥammad	Bêt Djibrin	Dâr el-Mahdî <sup>2</sup> .

The family of ed-Dadjânî has also produced many *awliâ* in past times. Imm *eš-Šêḥ* (Bêt Ūniâ) is believed to be their great grandmother. It is customary for some of the descendants of the *welî* to tour the villages around the *maqâm* once a year and collect vows made to the *welî* of their family. Even Christian priests of St. George used to go around to the different villages to collect the vows made for el-Ḥader. They took with them one of the chains of the sanctuary, and many used to put it around their necks to prevent future insanity.<sup>3</sup>

In this connection it may be of interest to note the genealogy of some *welîs*. That of *eš-šêḥ* 'Abd es-Salâm has already been given (IV, 86). The genealogy of *eš-šêḥ* Darwiš of Bêt Surik is said to be the following: *Eš-šêḥ* Darwiš, son of *ḥadj* Moḥammed, son of *ḥadj* Zâiyd, son of *ḥadj* Aḥmad, son of *ḥadj* Moḥammad. Darwiš begot 'Abd er-Raḥîm, who begot *eš-šêḥ* Moḥammad<sup>4</sup> who is still living and is the *imâm* of the village. The uncle of Darwiš is also regarded as a *welî*.—*Eš-šêḥ* I'mar's (Bêt Duqquh) family tree is: Šâleḥ begot I'mar, who begot Dâhûd, who begot Marrâr, who begot 'Alî, who begot Qâsim, who begot 'Abdallâh, whose son Ismâ'il is still living

<sup>1</sup> These four families are descendants of Dâr er-Râbî.

<sup>2</sup> QS 1915, 172.

<sup>3</sup> From the written notes of my father.

<sup>4</sup> This Mohammed gave me the information.



and is the *muẖtār* of the village.<sup>1</sup> It is said that *eš-šēh* 'Abdallāh of Qubêbeh and *eš-šēh* Itaym of Bêt Iksâ are brothers of *eš-šēh* I'mar. This belief seems not to be based on historical fact, since many of the inhabitants of Bêt Iksâ and Qubêbeh knew nothing about this relationship. The same uncertainty exists about *en-nabî* Abû Lêmûn, who is said to come from the family of Abû Yamîn. Another example are the Dawâ'ri. One of them is buried in Jericho (*eš-šēh* Ghânim), 'Abd el-Fattāh in Šu'fāt, a third in Qrûn el-Hadjar (in the territory of the Sawālri Bedouin) and the others in Sûrbâhir. The most important of these are el-'Enênî, Abû Miṭā, Bhêt, Hîlû and Šâleh. *Eš-šēh* Bneiyâ and *eš-šēh* 'Âyd are still living in Sûrbâhir. It is said that the tribe of en-Nsêrât are the descendants of ed-Dawâ'ri.<sup>2</sup>

Very interesting is the tradition of *es-sultân* Badr, who is said to have had three daughters, all honoured as *waliyât*. El-Badriyeh,<sup>3</sup> the most important is buried in Šarâfât, el-Hmêdiyeh in Bêt Faghûr and Nadjlah in Djorif.<sup>4</sup>

The traditions connected with *es-sultân* Badr and his descendants are very instructive as illustrations of the transformations of ideas. The family of Badr has produced several *awliâ*. The title *sultân* is given often by the people to important men, who were never rulers. Badr was a *qutb*, not a prince. His family tree is supposed to go back as far as 'Alî ibn Abî Ṭalib. According to Mudjir ed-Dîn<sup>5</sup> all the saints of his time followed his teachings. The saints and even the animals came to visit his tomb, erected in a *zâwiyeh* built by him in Wadî en-Nusûr.<sup>6</sup> Most of his sons became *awliâ*. Moḥammed died (663 A. H.) and was buried near his father. Moḥammed's son 'Abd el-Ḥafiz (died 696 A. H.) left Wadî en-Nusûr and settled in a

<sup>1</sup> This person gave me the information.

<sup>2</sup> Every time one of this tribe dies, the *'iddeh* of the dead *weli* of Sûrbâhir is heard to play.

<sup>3</sup> On the door of the sanctuary I read:

نصر من الله وفتح قريب وبشر المؤمنين يا محمد هذا مقام الولية الحميدة  
There is no tomb in the shrine.

<sup>4</sup> QS, 1916, pp. 1, etc. says that Badr had only two daughters. Nadjlah is not mentioned at all.

<sup>5</sup> pp. 489 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Not Nasûra with Kahle.

village called Šafârât,<sup>1</sup> a name said to have been changed to Šarâfât, from the title *šurafâ*, a surname of Badr's family. His son Dâhûd's (died 701 A. H.) first miracle was the changing of the wine, made by the Christian inhabitants of this village, into vinegar. This he did because the *mušrikîn* continually sold this alcoholic drink to the true believers, thus helping them to disobey the holy rules. The Christian believing that he was a sorcerer, left the place. Dâhûd built a *zâwiyeh* where he and his children were afterwards buried. Aḥmad eṭ-Ṭaiyâr<sup>2</sup> whose history will be described below was the cousin of Dâhûd and lived in his time. In the written version of this story we hear that the cause of the destruction of the *qubbeh* by Aḥmad was solely jealousy. The son of Dâhûd, also called Aḥmad, was surnamed el-Kabrit el-Aḥmar ("Red Sulphur," died 723 A. H.) and is said to have been a great theologian. Aḥmad had five sons and three daughters. Two of his sons—'Alî (died 754 A. H.) and Moḥammad el-Bahâ—were greatly beloved, and even the wild animals respected them. 'Alî's son Tâdj ed-Dîn Abû l-Wafâ lived in Jerusalem (died 803 A. H.) and was buried in the cemetery of Ma'man Allâh. He left two sons, 'Alî and Abû Bakr, who were also greatly honoured. One of the relatives of this Badr family, eš-šêḥ el-Kamâlî, was buried in the sanctuary known at present as eš-Šêḥ Badr on the way to Liftâ.<sup>3</sup>

[The preceding details have been excerpted from Uns ed-Djâlîl.<sup>4</sup> No mention is made of a female member with the name el-Badriyeh; in Šarafât only male descendants are mentioned as having been buried, Aḥmad eṭ-Ṭaiyâr being the first. One of these, Badr Asyâd, (pl. of Saiyd, "Lord, Master") had three daughters as we have seen, but no names are given them. The circumstance that they are the only females mentioned may point to their relative importance, and they may be the three said by the popular tradition to be the daughters of *es-sultân* Badr, as said above. The whole family was

<sup>1</sup> Kahle reading the text of Mudjîr "Qariet Šafârât" omitted the real name of the village, and noted only Qarieh.

<sup>2</sup> Not eṭ-Ṭer with Kahle.

<sup>3</sup> Mudjîr II, 489—492. Kahle has mentioned this part in *PJB* VI, 72—73.

<sup>4</sup> In *QS* 1915 and 1916, Masterman and Macalister give an account of *es-sultân* Badr told them by a Palestinian whose name and position are not told. The story resembles ours in many respects. Important differences are given in the foot notes.

known as *ed-Diriyeh el-Badriyeh* (el-*Êleh el-Badriyeh*) from whence the name *el-Badriyeh*. It is interesting to see how a female saint has taken the place of several *awliâ*, a result of a verbal misunderstanding. It will be interesting to compare the story of *el-Badriyeh* as I heard it from the *ḥaṭīb* of Bêt Şafâfâ.

The grandfather of *el-Badriyeh* was a king in Ḥarasân. His son *Badr*<sup>1</sup> came with his family and his cousin *Aḥmad eṭ-Taîyâr* to Jerusalem<sup>2</sup> where he devoted himself to a religious life, spending most of the time meditating in the fields. Liking *Kurâfât* (the former name of *Şarâfât*), he bought a rocky place with several caves.<sup>3</sup> Being disturbed in his solitude by the Jews, who were pressing wine near by, he asked the Almighty for help. All the wine made in three years then turned into vinegar. They, thinking that he was a sorcerer, and irritated by their loss, left the place. The daughter of the *sultân*, *Badriyeh*, was married to her cousin *Aḥmad*,<sup>4</sup> but died shortly afterwards. *Aḥmad* begged that she might be embalmed, but the father, refusing, built a *qubbeh* over her tomb, which was destroyed twice by *Aḥmad*, who had been expelled by his uncle. Each time *Aḥmad* came flying like a large bird,<sup>5</sup> but the third time *es-sultân* struck the bird with his stick and it fell down dead, after which it was recognized to be the unhappy *Aḥmad*, and was buried near his wife.<sup>6</sup>

*Badriyeh's* father could no longer live in *Şarâfât*. Walking aimlessly westwards he reached the spring of the *welî el-Wahşi*,<sup>7</sup> where two<sup>8</sup> daughters of the latter were sitting. While *Badr* was washing his dirty clothes,<sup>9</sup> one of the two young ladies, *Fâtmeḥ*,<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Badr* was born, according to *QS*, in the *Hidjâz* and became later a king in Persia. After seven years' reign he was ordered by God to become a *darwîš*.

<sup>2</sup> *QS*: At this time the king *ed-Dâhîr* was besieging Jerusalem. *Badr* came every day to help him.

<sup>3</sup> These caves are still shown.

<sup>4</sup> No mention of this *Aḥmad* is made in *QS*, first story. In the second he is erroneously called *eṭ-Ṭabbâr* instead of *eṭ-Taîyâr*.

<sup>5</sup> *QS* refers this story to *Dêr eš-Şêḥ*, but it is not accepted by the inhabitants of *Şarâfât*, *Mâlḥah*, *Bêt Şafâfâ* and *Waladjeh*.

<sup>6</sup> It seems that *Kahlc* was never told this story.

<sup>7</sup> Not far from *Râs Ibn 'Ammâr*.

<sup>8</sup> According to *QS* *el-Wahşi* had six daughters.

<sup>9</sup> The word *mraqqa'ah* was used by the story teller.

<sup>10</sup> *QS* calls her *Ḥadîdjeh*.

threw a stone at him and wounded him. The *sultân* remained calm and hanged his clothes on a dead pomegranate<sup>1</sup> tree, which at once came to life, sprouted green leaves, blossomed and yielded fruit. Soon afterwards he left the place. *Es-saiyd* el-Wahšî, who happened to pass this way soon afterwards, saw that the pomegranate was loaded with fruit, although it was not the season. Knowing that only a few hours before it had been a dead tree, he enquired what happened, and his daughters told him the story. At once he followed Badr and overtook him in Wâdî en-Nusûr, which is now called Wâdî Ismâ'îl. El-Wahšî begged Badr to forgive the act of his daughter, persuaded him to return, and gave him Fâtmeḥ to wife.<sup>2</sup> Badr lived in a cave, where he was afterwards buried, the place receiving the name Dâr eš-Šêḥ, later corrupted into Dêr eš-Šêḥ.<sup>3</sup> The *ḥaṭîb*, who told me the story, assured me that Badr had a son, Ibrahim el-Hadamî who was buried in eš-Šiyûḥ, E. of Ḥalḥûl.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> QS says that he became very angry, left the place and went to Dêr eš-Šêḥ, where he spread his clothes on a carob tree.

<sup>2</sup> Badr's condition was that he would return only if he made her bleed as she did him.

<sup>3</sup> Whenever a village has as its name a word derived from the stem *šarîf*, "noble" (like Šarâfât), or the element *šêḥ* (as Dêr eš-Šêḥ and eš-Šiyûḥ), the inhabitants claim to be descendants of the Holy Mohammedan Family, or of an important *šêḥ*.

<sup>4</sup> QS (1916, 13ff.) mentions the following episode which is very interesting. One day the *sultân* saw that there were soldiers in the valley, in number like the sand of the sea, and he knew that these were the soldiers of king Dâhir. He descended from the mountain and invited the king: "I invite you to be my guests, you and your soldiers, and to pass the night here." The king wondered at the *šêḥ*, and instructed his soldiers to ask their host for water for their horses, thinking it was impossible that the *šêḥ* could have water and food enough for all. Sultân Badr said to his servant Marzûq: "Take this jug and go with the soldiers to water the horses, climb with them to the summit of the mountain and exclaim there 'O sultân Badr'." Reaching the top of the mountain the servant cried out, as he was told, and behold the *sultân* appeared and ordered his servant: "Stand on this rock and throw the jug with all your might." The jug broke into six pieces, and at each place where a sherd fell there burst a spring of water. The soldiers, after watering their horses, returned to the king and narrated what had occurred. He was astonished at the mighty power of the *sultân*. The soldiers then asked the *šêḥ* to give them barley for the horses. He brought a *ṣâ'* (= 5 roṭl) of barley and spread it on his 'abâḥ (cloak) and told them to help themselves. Every one took the necessary quantity for his horse, and there was left over at the end as much as there had been at first. With one kid and one roṭl (3 kg) of rice he fed all the soldiers and the inhabitants of the village.

The story of el-Badriyeh illustrates one way in which a saint may be developed by tradition. But in many cases the development may have been even more complicated. Many of the *welīs* were originally influential elders of their village, who may have possessed at the same time certain exceptional qualities. After their death they were first honoured by their relatives only, but gradually their reputation spread. While the peasants of Palestine will recite the *fâtihah*, whenever they pass a tomb of their relatives, in the case of such a dead leader most of the inhabitants of the village and even of the district will perform this duty. The personality, power and reputation of such a person do not disappear at death, but, on the contrary, are believed to become intensified, since the soul, which is the source of all greatness, is freed from bodily trammels.<sup>1</sup> The soul continues to live and can see all that happens around it. Thus many peasants and Bedouin come to the tombs of their dead to swear fidelity to the clan, innocence when falsely accused and to tell their difficulties and ask for help.

This was surely, in principle, the origin of ancestor worship<sup>2</sup> which is still found all over Palestine. A person does not need to be a political leader to attain the rank of a *welī* after his death. There are some religious teachers who have gained the confidence of the inhabitants and have obtained the ascendancy over their simple minds. The sons of persons who were thus elevated to the rank of *šēh* or *welī* may attain this distinction much more easily than their fathers.

Most of the *awliā* of this group and some of the other categories are considered practically as local deities. They are not only the owners of the small piece of ground surrounding their tomb and shrine, but are the protectors of the properties of their descendants and the patrons of the whole village. Palestine has inherited from

<sup>1</sup> Some Mohammedans of Aleppo believe that the dead may appear in different forms during the night. Once a man went to his work a few hours after midnight. Passing along the Mohammedan cemetery he found a she-goat, which he at once took home. His wife fastened the animal and went back to sleep. When she arose she found a dead woman in place of the she-goat. Frightened she called her husband. They kept the matter a secret. In the evening the dead woman changed again into a she-goat, and was at once taken to the cemetery where she was left.

<sup>2</sup> See Jaussen, p. 313ff.; Curtiss, chapter XI, brings only two examples.

its heathen ancestors the idea that the whole country is not governed as a whole by any one deity, but that each locality has its own divinity. Although there may be several saints in one and the same village, only one of them is the real patron of the village. The resemblance of this belief with biblical statements is striking.<sup>1</sup>

### III. Darâwîš

Many shrines belong to a *darwîš*<sup>2</sup> of some *ṭarîqah*. It is not an easy thing to become a follower of a *darwîš*. A person must have a predisposition to it or an inner call. Sometimes it is very easy to get such a call. If a saint appears to a mortal and gives him something which he takes, the condition is fulfilled and the latter must follow the saint. A man passed one evening in front of the sanctuary of *es-sultân* Ibrâhîm (Bêt Ḥanînâ) and saw the saint smoking his pipe. The *welî* offered it to the man, but the latter, frightened by the apparition, ran away. Had he smoked the pipe only once, he would have become a *darwîš*.<sup>3</sup>

A boy spent the night on a heap of barley which was put under the protection of *eš-šêḥ* Abû Ḥasan (Dêr Abân). At midnight he was awakened by a band of religious music which came out of the shrine and passed beside him. One of the holy persons, approaching the child, gave him some drink, explaining that as soon as he drank it, he would become a follower of el-Badawî. Next morning a member of an-Nûhî family, hearing the story, took away this precious drink. The boy related his misfortune to Abû Ḥasan, who appeared to the oppressor, threatened him, took back the miraculous drink and returned it to the boy, who after drinking it became a *darwîš*.

The call may be so sudden, and the person may follow so quickly, that he is thought to have become mentally deranged. This state which is thought to be the normal beginning with many *darâwîš*, makes the person called *madjdûb*, "drawn".<sup>4</sup> A *madjdûb* whose spirit forgets all earthly things and follows only the internal call, lives, so

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ruth 1 15; Judges 11 24; 2 Kg. 17 27; 1 Kg. 11 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Darwîš* is commonly explained as derived from the Persian, and as meaning "seeking doors," i. e. mediant.

<sup>3</sup> See also story told in QS 1916, pp. 66 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Goldziher, l. c. II, 287 ff.

to speak, with his "caller". He is thought to communicate with him, receiving his orders and instructions.<sup>1</sup> He is so absorbed by his supposed inner life that he neglects all else.<sup>2</sup> He talks disconnectedly,<sup>3</sup> repeating one and the same sentence, roams aimlessly in the streets or in the fields and lives at times only on herbs<sup>4</sup> or even, as in the case of *eš-šēḥ* Dâhûd,<sup>5</sup> on carcasses.<sup>6</sup> In *Lawâqih el-Anwâr* we read: "A drawn (inspired) person adheres to the outer condition in which he was found when this state befell him. I have seen Ibn el-Badjâî repeating continually one and the same sentence, which he happened to be reading when he was overtaken by the inspiration."<sup>7</sup> In the course of this work I have given several examples of these *mañjâdîb*.<sup>8</sup>

In 1924 I saw a man with uncovered head, barefoot and very poorly clad running violently down the steep mountain of eš-Šâlhiyeh (Damascus). On my asking what had happened to him, I was told that he was a *darwîš* who behaved abnormally in everything. Whenever he acted abnormally in such a manner the people of Damascus knew that something extraordinary would take place.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Modern Christian saints show the same symptoms, *naḥḥu l-yâsmîn fi nâdirat Filistîn*.

<sup>2</sup> Dalman, *Der palästinische Islam*, PJB, XIII, 27, 28.

<sup>3</sup> This disconnected speech is thought to come from praising God. They may shout at times so loudly that pregnant women miscarry. (eš-Ša'rânî, II, 151.)

<sup>4</sup> In *Mudjîr*, II, 510, we read that *eš-šēḥ* Moḥammad used to eat serpents and beetles, pretending that they were cucumbers and raisins.

<sup>5</sup> *Eš-šēḥ* Dâhûd used to roam aimlessly in the streets of Jerusalem. Whenever he passed a restaurant (*aššî*) he picked up some of the cooked food and put it into his pockets. Nobody ever reproached him or prevented him from doing so. Reaching home or a lonely place, he began to empty his pockets, whereupon each article of food came out by itself, clean, warm and appetising. Once he was observed eating from a carcass. A passer-by cried: "O *šēḥ*, are you not ashamed to eat from a carcass?" Without answering the *šēḥ* thrust his arm into the open abdomen of the carcass, took out a handful and threw at the man. To the great astonishment of the latter it proved to be warm and well made sweets.

<sup>6</sup> *Eš-Ša'rânî* gives many such examples in *lawâqih el-'anwâr*, II, pp. 144, 145, 151 etc. See also E. W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Eg.*, II, 168 ff.

<sup>7</sup> II, 128.

<sup>8</sup> *Eš-šēḥ* M. bin 'Anân teaches that the repulsive appearance of a *darwîš* or low acts performed by him often only appear to the public as low and repulsive, while in reality they are the contrary, (eš-Ša'rânî, II, 151).

<sup>9</sup> See also the story told in *QS* 1915, p. 173.

Before drawing our conclusions I would call attention to the fact that *madjdûb* is used in vernacular Arabic as a synonym of *madjnûn*, "mad, insane," literally "inhabited by *djinn*." The reason for the use of *madjdûb* in this sense is that the behaviour of a *madjdûb*<sup>1</sup> does not differ from that of a *demoniac*.<sup>2</sup> In Classical Arabic *madjdûb* means—according to the teachings of eš-Šūfiyeh—"a person inhabited by a good spirit and drawn by God to His presence." The Almighty has purified him and given him superhuman attributes.<sup>3</sup> Both the *madjdûb* and *madjnûn* being inhabited by spirits, and sharing many points of resemblances, it is easily explicable that many insane persons are regarded by the people as *awliâ*.<sup>4</sup> Whenever a *darwîš* gets into an ecstasy—while praying, dancing or beating his drum—it is said that his spirit is absent with the *awliâ* or even with God himself, and his bodily actions become mechanical.<sup>5</sup> The foregoing is well exemplified by the following verse:

*šöbeš 'alâ-r-rdjâl harâmiyeh usarrâqîn*  
*iqallqû fil-bwâb uin-nâs ghaflânîn*  
*es-sâlik illi iqim el-lêl bit-tahlîl*  
*fi djannet el-hald yitmahtar šamâl u yamîn.*

Call a *šöbâš* to the men, for there are thieves and robbers  
 who try to open the doors, while the people are unconscious.  
 The follower of the path who spends the night praising God  
 Will walk proudly in Paradise, both to the left and to the right.

<sup>1</sup> Reading the life history of many saints in *lawâqih el-'amwâr* one is absolutely at a loss how to explain the different phenomena ascribed to them, and how to combine these with the idea of sanctity. Some *awliâ*, according to this work, were followed by dogs, kept carcasses in their workshops, spoke disconnectedly, and even appear to perform the most unexpected sins.

<sup>2</sup> Curtiss, chapter XVI.

<sup>3</sup> *Muḥîṭ*, I, 227.

<sup>4</sup> The same idea is found in Hosea 97; Jer. 29 26.

<sup>5</sup> It is believed that babies and *madjadûb* are alike, except that the latter live in this part of their life a double life; they are on the earth and at the same time in heaven (eš-Ša'ranî, II, 162). A colloquial proverb says: *hakî saneḥ hakî nabî hakî eš-gghîr hakî welî*, "The talk of a year-old baby is like that of a prophet, the talk of a child is that of a *welî*."



This verse describes figuratively the way in which the saints act. They enter the house like thieves and take people away to become their followers, acting with such suddenness that nobody perceives them.

It is not necessary that every *darwīš* must go through the above described phases of *ed-djaḍb*. Many of them, after deciding to follow a *ṭarīqah* visit a *šēḥ* of repute and learn his teachings, assisting in his prayers and ceremonies, and in playing the *'iddeh*, accompanying him on the different *ziārāt*, learning his methods of cures, etc., and as soon as the master judges that his disciple is worthy of practising, he gives him an *idjāzeh*: This certificate is a long scroll of paper, certifying that N. N. (giving his genealogy) who has taken (*aḥada*) and has received the initiation from the *ḥalīfeh* (the whole chain of *šēḥs* is given, until the founder of the *ṭarīqah* is reached) has found that his adept . . . (with the entire genealogy of the latter) is a worthy follower of the order. He is therefore empowered to act according to the rules of the order, as all the secrets thereof have been disclosed to him. Praises of God and the prophet and verses of the Qoran are never omitted. The maker of the certificate must affix his seal to the document. On both margins of the scroll one finds the seals of various *šēḥs*, certifying the authenticity of the "diploma."

Sometimes a person may receive the permission to become a *darwīš* without having undergone such a period of study. The act of giving the permission is called *a'tāh el-'ahd*.<sup>2</sup> There are different degrees or stages of these *'uhūd*.

This scroll, placed in an elongated tubular case, is carried by its owner on his side. Such a *darwīš* will begin often, under pretence of praising the power of God, to boast of his miracles and to discant on the powers which he derives from the Almighty. In this way he tries to extend his own reputation, which is magnified still more by the simple *fellāḥ*. This method of advertising oneself

<sup>1</sup> An *'idjāzeh* may be of two kinds:

- a) A simple one which allows its owner to practice the functions of a *darwīš*,
- b) a higher one which allows its owner to appoint other persons as *darwīš*.  
A man with this certificate is called *ḥalīfeh*.

<sup>2</sup> The giving of the oath.

under the pretence of exalting the glory of God is not peculiar to Palestine.<sup>1</sup>

In many cases we remain in entire ignorance of the origin of a saint. The *fellâh* does not bind himself to facts, but often bases his faith upon supposedly observed unexplained signs.

As an appendix to this chapter I will describe a *diker* as performed by the *darâwîš*.

The *darâwîš* assemble in the house of the *halîfeh* or in the *maqâm* which he guards. All must be ritually clean and have performed their evening prayers. The *halîfeh* orders the *naqîb* (his religious servant) to distribute the musical instruments. The disciples form a semicircle or a circle. The *naqîb* holding a *ṭabel* stands before his master, and while he swings his arms to and fro, says:

*auwal qaulî šaraf lillâh el-fâtîḥah* (repeated three times), *qidwatî na'ustâḍî el-bâz 'Abdel-Qâder ed-Djîlânî*.

"My first word Honour to God, (recite) the *fâtîḥah*, My example, and my master is the falcon 'Abdel-Qâder ed-Djîlânî."

Then follow some praises to him and the other *aqtâb*. He now places the drum in front of the master, who beats it. Every *darwîš* stands up and does the same. The small drum (*el-bâz*) leading the other instruments which follow its rhythm. The music continues 10—15 minutes and is followed by the recitation of hymns of praise (*našîd*). The drums are now warmed over the fire in order to adjust them better. After repeating the music and the recitation three times the real *diker* begins. The *halîfeh* appoints one who possesses a good voice (*šauwîṭ*) to lead the service. This person begins *allâh, allâh allâh, ḥaiy, ḥaiy, ḥaiy, qaiyûm, qaiyûm, qaiyûm, allâh ḥaiy* (three times), or *allâh qaiyûm* (three times). All repeat it and slowly swing their bodies from side to side, or backwards and forwards. Generally the rhythmical swingings become more energetic and rapid and the recitations wilder and louder. This state (*ḥâlet el-gheibûbeh*) may become so wild that the head-dress falls down and the foam comes out of the mouth. Sometimes several persons unite to lay such an excited *darwîš* on the ground to quieten him. The *halîfeh* calls in his ears the prayer of the *mu'addîn* which is believed to sooth him. The *diker* is repeated often three times.

<sup>1</sup> The book of eš-Ša'rânî is full of such self-praises.

At last a part of the Qoran is read and the leader calls, "I close this meeting with the name of the preacher, warning and lighted lamp." The *fâtihah* is recited. All kiss the hand of the *šêh* and leave.

We append some songs or verses not mentioned in the text but which well describe the characters and miracles of the saints, as well as the devotion of their followers:

*yâ sîdî yâ bâ Šnêwar 'Obêd Allâh*  
*a'tâk allâh uilâyeḥ nazrah lillâh*  
*anâ el-mrîd ilêkum farḥamu bil-lâh*  
*mâ atruk el-'ahd lâ wallâh lâ wallâh*

O my master, O Abû Šnêwar 'Obêd Allâh,  
 Thy Lord hath given thee supremacy (in religious affairs). I implore  
 thee for God's sake, throw a glance (of help) upon me!  
 I am your servant, have pity upon me, I implore thee by God!  
 I shall never break my vow (to the order), never by God, never by God!

*yâ sîdî yâ welî yâ sâkin el-ḥilwah*  
*fasqî murîdak bîdak šarbeh ḥilwah*  
*in kunt 'anâ zallêt 'an 'ahdakum ḥaṭwah*  
*fasmaḥ illaiyâ uaḥalliṣnî min el-balwah*

O my master, O *welî*, O thou who livest in a hermitage,  
 Give thy adherent a sweet draught by thine own hand!  
 If I have strayed a step from my vow to you,  
 Forgive me and save me from misfortune.

*yâ sîdî int Ibrâhîm yâ Hauwâs*  
*fasqînî min šarâb eṣ-šâlhîn el-ḥâs*  
*la'allhum yktûnî 'indhum min ḥâs*  
*djumlit mahâsibhum yâ hall tarâ biḥlâs*

O my Lord, thou art Ibrahim, O Hauwâs,  
 Give me to drink from the special drink of the pious,  
 That they may happily write me down as one of their own,  
 Belonging to the band of their servants. O who knows if it will end  
 successfully?

*yâ sîdî yâ wakîy allâh yâ šêḥ Ghêt*  
*innanî bikum mustadjîr min kull mâ biḥî ghêt*  
*fabiḥaqq man 'anzal el-amtâr fîhâ l-ghêt*  
*dîr 'anzâr sîdî Ibrâhîm yâ šêḥ Ghêt.*

O my Lord, O *welî* of God, O *šêh* Ghêt  
 I ask you to save me from all trouble,  
 For the sake of the One who sends down rain in pouring streams  
 O *šêh* Ghêt, turn the attention of my lord Ibrâhîm<sup>1</sup> toward me.

*sîdî sâkin fî darîlüh uismuh 'Aşfür*  
*usirruh fî bilâd el-haddj şâr maşhûr*  
*bîhaqq sîdnâ el-Halîl wishâq uil-Ghaiyûr*  
*tismañ la hâtrî witrudnî madjbûr*

My Lord lives in his tomb and his name is el-'Aşfür,  
 His secret (power) is renowned in the land of the pilgrimage (Mecca  
 and Medina)  
 By the truth of our master Abraham, Isaac and the Zealous one  
 (Jacob),  
 I implore thee to hearken to me and to bring me back restored!

*yâ sîdnâ yâ ba'al yâ šêhnâ Rahhâl*  
*nilak karâmât ka'amûadj el-bahar uid-djibâl*  
*mahsûbkum bil-'ahd mâ yôm 'ankum mâl*  
*lâ tiqta'û uiddkum 'anhu biñib el-hâl*

O my Lord, O hero, O our *šêh* Rahhâl  
 Thy acts of benevolence are like the waves of the sea and the mountains,  
 Your servant has not deviated from his vow to you,  
 Withdraw not your love from him (but let him continue) in good  
 circumstances.

*Šêh Habîl nanâ bil-'ahd iluh tâ'y'*  
*usirruh fî zalâm el-lêl lâmi'*  
*'ad ûk rabbî uitkun ladî âyeh sâmi'*  
*biñyât Tîbâ uahl el-ghâr fid-djâmi'*

(My) *šêh* (is) Habîl and I am obedient to the vow;  
 His secret (miracle) shines even in the darkness of the night  
 I implore Thee O my Lord, to hear my prayer,  
 By the existence of Tîbâ<sup>2</sup> and the people of the cave (situated in  
 the mosque)!

<sup>1</sup> Ibrâhîm el-Hauwâş is meant.

<sup>2</sup> Medînâh is meant.

*yâ sîdî yâ walliy allâh yâ 'Atêrî  
râsî mrîdak uînt el-quṭb fid-dîrî  
dâhîl 'alâ bâbkum utâlîb lad-djîrîh  
min kullu mâ qadd ḥallâ 'alaiya min ḍêrî*

O my Lord, O God's *welî*, O 'Atêrî  
Help thy adherent for thou art the Pillar of the district  
I enter your door, asking for a neighbour's rights,  
That I may be saved from all harm which may befall me!

*'anâ ilî sîd maṣhûr bism Ḥâlid  
uîluḥ karâmât maṣhûrât lal-wârid  
naṣrah 'alâ man yarîdkum djâlkum qâṣîl  
lâ tiqṭa'ûluḥ radjah sîdî Ḥâlid*

I have a famous master named Ḥâlid.  
His acts of benevolence are famous to the suppliant;  
Cast a (helpful) glance on the suppliant who comes seeking you;  
Do not cut off his hope, O my Lord Ḥâlid!

*maḥsûb 'alêk sîdî yâ šêḥ Maṭar  
uîlak karâmât titwârad 'alênâ maṭar  
mâ 'umrî zallêt fî 'ahdak kiḍb u baṭar  
naṣrah tnaddjî mrîdak min maṣîr el-ḥaṭar*

I am thy servant my Lord, O *šêḥ* Maṭar.  
Thy acts of benevolence descend upon me like rain.  
I have never strayed from my vow to you (by) lies or idle gossip.  
(Cast on me) a glance to save thy follower from the dangerous way.

*ḍîr en-naṣar 'amrîdak sîdî šêḥ Dîb  
'âlem 'allâm fî silk el-wlâyah ḍîb  
in 'aiyurânî uqalû sirr šêḥak djîb  
landah uaqûl faẓ'ah lî šêḥî Dîb*

Turn thy attention to thy follower, O my *šêḥ* Dîb,  
For thou art wise, passing wise; in the art [path] of being a *welî*,  
a wolf [play of words] thou art.  
If they reproach me and say, "Tell us the secret of thy *šêḥ*,"  
I will cry out and say: Help me, O *šêḥ* Dîb!

*yâ 'izz el-Başrah uyâ šêh ilnâ râ'i  
hallaftillî djuṛḥ djuwâ muhdjatî râ'i  
in tālanî eḏ-dēm bandah hê yâ Rfâ'i  
šêh eṭ-ṭarîqah bidjînâ 'al-qadam sâ'i*

O pride of el-Başrah, and, O šêh, our shepherd,  
Thou hast left me with a lasting wound in my soul.  
If difficulties befall me, I cry, Hither, O Rfâ'î!  
(And behold) the šêh of the order comes running on his feet.

*yâ sîdî yâ walî yâ Muṣṭafâ el-Bakrî  
wilak karâmât tiṭṭâhâr kamâ l-fadjri  
nazrah b'ên er-riḏâ ṭhallil bihâ 'usrî  
maḥsûbkum qadd 'atâkum yṭlub el-yusri*

O my Lord, O *welî*, O chosen one, el-Bakrî!  
Thy miracles shine like the breaking day!  
(Cast on me) a glance from a favourable eye, delivering me from  
my troubles;  
Your servant has come to you, asking for easing of his circumstances.

*yâ sîdî yâ walliy allâh yâ Nâbulṣî  
'Abd el-Ghanî sîdî el-maḥsûb<sup>1</sup> fî ḥabsî  
farriḏj humûmî uzîl el-yôm lanahṣî  
'ind allâh du'âk maqbûl bil-'unsi*

O my Lord, O *welî* of God, O Nâbulṣî.  
'Abd el-Ghanî is my lord, I am his servant in my bondage.  
Drive away my sorrows and cause my ill-luck to cease to-day,  
For your petition is accepted kindly by God.

*sîadî mâšîn allâh ma'âkum  
salabtû r-rûḥ wil-muhdjah ma'âkum  
da'êtûnâ ihnâ nrûḥ ma'âkum  
'asâ min yammkum yṣlah šarâb eṣ-ṣâlihîn<sup>2</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> It is to be understood, us *anâ el-maḥsûb 'alêh*.

<sup>2</sup> This verse is *'atâbah*, all others are called *tašâwîq*.

My lords are going, God be with them.

You have stolen the soul and the heart is (wandering) with you

You have called us to go with you;

We hope that from your ocean (of piety) there will come a draught  
for the righteous.

*yâ sâdatî in nasētînî 'anâ al-dûkir  
ul-hamdu lil-lâhî 'anâ min faḥlakum šakir  
uhaqq man 'anzala l-qurâna umin fihi fâtir  
in ghibtum 'an el-'ên mâ tghîbû 'an el-hâtir*

O my lords, if you happen to have forgotten me, the evercalling,  
Thanks be to God I am to your kindness ever grateful.

By Him who sent down the Qoran, including Fâtir (Surah XXXV),  
If you are out of sight, you are never out of mind.

*yâ 'urbî illî nadahtînî hê 'anâ djit  
wâqif 'alâ bâbkum tal'umrû ḥaššêt  
biḥyât Tîbâ u Zamzam ul-Bêt  
ḥallî nazarukum 'allaiyâ uên ma ḥallêt*

O Arabs, who called, behold I have come,

Standing at your door awaiting your order to enter.

By the existence of Tîbâ [Medinah], Zamzam and the Ka'beh,  
(I implore you) to keep your eyes on me wherever I go!

*yâ sâdatî fi hawâkum zâdat ašwâqî  
ul-hubb lil-lâh ḥaiyun wâḥidun' bâqî  
ardjûhu yagħfir dūnûbî fahuâ ḥallâqî  
yôma l-ḥisâbi uanâ fil-ḥašrî biḥîqî*

O my lords, in love of you my longings have increased,  
And in the love of God, the Living, the One, the Enduring.

I pray him to forgive my sins—for He is my creator—

On the Day of Judgement, when I am in distress in my trouble!

*yâ sâdatî yâ rdjâl allâh zidûnî  
 antum rdjâl eš-şafâ bil-ḥubbi zidûnî  
 yâ hall tarâ min maḥabbtî hall tridûnî  
 uakun ḥādīman binafsî tummâ bi'yûnî*

O my Lords, O men of God, increase in me (the love of God),  
 You are the chosen men increase in me the love (of God)!  
 O can it be that you will accept me for my love,  
 That I may be (your) servant, (first) with my soul and then with  
 my eyes.

*yâ sâdatî lâ thî'û man bikum wâtîq  
 uqalbuḥ bilhawâ fî ḥubkum 'âšiq  
 uallâh yâ'lam biḥâlūḥ fil-qaṣdî ṣâdiq  
 bil-ḥubbi uarḥam mutaiyam 'anta yâ ḥâlîq*

O my lords, do not betray the one who trusts you,  
 While his heart in love cleaves to you.  
 God knows his state (of mind) that he is sincere in his aim  
 Of love; have mercy, O Creator, on a slave (to your love).

*nadalit hê yâ Yaman qâlat anâ ismî rūḥ  
 uin kân tihuâ djamâlî lal-masâdjid rūḥ  
 uhaqq man 'anzala l-Qorâna uast el-lôḥ  
 firqit siâdî aṣ'ab min ṭlû' er-rûḥ*

I called, Hê, O Yemen [Ka'beh]. She answered: "My name is 'Go'!"  
 If you love my beauty, 'go' to the mosques.  
 By Him who sent the Qoran, including the tablet,  
 The separation from my lords is more difficult than the departure  
 of my life.

*šobeš' 'alâ-r-rdjâl ḥarâmiyeh unaššâlin  
 iqallqû biḍ-ḍubab<sup>2</sup> uin-nâs ghaflânin  
 laruw šufthum yâ ḥaliy bil-lêl madjmu'in  
 djawârâ qabr en-nabî bil-ḥubb mašghûfin.<sup>3</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> *šobeš' šubâš'* to chant a song aloud and in company.

<sup>2</sup> *Dubab* = lips. *Muḥit*, 1230, does not give it, though it gives as one of the meanings of the verb "to speak aloud."

<sup>3</sup> This line is also recited in the following way:

*es-sâlik illî 'iqim el-lêl bit-tahlîl  
 fî djannet el-ḥald ytmahṭar šamâl uyamîn.*



Call out a šobâš for those who are thieves and robbers,<sup>1</sup>  
Who stammer (prayer) with their lips while people are unconscious,  
O my friend, if thou seest them gathered at night  
In the neighbourhood of the prophet's tomb, seized with passion for  
his love.

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<sup>1</sup> The saints are compared to robbers and thieves, as has already been mentioned and explained.

Continuation from page 107

Zahl der transjordanischen Dolmen werden wir allerdings in Westpalästina niemals erreichen, nicht etwa deshalb, weil sie, wie man immer betont, „als heidnische Opferstätten der Ureinwohner des Landes“ von den Israeliten zerstört worden wären, sondern weil im Westen zur Totenbestattung vielmehr Höhlen zur Verfügung standen als im Osten, und weil im Westen die intensivere Wiederbesiedlung im Verlauf der Jahrtausende der Erhaltung der Megalithbauten weniger günstig sein musste als im Osten. Ganz verfrüht erscheint mir auch die Ansicht, dass die Dolmenerbauer halbnomadische Hirtenvölker waren und ihre Bauten mehr in Weidegebieten als in kulturfähigen Gegenden liegen. Ein Überblick der Dolmenbauten im Westjordanland stimmt jedenfalls nicht mit dieser Anschauung überein. Erst wenn alle Dolmenfelder in Ost und West registriert und ihre lokale Verbreitung und Eigenart kritisch untersucht sein werden, lässt sich eine Gesamtdarstellung der Dolmenbauten von ganz Palästina wagen. Dann werden sich wohl auch die zahlreichen religionsgeschichtlichen und siedlungsgeographischen Probleme lösen lassen, die sich an diese ehrwürdigen Zeugen uralter Menschenkultur knüpfen.

## SAPPHO ET AROUS

F.-M. ABEL O. P.  
(JERUSALEM)

P ARMI les agitateurs qui suscitèrent des troubles en Palestine après la mort d'Hérode le Grand il en est un qui se signala par son audace et par les maux qu'il infligea au corps d'occupation romaine; on a nommé Athrongès, le berger devenu roi, dont les actes de banditisme terrorisaient Emmaüs et ses environs. Aussi bien Josèphe a-t-il jugé à propos de le présenter à deux reprises dans ses œuvres comme le type de ces aventuriers que ne manquent pas de produire les périodes d'anarchie. Un de ses exploits avait été l'attaque d'un convoi militaire au cours de laquelle plusieurs Romains avaient succombé ainsi que leur centurion appelé Arius. Sur ces entrefaites, le procureur Sabinus, assiégé avec ses troupes dans le palais hérodien de Jérusalem, envoyait un message au légat de Syrie, Varus, le suppliant d'accourir pour le délivrer et pacifier le pays.

Sans retard le légat répondit à cet appel, résolu de venger le double affront subi par les Romains en Judée: le meurtre d'Arius et des siens près d'Emmaüs et l'échec de la légion de Jérusalem. Ptolémaïs fut indiquée comme point de concentration de l'armée de secours. Aux deux légions amonées de Syrie vinrent s'unir quinze cents auxiliaires de Béryte et un fort contingent d'Arabes que fournissait le roi Arétas en haine de la mémoire d'Hérode. Tandis qu'un détachement opérait en Galilée, Varus lui-même avec le gros de ses forces entra dans le pays de Samarie. Laissons la parole à Josèphe, car c'est précisément le passage de son récit que nous aurons à commenter:

«Varus lui-même avec le gros de ses forces entra dans le pays de Samarie; il épargna la ville, qui était restée parfaitement tranquille

au milieu du tumulte général, et alla camper près d'un bourg nommé *AROUS*; c'était une possession de Ptolémée, qui, pour cette raison, fut pillée par les Arabes acharnés même contre les amis d'Hérode. Ensuite il s'avança jusqu'à *SAPPHO*, autre bourgade fortifiée; celle-ci fut également saccagée par les Arabes, ainsi que toutes les localités voisines qu'ils rencontraient sur leur chemin. Tout le territoire était plein d'incendie et de carnage, et leur soif de pillage n'épargnait rien. Emmaüs, dont les habitants avaient pris la fuite, fut incendié sur l'ordre de Varus en représailles du massacre de Varus et de ses soldats.

Marchant de là sur Jérusalem, il n'eut qu'à montrer ses forces pour disperser le camp des Juifs . . . »<sup>1</sup>

La première observation qui s'impose à la suite de cette lecture est que le légat impérial se dirige d'abord de Samarie à Emmaüs et non à Jérusalem.

La seconde est que la marche de l'armée romaine, quoique tracée à grands traits, peut se suivre grâce à deux jalons marqués par l'historien. Atteindre Emmaüs le plus rapidement possible tout en satisfaisant la rancune de ses alliés de Pétra paraît avoir été le premier objectif de Varus.

En conséquence les deux étapes intermédiaires entre Samarie et Emmaüs devront normalement se trouver sur une ligne à tirer entre Sébastiyeh et 'Amwās. Voyons si les données onomastiques et topographiques palestiniennes sont de nature à établir cette ligne postulée par le récit de Josèphe.

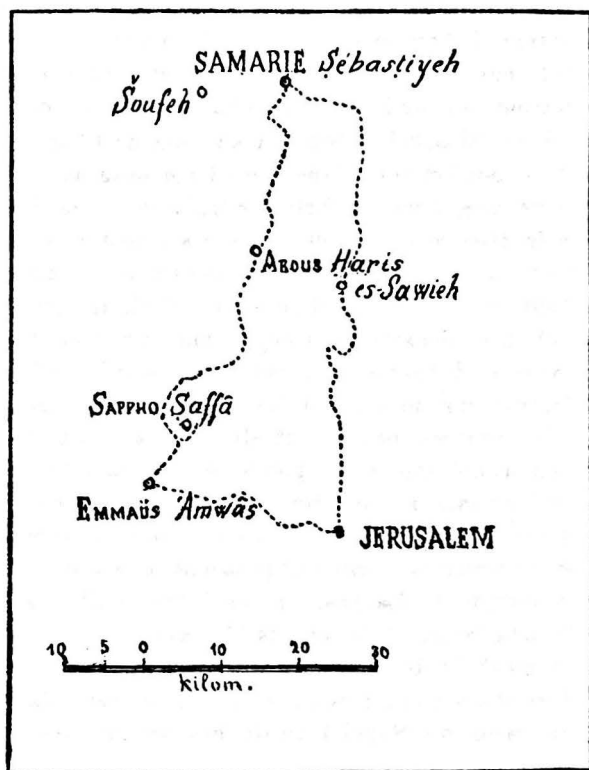
Je commence par le jalon le plus rapproché d'Emmaüs, celui qui nous semble le plus facile à identifier.

Il s'agit donc d'une bourgade nommée *Σαπφώ* ou *Σαμφώ*. Pour peu qu'on soit rompu au jeu de la phonétique grecque on réduira tout naturellement ces deux formes au simple *Σαφφώ*, appuyé, d'ailleurs, par l'ancienne version latine dont l'autorité, comme Niese l'a montré, n'est point négligeable. En effet, soit dans la *Guerre juive*, soit dans les *Antiquités*, le latin a *Saffo*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Guerre juive* II 5, 1 et 2 (cf. *Antiquités judaïques* XVII 10, 9) traduction de R. HARMAND.

<sup>2</sup> C'est ainsi que nous trouvons *Antiq.* III 7, 5 les deux leçons *σάμφειρον* et *σάμφειρον*, lat. *saphyrum*. Le *πύργος Ἀφεκοῦ* de *Guerre* II 19, 1 est à comparer à *πύλος Ἀμφεκᾶς* d'*Antiq.* V 11, 1; *Ἐμφρών* d'*Antiq.* XII 8, 5 avec *Ἐφρών* de I Macch. 5 46.

La tendance de placer une forte devant une aspirée au lieu de redoubler l'aspirée est rendue évidente par des transcriptions telles que Σαπφείρα (Act. V, 1) pour Σαφφείρα, Σέπφορις fréquemment usitée par Josèphe, rendue *Sefforis* par le latin. L'épenthèse du  $\mu$  devant une labiale est un cas non moins répandu; par exemple ἐλήμφθην,



Ἀμβακούι, Νόμβα pour Νόβα etc. Peut-être ces formes répondaient-elles à une prononciation usuelle? Peut-être aussi ne sont-elles qu'un procédé pour rendre le redoublement de la consonne aspirée qui n'existe pas dans l'hébreu vocalisé par les Naqdanim?

En tout cas, l'arabe témoigne en faveur du redoublement de l'aspirée par la transcription صفورية *Saffuriyeh*, pour Σέπφορις, hébreu

צפורי. Par analogie, quelle que soit la lecture authentique du grec, il est à croire que *Saffo* devra normalement être transcrit et prononcé *Ṣaffâ* chez les Arabes. En ce qui concerne la consonne finale, le son *â* de l'arabe répond régulièrement au son *ô* hébreu, ainsi 'Akkâ = עכּו, *Yafâ* = יפּו. Donc Σαφώ ou Σαμφώ doit aboutir au vocable moderne *Ṣaffâ* au même titre que Σέφωρις est arrivé à *Ṣaffouriyeh*; il doit, au surplus, supposer un original hébreu tel que צפּו.

Or, si partant d'Amwâs nous nous acheminons dans la direction de Sébastiyeh, par une route qui doit traverser le cœur de la Samarie, nous rencontrons au delà de Beit 'Our un village connu sous le vocable de *Ṣaffâ*, صفا. La concordance onomastique est parfaite. Bien plus, la condition topographique s'harmonise au mieux avec le texte qui exige une situation forte. *Sappho* est qualifiée de κώμην ἐρμυρην dans la *Guerre juive*; les *Antiquités* disent πάνν ἐρμυρην οἶσαν, «une bourgade tout à fait forte». L'adjectif ἐρμυρή n'implique pas nécessairement un ouvrage de défense artificiel; il s'applique encore plus souvent aux lieux qui occupent une position naturellement forte. Le village de *Ṣaffâ*, qui compte aujourd'hui 500 habitants environ, se trouve sur un plateau élevé, enserré par deux ravins qui en rendent les pentes abruptes et difficiles d'accès. Les maisons arabes ont emprunté nombre de pierres d'appareil à des constructions anciennes, et, comme le remarquait déjà Guérin, «de nombreuses excavations pratiquées dans le roc, telles que citernes, tombeaux, carrières et caveaux souterrains, prouvent que *Ṣaffâ* a succédé à une localité antique».<sup>1</sup> La position de cette localité est telle que le chemin rendu carrossable depuis 'Amwâs pendant la guerre en fait complètement le tour sans y monter. On comprend que les habitants d'Emmaüs aient pris la fuite à la nouvelle du pillage dont la bourgade forte de *Sappho* avait été victime de la part des Arabes ainsi que les localités voisines telles que Bethoron, Bir Ma'in, Beit Sira etc.

Si, à partir de *Ṣaffâ*, nous tendons toujours vers le nord par le chemin accessible à tous les trafics au moins dans la saison sèche, nous passons à Kharbatâ Ibn Hârîṭ, à Beit Illo, Deir en-Nidham, Nêby Sâleḥ, Beit Rimâ, Deir Ghassâneh, Beroukîn pour arriver à deux villages de Samarie qui portent les noms respectifs de *Hârîs*

<sup>1</sup> Samarie II, p. 49.

et de *Kefr Hâris* حارس et situés au milieu de belles plantations de figuiers et d'oliviers. Aux environs se trouvent les remarquables nécropoles d'art judéo-hellénistique de Khirbet el-Fakhâkhir et de Deir ed-Derb décrites dans la *Revue Biblique* par le R. P. Savignac avec illustrations à l'appui.<sup>1</sup> C'est à Kefr Hâris que les pèlerins juifs du Moyen Âge vénéraient les tombeaux de Josué fils de Nun et le Nun lui-même, guidés en ceci par le texte de *Juges* II 8, 9, où le lieu de la sépulture de Josué est appelé *Timnat-Herès*, תִּמְנַת־חֶרֶס.<sup>2</sup> Aujourd'hui encore les Arabes prononcent *Harès* le nom de ce double village.

Quoi qu'il en soit de cette identification, nous retrouvons dans *Harès* toutes les consonnes du mot *'Apoûs*, le grec se contentant la plupart du temps de rendre par une légère aspiration, représentée dans nos textes par un esprit, les gutturales des Sémites. La seule divergence se réduit, en somme, au son de la syllabe finale. Mais le son *u*, *ou* et le son *i* (é, è) ont entre eux des accointances indéniables. Les LXX traduisent, par exemple, אַחִישׁ, *Achîš*, par Ἀγχοῦς. Inversement, l'hébreu *Gouš* גֹּשׁ חֶלֶב est devenu *Gis* en grec (Γίσχαλα) et *Djîš* en arabe. Neapolis, Tripolis se transcrivent à présent *Nablus*, *Tarâbulus*. La localité de Γεδοῦς de l'Onomasticon est nommée Γιδιφθά dans la carte de Mâdabâ et *Djedîreh* par les modernes. Le passage du son *ou* au son *è i* à propos de *'Apoûs* devenant *Hâris* n'est donc qu'un exemple de plus de ce phénomène phonétique. Il n'y a donc, à ce point de vue, aucun obstacle à l'identification des deux localités, d'autant plus que la fertilité de la région proposée convient très bien à un fief accordé par la faveur d'Hérode à son administrateur financier, Ptolémée, qui fut aussi le soutien le plus ferme de la cause d'Archélaüs. Aussi bien, doit-on s'étonner que l'édition de 1926 du *Bibelatlas* de Guthe ait supprimé la mention «*Arous?*» que portait l'édition de 1911. Le point d'interrogation semblait marquer une étape vers la suppression.

À ma connaissance, Guthe était le seul à avoir tenté de fixer sur le terrain cet *Arous* que tous les auteurs renoncent à identifier parce qu'ils le cherchent trop près de Samarie. Josèphe fait ressortir que Varus épargne la ville de Samarie dans sa marche, mais il ne

<sup>1</sup> RB 1910, p. 113—127. On relève aussi la dénomination *Kefl Hârès*.

<sup>2</sup> RB 1893, p. 621ss.

prétend pas que le légat ait campé aux environs de cette ville. Celui-ci, au contraire, pour en garantir le territoire contre les déprédations de la soldatesque se transporte plus loin, en un domaine appartenant à un ennemi de ses auxiliaires arabes. C'est *Arous* au quel répond l'actuelle *Harès*, située à vingt kilomètres à vol d'oiseau au sud de *Şebastiyeh*.

Ensuite, sans parler de campement, l'historien mentionne la prise et le sac de *Sappho*, qui lui a paru un événement plus important que les autres. Guthe a maintenu «*Saffo?*» où se trouve aujourd'hui *Şaffâ*. Son point d'interrogation est-il l'indice d'une suppression prochaine? Pourtant, la situation de cette bourgade forte à vingt-cinq kilomètres à vol d'oiseau au sud de *Harès* convient fort bien au récit, d'autant mieux que l'écrivain fait surgir soudain *Emmaüs* qui est situé à une douzaine de kilomètres au sud de *Şaffâ* en ligne directe. Il est, en effet, singulier que les critiques qui ont traité de la géographie de *Josèphe* n'ait pas en leur attention attirée sur ce point. Nestle dans son article intitulé *Judaea bei Josephus*<sup>1</sup> observe là-dessus un silence complet. Thomsen<sup>2</sup> remet en circulation la conclusion de Boettger, auteur d'un lexique topographique sur les écrits de *Josèphe*.<sup>3</sup> *Sappho*, c'est peut-être *es-Sâwiye*, ce que *L. Haefeli*<sup>4</sup> appuie de convenances philologiques qui sont guère convaincantes, et puis, pourquoi chercher cette localité sur la route de Jérusalem et si loin d'*Emmaüs*?<sup>5</sup> *Şoufeh*, à l'ouest de *Şebastiyeh*, n'est pas plus heureux.<sup>4</sup> En définitive, il reste à souhaiter que *Sappho* ou *Saffo* prennent rang parmi les lieux incontestables de la topographie de l'historien juif, et que les cartes la fixent désormais à *Şaffâ* sans point d'interrogation.

<sup>1</sup> *ZDPV XXXIV* (1911) p. 63—118.

<sup>2</sup> *Loca Sancta*, p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> *Topographisch-histor. Lexicon zu den Schriften des Flavius Josephus*, Leipzig 1879.

<sup>4</sup> *Samaria und Peräa bei Flavius Josephus*, *Bibl. Stud.* XVIII, 5, p. 60ss.

<sup>5</sup> *Riess, Atlas Scripturae Sacrae*, 1906, t. VI.

## NEUE DOLMENFUNDE IN WESTPALÄSTINA

A. E. MADER  
(JERUSALEM)

WESTPALÄSTINA ist äusserst arm an megalithischen Denkmälern — so lautet das allgemeine Urteil der Palästinaforscher. Hat man dabei Transjordanien im Auge, so mag das Urteil richtig sein; denn dort zählen diese Denkmäler nach Tausenden und treten in solch monumentaler Grösse und Massenhaftigkeit auf, dass sie von keinem Forscher übersehen werden können.<sup>1</sup> Falsch aber wäre es zu meinen, man hätte in Westpalästina schon alle Dolmenfelder entdeckt, und es sei dieser Landesteil in der Steinzeit weniger besiedelt gewesen als der Osten.

### I. GALILÄA

Die erste Kunde von Dolmen in Westpalästina erhielten wir 1872 durch die englische Landesaufnahme. Fünf in Galiläa gefundene Dolmen wurden eigens in die grosse Karte des PEF eingetragen: einer im äussersten Norden zwischen *markabe* und *rubb telātīn*, einer südwestlich *kunīn*, drei am Wege von *mērōn* nach *ṣafṣāf* und *eḡ-ḡiṣ*. Bei meiner sechsmaligen Durchquerung Nordgaliläas 1912—14 fand ich weitere Exemplare zwischen *benī ḥajān* und *et-taijibe*, ein Dolmenfeld von 21 Exemplaren zwischen *tibnīn* und *bēt jahūn*, davon die Hälfte noch gut erhalten und teilweise noch mit Deckplatte versehen, einen noch ganz geschlossen. Zum Dolmen der englischen Karte südwestlich *kunīn* fand ich weitere zwei Exemplare, davon einen mit einer riesigen Deckplatte von 4,20 m Länge, 3 m Breite

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<sup>1</sup> Vgl. P. Karge, Rephaim, Die vorgeschichtliche Kultur Palästinas und Phöniziens. Paderborn 1917. S. 412—470.



und 0,45 m Dicke. Conder<sup>1</sup> hatte bei 'alma einen Dolmen entdeckt, den weder Karge noch ich wiederfinden konnte und der wahrscheinlich verschwunden ist. Zu den drei Dolmen zwischen *mērôn* und *şafşâf*, die von den Entdeckern selbst "of small dimensions" bezeichnet wurden, und von denen jetzt zwei ganz zerstört sind, fand ich weiter östlich in einer mit Eichengebüsch überwachsenen Felsenwildnis zehn neue Exemplare, zum Teil von gewaltiger Grösse mit Deckplatten bis zu 6 m Länge, wie ich sie selbst auf den klassischen Dolmenfeldern des Ostjordanlandes nicht gesehen habe.<sup>2</sup> Dabei sind ihre Seitenplatten merkwürdig schwach und erscheinen zum Teil in den Boden gedrückt, so dass die Bauten erst sichtbar werden, wenn man unmittelbar davorsteht. Dass diese Tieflage absichtlich erfolgt sei, wie Karge vermutet, ist sehr wohl möglich, zumal es in Galiläa Dolmen gibt, die in förmliche Steinhäufen und Steinkreise hineingebaut sind. Die gewaltigen, vorstehenden Deckplatten, unter welchen das niedrige Dolmenhaus fast verschwindet, bilden jedenfalls eine der hervorstechendsten Eigenschaften dieser galiläischen Dolmengruppe. Dass aber die Verwendung von mehreren Seitenplatten bei sonst schmalem und unregelmässigem Dolmenhaus ein Zeichen späterer Entstehung sei, widerspricht der Tatsache, dass sich diese Dolmenart mit den grossen Trilithonen auf einem und demselben Gebiete zusammenfinden und lediglich durch das zur Verfügung stehende Steinmaterial bedingt ist. Wohl lässt sich darüber streiten, ob eine aus acht bis zehn und mehr Blöcken aufgeschichtete Steinkammer auch noch den Namen „Dolmen“ = „Steintisch“ führen darf. Aber das scheint über jeden Zweifel erhaben, dass auch diesen Steinkammern Zweck und Charakter der trilithonischen Dolmen zukommen. Wir können sie füglich Dolmen zweiten Typs nennen, was aber keineswegs eine spätere Entstehungszeit bedeuten soll.

Ein grosses megalithisches Gebiet mit 50 zum Teil gewaltigen Basaltdolmen entdeckte schon 1911 Prof. Karge auf den nord-westlichen Höhen des Genesaretsees bei *hirbet kerâziye*.<sup>3</sup> Aber auch

<sup>1</sup> Heth and Moab<sup>3</sup>, S. 197, 247f.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. meinen Bericht in *ZDPV* 38 (1914), S. 20—28; dazu Karge, l. c., S. 379—387.

<sup>3</sup> L. c., S. 305—320.

hier ist mir Karge's Ansicht unwahrscheinlich, dass diese in Steinhäufen steckenden und aus mehreren Steinreihen übereinander gebauten Dolmen einer fortgeschritteneren Periode als die Trilithone angehören sollen. Gerade diesem Dolmengebiete ist das Vorkommen einfacher Dolmen aus drei Blöcken mit solchen aus vier bis zehn Blöcken charakteristisch. Unwesentlich ist, dass hier das angeblich „starre orthostatische Prinzip“ bereits aufgegeben sein soll. Der Basalt bricht eben nicht in so regelmässigen Platten wie der Kalkstein und bildet vielfach formlose Blöcke, bei denen es keine eigentlichen Lang- und Breitseiten mehr gibt.

Die natürliche Felsenschichtung, welche H. Spoer<sup>1</sup> auf dem westlichen Abhang des Tabor „nahe bei dem neuen Wege, ungefähr in dreiviertel Höhe“ als „Dolmen“ verzeichnete, ist dem Bau der neuen Autostrasse zum Opfer gefallen.

Nach dem bisher Gesagten ist die Dolmenzahl in Galiläa, welche die englische Karte und P. Vincent<sup>2</sup> auf fünf angeben, jetzt wenigstens auf neunzig zu erhöhen.

## II. SAMARIA

In Samaria hat die englische Landesaufnahme keine Dolmen verzeichnet, und noch 1917 schrieb Karge,<sup>3</sup> dass dort „kein einziges megalithisches Monument bekannt geworden“ sei. Und doch fehlen sie auch hier nicht. Schon Graf v. Mülinen<sup>4</sup> hat nachgewiesen, dass das Karmelgebirge ein megalithisches Kulturgebiet gewesen ist. Aber die von ihm untersuchten und eingehend beschriebenen „Kultstätten“ und „Altäre“, „Opfersteine und Massëben“, die ich sämtlich an Ort und Stelle nachprüfen konnte, sind mir äusserst zweifelhaft erschienen; desgleichen die „prähistorischen Strassen“, die er fast über den ganzen Karmel zerstreut fand.<sup>5</sup> Solche „Strassen“ mit Randmauern aus orthostatisch aufgestellten Steinplatten und Blöcken oder einfachen Steinwällen finden sich mehr oder weniger in ganz Palästina, und bedürfen erst weiterer Untersuchung und kritischer Sichtung, um ihren steinzeitlichen Charakter behaupten zu können.

<sup>1</sup> *ZA W* 1908, S. 272.

<sup>2</sup> *Canaan d'après l'explor. rec.*, p. 411.

<sup>3</sup> *L. c.*, S. 387.

<sup>4</sup> Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Karmels, *ZDPV* 31 (1908), S. 5 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *L. c.*, S. 25 ff., 49, 58, 85, 166 usw.

An zahlreichen Strecken alter Römerstrassen lassen sich jedenfalls ganz ähnliche, orthostatisch aufgeschichtete Mauerwälle feststellen. Ja noch heute bauen die Palästiner Weg-, Feld- und Gartenmauern da und dort mit hochkantig gestellten Platten und Blöcken, wenn sie solche zur Verfügung haben und die grössere Anstrengung, solche „Megalithen“ zu wälzen, nicht scheuen. Übrigens zeichnen sich die „prähistorischen Strassen“ auf dem Karmel in keiner Weise durch die Grösse ihrer Randblöcke aus und werden von den Steinen mancher neuzeitlichen Weg- und Feldmauern übertroffen.

Dass der Karmel aber in der Steinzeit reich besiedelt war, wird durch Funde von Silexartefakte<sup>1</sup> und Dolmenbauten bestätigt. Dabei brauchen nicht einmal die von v. Mülinen verzeichneten „fünf steinzeitlichen Gräber“<sup>2</sup> als Beweis zu dienen, da sie mir recht zweifelhaft erscheinen und vielleicht nur das Resultat natürlicher Felsenrutsche sind. v. Mülinen hat selbst im Klostergebiet zwischen den beiden Tälchen *hallet es-serğ* eine orthostatische Steineinhegung gefunden, die zweifellos einem Dolmenbau angehörte.<sup>3</sup> Die Einhegung besteht aus vier hochkantig gestellten Platten von durchschnittlich 1 m Länge und 1,25 m Breite. Dass aber diese Orthostaten an den Langseiten glatt behauen seien, wie v. Mülinen meint, ist absolut nicht ersichtlich; die Glätte kann ebensogut der geologischen Schichtung der Platten angehören. Von den zwei Steinkreisen, welche den Bau umgaben, ist ebenfalls keine Spur mehr zu entdecken, da die Blöcke wohl weggetragen oder von eingeschwemmtem Boden verdeckt worden sind. In der Nähe fand v. Mülinen verschiedene runde und rechteckige Türme aus grossen Kalksteinblöcken, „orthostatische Mauerzüge“ und wieder seine „prähistorische Strasse“; dabei gibt er die Türme sowohl wie die besprochene Steineinhegung als Gräber für Häuptlinge aus. Seine Beschreibung entspricht aber nur teilweise den Tatsachen. Die 3 m

<sup>1</sup> Karge, l. c., S. 132, und meine eigenen Funde.

<sup>2</sup> L. c., S. 48 und 113.

<sup>3</sup> L. c., S. 47, Abb. 24 (Separatabdruck: S. 139, Abb. 35). Der genaue Platz dieser nur 90 cm hohen Steineinhegung ist in dem Busch- und Felsgebiet nicht leicht zu finden. Obgleich ich sie schon 1912 gesehen hatte, fand ich sie 1925 selbst nach zweistündigem Suchen nicht mehr auf; erst 1926 gelang mir die Wiederauffindung mit Unterstützung meines Begleiters, Herrn Studienrates Dr. Kopp, und zwar 135 Schritte südlich der Klosterstrasse, etwa in der nord-südlichen Richtungslinie der nördlich der Strasse liegenden Kapelle.

dicken Mauern sind keineswegs überall orthostatisch aufgeschichtet; die Blöcke sind von ganz gewöhnlicher Grösse, und zur Auffüllung des Mauerkerne sind kleine und kleinste Steine verwendet worden. Desgleichen lässt sich schwer bestimmen, welchem Zwecke ein jetzt noch 1,20 m aufragender Turm in einer solchen Mauer gedient hat. Ein zweiter runder Turm an einer ostwestlich sich hinziehenden Mauer misst 6,50 m Durchmesser und hat eine aus drei Blockreihen errichtete, 2 m dicke Wand. Auf den Trümmern des Turmes verzeichnet v. Mülinen „eine ohne Eisenwerkzeuge behauene, viereckige und glattwandige Stele, die an einem Ende mehr, am andern weniger zugespitzt erscheint. Sie misst 1,20 m Länge, 25 cm Dicke und 40 cm Breite an der breitesten Stelle“. In Wirklichkeit ist dem fraglichen Steine absolut nichts Künstliches anzusehen; ihn ohne weiteres als „Stele“ zu charakterisieren, ist völlig willkürlich. Die „Grabtürme“ lassen sich ebenso gut als einfache Wachttürme in den Grenzmauern des Feldes erklären. Ich las auf und in den Mauerresten zahlreiche Scherben von terra sigillata auf, ja selbst Mosaikwürfel, die wohl einer nahen Weinpresse angehörten. — Eine Menge solch „prähistorischer Mauerzüge“ liegt auch auf der Höhe nördlich der Klosterstrasse, dabei aber auch Baureste, die sicher Dolmen angehören. Ich nenne hier nur einige derselben und gedenke an anderer Stelle ausführlich darüber zu berichten.

Vom oberen Tore des Klostergebietes führt parallel zur Strasse der alte Weg dem Höhenkamm entlang ins Kloster hinunter. Hart südlich am Wege, nur etwa 120 m vom Tor entfernt, liegen Dolmenbauten, welche die oben besprochene Steineinhegung an Grösse und guter Erhaltung weit übertreffen; so zeigt einer derselben noch zwei Orthostaten in situ, die je 1,85 m lang, 1 m hoch und 0,35 m dick sind. Die Blöcke an der östlichen Schmalseite sind weggerollt, an der westlichen noch in situ. Der Innenraum misst bei 1,85 m Länge eine Breite von 1,60 m, so dass er wohl zur Aufnahme von zwei Leichen bestimmt war. Die vollständige Ausräumung bis auf den gewachsenen Felsen ergab nur geringe Keramikreste und einige Silexartefakte aus der jüngeren Steinzeit. Reste eines Steinkreises, der den Bau umgab, sind noch deutlich zu erkennen. In nächster und etwas weiterer Entfernung von diesem Bau liegen noch zehn andere mehr zerfallene, deren Dolmencharakter aber ausser Zweifel steht. Dabei auch ein Bau mit doppeltem Steinkreis auf einem

künstlich aufgeschütteten Hügel. Bemerkenswert für dieses Dolmenfeld ist die überraschende Fernsicht über das Karmelkap und das Meer südlich und nördlich desselben. Rechts des Weges fällt der Berg jäh nach Haifa ab. Der Weg ist uralt und zeigt an verschiedenen Stellen noch evidente Wagenspuren, vielleicht aus der Römerzeit. Damals spielte ja der Karmel eine grosse Rolle, wie die vielen Spuren römischer Architektur und Skulptur beweisen.<sup>1</sup>

2. Am alten Römerweg von *bēsān* nach *nāblus*, nördlich von *tejāsīr*, fand Dom Bonaventura Ubach OSB im Sommer 1925 drei Dolmen, die, obgleich zerfallen, doch als solche noch gut zu erkennen sind und dem zweiten Typ angehören. — P. Abel beschreibt je einen Dolmenbau auf *ġebel-et-tūr*, dem traditionellen Garizim, und bei *ġifna*; sie bestehen aus vielen Blöcken in verschiedener Lagerung und sind den Dolmen dritten Typs zuzuweisen.<sup>2</sup>

3. Ein ausgedehntes Steinzeitgebiet liegt in Südwest-Samaria. P. Savignac entdeckte schon 1909 mehrere Dolmen bei *mīdje* und *rentis*.<sup>3</sup> Ich notierte 1912 mehrere rechts und links vom Pfade von *rentis* nach *meġdel jābā*; desgleichen zwischen *kalkālje* und *et-taijibe*, westlich der Strasse *tāl kerem—jāfā*. Die letzteren sind, wie ich 1925 feststellte, jetzt verschwunden und wahrscheinlich zum neuen Strassenbau verwendet worden. — Ganz übersät von megalithischen Denkmälern ist die Gegend östlich und südöstlich von *ġilġūlje*, sowie südlich und westlich von *kānā* bei *ħirbet ed-duwēr* und *ħirbet kesfa*, besonders aber auf *rās el-atīje*.<sup>4</sup> Bei einem dreitägigen Ritt durch das südlicher liegende Gebiet fand ich weitere Dolmenbauten bei *mesħa*, *rāfāt*, *dēr ballūt* und besonders südöstlich von *dēr el-kaššīs*, dabei einen gut erhaltenen Trilithon mit Deckplatte in situ.

4. Aber auch auf der östlichen Abdachung des samaritischen Gebirges sind Dolmen und dolmenähnliche Bauten

<sup>1</sup> Herr Studienrat Dr. Kopp fand bei *‘usfja* einen schönen römischen Sarkophag mit Inschrift und Ornamenten, der bis jetzt allen Forschern entgangen ist. Auf einem gemeinsamen Marsche (8. Juni 1925) fanden wir unterhalb der sogenannten „Prophetenschule“ einen römischen Altar mit gut profiliertem Sockel, der wohl von der Terrasse des Leuchtturmes den Steilhang heruntergerollt ist und jetzt im Hof des deutschen Hospizes im Haifa steht. Man denkt an den Bericht des Tacitus über einen bildlosen Altar des „Gottes Karmel“, dessen Orakel Vespasian über sein Kriegsglück befragen ließ.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. *RB* 1922, p. 590—602.

<sup>3</sup> Vincent, *Canaan*, p. 412.

<sup>4</sup> Lewy, *ZDPV* 1921, S. 62—70.

zahlreich vertreten. — M. L. Oliphant beschreibt schon in *QS* 1885, S. 181, einige Dolmen auf dem Wege von *hirbet el-'auğa el-fôka* (nw. Jericho) nach *el-murêr* (östlich *et-taijibe*). 1912 untersuchte ich mehrere im *wâd el-'ain*, wo unter anderem auf einer ausladenden Felsterrasse ein Bau von 3,40 m im Quadrat aus Blöcken bis zu 2 m Länge aufgeschichtet ist und noch die ursprünglichen Decksteine trägt.<sup>1</sup> Ähnliche Bauten liegen auf den Höhen nördlich von *wâd el-kanâbis*; sie gleichen denjenigen von *der es-šebâb*, die P. Vincent<sup>2</sup> beschrieben hat. In dasselbe Gebiet und zur selben Gattung gehören die Baureste zwischen *burg bêtin* und *et-tell* sowie zwischen *ğeba'* und *mihmâs*, auf welch letztere Dalman<sup>3</sup> aufmerksam gemacht hat. Hier liegen auch die berühmten *kubûr benê isrâ'in*, die schon 1849 der Engländer Newbold erwähnt und die ein interessantes Gegenstück sind zu den *kubûr benê isrâ'in* bei *'ain dakar* am *ğisr er-rukkâd* im südlichen *ğolân*.

Die letzten Funde in dieser Gegend machte ich im Januar 1926 auf den Höhen zwischen *wâd es-swenît* und *wâd en-nimr* (etwa 20 Exemplare) und auf dem Westabhang der *kaṭ'at mûsa* vor dem Abstieg ins *wâdi fâra*. Obgleich meist stark zerfallen, steht ihr Dolmencharakter doch ausser Frage. Zur gleichen Gattung gehören auch die fünf Exemplare am *'arkûb es-šaffa* östlich *el-'isawije*.<sup>4</sup>

### III. JUDÄA

Die Offiziere des englischen Survey haben Judäa ausdrücklich als dolmenfrei erklärt. P. Mallon schreibt noch 1925: „Comme on le sait, ce genre de monument est extrêmement rare en Judée“. In Wirklichkeit scheinen sie zahlreicher zu sein als in Galiläa und Samaria.

1. Auf der ersten östlichen Vorhöhe von *el-kefîre*, nördlich *abû rûš* stiess ich im August 1926 auf vier Dolmen, darunter einen mächtigen Trilithon, dessen nördliche Seitenplatte von 2,70 m noch in situ ist,

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. *ZDPV* 1914, S. 30f.

<sup>2</sup> *RB* 1901, p. 290 ss.; Canaan, p. 412 s.

<sup>3</sup> *PJ* 8, S. 12.

<sup>4</sup> *RB* 1901, p. 286 s.

<sup>5</sup> Quelques stations préhistoriques de Palestine. Mélanges de l'université Saint-Joseph, tom. 10, p. 214.

während die südliche, sowie die östlichen und westlichen Verschlussplatten zerbrochen und umgestürzt sind. In der Nähe sind kyklopische Mauerwälle von zwei rechteckigen Bauten (etwa 24:24 und 40:50 Schritten) erhalten, die entweder einer prähistorischen Festung (oder einem römischen Militärlager?) angehörten. Am Osthang der zweiten Vorhöhe sind auf einer etwa 100 m langen Strecke die zwei Randmauern einer alten Strasse unverkennbar, deren Richtung direkt auf *el-kefîre* weist. Die Mauerwälle sind stark zerfallen, zeigen aber teilweise noch hochkantig aufgerichtete Blöcke und könnten ebenso gut „prähistorisch“ sein, wie diejenigen auf dem Karmel, wenn es sich nicht vielmehr um eine Römerstrasse handelt. *El-kefîre* war ja noch in der römischen Zeit besiedelt, wie Rustikaquadern und Keramik auf dem *tell* beweisen.

2. Tyrwhitt-Drake verzeichnet schon 1872 einen Dolmen bei *bêt nûba*.<sup>1</sup> Einen kleinen Trilithon mit Deckstein in situ sah ich 1913 zwischen *'ain kârim* und der sogenannten Johanneswüste bei *'ain el-habîs*, ze'n Minuten südöstlich von *'ain el-handak* unter einem Charrûbbaum. Hingegen scheinen mir die von P. Féderlin und Germer-Durand entdeckten „Dolmen“ am Westhang des *ğebel abû zêtûn*, eine Stunde westlich von *karjet es-sa'îde*, und fünf Minuten nordwestlich von *bêt nakûba*, einem Felsrutsch vom Steilabhang ihre dolmenartige Lage zu verdanken. Solche „Naturdolmen“ gibt es auch bei *eğ-ğîb*.<sup>2</sup>

Längst bekannt sind die Dolmenbauten dritten Typs südlich vom Kreuzkloster bei Jerusalem,<sup>3</sup> zuletzt von P. Abel (l. c.) beschrieben. Daran schliessen sich aber noch eine ganze Anzahl ähnlicher Baureste weiter südlich den Bergabhang hinauf, sowie auf den südöstlich gegenüber liegenden Höhen. Aber der immer wieder genannte „Dolmen“ in der nördlichen Randmauer der Strasse zum Kreuzkloster ist eine zufällige Steinschichtung, während der einst Jerusalem am nächsten liegende wirkliche Dolmen, den ich noch 1911 in der Nikephurîje sah, jetzt verschwunden ist.

3. Ein hochinteressantes Beispiel eines Höhlendolmen fand 1921 P. Bovier-Lapière 250 Schritte direkt südlich von Mâr Eljâs, in

<sup>1</sup> QS 1872, p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> Vincent, RB 1901, p. 279.

<sup>3</sup> Vincent, l. c., p. 411; Karge, l. c., S. 407; Mader, ZDPV 37, S. 36.



der Talsohle des hier beginnenden *wād ed-daššīš*.<sup>1</sup> Der gewaltige Deckblock von 2,60 m Länge, 1 m Breite und 0,90 m Stärke ist seitlich weggerutscht. Der umschlossene Dolmenraum betrug etwa 1,40 m Länge bei 1,20 m Breite. Die unregelmässige Naturhöhle unter dem Bau scheint künstlich erweitert zu sein und hat eine grösste Ausdehnung von 3:3 m bei 1,50 m Höhe. Infolge Dynamitsprengung in neuester Zeit (ein Bohrloch ist noch zu sehen) ist die Höhle jetzt von Westen her zugänglich, war aber ursprünglich offenbar fest verschlossen. Auf dem südlichen Verschlussblock des Dolmenbaues ist eine wohl künstliche Schale bemerkenswert, die 7 cm Durchmesser und 4 cm Tiefe hat. Etwas weiter südlich vom Bau zeigt eine sorgfältig gedeckte Feldzisterne ein Steinbassin und einen Block mit halbkugelig ausgehauener Schale von 45 cm Durchmesser und 10 cm Tiefe.

4. Weit zahlreicher sind die Dolmenreste östlich und südöstlich von Jerusalem. — Bei der Fundierung der Auguste-Viktoria-Stiftung auf dem Ölberg fand Schumacher einen dolmenartigen Bau vor einer Grabhöhle inmitten einer doppelten, ovalen Einhegung aus mässig grossen Feuersteinblöcken.<sup>2</sup> Der Bau hat etwa 1 m Tiefe und stellt eine Art Vorraum oder eine Verlängerung der kleinen Grabhöhle dar. P. Vincent<sup>3</sup> bezweifelt allerdings den prähistorischen Charakter der Anlage. Aber Schumacher's Auge war doch von seinen vielen Dolmenfunden im *ǧolān* und *ʿaǧlūn* her mehr wie ein anderer Forscher für solche Bauten geschult. Die nordwestliche Gegend des Skopus zeigt überdies zahlreiche Spuren menschlicher Industrie in vorgeschichtlicher Zeit. — P. Vincent (l. c.) beschreibt schon 1901 die Dolmenbauten (meist dritten Typs) östlich von *abū dīs* auf *merǧ es-sitt*, ferner bei *ḥirbet er-raḥābne*, *umm et-ṭal'a*, sowie nördlich der Salomonsteiche.<sup>4</sup> Daran schliessen sich zahlreiche Beispiele, die ich 1914 und 1925 südlich der Salomonsteiche, ferner auf den Höhen zwischen *ḥirbet herētūn* und *tekū'*, bei *bēt feǧǧār* und im *wādi za'ferāne*, nordöstlich *eš-šūḥ* verzeichnete und photographierte.

5. Macalister entdeckte die Reste eines Dolmen bei *bēt ǧibrīn*, den er allerdings irrtümlicherweise für den erstbekannten Dolmen

<sup>1</sup> P. Mallon, l. c., p. 214 mit Abb. auf pl. VIII.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. Grossmann, *PJ* 1907, S. 72—75. Karge, l. c., S. 406.

<sup>3</sup> *Jérusalem* I, 67, Anm. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. Karge, l. c., S. 405 f.



im Westjordanland ausgab; einen zweiten 15 Minuten südlich von *tell sandaḥanna*.<sup>1</sup> Beide Exemplare bestehen aus je acht bis zehn Blöcken und gehören dem zweiten Typ an. 1912 stiess ich zwischen *ḥirbet 'id el-mā* und *bēt ḡibrin* auf weitere Beispiele, die, wie es scheint, später auch P. Abel beobachtet hat.

Eine grössere Anzahl von Dolmen ersten, zweiten und dritten Typs fand ich 1912–14 und 1925–26 östlich, westlich und südlich von Hebron.

Die erste Gruppe liegt 30 Minuten östlich der Stadt zwischen *wād el-eade* und *wādi 'abūde* — Auf einen sehr lehrreichen Höhlendolmen stiess ich in der einsamen romantischen Talschlucht des *wādi ḥerāš*, anderthalb Stunden südwestlich von *dūra*. Niemand, der die fast zwei Stunden lange Schlucht durchreitet, kann den interessanten Bau am südlichen Felshang übersehen. Der Unterschied von dem Höhlendolmen südlich Mâr Eljās besteht darin, dass der Höhlenraum nicht unter, sondern hinter dem Dolmenhaus liegt, und also mit dem Höhlendolmen auf dem Ölberge übereinstimmt. Die 1,40 m lange, 1 m breite und 1,10 m hohe Höhle führt in der Verlängerung des Dolmenraumes in das Felsmassiv des Berges hinein und bildet mit dem Dolmenbau einen gangartigen Raum. Da, wo die westliche Seitenplatte auf dem Felsen auflagert, ist eine Rille in den Boden gegraben. Der Fund beweist, dass die Dolmenerbauer auch in künstlichen Höhlen ihre Toten bestatteten, und dass den Höhlen sogar manchmal der Vorzug gegeben wurde; denn bei dieser Anlage war das Bauziel offenbar ein Höhlen-, nicht ein Dolmengrab und sollte durch den Vorbau nur erweitert werden.

Eine weitere Dolmengruppe liegt zwischen *el-dāherije* und *es-semū* an den Talwänden des *wādi ḥurāb*, etwa 20 Minuten vor seiner Mündung in den *wād el-hān*. Darunter ist besonders ein Exemplar schon von weitem sichtbar; es ist ein gut erhaltener Trilithon, von einem Steinkreis umschlossen und mit der Deckplatte noch in situ. Zwei weitere Exemplare auf der Ostseite des Tales sind stark zerfallen; dasselbe gilt von einem dritten Exemplar, das eine Stunde weiter südlich liegt, und zwar links vom Wege, der von *es-semū*

<sup>1</sup> QS 1900, S. 222 ff., 1901, S. 231 und 394; Bliss-Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine*, I, S. 192, Fig. 64.

<sup>2</sup> RB 1925, p. 207.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. Karge, l. c., S. 408.

nach *ḥirbet 'attir* führt. — Eine andere mehr zerstreute Gruppe untersuchte ich auf einem langen Ritt von *ḥirbet bîr el-'edd* quer über die Wasserscheide nach *ḥirbet menâzil* und *ruwên el-fôka*, und zwar einen Doppeldolmen mit einer rätselhaften Felsgrube im Boden, auf der Westseite des beginnenden *wâd er-rahîn*, und fünf andere stark zerfallene Beispiele auf der Nordseite des *wâdi ruwên*. — Ein einzelner Dolmenbau liegt nördlich *ed-dâherîje* zwischen dem 51. und 52. Kilometerstein östlich der Hebronstrasse.

Das letzte Dolmenfeld fand ich im Dezember 1926 südlich *ed-dâherîje*, auf den westlichen Höhen des *wâd el-ramari*, durch welches die Strasse nach *bîr seba'* führt. Von dieser Strasse aus ist am leichtesten zu erreichen ein Riesentrilithon, wenn man vom 60. Kilometerstein etwa 70 Doppelschritte der Strasse entlang südlich marschiert und von da etwa 15 Doppelschritte westlich den steilen Abhang hinaufsteigt. Der Dolmen hat nordsüdliche Richtung; seine westliche Seitenplatte ist nach Osten geneigt und hat 3,50 m Länge, 3 m Breite und ebensolche Höhe. Bei weiterem Steigen nach Südwest schräg über den Abhang hinauf überraschen in dieser jetzt völlig baumlosen Gegend, auf den letzten Höhen des jüdischen Gebirges, zwei Felsenkeltern, von denen die erste mit Metallinstrumenten hergestellt, wohl israelitisch, die andere aber, nur mit Steinwerkzeugen ausgehauen, bezw. eingeritzt, sehr gut prähistorisch sein kann. Während die prähistorische nur in primitiven Rillen das Öl in wenig tiefe und unregelmässige Felslöcher leitete, hat die israelitische die gewöhnliche Form mit tief eingehauener Pressfläche und Anordnung für die Pressbalken, sowie mit tiefem Sammelbassin, zu dem Stufen hinunterführen, und unter dem eine Ölzisterne liegt. In der südlichen Fortsetzung des Abhanges begegnet man vier weiteren Dolmenbauten des zweiten und dritten Typs, mit ganz enormen Blöcken und Platten aufgeschichtet. Weiter auf dem Plateau liegt eine interessante Steinsetzung aus grossen Blöcken, die ein Rechteck von 3,60 m Länge und 1,60 m Breite einschliessen. In der Nähe sieht man einen Einzelblock mit einer künstlich eingehauenen, ovalen Schale von 16 cm Länge, 8 cm Breite und 4 cm Tiefe. Auf dem breiten Höhenkamm, der sich von hier erst nach Westen, dann nach Südwesten zieht, findet man Steinkreise und Steinovale (eines von 15 m Durchmesser), ferner zerfallene Dolmen, von denen noch da und dort die Seitenplatten emporragen,

sowie uralte Grenzmauern aus grossen Blöcken und nordsüdlich parallel laufende Mauerwälle mit mächtigen Orthostaten (prähistorische Strassen oder Flurgrenzen?), dazwischen wieder alte Ölpresen mit grossen Felsschalen (eine mit 80 cm Durchmesser und 15 cm Tiefe), zerfallene Megalithbauten usw. Noch sei kurz ein instruktiver Doppeldolmen erwähnt, der weiter südlich auf halbem Abhang, etwa acht Minuten oberhalb des 61. Kilometersteines liegt, und schon von der Strasse aus sichtbar ist. Der östliche Dolmen ist fast noch ganz erhalten. Die beiden Seitenblöcke desselben messen je 2,40 m Länge, 0,90 m Breite und 1 m Höhe; der östliche zeigt auf seiner Oberfläche drei kleine Schalen, die wohl künstlich eingehauen sind. Das Dolmeninnere, von 2,30 m Länge und 0,70 m Höhe, ist teilweise in den Felsen gehauen und war von zwei Blöcken eingedeckt, von denen einer jetzt weggerollt ist und seitwärts liegt, während der andere sich noch in situ befindet. Vom westlich angebauten Dolmen steht noch ein Riesenblock von 2,30 m Länge, 1,20 m Breite und 1,30 m Höhe orthostatisch aufrecht. Wären in erreichbarer Nähe noch grössere Blöcke zur Verfügung gewesen, die Dolmenerbauer hätten ohne Zweifel auch diese benützt, um ihre gigantische Kraft in den Dienst ihrer Toten zu stellen. So können wir wohl praktisch sagen, dass die Riesendolmen nicht bloss im Ostjordanland vorkommen (wo es übrigens auch recht kleine und mikrolithische gibt), sondern auch in Westpalästina, und zwar angefangen vom höchsten Norden in Galiläa bis in den tiefsten Süden in Judäa, ja bis an die Grenzen der arabischen Wüste.

Dies ist in Kürze eine Übersicht der Dolmenfundorte in Westpalästina. Eingehende Beschreibung mit topographischen Skizzen, Zeichnungen und Photographien sollen an anderer Stelle folgen. Im ganzen darf man die Dolmenbauten Judäas auf etwa 100 angeben, diejenigen Samarias und Galiläas auf je 90, so dass wir für Westpalästina die Summe von 280 erhalten. Das ist allerdings recht wenig im Vergleich zu den etwa 5000 Dolmen in Transjordanien.<sup>1</sup> Aber diese Zahl wird nach meiner Überzeugung sicher auf wenigstens 1000 sich erhöhen, wenn einmal alle Berge und Höhen, alle Schluchten und Täler Westpalästinas methodisch durchforscht werden. Die

<sup>1</sup> Nach Dechelette, *Manuel* I, 418, gibt es in Frankreich 4458 Dolmen und Ganggräber.

## THE RAMAH OF SAMUEL

HAROLD M. WIENER  
(JERUSALEM)

MANY sites have been suggested for the Ramah or Ramathaim which was Samuel's home. Only five need however be considered, viz., 1. Er-Ram, about five miles N of Jerusalem; 2. Ram Allah, nine miles N of the same city; 3. Neby Samwil, about four miles NW of the city; 4. Rentis, nine miles NE of Ludd; and 5. Beit Rima thirteen miles ENE of Ludd. A careful study of the Biblical data in the light of the topographical features of these places enables us to reach a definite conclusion as to the correct location.<sup>1</sup>

In 1 Sam. 1 : we read of הַרְמָתַיִם. If the Hebrew text is correct this points to the presence of two hills. The name fits Beit Rima excellently. Khirbet El Hireh and the present village of Beit Rima occupy two hills separated by a slight depression. The name is, however, unfavourable to the candidature of the other four places, which lack the natural features which would give rise to it.

The place was in Mount Ephraim. This unquestionably rules out Er Ram and Neby Samwil, probably also Ram Allah which appears to have been in Benjamin. The applicability of the description to Rentis is also doubtful. It lies among the foothills, not in the mountain country proper. On the other hand Beit Rima is unquestionably within the area covered by the expression.

In 1 Sam. 7 16f. we read that Samuel made an annual circuit to Bethel, Gilgal and Mizpah returning to Ramah. Bethel is Beitin, and Gilgal is presumably the place near Jericho. Mizpah is probably

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<sup>1</sup> Jerome, translating Eusebius (Onomasticon 226, 1), places it near Diospolis (Ludd) adding "in regione Thamnitica." On this I have nothing to add to the remarks of S. R. Driver in Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible* IV, 1902, 198.

Tell en Nasbeh. This notice is unfavourable to all the proposed locations of Ramah except Rentis and Beit Rima, for they are all too near to Mizpah for this part of the circuit to be necessary or probable. Cases could have been brought to Samuel at home, or he could have walked or ridden over to Mizpah in the course of the morning to try them. Ram Allah is also too near to Bethel to suit the passage.

Similarly 1 Sam. 9 6 excludes all the suggested sites except Rentis and Beit Rima. Saul is informed by his servant that in this city there dwells a man of God. Now Saul was an adult of at least average capacity, and it is inconceivable that he should not have known all about the local seer had his house been within easy walking distance of his own home Gibeah (Tell el Fûl). It is obvious here that the narrator has in mind some city at a much greater distance than Er Ram, Ram Allah or Neby Samwil.

In vers 11 we find a further datum which is fatal to Rentis. Saul and his companion while making the ascent to the city meet girls going out to draw water. That presupposes a spring or well, and there is nothing of the sort at Rentis. Beit Rima however fulfils this condition. The present spring lies in the valley which is called Wad el 'Ain, about twenty minutes' walk from the village, and the narrative of the text is absolutely true to the physical facts.

From vers 12, 13, 19 and 25 we learn that Samuel would have to go up to the bamah though the city was on a height. This again fits Beit Rima. There are several possible locations of the bamah which would agree with the language of the text. In view, however, of the permanence of places of worship the hill to the north of the village where the shrine of the wely خضر now stands is the most likely site.

The places mentioned in the account of the return journey (10) do not help us, for none of them can be identified except Bethel.

Thus everything points to Beit Rima. It is noticeable that five miles away by the present car road we find a village called Umm Suffah. Conceivably this name contains a reminiscence of the Suph of 1 Sam 9 5 etc.

This brings us back to Saul's journey. He begins by going to Mt. Ephraim (9 4). We must assume that if the story is true to life his itinerary was dictated by the best information he could obtain

as to where the asses had last been seen. In any case we cannot go behind the statement of the text. Accordingly we cannot send him to the Ghōr with Albright, but must hold that the travels of which we read were all within the territory of Ephraim. The next two places (land of Shalishah and land of Shaalim) are not identified. We then come to a difficulty. In 1 Sam. 9 4 the Hebrew has the strange אֶרֶץ יַמִּי. The Greek variants do not help. We cannot emend to land of Benjamin for the topographical difficulties are insuperable. Saul was in Ephraim before and after this part of the journey. How then should he suddenly appear in Benjamin? Nothing more than a guess at the true text is possible, but the identification of Beit Rima and the land of Suph suggests that יַמִּי may be a corruption of יִשְׁנָה (2 Chron. 13 19), the modern 'Ain Sīnia. That, however, is a mere conjecture.

To sum up; Er Ram, Neby Samwīl and Ram Allah are ruled out because

1. they lack the two hills;
2. they are not in Mt. Ephraim;
3. they are too close to Gibeah and Mizpah to suit the story.

Rentis is ruled out because

1. the two hills are barely recognisable;
2. It appears not to be in Mt. Ephraim;
3. It has no spring or well.

Beit Rima is to be regarded as the Ramah of Samuel because it amply fulfils all the requirements.

A reminiscence of the land of Suph is possibly to be found in the name Umm Suffah, and the יַמִּי of 1 Sam. 9 5 appears to be a corruption, conceivably of יִשְׁנָה.

## KOURSI

F.-M. ABEL O. P.  
(JERUSALEM)

IL y a au chapitre XXIV de la « Vie de saint Sabas » écrite par Cyrille de Scythopolis une localité appelée ὁ Χορσιὰ, *Chorsia*, qu'on a identifiée jusqu'ici avec *Chorazin*, et qu'on a située par conséquent au *Khirbet Kerāzeh*. Telle est l'opinion émise par Thomsen dans ses estimables « *Loca Sancta* », p. 116, et par Procksch, dans le « *Palästina-jahrbuch* », t. XIV (1918), p. 17.<sup>1</sup> Autant au point de vue topographique qu'au point de vue onomastique, cette position me paraît insoutenable.

Commençons par le côté topographique. Les lieux où se déroule l'anecdote qu'il tient de Jean l'Hézychaste sont certainement familiers à l'hagiographe originaire de Beisân. A l'époque où les anachorètes palestiniens gagnaient la solitude désertique, Sabas eut, une année, l'inspiration de parcourir la vallée du Jourdain jusqu'aux sources de ce fleuve. Prenant avec lui son disciple Agapit, il chemina sur le bord du Jourdain du côté de l'occident se dirigeant vers la région du nord — διοδεύσαντες κατὰ τὸ χεῖλος τοῦ Ἰορδάνου πρὸς δυσμὰς, ἐπὶ τὰ ἀρκτηῖα μέρη πορευόμενοι. En route, il visita un ermite qui, depuis trente ans, habitait une grotte pratiquée en un lieu escarpé et difficile d'accès. On se quitte avec les salutations d'usage et les deux voyageurs poursuivent leur route. Nous arrivons ici à un détail fort important dans notre question et qui, considéré avec soin, aurait pu garantir les topographes d'une fausse identification. Jusqu'à présent, Sabas et

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<sup>1</sup> *Jesu Wirkungskreis am Galiläischen See*. B. MEISTERMANN, *Capharnaüm et Bethesda*, p. 116, ajoute à P. THOMSON (*bis sic*), H. GUTHE qui n'y fait pas même allusion dans son *Kurzes Bibelwörterbuch*, étant donné que ce point de vue n'entrait pas dans son programme.

Agapit ont longé la rive Ouest du Jourdain. Mais voici qu'il vont traverser le fleuve pour passer à l'Est, et à l'endroit même où celui-ci sort du lac: «et ayant traversé, écrit Cyrille de Scythopolis, entré la mer de Tibériade et le Jourdain et ayant prié à Chorsia etc.» — καὶ διαπεράσαντες μεταξύ τῆς Θαλάσσης τῆς Τιβεριάδος καὶ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, καὶ εὐξάμενοι εἰς τὸν Χορσιάν . . . A l'extrémité du lac, le passage pouvait s'effectuer alors soit par le gué, soit par le pont dont les débris sont connus sous le nom de *Djisir Oumm el-Qanâtir*. Quoique l'expression de l'historien soit peu naturelle, sa signification n'en est pas moins claire. Les deux voyageurs, quittant la rive droite du Jourdain à sa sortie du lac de Tibériade, se mettent à longer le littoral Est de ce même lac. De plus, c'est durant ce trajet qu'ils rencontrent *Chorsia*, où ils font leur dévotion. Or, il existe sur la rive orientale du lac un hameau bien connu de ceux qui ont fréquenté la mer de Galilée, et dont le nom se rapproche singulièrement de la localité mentionnée par l'hagiographe: c'est *Koursi*.

Ensuite, sans s'éloigner des bords du lac, Sabas et son compagnon continuent leur marche vers le nord jusqu'à *Heptapegon* — εἰς τὴν Ἑπτάπηγον — qui est sans aucun doute *et-Tabigha*. Comme il n'est pas dans l'intention de l'auteur d'énumérer tous les points visités par les deux moines, nous n'avons, il est vrai, que des jalons très espacés, mais suffisant à fixer les grandes lignes de l'itinéraire. Les autres lieux saints de la région figurent sous la désignation générale: εἰς τοὺς λοιποὺς τοὺς αὐτόθι σεβασμίους τόπους. D'Heptapegon ou des environs, Sabas et Agapit se dirigent sur *Panéas* qu'ils atteignent — ὡς Πανιάδος.<sup>1</sup>

Placer Chorsia à Kerāzeh dérange nécessairement l'ordre naturel de la marche. Dans cette hypothèse, Heptapegon, ou les Sept-Sources, serait à situer entre Kerāzeh et Banias, ce qui est absurde. La difficulté n'a pas échappé à Procksch puisque ce professeur écrit dans sa relation de 1918: «Quand Cyrille reporte les Sept-Sources entre Chorazin et Paneas, cette indication est tellement erronée qu'il serait permis de croire que Paneas est due à une erreur de copiste.»

<sup>1</sup> Telle est le teneur du bon texte du *Codex Sinait.* 494 (IX<sup>e</sup> s.) publié par le moine Augustin dans la *Néa Sion*, t. XIII (1913), p. 762. Il est indemne des fautes du texte de Cotelier et en particulier de la répétition erronée du *sigma*: ὡς Σπανιάδος qui s'y trouve. Le moine Augustin adopte les yeux fermés l'identification de Chorsia avec Chorazin—Kerāzeh.



Eh bien non! Nettement attestée par les manuscrits de la «Vie de saint Sabas» Paneas doit être maintenue. La légère erreur orthographique du texte de Cotelier *ὡς Σπανιάδος*, si compréhensible d'ailleurs, est absente du codex sinaïtique publié en 1913 par le moine Augustin. Au surplus, il est tellement conforme à l'ensemble du récit que l'ancienne Césarée de Philippe soit le point extrême du pèlerinage des deux solitaires qui reprennent ensuite la voie du retour vers la Sud! L'erreur, par conséquent, ne provient ni de Cyrille ni des copistes, mais bien de ses interprètes. Quoi de plus limpide qu'un itinéraire passant successivement par le Sud du lac, la rive orientale jusqu'à Koursi, puis de Koursi à et-Tabigha par le Nord-Est et le Nord et enfin d'et-Tabigha à Banias?

La donnée perturbatrice de Chorazin, qui disparaît devant les exigences de la topographie, ne tient pas non plus au point de vue onomastique. Chorazin était encore connue à l'époque byzantine sous son ancien nom *Χωραζείν*, bien qu'alors elle fût ruinée. Les Juifs devaient prononcer *Kerazim* si l'on en juge par une leçon de babyl. Menakoth 85<sup>a</sup> et Tosefta Men. 9 2 כרזים, forme qui aboutit normalement à l'arabe *Kerāzeh* كرازة.

Avec le Chorsia byzantin, nous prenons une autre direction. Ce n'est pas une dénomination archéologique, mais bien un nom du terroir, comme Cyrille de Scythopolis se plaît à en donner dans toutes ses biographies. Le *chi* du début répond régulièrement à un *caph*: ainsi *χερουβίμ, Χαλέβ, Χαναναίοι* etc. La forme accusative *τὸν Χορσιάν* trahit un nominatif *ὁ Χορσιά* de même accentuation que la *Kopριά* (gén. *Kopριῶς*) de Béotie signalé par Pausanias.<sup>1</sup> Avec le codex sinaïtique de la «Vie de saint Sabas» nous maintenons le masculin. On comprend aisément qu'influencé par la désinence féminine en *ιά*, le texte publié par Cotelier ait mis le nom au féminin: *τὴν Χορσιάν*. Rien n'est à négliger de l'aspect philologique du mot. En effet, tant au point de la phonétique qu'au point de vue du genre et de l'accentuation, le grec *ὁ Χορσιά* se présente tout bonnement comme la transcription étroite de l'araméen כּוּרְסִיָּא — Koursia — employé par les Targums, et par l'idiome talmudique et midraschique avec la signification bien connue de «siège» et plus

<sup>1</sup> *Descript. Graec.*, l. IX, cap. XXIV 5, et non *Xopola* comme le transcrit Étienne de Byzance. *Xopριά* suit donc la déclinaison *σπαριά, σπαριῶς, σπαριάν*.

spécialement de «trône». Ce nom est donné comme masculin. De plus, le *yod* n'étant pas affecté d'une voyelle, l'effort de la voix se porte sur *a* final.

L'identification du vocable grec et du vocable sémitique reçoit une confirmation irrécusable de la part de l'arabe, car ici encore les Arabes, assez conservateurs en matière onomastique, ont gardé intact l'usage antérieur à l'invasion musulmane. A propos de Koursi des bords du lac, Yaqout écrit en 1229 dans son *Mou'djam al Buldân*: «Koursy, كُورْسِي, d'après la forme de koursi qui signifie le siège sur lequel s'asseyaient les rois. Le redoublement du *ya* n'est pas la marque du relatif (gentilice). C'est un village à Tibériade où le Messie, dit-on, a réuni les Apôtres et d'où il les a envoyés dans les contrées. Là, il y a un endroit fait pour s'asseoir sur lequel on dit que le Messie s'est assis.»<sup>1</sup> Transcription et signification concordent donc parfaitement avec le terme כּוּרְסִי de l'araméen parlé en Palestine. Le redoublement du *ya* peut s'expliquer par une compensation de la chute du *a* final. D'autre part l'indication «à Tibériade» doit s'interpréter de la région du lac de Tibériade, car cette localité n'est pas ignorée des historiens arabes.

L'auteur du *Kitâb er-Rauḷatân*, citant Ibn Djauzi l'auteur du *Mirat ez-Zemân*, la mentionne dans la marche de Léopold d'Autriche et d'André de Hongrie contre le Djaulân en automne 1217. «Quand aux Francs, écrit-il, après une halte de trois jours à Beïsan, ils se dirigèrent vers le château d'Ibn Mou'yîn ed-Dîn, et comme El-'Adel s'était posté à Ras el-Mâ, il gravirent le col d'El-Korsy, عقبة الكُورْسِي, et gagnant Khirbeh el-Louçouç et Djaulan, ils ravagèrent le pays, firent des prisonniers, et revinrent ensuite camper dans le Ghour. El-'Adel, qui, après avoir envoyé ses gros bagages et sa maison à Bosra, avait établi son camp à Râs el-Mâ, apprenant que les Francs occupaient le Ghour, se porta sur 'Aliqîn.»<sup>2</sup>

A la lumière des textes occidentaux parallèles il est facile de suivre la marche indiquée par ce texte. La troupe des Croisés, quittant Beisan, franchit le Jourdain au Djisir el-Moudjami' (Pont de la Judaire), se dirige sur Qoçeir à l'endroit où l'ouâdy el-'Arab

<sup>1</sup> Ed. WÜSTENFELD, *sub voce*. Traduction du P. Marmadji. C'est un passage qu'on chercherait vainement dans Guy le Strange.

<sup>2</sup> *Le Livre des deux Jardins*, dans Recueil des historiens Orientaux des Croisades, V, p. 162s.

sort de la montagne. C'est là que se dressait le château d'Ibn Mou'yn ed-Dîn. Apprenant qu'el-'Adel occupe le plateau du Djaulân, les Francs cherchent à le tourner. Au lieu de gravir les pentes du Yarmouk, ils côtoient le lac — «s'en alerent tout entor la mer Galilée» — pour atteindre le plateau par la montée de l'ouâdy Samak qui commence à Koursi. Après une incursion à travers le pays jusqu'à Khisfin et Nawâ, les princes occidentaux se replient sur le Pont des Filles de Jacob et regagnent Acre, tandis qu'el-'Adel se rapproche de Fiq.<sup>1</sup>

Il n'était pas sans importance pour une localité de garder un passage donnant accès au pays de Damas. Aussi ne faut-il pas s'étonner de voir Koursi passer en 1241 en la possession d'un ordre militaire. Par un acte rédigé à Tyr en 1241, Philippe de Maugastel cède à la maison des Teutoniques le casal de Corsy dans le domaine de Tibériade avec toutes ses dépendances, «casale Corsy in dominio Tiberiadis situm cum pertinentiis». <sup>2</sup> Le nom, comme on le voit, est fort bien conservé au Moyen Age soit par les auteurs arabes soit par la chancellerie occidentale. Mais pourquoi faut-il que par une sorte de fatalité, les médiévistes contemporains identifient ce casal avec Kerâzeh?

Depuis le IV<sup>e</sup> siècle, sinon avant, Kerâzeh était une ruine, ruine qui de plus était située en une région isolée, loin de toute route fréquentée et, par conséquent, vouée à l'oubli, tandis que, campée sur le bord des eaux, Koursi a continuellement participé à la vie du lac, communiquant avec le Djaulan par le défilé de l'ouâdy Samak et avec Tibériade par les barques. Il est donc juste de rendre à ce hameau que signalent encore quelques ruines, sa crique et son térébinthe la page d'histoire qui est inscrite à son nom.

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Le Dr. Samuel Klein <sup>3</sup> a prétendu retrouver la mention de Koursi sous la forme *Qoursî* קורסי. Il y avait vers le milieu du second siècle

<sup>1</sup> *Eracles, RHC Occid.*, II, p. 324; *Gesta Cruciger. Rhen.*, dans *Quinti Belli Sacri Script. min.* (Soc. de l'Or. Latin), p. 35. Voir aussi Ibn al-Athyr, Makrizî etc. RÖHRICHT, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem*, p. 724. Sur Qoußeir cf. *RB*, 1911, p. 424.

<sup>2</sup> RÖHRICHT, *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, No. 1104; *ZDPV* X, p. 172, avec l'identification à Chorazin, de même chez REY, *Les colonies franques de Syrie*, p. 438 s.!

<sup>3</sup> *ZDPV* XXXV (1912), p. 43.

un tanna du nom de R. Jacob, originaire de Qourši: יעקב קורשאי ר' י' בן קורשי. Dans la Jewish Encyclop. on l'appelle Jacob le Kōrshaïte ou de Kōrsha. W. Bacher fait du second nom un simple patronymique: Jakob ben Kōrshai.<sup>1</sup> Il n'est donc pas sûr qu'on ait affaire ici à un nom de lieu. De plus, dans l'hypothèse d'une désignation locale, il n'est pas certain qu'il faille la rattacher à la Palestine. On pourrait penser à Cyr en Syrie Euphratésienne: Κύρρος, arabe *Qours*.

Le même rabbin apporte un autre texte tiré du Talmud de Jérusalem, Ketouboth VI 5 (4) où il est question des disciples de R. José (de Tibériade) qui montèrent un jour à *Qaršīn*, קרשין. Mais sa leçon n'est pas assurée, car on a la variante קרשין qui pourrait fort bien être le vrai texte et nous reporter au Kh. Qadiš situé sur les hauteurs Sud-Ouest du lac. En tout cas on ne monte pas pour atteindre Koursi.

Le Talmud de Jérusalem nous fournit cependant une équivalence topique qui semble avoir échappé à l'érudit juif de même qu'à Neubauer et dont personne, à ma connaissance du moins, n'a jusqu'ici tiré parti. Je veux parler d'un passage du traité *Mo'ed Qaṭon* III 5, p. 28, où il est question de Gamaliel de Qountyah que les gens de *Koursa* enterrent chez eux, parceque c'est parmi eux qu'il était décédé.<sup>2</sup> Nous obtenons donc ici une localité de כורסא, très rapprochée comme nom du Χορσά = כורסא de l'époque byzantine.

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En quoi consiste le souvenir religieux qu'allaient vénérer à Koursi Sabas et son disciple? Cyrille n'insinue-t-il pas, en effet, que cette localité était un lieu saint? La véritable réponse à cette question nous est fournie par l'itinéraire de Willibald (723—726). Durant le premier siècle de l'occupation musulmane les objets de la vénération byzantine n'avaient pas eu le temps de changer. Seulement «Chorsia» paraît avoir attiré sur le littoral du lac l'inaccessible Chorazin. La confusion toutefois peut être mise sur le compte des Occidentaux influencés par une similitude onomastique et aussi par une acception trop littérale du texte de saint Jérôme: «Sur les bords (de la mer de Galilée) se trouvent Capharnaüm, Tibériade, Bethsaïda et

<sup>1</sup> *Die Agada der Tanaiten* II, p. 457.

<sup>2</sup> כהרם נמליאל דיקונתיה קברניה כורסאי נבון.

Chorozaïm.»<sup>1</sup> En tout cas, ce dont on ne saurait douter, c'est que la Corozaim de Willibald s'identifie avec la Chorsia de la «Vie de saint Sabas».

Contrairement à la marche des deux moines byzantins, le tour de Willibald et de ses compagnons s'effectue de la rive occidentale à la rive orientale par le nord. Après avoir visité Tibériade, Magdala et Capharnaüm, les voyageurs passent à Bethsaïda où ils séjournent une nuit. Le lendemain, ils vont «à Corozaim où le Seigneur guérit les démoniaques et où il envoya le diable dans un troupeau de porcs. Là fut une église de chrétiens.»<sup>2</sup> Ils prient en ce lieu et se rendent ensuite aux sources du Jourdain *itinere tortuoso* suivant l'expression de l'abréviateur de l'itinéraire willibaldien.<sup>3</sup>

Les faits évangéliques que signale le passage qui vient d'être cité réclament les abords immédiats du lac du côté de l'Est conformément au récit des Synoptiques Marc 5 1—20, Matth. 8 28—34, Luc. 8 26—39.<sup>4</sup> En dépit de la malencontreuse mention de Corozaim, ce n'est pas la malédiction de cette cité que les pèlerins accourent vénérer sur le rivage oriental de la mer de Galilée, mais bien le miracle touchant le démoniaque avec ses péripéties diverses, lesquelles, disons-le tout de suite, s'étaient cristallisées autour de Chorsia, le lieu saint par excellence de l'Est du lac.

Dans quel rapport le Chorsia du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle se trouve-t-il vis à vis de la Gergesa du III<sup>e</sup>? Telle est la question qui se pose naturellement ici. On serait tenté de prime abord de la dirimer en supposant deux localités distinctes. L'Onomasticon ne place-t-il pas Gergesa sur la montagne?<sup>5</sup> L'indication cependant peut tout simplement provenir du texte évangélique, par exemple de Marc 5 11 ou de Luc. 8 32: ἐν τῷ ὄρει. Il est à remarquer que la notice d'Eusèbe ne renferme rien relativement au nom actuel de l'endroit. On reconnaît d'ailleurs qu'elle n'a d'autre appui que le fameux passage d'Origène sur saint

<sup>1</sup> In Is. 9 1, liv. III, c. 9: PL, t. XXIV, col. 124: «in cujus littore Capharnaum, et Tiberias, et Bethsaida, et Chorozaïm sitae sunt.»

<sup>2</sup> TOBLER et MOLINIER, *Itin. Hierosol. latina* I, p. 261: «mane pergebant ad Corozaim, ubi Dominus demoniacos curavit, et diabolum mittebat in gregem porcorum. Ibi fuit ecclesia Christianorum.»

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 289.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. LAGRANGE et LAVERGNE, *Synopsis Evangelica*, § 98.

<sup>5</sup> Éd. KLOSTERMANN, p. 74: καὶ νῦν δεικνύται ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους κώμη παρὰ τὴν λίμνην Τιβεριάδος ἐς ἣν καὶ οἱ χοῖροι κατεκρημνίσθησαν. Cf. p. 182.

Jean 1 28:1 «mais Gergésà, d'où les Gergéséens, est une ville ancienne près du lac qu'on nomme maintenant de Tibériade, près de laquelle il y a un précipice avoisinant le lac d'où l'on montre que les porcs ont été précipités par les démons. Or Gergésà signifie «habitation de ceux qui chassent», nom qui indiquait peut-être prophétiquement ce qui se passa, lorsque les concitoyens des porcs prièrent le Sauveur de s'éloigner de leurs frontières.»<sup>2</sup>

L'aspect artificiel du renseignement est tellement évident qu'on a suspecté à bon droit la réalité d'un bourg du nom de Gergésà aux III<sup>e</sup> et IV<sup>e</sup> siècles. Origène n'arrive à bâtir sa Gergésà qu'à l'aide d'une étymologie tendancieuse et de réminiscences de l'Ancien Testament. Néanmoins on ne saurait nier qu'il tablait sur une désignation locale qu'il entendit de ses oreilles au cours de ses voyages bibliques et qu'il accommoda de la manière qu'on a vue. L'élément sur lequel il échafauda sa théorie paraît avoir été quelque chose comme *Koursa* prononcé *Kersa*, s'il nous est permis de faire fond sur le texte talmudique signalé plus haut. Cette forme a pu précéder la forme *Chorsia*, employée à l'époque byzantine et maintenue, en somme, dans l'usage jusqu'à nos jours. En tout cas, la structure de ce mot avec les radicales כרס remonte au moins au III<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère.

Il existe cependant, au sud-est des ruines de Koursi, une tour carrée postée sur l'éperon de la montagne, à laquelle les indigènes réservent le nom de *Qourzeh* qu'ils prononcent à la bédouine *Gourzeh*.<sup>2</sup> Cette appellation pourrait à la rigueur invoquer pour appui littéraire le *Qourši* exhumé par S. Klein des textes talmudiques, à supposer que la *Gourzeh* moderne provienne d'un radical שרץ. Ainsi devrions-nous admettre une origine ancienne à la dualité des noms qui se remarque en cet endroit. Y aurait-il eu en ce point de la côte orientale du lac deux localités jumelles, ou deux quartiers d'un même bourg dont l'un aurait porté le nom de *Chorsia* ou *Koursa*, et l'autre le nom très homophonique de *Qourši*? Le cas serait assez étrange.

<sup>1</sup> Éd. PREUSCHEN, liv. VI, c. 41, p. 150. Cf. RB, 1895, p. 514 s.: LAGRANGE, *Origène; la critique textuelle et la tradition géographique*.

<sup>2</sup> Voir DALMAN, *Palaestina-jahrbuch* VII (1911), p. 22. La dualité des noms est déjà soupçonnée par SCHUMACHER, *The Jaulân*, p. 179 s. RB 1895, p. 519, n. 2.

Il y a, d'ailleurs, autant de distance entre Gergésa ou Gérasa et l'un ou l'autre de ces enoms, car il ne faut pas se laisser induire en erreur par l'apparence de la prononciation *Gourzeh* propre aux Bédouins, issue de l'affaiblissement du *qâf* et du *sin*. Il est possible toutefois que ces indigènes aient été influencés par les chrétiens à la recherche de Gergésa ou de Gérasa. Au Moyen Age encore, comme au temps d'Origène, c'est là que se localisait l'épisode des Geraséniens. Nous en avons pour preuve le témoignage de Burchard du Mont-Sion O. P. (1283). On lui a montré Gérasa sur la rive de la mer de Galilée opposée à Tibériade en tirant un peu vers le Nord, ce qui convient à la position de Koursi. Ce village qu'il n'a vu que de loin était situé au pied d'une montagne à laquelle il donne arbitrairement le nom de Seyr.<sup>1</sup> La *compendium* publié par le marquis de Vogüé dans «des Églises de Terre Sainte», p. 423, qui est moins explicite sur la situation de ce village, se contente de dire: *Supra litus maris Galilee Gergersa, locus ubi eos qui a demonibus vexabantur sanavit.*

*Gergersa* que nous lisons dans le *compendium* médiéval devrait être la véritable leçon d'Origène, puisque cet exégète donne à ce nom pour étymologie *παρουσία ἐκβεβληκότων* qui suppose l'accouplement des deux racines גָּר «colon» et נָרַשׁ «chasser»: *gergaraš*.<sup>2</sup> Si *Garaš* avait existé comme toponyme au temps d'Origène, celui-ci n'aurait certainement pas fait de difficulté de se rallier aux «Geraséniens» de saint Marc. Mais il en allait autrement. Le pays s'appelait כּוּרְסַי ou כּוּרְסַיָּא, nom sur lequel Origène a joué en le faisant précéder de *ger*, גָּר.

Déjà adoptée, semble-t-il, au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, l'identification de Koursi et de Chorazin se maintient au Moyen Age. Soewulf (1103) mentionne

<sup>1</sup> LAURENT, *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor*, p. 41: *Gerasa tamen civitas in littore maris sita Galilee, sub monte Seyr, contra Tiberiadem fere, sed modicum declinans ad aquilonem . . . Et nota, quod terra ista ultra mare Galilee montuosa est valde, ut mihi videtur, quia eam non intravi.*

<sup>2</sup> F. WURZ, *Onomastica sacra*, p. 545. L'étymologie *κατοίκησις μαρτα* = גָּר et syr. כּוּרְסַי doit fatalement aboutir au même résultat. *Ibid.*, p. 715.

<sup>3</sup> Afin d'arriver à harmoniser le sens du nom avec le fait évangélique, Marc 5 17: «et ceux-ci le prièrent de s'en aller hors de leur territoire», et pour y retrouver un nom de l'A. T., quitte à torturer le toponyme en supprimant le ר. Voilà comment כּוּרְסַי, muni de גָּר, est devenu Γέργεσα en vertu de la subtilité alexandrine.

«Corozaim et Bethsaida sur la côte opposée à celle de Tibériade.»<sup>1</sup> Le *compendium* ajoute à la mention de Corozaim une particularité qui passera dans la plupart des itinéraires médiévaux, à savoir que c'est là que l'Antéchrist naîtra et sera élevé à cause, selon Théodoric, de la malédiction lancée par le Sauveur contre cette localité.<sup>2</sup> Ce trait légendaire peut avoir quelque relation avec la croyance arabe que Yaqout explicite en ces termes: «La disparition des eaux du lac de Tibériade sera un signe de la venue de l'Antéchrist, appelé ed-Dadjjal. On rapporte, en outre, que lorsque les eaux auront disparu, un des peuples de Gog et Magog dira: En vérité, il y a de l'eau au delà! Alors ils marcheront tous sur Jérusalem, après quoi Jésus apparaîtra debout sur la roche appelée es-Sakhra, entouré de tous les vrais croyants et il leur prêchera.»<sup>3</sup>

Bien que reprise dans les temps modernes,<sup>4</sup> l'équivalence de Koursi-Chorazin n'est pas admissible; c'est Kerâzeh qui s'impose comme le véritable site de cette ancienne localité. Non seulement l'analogie onomastique sur laquelle s'appuie cette équivalence est insuffisante, mais encore la tradition sur laquelle elle repose est fausse dans son point de départ.

<sup>1</sup> Éd. d'Avezac, p. 38: *Tyberias situ est super litus maris in una parte, in altera vero parte Corozaim et Bethsaida civitas Andreae et Petri.*

<sup>2</sup> DE VOGÜÉ, *Les Églises* ..., p. 422: *Quarto miliario a Bethsaida, Corozain, in qua nutrietur Antichristus. Theodorici libellus*, p. 101: *Quarto a Bethsaida milliario Chorazain, unde Antichristus creditur nasciturus pro eo, quod Dominus eis exprobravit dicens: Vae tibi Chorozain, vae tibi, Bethsaida.* Cf. Jean de Würzburg, Odoric de Frioul, Thietmar et autres.

<sup>3</sup> GUY LE STRANGE, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 67.

<sup>4</sup> Voir par exemple A de P. VIDAL, *Autour du lac, Échos d'Orient*, t. II (1898), p. 362.



## THE END OF THE INSCRIPTION ON THE AḤIRÂM SARCOPHAGUS

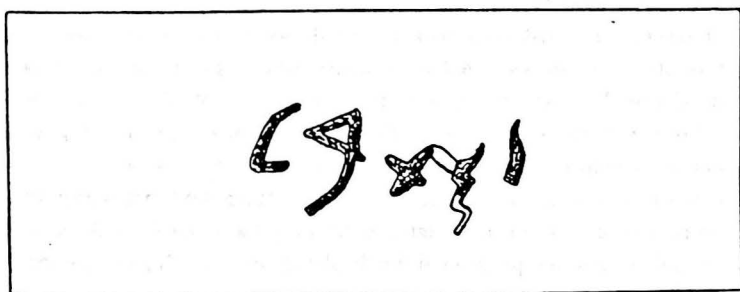
W. F. ALBRIGHT  
(JERUSALEM)

IN the *Journal*, Vol. VI (1926), pp. 76ff., the writer proposed a new reading and interpretation of the last few words of the inscription on the famous Aḥirâm sarcophagus discovered by MONTET at Byblos. On the basis of a careful examination of the text in October, 1925, the last word was read מתבל instead of שרל, as generally read. The final clause, והא ימח ספרה לפי מתבל, was rendered: „as for him, may his writing be entirely effaced from the earth.“ Compared with the previous translations this interpretation was almost too smooth to be acceptable. After a comparison with their squeezes, both DUSSAUD (*Syria*, Vol. VIII, p. 80) and VINCENT (RB 35, 635) rejected it on purely graphic grounds. Not having access to a squeeze, GRESSMANN (ZATW 1926, 158) expressed himself very cautiously, though inclined to accept part of the proposed rendering.

In view of the practically unanimous negative verdict, the writer decided to give up his reading, originally advanced only as „probable.“ However, in Sept. 1927, an opportunity presented itself for a renewed examination of the sarcophagus, on two successive mornings, and the writer found his previous results confirmed, though he would now alter the too confident „probable“ to „possible.“ The subjoined facsimile drawing shows what is actually found on the stone.

In order to gain a clear idea of the nature of the inscription, it will be well to study the photograph of the squeeze taken by the Dominican fathers, as reproduced on plate VIII of VINCENT's article cited above. From this it will be seen that the inscription is cut less and less carefully toward the end, and the characters become smaller and smaller. The writer's measurement on the stone showed

that the characters in the last word average from four-tenths to five-tenths as large as the letters in the middle of the inscription. In order to avoid the break in the stone at the corner of the sarcophagus lid below the end of the text, the latter slants upward, giving the characters a different angle, which must be borne in mind when judging them. When we bear this peculiarity fully in mind we note that the slant of the writer's *tau* in "מתכל" is quite natural, while on the other hand his supposed *bêt* becomes even more like a normal *rêš* than it appears to be at first sight. Another peculiarity to be noted is that in the last few words the carving of the letters becomes more superficial than in the rest of the inscription. This is important when we recall that the text must have been rather hastily



Last Word of Aḥirām Inscription

painted or scratched on the stone before it was carved. This is a point justly emphasized by RONZEVILLE, after a careful study of the inscription (*Mélanges de l'Univ. St.-Joseph*, Vol. XI, 332).

Turning now to the beginning of the last word of the inscription, we note that on a minute examination the supposed *šin* looks very strange. The slanting strokes cross one another in a manner not found elsewhere in the inscription; the following *bêt* does indeed show a tendency in this direction, but it is very slight. Moreover, while the hollow ground of the letters is elsewhere of the same dark gray colour as the surface of the stone, there is a curious light gray patch in the middle of the supposed *šin*, indicated in white in the facsimile, which suggests a recent breakage, since other recent breaks on the sarcophagus show the same natural limestone coloring, darkened on

the ancient surface by long exposure. Since the surface of the stone is very uneven, there is no way to prove that there has been a break here except by the colour of the stone. On the right-hand side of the "šīn" there are two parallel scratches, which bend so as to furnish a perfectly satisfactory tail of a *mēm*. If RONZEVALLÉ is correct in supposing that the inscription was traced with a brush or a sharp-pointed instrument before being carved, it is hard to explain these scratches otherwise than as tracings for a letter. Some of the carving in the last letters is very shallow indeed, so it is quite possible that the carver neglected to hollow out the tail of the *mēm*. At all events, we may safely claim that the reading *mēm tau* instead of *šīn* remains a possibility, even though it cannot be demonstrated.

The following letter is intermediate in form between a *rêš* and a *bêt*. However, it must be borne in mind, as emphasized above, that part of its likeness to a *bêt* disappears when we take the upward slant of the line at this point into account. And yet when we consider the hasty character of the writing here, the possibility that it is a *bêt* remains. It is, at all events, not a typical *rêš*.

The writer's suggestion that the clause *והוא ימח ספרה לפי מתבלי* is to be rendered "as for him, let his writing be entirely effaced from the earth" is closely paralleled by biblical usage. The verb *מחה* is employed especially with the nouns *זכר*, "mention (of name), memory," and *שם*, "name," with which it occurs in five passages (Ex. 17 14, Deut. 9 14, 25 19, 29 19, 2 Kings 14 27), always followed by *מתחת השמים*, "from under heaven." The expression "to erase a name from under heaven" is practically identical with "to erase the writing (of a name) from the earth." In Gen. 6 7 and 7 4 = 7 23 *מחה* is used of wiping out man (*resp.* creation) "from the face of the ground," while in Gen. 7 23 we also have the *nif'al* employed in the phrase "and they shall be blotted out from the earth." It may be added that the imperfect *nif'al* in our inscription may be read either *yimmālê* or *yimmālî*, the latter jussive form occurring several times in the Bible.

With respect to the writer's explanation of *לפי* as equivalent to biblical *לפה*, *פה*, "completely, entirely" (literally, "from edge to edge"), it should perhaps be added that both presumably arose as ellipses. The biblical phrase seems to stand for *מפה לפה* or *לפה לפה*, while

the Phoenician may also stand for לפה לפה, the preposition being dropped before the second פה instead of before the first one.

The writer would now like to modify his translation of the entire text, after reading LIDZBARSKI's remarks, OLZ 1927, 455f. There can no longer be any doubt that ונחת תברח על גבל means "and let peace flee from Gebal." This seems to prove that the "king or prefect or commander of a host" belongs to Byblos, and is not thought of as attacking the city. Instead of inserting the verb עלה, we should probably insert a verb meaning "to rule," and render the entire inscription as follows:

This sarcophagus Ittô-ba'al, son of Aḥirām, king of Byblos, made for his father Aḥirām as his resting-place in the other world. And if any king or prefect or commander of a host (rules) over Byblos and opens up this sarcophagus, let the sceptre of his rule be broken, let the throne of his sovereignty be overturned, and let peace flee from Byblos; and as for him, let his writing be entirely effaced from the earth[?]

Recently SPIEGELBERG (OLZ 1926, 735) has pointed out that, since the tomb of Aḥirām had been broken into in antiquity, the canopic fragments with the cartouche of Rameses II. do not necessarily establish the exact date of the sarcophagus. His note has led LIDZBARSKI (OLZ 1927, 454) and the writer (in a review of CONTENAU, *La civilisation phénicienne*, JAOS 1927) to date the sarcophagus somewhat later than the thirteenth century, though the first mentioned scholar does not express himself positively. The writer was influenced by several considerations. First there is the fact that there is practically no difference palaeographically between the Aḥirām inscription and the two Byblian inscriptions from the end of the tenth century. Secondly, there is the fact that the two names Aḥirām and Ittô-ba'al are found repeatedly among the Phoenician royal names of Tyre and Sidon from the tenth to the sixth century, but are entirely missing from the Canaanite onomastic material in the Amarna Tablets. The name Zakar-ba'al, belonging to a king of Byblos about 1100 B. C., is also found later, and thus presents the same relative modernity as the two names of our sarcophagus. Naturally, all three names are much older in origin, but, as is now familiar to all students of ancient onomastics, names show a tendency to appear in groups at given periods, a circumstance which makes

it possible to use groups of names with caution for dating. Thirdly, there is the desirability of avoiding a date too early because of the great likelihood that the Phoenician script as we know it did not come into use until after the Amarna period, a likelihood based partly on the evidence for the exclusive use of cuneiform at that time, and partly on the phonetic considerations adduced in the *Journal*, Vol. VI, pp. 82—84. In consequence of these arguments, the writer proposed a date in the twelfth or eleventh centuries B. C., either shortly before or shortly after *Zakar-ba'al*, leaving a more exact dating until after the pottery and other objects found in the tomb had been published.

The potsherds found in the Aḥirām tomb have not yet been published, but Père VINCENT has examined them carefully, and has published his decisive verdict (RB 1925, 181): „Le remblai de son puits, qui ne présentait cependant pas trace de bouleversement, contenait des pièces de poterie peinte franchement mycéniennes et chypriotes de la dernière phase du bronze, entre 1600 et 1200.” Père VINCENT also emphasized (*loc. cit.*) that he saw no trace of the supposed fragments of Cypriote pottery belonging to the seventh century, which are apparently due to a misunderstanding, but are largely responsible for SPIEGELBERG's conclusion. The broken sherds found in the filling of the entrance shaft provide only a *terminus a quo*, since they were already present in the débris used to fill the shaft. However, it is obviously dangerous to carry the date of the tomb down too far, in view of the cartouches of Rameses II. and the clear evidence against the reuse of the tomb. The safest date at present seems to be about 1200 B. C., with extreme limits of cir. 1250 and cir. 1125.

The date of cir. 1200 B. C. still leaves a gap of three centuries between the period of Aḥirām and that of Eliba'al, a period during which no perceptible change in the script of Byblos may be seen. The length of the period will not, however, appear so troublesome if we bear in mind the probability that the inscriptions of Abiba'al and Eliba'al archaize intentionally. Otherwise it would be difficult to explain the fact that we find the familiar script of the Moabite Stone fully developed in an elegant cursive form on the ostraca of Samaria, not over a generation later than the inscription of Eliba'al. By the third quarter of the ninth century we find this script on

lapidary monuments as far removed geographically as Moab and Zendjirli. There can, therefore, be little doubt that the revolution in the lapidary forms of the *'alef*, *kaf* and *mēm* took place during the ninth century, presumably during the period of Tyrian hegemony associated with the reign of Hiram I. of Tyre, cir. 975—940 B. C. In view of the profound influence then exerted by Tyre on Palestine, it would be easy to see how the cursive Tyrian ductus would be imitated throughout Palestine, and reproduced on stone as well as on papyrus and sheepskin. It is, accordingly, not safe to date the agricultural calendar of Gezer later than the Division of the Kingdom, cir. 928 to 927 B. C., and a date in the early tenth century becomes probable.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Kings of the Hittites*, by D. G. HOGARTH, being the Schweich Lectures for 1924. Pp. viii + 67, with map, 8vo. London, Humphrey Milford, 1926. 6 shillings.

In this little book Dr. HOGARTH has described the archaeological remains of the Early Iron Age in Carchemish, Zenjirli, and other sites of northern Syria and the adjacent part of Mesopotamia. Since these remains date from between the eleventh and the seventh centuries B. C., readers who expect an account of the kings of the Hittite Empire who reigned at Hattusas (Boghazköi) in the Bronze Age will be disappointed. The princes of whom the author is treating were mere diadochs, rulers of petty principalities, when compared to their great predecessors. And yet it is these minor kings who are called "kings of the Hittites" in the Bible, a fact which has suggested the choice of a title to Dr. HOGARTH. Since he has been intimately associated with the British Museum excavations at Carchemish from the beginning, and is an acknowledged authority on Aegean and Anatolian archaeology, his restriction of theme to the Early Iron Age is very wise, especially since he admits his scepticism with regard to the results of the decipherment of cuneiform Hittite (see the preface). Most scholars will undoubtedly disagree with him on this question, but it must be confessed that his position does not particularly affect the book before us, since the latest of the Boghazköi tablets are older than the earliest monuments of northern Syria which it treats.

HOGARTH's conclusion that the earliest sculptures found at Zenjirli are later than the sculptures of Üyük and Yazili Kaya will probably not be accepted now. With EDUARD MEYER and POTTIER he considers the latter two groups of monuments as Cappadocian Hittite (p. 14), but it has since become probable that they are actually post-Hittite,

as pointed out by VON DER OSTEN, *Explorations in Hittite Asia Minor* (AJSL XLIII, 1927, pp. 107 f., 115 f.). This discovery naturally requires a complete reinterpretation of the first conclusion reached by HOGARTH, that the sculptures of the Early Iron Age Hittite of Syria are later than the Cappadocian remains just mentioned, but that they are artistically derived from an older relative of the latter, and not directly from it. Artistically the argument seems impressive, but historically this relation becomes unintelligible, since we should have to assume an entirely unknown development of Hittite art before the Late Hittite Empire, a development which in Syria pursued a course independent of that followed by the Cappadocian suzerain. Since the Hittite states of the Early Iron Age unquestionably regarded themselves as the heirs of the Hittite Empire, and their princes perpetuated the names of its kings (e. g., *Suppiluliuma-Sapalulme, Muwattalli-Muttallu, Labarna-Lubarna*; see JIRKU, ZA 1926, 137 f.), this would be most anomalous. VON DER OSTEN's observations lead to the interesting result, that the Cappadocian and Syrian sculptures in question are all descended from a common parent—the Hittite art of the Late Bronze Age, the period of the Hittite Empire. The oldest monuments discovered at Zenjirli and Carchemish go back to about the eleventh century, as supposed by HOGARTH, but the rock carvings of Cappadocia really are as much later in date as they are in style, and date to about the tenth century B. C., roughly speaking, some two centuries before the date of the earliest characteristically Phrygian monuments.

There is then no necessity for invoking the aid of the Moschians in order to explain the origin of the Syrian art of the Early Iron Age. On the other hand, it is now certain that HOGARTH is partly correct in looking toward northern Mesopotamia, where there was a powerful and wealthy state or confederation in the Late Bronze Age, with a Hurrian population and an Indo-Iranian aristocracy. Mitanni, as the state was called, controlled both northern Syria and Assyria at one time, and the discovery of the so-called Kerkûk tablets, published by CHIERA and SPEISER, GADD and CONTENAU, proves conclusively that there was an essentially homogeneous Hurrian population in the whole of northern Mesopotamia and Syria during the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B. C. The seal impressions found on these tablets are characteristically North Mesopotamian, deriving



their motives both from the older Accadian of Mesopotamia and from the composite Bronze Age culture of Syria, as shown by the numerous Egyptian and Anatolian elements (crux ansata, guilloche, griffin, etc.). The seals hitherto found in northern Syria and dating from the Late Bronze Age are practically identical in type with the Kerkūk seals of the same age. It is this civilisation to which the artistic culture of early Zenjirli and Carchemish, so far as excavated, goes back in part. There is, however, no need of bringing in the Moschians, since the direction of their migration was certainly from Asia Minor and not from Armenia. The essential identity of the Muške with the Thracio-Phrygian wave of migration can no longer be doubted, after the observations of FORRER, *Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches*, pp. 76—81; the Assyrians applied the name *Muški* to the Phrygian state of Midas, as pointed out by WINCKLER. For the probable connection between Armenian and Phrygian cf. now PEDERSEN in EBERT's *Reallexikon*, Vol. I, pp. 221—226.

The proper names borne by the princes of the states of northern Syria in the Early Iron Age have long since been proved to belong to the same linguistic stock as the Lycian and the contemporary tongues of Pisidia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia, the language of the so-called "Tarku-Hittites" of JENSEN. The Hittite hieroglyphs, so characteristic of the Early Iron Age culture of Cilicia, Cappadocia, and northern Syria, seem, therefore, to have been originally the script of Lycia or Cilicia, from which it spread eastward after the destruction of the Hittite Empire about 1200 B. C. In this connection it may be observed that the reviewer would read the cuneiform inscription of the "Tarkondemos" seal as *Tar-qu-mu-wa ŠAR MÂT ÂL Me-ra*, Tarqumuwa king of the land of the city of Mera. Neither the reading *Tar-qu-tim-me ŠAR MÂT ÂL Me-e* nor that of *Tar-qu-u-âš-še-me ŠAR MÂT ÂL Me-tan* are at all satisfactory, since they do not reckon sufficiently with specifically Hittite cuneiform ductus. The name *Tarqumuwa* is parallel to *Panamuwa* and *Kilamuwa*, and appears in Greek transcription as *Ταρκυμωσ* and *Ταρκιμωσ*, names which SUNDWALL, *Die einheimischen Namen der Lykier*, p. 214, has traced back to a "Lycian" \**Trqqa-muwa*. The city-state Mera is identical with the Mirâ of the Hittite inscriptions, which is probably to be identified either with Milyas or with Myra in Lycia (GARSTANG, *Annals of Arch. and Anthr.*, Vol. X, pp. 21 ff., ALBRIGHT, *Jour. Eg.*

*Arch.*, Vol. XI, p. 21f.). The use of a very late or a badly written Hittite cuneiform suggests a date between the twelfth and the ninth centuries, preferably nearer the former than the latter, since it is not likely that the use of the cuneiform script in Asia Minor long survived the downfall of the Hittite Empire. This seal is, at all events, a striking illustration of our contention that the "Tarku" Hittites came from southern Asia Minor, and that the sculptures of Zenjirli and Carchemish belong to them, though strongly influenced by the Hurrian culture of Syria in the Late Bronze Age.

W. F. ALBRIGHT

*Campaigns in Palestine from Alexander the Great* by ISRAEL ABRAHAMS:  
The Schweich Lectures 1922; London, Humphrey Milford, 1926.

*The Samaritans, Their History Doctrines and Literature with six Appendices and nineteen Illustrations* by MOSES GASTER: The Schweich Lectures 1923; London, Humphrey Milford, 1925.

The volume by Dr. Abrahams is issued posthumously. Its spirit is expressed in two sentences: "It is worth while protesting against the tendency to subject an ancient historian to meticulous examination, and to conclude that his main assertions are overthrown if some of the details can be proved inaccurate. Documents of the past should not be so treated, and when they are, facts have a way of exacting their revenge" (p. 12). The book is somewhat allusive and does not always give as much information as might be desired. Perhaps the most interesting concrete suggestion is that Daniel's horns as types of Alexander and his successors are due to the use of horns on the coins of the period (pp. 21f.).

Dr. Gaster's book is interesting, but unreliable and fanciful. Thus we read with surprise that "Solomon granted supremacy to Abiathar" (p. 10), that Ezekiel rejects Jerusalem (p. 15), and that Zerubbabel failed to rebuild the Temple (p. 25). When he argues that "the Samaritan sections seem to be preserved in the Greek text, which proves a very high antiquity for this kind of division" (p. 105), he overlooks the fact that they were introduced into the Greek text by

Swete, largely from the English R. V.<sup>1</sup> On the general subject one short comment may be made. No theory of the origin of the Samaritans can be sound which fails to account for the resemblance of type between members of the community now living and figures portrayed on the Assyrian monuments.

HAROLD M. WIENER.

*Sennacherib's Invasion of Palestine. A Critical Source Study* by LEO L. HONOR Ph. D. New York, Columbia University Press, 1926.

This is a dissertation and presumably the author's first publication. As such it deserves a cordial welcome by reason alike of its thoroughness and of its impartiality. Dr. Honor has sought to collect all modern views on his subject and to submit them to critical discussion, and he has expended much thought and labour on his task. Unfortunately, however, he has often discussed the unknowable, he has sometimes failed to discriminate between the conceivably valuable and the certainly worthless, he has occasionally overlooked the one fact or view which is really decisive or probable, he has regarded the opinion of writers of very varying degrees of merit as all of equal value, and he has not invariably adhered to the soundest canons of evidence. These are all matters in which his work should improve with experience and do not detract from the favourable impression made by the book.

One cardinal weakness of modern work is its rejection of tradition. Thus Dr. Honor doubts the historical character of Menander's tale of Shalmaneser's siege of Tyre (pp. 20, 102). As I have pointed out elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> there is monumental corroboration of the story, so that scepticism is misplaced.

Another great fault is the treatment of the prophets. With the exception of prophecies of disaster, which might be conditional, oracles

<sup>1</sup> The Old Testament in Greek I, p. xv.

<sup>2</sup> The Prophets of Israel in History and Criticism, 1923, 68. Dr. Honor has unfortunately overlooked this book which contains many views that would be new to him.

that referred to the immediate future must have been fulfilled; otherwise their author would have been regarded as a false prophet. Take for instance Is. 18 (pp. 96—100). Isaiah foretells a heavy battle in the summer in which Ethiopia will be involved (5f.) and Judah will be neutral (4). Had this anticipation not been realised he would have been discredited. We may therefore safely assume that the event took place. If we look for the historical situation, we can date the oracle in 720 B. C. In that year the Assyrians defeated the Egyptian forces under the commander who is called Seve (or So), King of Egypt, in 2 Kings 17 4 and Sibe, tartan of Egypt, in the inscriptions. He was clearly Piankhi's viceroy and the disaster at Raphia put an end to the first Ethiopian domination of Egypt and necessitated Shabaka's later reconquest of that country. That this is correct appears from the fact that Ethiopia was the only Nilotic power strong enough to challenge Assyria, a task that would have been quite beyond the resources of some Delta kinglet living under the shadow of Piankhi's menacing advance.

On the central topic of the book a greater degree of probability is attainable than Dr. Honor thinks.

Many of the hypotheses he discusses fade away when the chronological backbone is determined. By dead reckoning from the fall of Jerusalem in 587 B. C. on the basis of the data of Kings we find that Ahaz died and Hezekiah succeeded in 727 B. C.: but, as is well known, the chronological statements of Kings cannot all be right. There are, however, three considerations which prove that the errors do not lie in this part of the dating:

1. Isaiah 14 28—32, written in the year in which King Ahaz died, contemplates the following succession of Assyrian rulers ("smoke from the north"): one who smote Philistia and is just dead (i. e. Tiglath-Pileser who died in 727 B. C. and castigated the Philistines), followed by two to arise in the future ("from the serpent's root a basilisk *shall* arise") standing to each other in the relation of father and son ("his fruit is a flying serpent"). The two latter are Sargon and Sennacherib both of whom inflicted grave injuries on Philistia. They were separated from Tiglath-Pileser's reign, by Shalmaneser's and the last-named apparently did not oppress the Philistines. Moreover Sargon was a *novus homo*, not the legitimate successor of Shalmaneser, and thus really did come forth from the serpent's root.

The correspondence between the prophecy and the historical events is too close, detailed and extensive to permit of doubt, and so the death of Ahaz is fixed in 727 B. C.

2. It is clear from 2 Kings 18 9 that Samaria fell in the reign of Hezekiah. A statement of this kind is on a different level from an ordinary chronological notice. It is one thing to suppose that a number has not been handed down correctly; it is quite another to suggest that the historian did not know in the reign of which Jewish monarch the northern kingdom was extinguished.

3. In 2 Kings 18 13 we find the narrative of Sennacherib's expedition attached to the date "the fourteenth year of Hezekiah" which would be 713 B. C. Olmstead has shown that this and not 711 B. C. was in fact the year of the Tartan's expedition in which Judah was chastised.<sup>1</sup> This remarkable coincidence confirms the dating, for it is only necessary to suppose that the account of Sennacherib's campaign has been substituted for an earlier reference to the Tartan's by somebody who failed to realise that Judah was twice punished by Assyria in Hezekiah's reign.

This dating at once excludes many modern hypotheses. We may also dismiss the reasoning Dr. Honor gives from other writers to justify the analysis of the Kings narrative (73f.), and the attempt to discredit elements such as the expression "broken reed" (p. 52). The argument adduced would not detain for a single moment any investigator who was accustomed to weigh evidence seriously. We can then reconstruct the history easily enough. "Padi, their king, I brought out of Jerusalem," says the Assyrian. How? It would be absurd to suggest that Hezekiah, who had something more than a sporting chance of being flayed alive if the enemy prevailed, voluntarily released Padi, whom he held in pledge, except on some agreement. Sennacherib could only rescue him by capturing Jerusalem (which he certainly failed to do) or by treaty. Now read the account of his treatment of Hezekiah. He shut him up like a caged bird in Jerusalem, besieged him, plundered his cities etc. Those were obviously not the terms of a treaty under which Padi was released. And so the only solution is to suppose that Sennacherib first made an agreement for the purpose of rescuing his ally Padi, and then shamelessly broke it

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<sup>1</sup> Western Asia in the Days of Sargon.

and turned on Hezekiah. The first agreement is narrated in 2 Kings 18 13<sup>b</sup>—16, the sequel in what follows. And when Is. 33 is read in the light of this it completes the tale of the incident.

Dr. Honor says that there is no mention of an attempted invasion of Egypt on the part of Sennacherib in the Hebrew Scriptures (p. 57). That is true, but his *intention* is clearly mentioned by Isaiah "With the sole of my feet will I dry up all the rivers of Egypt" (2 Kings 19 24). And when the prophet foretells that the Jews will not resume the ordinary processes of cultivation till the third year (29), he is obviously expecting Sennacherib's campaign to last some considerable time longer. This would agree with the story of an advance to Pelusium told by Herodotus. In the Massoretic Text of 2 Kings 19 35 a glossator has unfortunately obscured this by inserting הָרָוּא, but this has not affected the text of the LXX. The disaster occurred *by* night, not *in that* night.

Limitations of space forbid further discussion either of the details of the expedition or of the other points raised by this interesting book: but we hope Dr. Honor will continue his work and take a worthy share in the advancement of Biblical science. If, however, his labours deserve appreciation, the same cannot be said of the form in which he presents them. There is neither table of contents nor index. The numerous notes are in unduly small print and appear at the end of the chapters instead of on the pages to which they relate. The spelling is marred by such barbarous forms as rescension, Isianic, exhorbitant. Names are strangely corrupted (e. g. Eiselin, Merodach-Balladin), and the proofreading is distinctly bad. We hope that in these matters Dr. Honor will have more mercy on his readers in future publications.

HAROLD M. WIENER

*Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament*, herausgegeben von RUDOLF KITTEL. Dritte Folge, Heft 6. LEONHARD ROST, *Die Überlieferung von der Thronnachfolge Davids*. W. Kohlhammer, 1926.

The criticism of the books of Samuel is one of the most fascinating problems of the Hebrew Bible. It owes its interest to many features—

the brilliancy of much of the style, the importance of the historical period, the difficulty of ascertaining the true facts, the life-like portraiture, and many another characteristic. But there is one which overshadows them all, the relation of the narratives to many of the greatest problems of the national life and thought. How did the kingdom come into being? Was it or was it not of God? Why was the first king of Israel a failure? Had God or Samuel made a tragic blunder in his elevation? Had his line or that of his successor the better right to reign? Indeed had the latter any title at all to the throne of all Israel? These questions would become more urgent and would be reinforced by others with the gradual idealisation of David and the recognition of his dynasty as the symbol of the national unity and of the Messianic hope. The latter was attached to the Jewish royal house. What kind of root could the idea possess if there could be any question as to the exclusive legitimacy of the dynasty? And even if it were legitimate, had not Saul at one time been equally legitimate, and how had that helped him or his people?

Again, was the history of David of the edifying character that might be expected of the symbol of true religion, the virtual founder of the Temple and its worship, the father of Hebrew psalmody, the source of the Messianic hope? In the ears of men who looked for a return of the children of Israel to the Lord their God and David their King (Hos. 3 5), how did it sound to be told that David himself had contemplated the worship of other gods as a perfectly natural proceeding if he went abroad and had spent an important part of his active career on foreign soil (1 Sam. 26 19 and the subsequent stay in Philistia), presumably engaging in such worship as a matter of course? And at an earlier date came the problems of Solomon's accession. He was not the rightful heir to the throne, and much of the history that we have is written from the point of view of justifying his elevation and in the most complete sympathy with the prime mover in it, the prophet Nathan.

The investigation before us is concerned with some only of these problems, and some portions only of the books of Samuel and Kings. This limitation of its scope is prejudicial, for a careful and comprehensive survey of these matters is necessary to enable us to reach sound conclusions. Moreover much of it is unfortunately based on the principle, now hopelessly discredited in dealing with antiquity,

that the style is the man. So far back as 1898, E. Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa* I 11—12, wrote as follows: „Bevor ich zum einzelnen übergehe, habe ich noch kurz eine Vorfrage zu berühren: welchen Einfluß hatte im Altertum die Individualität des Schriftstellers auf seinen Stil oder, mit anderen Worten, wie weit gilt auch für jene Zeit Buffons Ausspruch *le style est l'homme même*? Zwar hatte auch das Altertum ein Sprichwort: οὗτος ὁ τρόπος τοιοῦτος καὶ ὁ λόγος, aber wir dürfen nicht verkennen, daß der Satz in der Praxis nicht so große Bedeutung hatte wie bei uns. Der Stil war damals eine erlernte Kunst, deren Regeln im allgemeinen keiner seiner Individualität zuliebe übertreten durfte, wie ja überhaupt das Altertum in viel höherem Masse als die moderne Zeit vom Individuum die Unterordnung seiner Eigenart unter die Autorität der von hervorragenden Kunstrichtern sanktionierten Tradition, die Zurückdrängung des Genialischen, verlangt hat. Daraus ergibt sich zweierlei. Erstens: die Individuen treten zurück hinter allgemeinen Richtungen der Zeit, deren Repräsentanten sie sind. Zweitens: ein und derselbe Schriftsteller konnte nebeneinander in ganz verschiedenen Stilarten schreiben, indem er bald diese, bald jene ἰδέα verwendete, je nachdem sie ihm für das vorliegende Werk zweckentsprechend schien. Wir Moderne haben durch Verkennen dieser Tatsache vielfach geirrt, aber die Zeiten sind vorbei, wo man auf dies Argument hin dem Platon den Menexenos, dem Xenophon den Agesilaos, dem Tacitus den Dialogus, dem Appuleius die Schrift *De Mundo* und so vielen Autoren so vieles aberkannte, oder wo man sich darüber wunderte, daß der Aristoteles der pragmatistischen Schriften in seinen Dialogen so dämonisch zu schreiben verstand. Selbst die so beliebten Schlüsse von der Stilverschiedenheit zweier Werke eines und desselben Autors auf eine verschiedene Abfassungszeit, sind selten zwingend und oft durch Tatsachen anderer Art zu widerlegen. Der Stil war im Altertum nicht der Mensch selbst, sondern ein Gewand, das er nach Belieben wechseln konnte.“ The theological schools do not however seem to have made much progress yet in assimilating these truths, though it is cheering to find Eissfeldt refuting the „stark subjektiv bedingte Stilkritik“ (OLZ 1927, 661—662). In fact the books of Samuel offer a *locus classicus* for testing the worthlessness of the so-called literary method. It must suffice to quote two instances of this here.



The style of I 23 19—24 23 and 26 is strikingly alike, and it is only when we take into consideration the psychological operation of 26 19 that we see which of the narratives is the earlier, and why the other came to be composed. To a later age the idea of David sacrificing to other gods was too unpalatable. According it was sought to replace it by a new history which not only omitted this speech but also represented him as conducting himself as *non compos mentis* when in Philistia, a state of affairs which effectually excluded the possibility of any such worship. And then he is hurried back to the inheritance of the Lord and made to spend at Adullam the period of his life during which he was really at Ziklag. Similarly he is prevented from staying in Moab (22 3—5) and so having an opportunity of sacrificing there. Or again take 1 Sam 16 1—13. This has often been thought to be early. But when it is carefully examined we find that it is propaganda designed to magnify the claim of the Jewish royal house and to discredit Saul. The story in fact answers both our accounts of the latter's rise. Had he been secretly anointed by the seer Samuel? So was David, and the narrator points to it with the unmistakable word "seer" which, though lost in the Hebrew, is preserved in the Greek text of 4. Had another account laid stress on the first king's stature as a claim to the divine choice (I 10 24)? A crushing polemic (I 16 6—7) overthrows the plea as worthless.

The argument from style, then, must be recognised as destitute of value, and when Rost puts it forward, he is employing an out of date and discredited method. It is not in fact possible to draw any inference e. g., from the fact that the Hebrew word for mouse is used in I 6 and also in Lev. 11 29, Is. 66 17. The fact is that a writer spoke of mice when he had occasion to do so, and not at other times. Nor does greater value attach to arguments about the presence of messengers or similes in particular chapters of Samuel (113—114). Are there no traces of such things in those chapters of Samuel which he has not examined?

The book deals with the narratives as to the Ark, Nathan's prediction, the account of the war with Ammon and the story of the succession to David's throne. The last of these is in fact the best method of approach to the criticism of Samuel.

Rost rightly recognises that this narrative dates from the early part of Solomon's reign (127). He sees that it was written *in majorem*

*gloriam Salomonis* (128). He is extremely sceptical about the presence of a J or an E in these books (138). He even criticises the attribution of II 21 1-14 and 9 to one and the same source (83). In all these matters he is unquestionably right. But a very little more and he will reach the truth.

But his predecessors have done much to mislead him with the suggestions that either Abiather or Ahimaaz was the author. Both are entirely devoid of psychological probability. Assuredly Abiathar would not have composed a glorification of the king who disgraced him and such an exposure of his faithful friend and master David as we find here. He would most certainly have laid stress on the title to the throne of the candidate he supported. Nor is there anything to suggest priestly interests or sympathy with Zadok or his line. And yet the whole story clearly reflects the personality and views of one man. That man is Nathan the prophet, and it needs no great insight to see that he or somebody strongly under his influence is the author. He it is who takes the lead in asserting Solomon's claim to the throne, who unsparingly criticises David's action, and fearlessly champions morality against the king himself, who delivers the message which prefers the son to the father as the builder of the temple, in a word, who is always in the right, never in the wrong. And if we turn to the oracle in II 7 12-15 we cannot doubt its authenticity. Nobody would have written thus of Solomon after his policy had caused the schism which all patriotic thinkers so bitterly regretted for centuries after. It is intelligible as Nathan's vision of his favourite pupil's future, but impossible at any time after Solomon had been guilty of his later backslidings. And if we examine his reign we shall find Nathan's influence strongly marked in the earlier portion. Two of his sons were ministers (1 Kings 4 5), and the fruits of his teaching are to be seen in the king's earlier policy and inclinations.

This document, then, is by Nathan or somebody who is entirely dominated by his point of view. It may therefore best be denoted by the symbol N. Now far back does it go? Rost would make it begin with II 6 16 (110). He attaches weight to the fact that Saul's daughter Michal was childless (105), but this misses the point of the narrative. It is not concerned with any question of succession, still less with any theory that Saul's daughter could give legitimacy

to David's house, but with the improper conduct of the king on the one hand (cp. Ex. 20 26) and his punishment of his wife for her impertinence on the other.

In fact if N be carefully examined it will be found that it can be traced back as far as the stories of Gideon and Abimelech. To prove this would be beyond the scope of this notice. One example only of the method can be given. In 1 Kings 2 31-33 we have a reference to the deaths of Abner and Amasa. Both are on precisely the same footing. The author assumes that his readers have the same knowledge of both. Now the fate of Amasa is narrated in his book (2 Sam. 20). It follows that he told the story of Abner's death too. When we turn to our account in II 2, the resemblance to 1 Kings 2 makes it clear that the same author is here writing. Rost endeavours to sever his Thronfolgegeschichte from what precedes. But his arguments consist of stylistic considerations which have no probative force and of the contention that Abiathar and the ephod are important in the earlier history but play no part later (134). The answer is that Nathan's rise seems to have displaced the earlier method of consulting God. The great prophet replaced the priest as the channel of communication. This may have helped to range Abiathar on the side of Adonijah as against Nathan and his candidate.

Side by side with N we find another document which to some extent whitewashes David and loses no chance of blackening Saul. In II 21 Meribaal is well known to David, who, however, had never heard of him in II 9. This narrative cannot therefore have stood in N at any earlier point. By trial it may be seen that it cannot be inserted in N's narrative anywhere between 9 and 20. Hence it belongs to another source which in its turn can be traced back. And here it may be pointed out that Rost is wrong in endeavouring to make an independent Ark source embracing portions of I 4 1-7 1 and of II 6 (46). It is impossible to get over the evidence of diversity offered by the names Baalat Judah and Kiriath Jearim by simply suggesting that the latter may be a substitution (6). When made without evidence such suggestions are not scientific; and in any case there is a later allusion which has been overlooked. In I 14 3 we read of "Ahijah, the son of Ahitub, *Ichabod's brother*, the son of Phinehas, the son of Eli, *the priest of the Lord in Shiloh*".

That shows that the author had placed the story of Ichabod before his readers and that it must be studied with the other portions of the source to which this verse belongs. N, on the other hand, in speaking of Ahimelech, son of Ahitub, and his son Abiathar, makes no such reference.

When these matters are fully worked out we shall find what answers were given to the questions of which we spoke at the beginning of this notice. First comes the authentic history of N strongly sympathetic to Solomon, deeply interested in vindicating his succession, reflecting Nathan's views and not hesitating to expose wrongful conduct of David's when committed during the latter's ministry, though rather less critical of some of his actions before the prophet's responsibility commenced. In course of time another history was composed to replace it. In this the Jewish king's less edifying actions are omitted or softened down, and every opportunity is taken of blackening Saul's memory. On the other hand the question of Solomon's succession is no longer a matter of living interest. These two are followed by an editor to whom we owe I 15 1—16 13 and portions of I 28 and II 1. He carries the process of discrediting Saul still further. Another editor who is hostile to the monarchy is responsible for certain portions of I 7—12, but it would take us too far to enter into this matter.

Rost is a new writer of considerable promise and we hope to meet him often again. He would greatly improve his work if he were to study brevity and concentration, and refrain from putting forward any hypothesis that does not arise naturally from the facts. We wish him a future of careful and fruitful work.

HAROLD M. WIENER

## NOTES AND COMMENTS

### THE TEXT OF 1 SAMUEL 14<sup>14</sup>

AL read ἐν βολίσι καὶ ἐν πετροβόλοις καὶ (ἐν) κόχλαξι(ν) τοῦ πεδίου. There is in fact a lacuna between the מ and the ך of מענה. The former is the last letter of חצים, the latter the initial of קלע. The two texts then compare as follows:

השדה	ובצור	קלע	ובאבני	בחצים	LXX
שדה	נהצמד	ע		בכחצים	M. T.

„With arrows and with sling-stones and with pebbles of the field.” Perhaps the phrase is misplaced and should stand after 13. As we have been told that only Saul and Jonathan had iron weapons (13 19–22), it is essential to know how the armour-bearer could have killed Philistines. The words are supported not merely by the exigencies of the narrative, but also by historical and archaeological considerations. In the excavation of Tell-el-Ful (Gibeah of Benjamin) corroborative evidence was found. “Two bronze arrow-heads also appeared in this level, besides quantities of sling-stones. An iron plough-tip found in room A reminds us that we are already well into the Iron Age, when iron began to be used for agricultural implements (cf. 1 Sam. 13 19–21 from the beginning of Saul’s reign).”<sup>1</sup> The skill of the men of Benjamin as slingers (Jgs. 20 16) helps to explain the result.

The notices of the deficiency of iron arms and the substitutes are necessary to show the full greatness of Jonathan’s exploit.

HAROLD M. WIENER

### THE TEXT OF 2 SAMUEL 15<sup>18</sup>

It is very difficult to disentangle the original text. The Greek readings are conflate, a number of variants having been combined.

<sup>1</sup> W. F. Albright, *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* IV, 1924, 17.

The king and his household took up their stand at some rallying point. They were joined by various elements of the population, including some Gittites. Here L presents a clear text, which in the matter of connecting with the context seems to be correct: *καὶ ἑξακόσιοι ἄνδρες οἱ ἦγοντες ἐκ Γεθ πέσοι παρεπορεύοντο κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ βασιλέως*. This leads us to read *ושש* for *שש*. With this single correction the Hebrew gives an excellent sense and an excellent connection in this part of the verse.

The words that immediately precede in the Hebrew *וכל הנתיים* are represented in L by *καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄδρῳι καὶ πάντες οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ πάντες οἱ μαχηταί*. BA have the same phrase nearer the beginning of the verse but in a different order. Apparently *καὶ π. ὁ. ἄ. κ. π. ὁ. μ.* represents *וכל הנגלים וכל הנבריים*. We should expect both classes to have joined David at this crisis of his fate. The mighty men are too closely associated with him elsewhere for comment to be necessary: the notables (*הנגלים*) appear in B's text of 1 Kings 19. *Καὶ π. ὁ. π. ἄ.* presumably refers to the members of his household who had come with David, and renders *וכל אשר אתו* which was corrupted into *וכ' הנתיים* in our Hebrew. Thus the verse probably ran somewhat as follows:—*וכל העם עברים על ידו וכל הכרתי* (see Kittel B. H. *ad loc.*) *וכל הפלתי וכל אשר אתו וכל הנגלים וכל הנבריים ושש ונ'*.

HAROLD M. WIENER

#### THE TEXT OF EZEK. 47<sup>17</sup>

It is generally recognised that at the end of the verse we should read *פאת צפון* (for *ואת* ואת, "This is the north side;") but the earlier part of the verse remains unintelligible. It runs "And the boundary from the sea to Hazar-Enon shall be the boundary of Damascus וצפון northwards (or 'on the north'), and the boundary of Hamath." Here the word I have left untranslated is unintelligible. It means "and north" and makes no sense. In the preceding verse, however, we find that between the boundary of Damascus and the boundary of Hamath lay a place called *סכרים* which is the same as the *זופן* of Numbers 34<sup>9</sup>. That is exactly what is required here, the name of a place which in Ezekiel's view lay between the boundaries of Damascus and Hamath immediately north of the territory he assigned to Israel. It is therefore evident that *צפון* is a corruption

of this name. We are however unable to say whether Ezekiel spelt it צפֿרֿן or with an initial צ or פ. His text is so badly preserved and we know so little of his orthography that on this point no certainty is possible, especially if, as seems likely, the spelling Sibraim is partly due to faults of audition. But so far as the sense is concerned we may safely restore "And Siphron," leaving it to future discoveries to determine how Sibraim-Ziphron should be spelt.

The LXX omits the concluding words of the verse, but this is due to homoeography (צפֿרֿן recurring) and has no critical importance.

The whole verse then runs "And the boundary from the sea to Hazar-Enon shall be the boundary of Damascus and Siphron to the north, and the boundary of Hamath: this is the north side." Ezekiel here writes "from the sea to Hazar-Enon;" i. e. from W to E and then recites the places in the reverse order E to W. Similarly in 48 1 he goes from W to E and then comes back E to W in mentioning the frontiers of Damascus and Hamath.

HAROLD M. WIENER

# THE RELATIVE DATES OF EZRA AND NEHEMIAH

HAROLD M. WIENER  
(JERUSALEM)

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

B. C.	
538	Cyrus conquers Babylon
529	Cambyses
522	Pseudo-Smerdis (7 months)
522	Darius I.
485	Xerxes
475	Artaxerxes I.
425	Xerxes II. (2 months)
425	Sogdianus (7 months)
424	Darius II.
405	Artaxerxes II.

During the last few decades there has been a vigorous discussion of the problems of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. A great deal of ability has been employed, and on the whole it is not too much to say that a high standard has been reached. The debate has, however, often been marred by excessive subjectivity and an absence of the sense of limitation. We may, if we so choose, read works that tell us exactly what sources an author or editor who lived more than two millenniums ago had before him; what they contained, and how they were arranged; what precisely he did to them; where he abbreviated, paraphrased, glossed, modified; and what motives governed his every action: and all this though we have not a syllable of information about any of these matters. Such proceedings condemn themselves, and it is not intended to waste any space on them. The



present essay will be confined to an attempt to discover what may be regarded as reasonably probable in regard to the main point of critical and historical importance, viz., the relative dates of the two leaders.<sup>1</sup>

In Ezra 4 6—24 we have a notice that requires careful consideration from the historical point of view. At the beginning of the reign of Xerxes the enemies of the Jews wrote to the great king maligning them. In the reign of his successor, Artaxerxes I., further complaints follow. These come from two Persian officials, Rehum and Shimshai, with whom we find joined the Samaritans and other peoples. Their letter and the royal reply are set out textually, but examination of the contents shows that the documents are not genuine in the sense of being true copies of originals actually sent. They belong to the same literary class as the speeches of Thucydides. The author puts forward the considerations that in his view either actuated or might reasonably have actuated the *dramatis personae* and throws them into rhetorical or epistolary form. On this occasion it appears that Jews who have lately come from the king are engaging in an attempt to rebuild the walls of the city and to reestablish it. The petitioners urge that Jerusalem was an old centre of disaffection, and that its re-instatement would probably lead to its rebellion and even to the loss of the whole trans-Euphratic province. This is shown by its past record, and the king is asked to cause search to be made in the archives of his fathers for confirmation of it. The reply states that search in the archives has established the bad reputation of Jerusalem. Mighty kings had reigned over it and borne sway over all Syria.<sup>2</sup> The command is therefore given to stop the operations.

The commentators rightly point out that it is quite impossible that information as to David and Solomon should have been contained in the Persian archives or any others that could reasonably be

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<sup>1</sup> It is not proposed to place reliance on the interesting discussion by F. X. Kugler in *Von Moses bis Paulus*, 1922, because A. van Hoonacker's reply, *Revue Biblique*, 1923, 481 ff.; 1924, 33 ff., seems to me to have succeeded in discrediting his main argument.

<sup>2</sup> The special pleading by which Ed. Meyer (*Die Entstehung des Judenthums*, 1896, 59) endeavours to defend the authenticity of this has satisfied me of the opposite of what he seeks to prove.

covered by the expression attributing them to the "fathers" of the Persian king. The claim of danger to all the country across the Euphrates is exaggerated to the point of absurdity, and the conception of the extent of the Davidic monarchy harmonises with post-exilic dreams rather than with sober historical reality.

On receipt of this rescript the Persian officials hastened to Jerusalem and stopped the work by force. Then the service of the house of God was interrupted, and the interruption continued till a date which in our present text is given as the second year of Darius, king of Persia.

We have already seen that in their present form the documents can be nothing more than a literary artifice. It may be that the opponents of the Jews represented to the king that if Jerusalem were walled it would be likely to be rebellious. Indeed that would seem to be the only obvious ground that could be used to prevail on him to interfere. Unless the fortification could be shown to touch his interests in some way, why should he prohibit it? But that does not meet the other points to which attention has been drawn, and we must therefore refrain from regarding the letters as the *ipsissima verba* of the correspondents.

Yet while we must agree to a great extent with those who reject these documents, there is an even more important matter on which we must differ from them. As it stands, this story tells us of a great check experienced by the Jews. Their rebuilding was stopped by force: the service of the Temple was interrupted; and these disasters were inflicted by the Persian officials acting in conjunction with, and apparently at the instigation of, their bitterest and most hated foes, the Samaritans. No Jewish writer would have invented such a tale, no Jewish authority would have accepted it as deserving any credence, had it not possessed a substantial foundation of fact. If the Jews proclaim that they suffered such misfortunes at the hands of persons working in concert with the detested Samaritans, we may be sure that the narrative is not an over-statement. They had to endure at least so much, and perhaps a good deal more.

And this impression is strengthened, not weakened, by the statements in the documents that would minister to Jewish vanity. They are in the nature of sugar-coating: but the mere fact of their presence makes us suspect that there was a very bitter pill to be

swallowed which it was sought to make more palatable by a thick covering of sugar.<sup>1</sup>

We must accordingly accept as historical the statements that Jews who had lately arrived in Jerusalem made an attempt to rebuild the city in the reign of an Artaxerxes and that after the king had been consulted they were forcibly thwarted and the service of the Temple was interrupted. Two questions suggest themselves. Who was this Artaxerxes? And what was this service of the Temple?

It cannot be doubted that the monarch intended was Artaxerxes I. He alone was an Artaxerxes who immediately succeeded Xerxes. In the present Hebrew text he is regarded as the predecessor of a Darius, and he was followed after an interval of nine months, i. e., practically immediately, by Darius II., though, as we know from other sources, the building of the Temple took place under Darius I. Again it is now certain that Nehemiah's rebuilding of the walls was carried out under Artaxerxes I., and there would be no room for a fresh rebuilding at any subsequent period. And, finally, Nehemiah's memoirs refer to just such a disaster as is recorded in this passage as being of recent occurrence.

The second question is more doubtful. The Aramaic word used in Ezra 4 24 is עבירה. This denotes the work of building in 5 8, 4 7, but in 6 18 it means the sacrificial service. If Ezra 6 24 had referred to a period when the Temple was under construction, it would naturally mean service of building. But in the reign of Artaxerxes, that had long been finished, and the natural sense seems to be that the sacrificial service of the Temple had been stopped. If that is so, we get light not merely on the course of events but on the reason for the displacement of the passage. The story told by the documents was shortly this. In the reign of Artaxerxes an attempt made by Jews recently arrived from Persia was forcibly stopped by the

<sup>1</sup> Compare the remarks of Hölscher, *Quellen des Josephus*, p. 44 as to a number of Jewish documents and narratives relating to the Greek and Persian periods: „Das andere, was die Legenden mit Vorliebe behandeln, ist das Verhältnis von Juden und Samaritanern. Die Juden erscheinen dabei stets als Muster der Frömmigkeit und Treue, die Samaritaner aber als heuchlerisch und boshaft; die letzteren ziehen denn auch stets, wie die Quelle zeigt, den Kürzeren.“ Quoted by C. C. Torrey (*Ezra Studies*, 1910, 154) who proceeds to enlarge on 'the triumph over the Samaritans.' But the exact opposite is true. This is a narrative of a Samaritan triumph over the Jews.

Persians and Samaritans, and the Temple service itself was interrupted till Nehemiah's advent. This took place after the arrival of Ezra in the seventh year. He and his party were probably the new arrivals to whom reference is made. Presumably the catastrophe was due at any rate to a great extent to his measures for asserting the purity of the race. These could not fail greatly to exacerbate feeling against the Jews. And when the Samaritans prevailed, they took the amplest revenge in their power and stopped the very Temple service.

Probably the Aramaic document originally told that the Temple service was interrupted not till the second year of Darius but for two years.<sup>1</sup> But the whole story of the *débâcle* was incredible to the later Jews. How believe that the measures of the pious Ezra, so far from establishing Judaism, had led to the greatest disaster since the fall of the first Temple? How could the Samaritans have triumphed so over the Jews? Surely this was impossible and could not be the meaning. But did the document really say so? It stated only that the service of the Temple was stopped, and that word for "service" also meant "building." That, then, was the obvious explanation, Artaxerxes was followed by a Darius and the Temple was built in the days of a Darius. Clearly the episode narrated had nothing to do with Ezra and Nehemiah, but belonged to the time before the Temple was built, and the interruption extended not till the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, as the document stated in its original context, but till the second year of Darius. Then Nehemiah and Ezra must have fallen under the second Artaxerxes who was subsequent to Darius II., not under Artaxerxes I.

Such reasoning as this might well be responsible for the phenomena of our present text. It was easy enough to mistake two kings of the name of Darius and two of the name of Artaxerxes when every sentiment of religion and patriotism would lead the Jews to adopt

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<sup>1</sup> L. W. Batten (I. C. C. Ezra and Nehemiah, 1913) draws attention to Esd. 5:70 "and they were prevented from building two years until the reign of Darius; and in the second year of the reign of Darius Haggai and Zechariah prophesied (61)". Then he continues "24<sup>b</sup> of the Aramaic text is plainly discerned here. The clause 'until the reign of Darius' is from 45. Now 51 in M. T. lacks a necessary date, and the defect is supplied in Esdras correctly" (181f.). The historical perplexities gave rise to the present form of the text, but if Batten's view is right the original bore simply: "they were prevented from building two years," and the date belonged to the next verse.

the less correct interpretation of an ambiguous word. And so a compiler who knew the sequence of the Persian kings arranged the material in the present order. There is no ground for questioning his good faith. His solution of the historical problem must have seemed natural and obvious to anybody arguing from the historico-religious premises which found favour with the Chronicler and those who thought like him<sup>1</sup> and is contained also in the present text of 4 14,<sup>2</sup> where the concluding words are generally and necessarily held to be an addition.

We turn next to the data of Nehemiah to see how they fit this view of the history. All the facts agree perfectly. When Nehemiah asks concerning the Jews and Jerusalem he receives the answer, "The remnant that are left of the captivity there in the province are in great affliction and reproach; the wall of Jerusalem also is broken down, and the gates thereof are burned with fire" (Neh. 1 3). This caused him great distress. It is now generally recognized that the reference must be to some recent catastrophe. It is surely impossible that the events of 587 B. C. should be news to Nehemiah in 445 B. C., i. e., more than a hundred and forty years later. If however Ezra had arrived in 458 B. C., i. e. some thirteen years earlier, and his activities had borne fruit in a terrible disaster less than a couple of years before this conversation, the position is explained. In the succeeding chapters we find Nehemiah's opponent Sanballat speaking before the "army of Samaria" (4 2), and he uses language which is

<sup>1</sup> There are some who hold that a difference between Artaxerxes I. and Artaxerxes II. is intended to be conveyed by the spelling. Thus Hölscher writes „Daß die beiden Artaxerxes unterschieden werden sollen, zeigt die verschiedene orthographische Schreibung ihres Namens (mit schin Ezra 4 7 f., 11, 23; 6 14; und samek Ezra 7 1, 7, 11 f., 21; 8 1; Neh. 2 1; 5 14; 13 6)“, (in E. Kautzsch, *Die Hl. Schrift des alten Testaments*, 4<sup>th</sup> Ed., II, 1923, 494a). As the name of the two kings was the same, the reasoning is unsound. We have to deal with two different transliterations, due probably to difference of sources. But, whatever the explanation of the orthographical variation, the chronological view taken in the arrangement seems clear.

<sup>2</sup> The apocryphal book 1 Esdras carries the process a stage further by interpolating in the narrative phrases which make the rebuilding apply to the Temple. For "and repaired the foundations" of Ezra 4 12, 1 Esdras 2 18 has "and do lay the foundation of a temple" and in verse 20 we read "forasmuch as the things pertaining to the temple are now in hand."

Josephus in turn (Ant. XI, §§ 19—25) alters Artaxerxes into Cambyses.

Each successive account thus got further away from the truth.

entirely consonant with the conception of the history we have derived from Ezra 4. "What do these feeble Jews? will they fortify themselves? Will they sacrifice? Will they make an end in a day? Will they revive the stones out of the heaps of rubbish which are burned?" That may naturally be interpreted to mean that they are not now sacrificing, and that their previous attempts to fortify themselves had led to a disaster in which the Samaritans and their coadjutors had burnt their fortifications. Similarly in 7 70-72 where we find a list of gifts. Torrey has some comments which are worth transcribing: "The gifts include not only gold and silver in large amounts, but also bowls for use in the temple, and a good many priests' garments. What was the nature of "the work" that required such gifts as these? Certainly not the building of the city walls, nor any other work mentioned or suggested in this part of Nehemiah. The reference must be to the restoring or carrying on of the *Temple service*. (Cf. not only the parallel passage Ezra 2 68f., but also 1 Chr. 24 6-8). But how is it possible to explain the sudden, indirect allusion to the Temple service, in this place where it would be meaningless?"<sup>1</sup> Consequently he argues for a transposition. In his view Neh. 7 70-73 should follow Ezra 8. But if we accept the clear statements of our authorities, this is needless. The Temple service had been interrupted and now that the rebuilding of the walls had made it possible to restore it in safety gifts were made for the purpose.

Similarly with another argument advanced by the same critic elsewhere. "The Nehemiah who told his story in chapters 1-6 was a man of affairs; truly religious but giving no sign of any interest in the ritual of the Temple."<sup>2</sup> This is natural enough at a time when the Temple ritual was necessarily suspended owing to *vis major*.

The same explanation accounts for the paucity of our information as to the results of Ezra's reform and the relatively important part he played under Nehemiah.<sup>3</sup> As a scribe and expounder of the Law

<sup>1</sup> The Composition and Historical Value of Ezra and Nehemiah, 1896, 30.

<sup>2</sup> Ezra Studies, 248.

<sup>3</sup> Thus van Hoonacker writes: "Nous le demandons au lecteur impartial: les renseignements du livre de Néhémie sur Esdras, qui laissent celui-ci complètement dans l'ombre au cours des événements décrits aux chapitres 1-6 et 8; qui lui prêtent un rôle simplement passif dans l'histoire de l'assemblée générale à Jérusalem et celle de la dédicace des murs, qui ne le montrent absolument en aucune circonstance posant le moindre acte d'autorité, sont-ils compatibles avec

he was still revered; but as a leader and man of affairs he was hopelessly discredited. We see, too, why he should not be mentioned by Ben Sirach. He is equally silent as to the men who were responsible for the destruction of Shiloh and of the first Temple, two disasters with which the results of Ezra's leadership might fairly claim to rank.

There are, however, facts elsewhere that are adduced to prove that Nehemiah's arrival at Jerusalem preceded Ezra's. These we must now examine. In Ezra 9:9 we read "For we are bondmen; yet our God hath not forsaken us in our bondage, but hath extended mercy unto us in the sight of the kings of Persia, to give us a reviving, to set up the house of our God, and to repair the ruins thereof, and to give us a wall (יִקְוֶה) in Judah and in Jerusalem." Nobody who wished to say that, e. g., Paris had been surrounded with a wall would say "to give a wall in France and in Paris": but in order to make out that Ezra preceded Nehemiah it is argued that the word must refer to a physical wall and that the text must be wrong. Thus Batten, while admitting in his critical note that the Hebrew is supported by all the Versions, writes in his exegetical note (*ad. loc.*): "As Ezra would scarcely say *a wall in Judah and Jerusalem*, we may best omit *in Judah* or read *around Jerusalem*, as due to the Chronicler's idea that Ezra preceded Nehemiah." The answer is that this is an illegitimate way of treating any text. In that connection "a wall in Judah and Jerusalem" would naturally mean not a piece of masonry but the best wall a house of God could have, i. e. a population devoted to its service living around it in the surrounding country and the capital. To wrest it from this meaning and then alter the text in the interest of a hypothesis is to proclaim that the only facts we have fail to fit the hypothesis.

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l'hypothèse, que treize ans avant l'arrivée de Néhémie, Esdras serait revenue à Jérusalem investi des pouvoirs les plus étendus, et aurait été reconnu par tous comme administrateur suprême de la communauté?" Néhémie et Esdras, 1890, 65. And again: "Qu'est-ce qui aurait amené Néhémie, dans l'hypothèse traditionnelle, à garder sur Esdras le silence le plus complet dans les six premiers chapitres de ses mémoires, où il énumère (ch. 3) la longue liste de ses coopérateurs? On ne s'explique point cet effacement d'Esdras dans l'ancienne hypothèse; en tant que coopérateur de Néhémie, en tant que muni de titres à une autorité quelconque, elle laisse, aussitôt après sa réforme, Esdras disparaître dans le vide." Néhémie en l'an 20 d'Artaxerxes I., Esdras en l'an 7 d'Artaxerxes II., 1892, 55.

The other arguments put forward by Batten are all equally inconclusive. It is a travesty of the facts to argue that "Artaxerxes would scarcely send two men to Judah at the same time, both clothed with similar powers."<sup>1</sup> But did he? There was an interval of thirteen years. This cannot be fairly represented by "the same time." Ezra's mission had ended in disaster. And the powers were not similar. If the Aramaic document in Ezra 7 be examined it will be found that the scribe's powers were limited to certain things. First there is permission for him and others to go to Jerusalem (13). Secondly, there are provisions for offerings and others matters relating to the Temple. In connection with these Ezra is given certain rights of requisitioning, and exemption from taxation is granted to the Temple ministry (14—24). Thirdly Ezra is empowered to appoint magistrates and judges to judge and teach the Jews, and it is decreed that the laws of God and the king are to be duly enforced (25f.). That is all. Now, wide as these powers are, they all come within a defined ambit. There is not a word that would authorize Ezra to build a wall or to requisition a single stone or an hour's work or an inch of land for the purpose. On the other hand when the king asks Nehemiah what he wants, his request is to be sent "unto Judah, unto the city of my fathers' sepulchres, that I may build it" (Neh. 2 5). The objects and powers of the two men were entirely different. The greater part of Ezra's commission had long since been executed. The returning Jews had completed their journey thirteen years before. The offerings had been presented immediately after. Whether Ezra's commission to appoint judges was intended to be permanent, or whether the meaning is that he should appoint them once for all is not clear. But in thirteen years much may happen; whether the power was for once only or was intended to be permanent, whether or not it had since been revoked, it is manifest that it had no bearing whatever on the state of affairs with which Nehemiah had to deal. Thus whether or not the Aramaic decree of Artaxerxes be regarded as genuine, no argument as to Ezra's date can be drawn from it.

Other contentions are, however, put forward.

"It would be strange, were Ezra such a prominent figure in Jerusalem, that there is no genuine reference to him in Nehemiah's story." Such

<sup>1</sup> Ezra and Nehemiah, 28.



references exist in Neh. 8 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 13, 12 26, 36;<sup>1</sup> but we have already seen that if the story told by our texts be accepted Ezra was thoroughly discredited as a leader before Nehemiah's first appearance.

"Nehemiah in his second administration was the first to discover mixed marriages and to apply a sharp remedy. Such a condition would not arise naturally after the wholesale dissolution as described in Ezra 9f. Nehemiah's reforms, as narrated in chapter XIII, would be strange after Ezra, but are very natural before his time. It is inconceivable that the Levites should be driven to work in the fields directly after Ezra's mission, or even possibly while it lasted. The measures Nehemiah took for the support of the temple show that his action could not have been preceded by the rule of a scribe-priest with ample authority to enforce the law. Moreover the Jerusalem of Nehemiah's time was a desolation, without walls or houses or people (7 4). Ezra's whole career is spent in the holy city, and there appears to have been plenty of houses and people in his time."<sup>2</sup>

This is written on the hypothesis that Ezra's mission was a success. If it ended in failure and disaster, as the statements of our authorities lead us to believe, there is nothing in all this that would support the placing of Ezra after Nehemiah.

Yet there are other remarks of the same writer which bring him very near the position here advocated. Of Ezra 4 7-24<sup>a</sup> he writes "It describes just the conditions necessary to explain Nehemiah's work" (19) and again "Kosters was the first to deny the historicity of the passage, admitting that if it were authentic it would refer to Ezra's *golah* and overthrow his theory that Ezra is later than Nehemiah" (163). Earlier on the same page he had written: 'if this passage were lacking we should be obliged to assume, in order to understand Nehemiah, just such an occurrence as is here described.' In view of these remarks it seems strange that he should elsewhere

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<sup>1</sup> Batten has to make this "a manifest gloss" (p. 28), but without any versional or other evidence to support his theory. It may be added that in Neh. 9 6 the Septuagint (2 Esd. 19 6) begins with the words 'and Ezra said.' This is accepted by many as genuine, e. g., Löhr (in Kittel, B. H. *ad. loc.*) and Šanda (*Moses und der Pentateuch*, 1924, 409).

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

doubt Ezra's priority to Nehemiah. After defending Ezra's action in compelling the divorces he adds: 'One may well doubt, though, whether any great good resulted from such a drastic course' (352). It is but a short step to suggest that the exasperation they caused led to great harm which supplies the clue to all his difficulties.

'We are told that Ezra went into the chamber of Jehohanan the son of Eliashib to spend the night (Ezra 10 6). The succession of high priests in Nehemiah 12 22 shows that Jehohanan is identical with Jonathan (12 11), and that he was the grandson of Eliashib. Now as Eliashib was a contemporary of Nehemiah, Ezra is two generations later' (29).

There are flaws in this reasoning. It is not certain that the Jehohanan of Ezra 10 6 was not an uncle of the high priest of that name. But let us assume the identity of the two Jehohanans. We are not told that Jehohanan was high priest when Ezra went to his room. Eliashib was an older contemporary of Nehemiah. In Neh. 13 28 we read of Joiada, son of Eliashib, the high priest. That shows that at the time to which this notice refers Eliashib had been succeeded by his son, for in the phrase A, son of B, the high priest, the qualifying words refer to the son, not the father.<sup>1</sup> Neh. 13 6f. apparently states that "in the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes I came to the king and at the expiration of (cf. Dan. 9 6, 13, 2 Chr. 18 2) a year I asked leave of the king and came to Jerusalem." Thus in the thirty-third year Eliashib seems to have been no more. Ezra came in the seventh (Ezra 7 8). Why should not a man who lost his grandfather some twenty-five years later not have had a room in the Temple area at that time? Eliashib would in that case have lived to a green old age, but there is nothing surprising in that. Jehohanan was of course born into the priestly family. We do not know at what age a young priest began to work. Such information as we have refers to Levites, not to priests, and to their service in the sanctuary, not to such duties as might be performed in a chamber of the Temple area. There is no ground whatever for supposing that a priest might not take part at an early age in the administrative duties connected with the Temple and occupy a room there.

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<sup>1</sup> Van Hoonacker, *Néhémie et Esdras* 34, erroneously regards Eliashib as the high priest, but the parallel passages make the meaning clear, see, e. g., Joshua, son of Jehozadak, the high priest in Hag. 1 1 etc.

On the other hand if it be sought to transfer Ezra's visit to a time when Jehohanan was high priest, it is remarkable that he is not designated by the title in Ezra 10 6: contrast e. g. Eliashib *the high priest* in Neh. 3 1, Joshua *the high priest* in Zech. 3 1 etc.

Batten further asserts that "Nehemiah the governor and Ezra the priest the scribe" in Neh. 12 26 "are not contemporaries, but belong to successive periods" (p. 29). A reference to the verse refutes this assertion. The author refers to two periods, each introduced by the expression "in the days of." One of them is the epoch of Joiakin son of Joshua, the other the age of Nehemiah and Ezra, who are therefore regarded as contemporaries.

It is sometimes argued that in Ezra 8 33 we find a commission working that was first appointed in Neh. 13 13, but the texts fail to support the statement. Ezra brought with him valuables that were not his own. Naturally he had to deliver them over to officials who took a proper record of the delivery. But that does not prove that they were the successors of the treasurers appointed by Nehemiah. There can never have been a time in the history of the Temple at which persons bringing valuables would just leave them anywhere without giving them into the charge of some responsible officers. On the other hand Nehemiah's reform was concerned with the tithe. He appointed his treasurers because "they were counted faithful and their business was to distribute unto their brethren" (Neh. 13 13). Not so with the silver and gold and vessels brought by Ezra. They were not intended for distribution but for use in the Temple and had no connection whatever with the tithe.<sup>1</sup>

Torrey's arguments that Ezra was not a historical personage have been largely answered by Batten (p. 51). One or two additional remarks may however be made.

Stress is laid on the silence of Ben Sirach (44 11—13) as to Ezra. No weight attaches to this argument once it is recognized how badly Ezra failed. The Chronicler may have found him a sympathetic personality, but it would be unreasonable to expect that all his compatriots shared this view. Ezra put forward an interpretation of the Law which was directly opposed alike to the express language

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<sup>1</sup> On the whole problem of the dating of Ezra and Nehemiah the excellent discussion of Šanda, *op. cit.*, 409—412, should be studied.

of the Torah, the practice and precept of the Lawgiver, the actions of an ancestor of the House of David and the view ultimately accepted by Judaism. By his intemperate and inhuman insistence on his interpretation he brought upon his people the greatest disaster that had befallen them since the fall of the Temple. Is it wonderful, then, that his name should be omitted from a hymn devoted to the praise of great men?

Yet another consideration suggests itself. If Ezra never existed, how came a pious and patriotic Jew like the Chronicler to invent or adopt the story we have which makes him responsible for so great a Jewish catastrophe and so striking a Samaritan triumph? If an Ezra was to be invented, his acts should surely have been crowned with success and not have led to such results as we find recorded in Ezra 4 and Nehemiah.

Thus the case advanced for placing Nehemiah before Ezra or even denying the latter's existence fails to win conviction. On the other hand there are positive reasons for maintaining the older chronology. These are as follows:—

1. *Omnia praesumuntur rite esse acta*. That is the universal principle observed in dealing with the past in judicial investigations. It has been vindicated by the experience of many centuries in which cases of every variety of human interest have been considered with the assistance of the best brains available. And it obviously rests on common sense. It is natural to suppose in the absence of evidence to the contrary that a man who wrote or compiled a narrative of Ezra and Nehemiah and whose narrative was accepted by his people had adequate reason for supposing them to be contemporaries when he represented them as being such. Otherwise it is not probable either that he would have taken the line he did or that his work would have won recognition.<sup>1</sup> Here the presumption cannot be displaced, for after nearly forty years of discussion during which very acute minds have been brought to bear on the attempt to disprove the correctness of the order not a single consideration of any cogency has been advanced.

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<sup>1</sup> This is admitted by Van Hoonacker himself: "Il n'y a pas à nier que l'ordre dans lequel les documents sont rangés ne crée en effet une présomption en faveur d'une succession correspondante des événements au point de vue historique." *Revue Biblique*, Oct. 1923, 486.

2. This view involves no alteration of text in Ezra 7—Neh. 8. Any other hypothesis necessitates changes which are unsupported by any ancient authority and are only made in the interest of the hypothesis itself.

3. As S. Jampel points out,<sup>1</sup> two persons who returned with Ezra are found working under Nehemiah, Hashabiah (Ezra 8 19 and Neh. 3 17) and Hattush (Ezra 7 2 and Neh. 3 10).

4. The psychological probabilities are overwhelmingly in favour of the received story. It is very difficult to believe that the Jews would have mangled the facts to invent a story of a singularly mortifying disaster inflicted by their most hated foes and would then have half covered it up. But if such an event had actually happened, there is nothing astonishing in their putting the best face they could on it in the error which has led to the chronological confusion of Ezra 4.

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<sup>1</sup> Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums, 1903, 20f.

## THE CHILD IN PALESTINIAN ARAB SUPERSTITION

T. CANAAN

(JERUSALEM)

THE child is brought up in an atmosphere full of superstition and curious customs and practices. He imbibes these till they become an integral part of him, accompanying him all his life. They dominate his mode of thinking and govern all his actions. Thus it is important in studying the conditions of the child in the East to know all these root ideas from which his thoughts and actions spring.

The foremost desire of a newly married pair is to be quickly blessed with children, for "a marriage without children is like a paradise without angels" or "a tree without fruits" (*mitl šadjarah balâ tamarah*). The rabbis regarded a childless man as dead, and the Cabalists in the Middle ages considered a man who died without posterity to have failed in his mission in this world, so that he would have to appear again on the planet to fulfil his duty.<sup>1</sup>

Woe to the wife who is so unfortunate as not to be blessed with offspring, for the chances are that she will either be turned away and have to return to her father's house, or that another will be put in her place.<sup>2</sup> To this idea and to others referred to later parallels are found in the Old Testament and among the inhabitants of the ancient East. In Gen. 30 Rachel beseeches God: "Give me children or else I will die." One of the chief wishes expressed to-day by the friends of the bridegroom is *farhet 'aris* (or *walad*), "May you have the happiness of having (soon) a boy (lit. a bridegroom)."

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<sup>1</sup> Jewish Encyclopedia IV, 30 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The desire to have numerous offspring was doubtless, among the ancient Orientals, one of the main causes for polygamy. The peasants of Palestine have beside this aim the desire to gain additional working hands.

The moment the young wife becomes pregnant the relatives rejoice and thank the Almighty for his blessing. Sterility is looked upon as Heaven's greatest punishment.<sup>1</sup> *Bârak allah ḥiblâ* = "God be blessed, she is pregnant" may be heard on such occasions.

During the act of delivery friends and relatives assemble in the room (1 Sam. 4 20). Many a woman is accompanied by her children. This custom of children accompanying their mothers in their visits opens their eyes and ears to many things which should not be known to them. It matures them too early into men and women with a premature knowledge of the burdens of life. Every woman tries to encourage the mother-to-be with good words. "May the Almighty give you complete recovery and a normally developed child,"<sup>2</sup> or some variation of the same wish, is generally used. Old women believe that a pregnancy which has reached the tenth month predicts a girl. In *'aššarat, fil-bint baššarat* = "If she goes on in the tenth month she betokens a girl."

When the delivery is difficult and prolonged<sup>3</sup> recourse is had to one of the following means:<sup>4</sup>

"The rosaries of many saints hasten a difficult labour. No sooner does a woman hang such a rosary around her neck and down the abdomen over her womb than normal contractions begin and all troubles and pains are soon over. Among such rosaries are those of el-Bakrî, and *eš-šêḥ* Abû Yamîn. The same wonderful help can also be obtained by the tomb coverings of *eš-šêḥ* el-Ḥalîlî."<sup>5</sup>

I possess in my collection of amulets a comb and a plate, both of which are covered with magic writing. The first exercises its action the moment it is laid on the right iliac fossa. The writing of the plate is washed with clean water and given to the mother to drink.

In Dôr Ghassâneh it is believed that the running string of the trousers of a pure and honest man hastens a difficult labour if it is carried around the abdomen of the suffering woman.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 1 Sam. 1 7; Ps. 127 3; Luke 1 26.

<sup>2</sup> *el-qiâmeh bis-salâmeh u ḥilqah tâmeh*.

<sup>3</sup> In Gen. 38 18 and 1 Sam. 4 19 difficult labours are described.

<sup>4</sup> Some of these means have been described in my books: *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel und Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries*.

<sup>5</sup> Canaan, JPOS V, p. 191.

<sup>6</sup> I owe this information to the kindness of Mr. O. S. Barghûṭî.

The Jews use a Torah scroll to facilitate birth.<sup>1</sup>

Generally deliveries in Palestine are easier and less complicated than in Europe and America. This may have its cause in the continuous bodily work of the oriental women. This mode of life is continued even during pregnancies. The 600,000 Israelites in Egypt had only two midwives.<sup>2</sup>

All await impatiently the new-comer. The joy at the birth of a boy is great, even though he may be undeveloped and small; but the birth of a girl is generally cause for disappointment. An Arabic proverb expresses this idea drastically: "If she gives birth to a boy though he be small as a key he brings joy in the house; with the birth of a girl—though she be large as a cushion—sorrow befalls the family."<sup>3</sup> In the latter case a depressed murmur goes through the room: "Only a girl!" Some may even curse the child for causing so much pain to the mother. The only consolation the mother hears is "May God suffer you to adorn her with a boy."<sup>4</sup>

If it is a boy, rejoicing and happiness fill the room, and all pass on the joyful news. In 1 Sam. 4 20 we read how the women try to encourage and comfort the wife of Phineas who was mourning at the loss of the ark: "Fear not for thou hast born a son."<sup>5</sup> The same idea is expressed in the words of Christ in John 16 21.<sup>6</sup> Here we see how Orientals consider boys as everything and girls as nothing.<sup>7</sup>

Many boys assemble outside the house awaiting the news. Everyone of them runs and tries to be first in bringing the good tidings to the father. They shout "*el-bšārah, el-bšārah* (good tidings!) a son is born to you."<sup>8</sup> The expression *el-bšārah* contains also the desire "Give me my recompence!"<sup>9</sup> On the occasion of the birth of a

<sup>1</sup> Jewish Encyclopedia IV, 30.

<sup>2</sup> See also A. Bertholet, *Kulturgeschichte Israels*.

<sup>3</sup> *el-wallādeh in djābat walad qadd el-muftāh, bimallī el-bēt frāh; uin djābat bneiyeh qadd el-mḥaddeh, btinzal 'albēt ḥamdeh.*

<sup>4</sup> *inšā 'allāh bitzaiynhā ibsabi.*

<sup>5</sup> The Arabic curse '*allāh yḥrib bētak*, "God may ruin your house," means really "May God ruin your house in killing the males of your family." The use of "house" for "male children" is an old one, 2 Sam. 7 27; 1 King 11 38; Ex. 1 21.

<sup>6</sup> See also Gen. 12 2; 21 18; 24 60.

<sup>7</sup> See also John Finemore, *The Holy Land*, 1908, p. 60.

<sup>8</sup> The angels who appeared to the shepherds near Bethlehem used the same expression, Luke 2 10.



daughter her father is told the news in quite another manner: "Blessed be the bride,"<sup>1</sup> referring to the time "when the innocent cause of his grief will have established a claim on his regard," i. e. when at the occasion of her marriage he gets the *mahr* = bride's price.

"This seems all very wrong, but it springs quite naturally from the customs of the country. A son remains as a bulwark and a defender of his house all his life long. But a daughter upon marriage is entirely lost to her own family and is expected to devote herself to her new home."<sup>2</sup> In the home circle daughters might be as affectionate and as much beloved as sons. A proverb expresses this idea excellently: "God came to pity and help the girl, but found her mother surrounding her (with devotion and sympathy)." In the expansion and continuance of the family name, in the holding of property, the acquisition of wealth and the defending of the interests of the clan, sons and not daughters were and are still the precious gifts of God.<sup>3</sup> A proverb teaches "A girl's mischief is put to the account of her parents, but her good actions come from her husband."<sup>4</sup>

This unequal<sup>5</sup> and unjust treatment<sup>6</sup> is a very old oriental custom. From various verses in the Qoran we infer that girls were killed in pre-Islamic time soon after birth.<sup>7</sup> Surah 16 60<sup>8</sup> runs: "And when any one of them is told the news of the birth of a female, his face became black (clouded with confusion and sorrow), and he is deeply afflicted: he hideth himself from the people, because of the ill tidings which have been told him, considering within himself whether he shall keep it with disgrace or whether he shall bury it under the dust."<sup>9</sup> In order to combat this evil habit the prophet Mohammed

<sup>1</sup> *imbârak el-'arûs*.

<sup>2</sup> J. Finemore, l. c.

<sup>3</sup> G. M. Mackie, Hastings Dictionary of the Bible I, 382,

<sup>4</sup> *el-bint 'âûlithâ la-'ahilâ u mniûlithâ la djôzhâ*.

<sup>5</sup> The same difference existed in biblical times, as can be seen from the laws of the division of inheritance.

<sup>6</sup> The following proverb describes the dangers resulting from such an unjust treatment: *illâ biyfrîq walad 'an walad bimût môtet kamad*, "who makes a difference (in treatment) between one child and another will have a sorrowful death."

<sup>7</sup> There are no indications in the Bible pointing to such a practice.

<sup>8</sup> Translation of Sale.

<sup>9</sup> See also Sûrah 6, 152; 17, 33.

said: "May God bless the woman whose firstborn child is a daughter."<sup>1</sup> A well known saying of the peasants, which aims also at protecting the girls, teaches: "The mother of daughters goes a sure way."<sup>2</sup> The same idea may be found in the Proverbs of Solomon (31 29): "Many daughters have done virtuously." A father's responsibility to his daughter is very great. A proverb says: "The anxiety about girls lasts (all the life of the parents and) to their (= the girls) death."<sup>3</sup> Therefore the death of a girl is thought to be, by the most fanatic, "a godly recompense for the good characters of her parents."<sup>4</sup>

A superstitious belief tells us that a girl tries not to be born, as she already knows the pitiful prospects awaiting her. Therefore the Almighty has to order her<sup>5</sup> "Be born: I shall be the supporter of your father."<sup>6</sup> At the birth of a boy God says: "Descend: you must be your father's helper!"<sup>7</sup>

The midwife—who plays a very important role in the life of the children—bathes the baby and anoints its body with oil in which fine powdered salt has been dissolved. This is believed to strengthen<sup>8</sup> the skin and enable it to resist external forces.<sup>9</sup> A common belief insists that non-salted children have a weak and silly character. Formerly the midwife used to powder the skin after, or even without, first anointing it—as described above—with pure, fine salt sifted through a piece of gauze, which procedure<sup>10</sup> of course often resulted in breaking the skin.<sup>11</sup> This again is a very ancient oriental practice, for we read of it in Ezekiel (16 4), which compares the city of Jerusalem in its state of corruption to a wretched child "that wast not salted

<sup>1</sup> *bāraka 'allâh fi imra'atin bakkarat bibnath.*

<sup>2</sup> *imm el-banât btimši 'alâ ṭabât.*

<sup>3</sup> *hamm el-banât lal-mamât.*

<sup>4</sup> *mâtat w(i)lîtak min ṣafâuet nîtak.* Another expression is *môt el-banât min el-muṣṣîrât ulauw inhun 'arâys imḍajawazât.*

<sup>5</sup> Another belief is that God's allowances for girls are more than those for boys (*rizq el-banât akṭar min rizq eṣ-ṣubyân).*

<sup>6</sup> *inzalî anâ mu'in 'abûkî.*

<sup>7</sup> *inzal int mu'in 'abûk.*

<sup>8</sup> I do not think that the process of salting is intended to protect the child against the demons, as described by Klein, ZDPV IV, 63.

<sup>9</sup> *ed-djild el-imallah mâ bi'ammil,* "the salted skin will not suppurate (easily when wounded)."

<sup>10</sup> See also Forder, *Daily Life in Palestine*, pp. 106 and 107.

<sup>11</sup> Formerly the salt-powdering used to be continued for a few weeks.

at all" In Dêr Ghassâneh children are anointed at present with *sirakûn* (minium) instead of salt and oil. The soft, sound and shining condition of the skin of the newly born is used figuratively to describe the complete healing of a skin disease. Such idioms are *mitl en-nâzil min ba'n immuh*, "like a newly-born;" *ka'innuh maulûd djidîd*, "as if he were born anew." In 2 King 5 14 we read how Naaman's flesh became "like the flesh of a little child."

A few superstitious beliefs which guide the present Palestinian in forming an opinion about the future of the child are of interest:<sup>1</sup>

A baby which keeps its fingers most of the time open, will grow up to be very generous. On the other hand a continuously closed fist is a sign of stinginess.

A child who lies directly after birth with his arms along the sides of his head and with open fingers, is said to be imploring the Almighty to support his father.

It is a bad omen if children are born on a Wednesday or Saturday. They will not prosper and may even soon die, for these days are governed by the malign planets Mercury and Saturn.<sup>2</sup> Children born on a Sunday or Monday will be fortunate. Those born on a Friday<sup>3</sup> at noon will be either great scientists or tyrants (*yâ 'âlim yâ zâlim*).

Children who are believed to have cried in their mothers womb will lose soon after their birth one of their parents.

Babies born with a short prepuce will be fortunate, for they have "an angel's circumcision."<sup>4</sup>

A child, whose two upper incisor teeth are cut before the two lower ones, will soon lose one of his parents. This sign is also said to forecast an obstinate nature.

<sup>1</sup> Some of these beliefs are mentioned in Canaan, *Die Neugeborenen in der palästinischen Volkssitte*. Neuste Nachrichten aus dem Morgenlande, vol. 71, pp. 151, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Canaan, *Aberglaube*.

<sup>3</sup> According to *Šifâ 'ul-asqûm fî zîarat hêr ul-'anâm*, a *ḥadîth* teaches "Friday is your best day."

<sup>4</sup> Also called "moon's circumcision" (*ṭhûr qamarî*). It is believed that the *Qarîneh* of the mother has born a son at the same time. In her great joy the spirit circumcises with her own son the son of her human sister. Such a child will therefore be spared by the demons. This belief shows that the *djinn* also prefer male children.

About forty years ago newborn babies were not bathed before the seventh day; at present some think it a mistake to do it before the third day. In the cities and the villages surrounding Jerusalem baths are given nearly every day until the child is forty days old.

It is still a widespread custom to anoint the eyebrows of babies with "*kulīl*" (antimony powder). Mothers believe that it not only beautifies them but strengthens their eyelids and eyesight. The use of the *mirwad* (*mīl*, ivory or wooden needle for collyrium) is said to widen the opening of the eyelids, which sign is always regarded as a mark of beauty.

The navel cord is cut by the midwife after binding both ends with a non-sterilized cloth band, or more often with a cotton cord. About fifty years ago this was not done before the seventh day. In Bêt Djâlâ the relatives and friends were invited on such an occasion and every one was given a candle. After a short prayer the midwife cut the cord and let a drop of paraffin from her candle fall on the cut surface. The others followed in doing the same.<sup>1</sup> Many still burn the cut surface of the cord with the flame of a candle. In this primitive way they unknowingly sterilize the certainly infected wound.

Christians of Jerusalem practice the following custom. The grandmother, on the occasion of the falling off of the navel cord and after the healing of the wound, makes a feast to her daughter, the new mother. Relatives and friends are invited. This family feast is known by the name "*frâkeh*," which word is derived from *farakat eṣ-ṣurrah*, "the navel cord has withered away and fallen off."

Here are a few regulations and practices pertaining to babies and followed strictly by the people, for they are believed to have a decided effect on the child's development.<sup>2</sup>

Never kiss a baby on its soles or it will stop growing.<sup>3</sup> Kissing on the mouth increases salivation, but kissing between the eyes results

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<sup>1</sup> From the written notes of my father.

<sup>2</sup> Eiyûb Abela, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis aberggl. Gebräuche in Syrien* ZDPV VII 79 ff., gives several superstitions concerning children. See also Canaan, *Die Neugeborenen in der palästinischen Volkssitte*, l. c.

<sup>3</sup> Others think that such an act causes the development of boils. Such an eruption is named *zrêgah*.

in the child's death or the death of one of its parents.<sup>1</sup> A proverb says: *in kân mista'djil 'alêh bûsuh bën 'enêh*, "If you like him to die soon, kiss him between his eyes." Kissing a child too much will "suck out" its health (*bimuṣṣ 'âfituh, biḥquṣ el-walad*).

A man should never have intercourse with his menstruating wife as the begotten child will be leprous ((i)*mdjardam*) or syphilitic (*mqa'al'at*).

The Mohammedans cherish the idea that the love and devotion of Christ to his mother was all due to the date-fruits which made up the greatest part of his food. Therefore new-born children are often given as the first drink a few drops of water in which a date—if possible one which has been brought from Mecca—has been mashed up.

It is generally believed<sup>2</sup> that every pomegranate has one seed which has come from heaven. Therefore many children are given pomegranate juice to drink with the hope that this Paradise-seed may have been squeezed into their drink.

Whenever a baby laughs—especially during its sleep—it has seen an angel, one of his former companions in heaven. The child may even talk with the angel. Often the expression "*ghazâltuh*" = "his gazelle" is used to denote the angel. Some even think that the angels come down and wash the face and the hands of the baby.<sup>3</sup>

If the baby cries it is believed that it is either hungry or has been maltreated by an evil spirit.

Every human being receives at his birth a protecting angel who continually accompanies him to avert any evil which may befall him.<sup>4</sup> Some organs—like the eye—are being continually protected by a special angel-guard. This is why accidents injuring the face seldom affect the eyes.

<sup>1</sup> According to a Jewish superstition a child should not be kissed on the feet since this is the custom of the 'mehilla prayer', i. e. on asking the dead for forgiveness (Jewish Encyclopedia IV, 31).

<sup>2</sup> A Mohammedan belief.

<sup>3</sup> Dêr Ghassâneh.

<sup>4</sup> In the Bible and Qoran they are called angels. Matth. 18 10; Heb. 1 14; Ps. 34 8; 91 11. In *ed-djiazmâtârî el-kubrâ* (p. 191) we find the following names: the shining angel, the protecting angel, the angel of health. See Canaan, *Aberglaube*, p. 7; *Palestinian Daemenology*, "The Parent's Review," vol. XXXVII, No. 11, 718.

If prosperity and fortune befall a family after the birth of a child, the parents believe that the new-comer has brought it with him. The baby is described as having a "green foot." The contrary is "his foot is unfortunate."<sup>1</sup>

Palestinian women believe that the best way to decide whether a child is legitimate or not, is that practised in Mecca, namely, to lay the child, at its fortieth day after washing it and dressing it in white and after the evening prayer has been said, in the so-called Prophet's Niche, where it is left for three to five minutes. If it remains all the time quiet it is a legal child of its father; otherwise, it is illegal and the poor mother is despised despite her innocence.

It is said that "the talk of a year-old baby resembles that of prophets, and the stammering of children is like the speech of *welīs*<sup>2</sup> (saints)."<sup>3</sup> This is a beautiful comparison raising them by virtue of their innocence to the same rank of the holy and godly persons whose company they enjoyed in Paradise which they have recently left. For the same reason some Mohammedan peasants bury their children in the immediate neighbourhood of a sanctuary.<sup>4</sup> Their bodies are thus interred in a holy spot and their souls converse with that of the saint, both ascending to their creator in Paradise. A mother who has lost a child is consoled with the words *ṣār min 'aṣafir ed-djanneh* = "he has become one of the birds of Paradise."

This holiness explains also the belief that the excrements of babies, so long as they do not eat human food (and mother's milk is not reckoned as such), are not looked upon as unclean. Mohammedan mothers contaminated with it do not need to undergo strict ritual purification before they perform their prayers.

Even in processions invoking God's help, such as are held during seasons of drought, children who are guiltless and therefore not the objects of Divine wrath, perform their part. They gather and march through the streets around one or more sanctuaries, reciting continually and monotonously a few lines of a song in which God is asked to

<sup>1</sup> For such expressions see *Aberglaube*.

<sup>2</sup> *ḥakī saneh ḥakī nabī, ḥakī eṣ-ṣghir ḥakī welī*. See *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries*, p. 312, note 5.

<sup>3</sup> Verses like Ps. 82 and Is. 118 may have had this thought as their original idea.

<sup>4</sup> *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries*, p. 194, note 3.

pity their condition. The old people of the village are accused of having done wrong, but not the children.<sup>1</sup>

All relatives and friends come to congratulate the happy parents. They express their joy by saying: "May God bless the bridegroom" (= the son, (*i*)*mbâarak el-'arîs*), "May God bless what you have received" (*i*)*mbâarak mâ adjâk*), "May God give you the joy of marrying him!" (*inšâ 'allâh ibfaril'tuh*), etc. They offer presents consisting of coffee, sugar and tobacco, rarely of money.<sup>2</sup> This was again an old oriental practice, as seen in the story of the wise men (Math. 211). Generally all such presents must be repaid by the father to the donor, as soon as occasion permits.<sup>3</sup> The Christians of Jerusalem (especially those of the Greek Orthodox community) make on the second day after the birth of the baby a meal for the relatives. Where the child is the first born son such a meal may become a great family feast.<sup>4</sup>

A mother who has lost all of her children or who is blessed only with daughters believes that if she bears the next child in the house of a family which has many living sons, the coming child will be a boy who has great chances of surviving.

The first boy is generally given the name of his grandfather. Marriage without children, especially male ones, is a severe punishment causing a keenly felt disgrace.<sup>5</sup> The father is therefore proud to change his simple name. "His honour is best expressed by calling him by the name of his eldest son, preceded by 'father of'. Abû 'Alî the father of 'Alî is the honorific name of 'X', who is never called 'X', but Abû 'Alî. In order to disguise the true condition of a childless man, he is called 'Father' of his own father's name; for example, Ḥasan has no children, while his father's name is Moḥammed. He is called Abû Moḥammed."<sup>6</sup> The larger a family

<sup>1</sup> Kahle, PJB VIII, 164; Canaan, JPOT VI, 148, 150; Kalender, ZDPV XXXVI, 290 f.

<sup>2</sup> G. Robinson Lees, *Village Life in Palestine*, p. 107, speaks only of money presents.

<sup>3</sup> A proverb says *kull šî den ḥittâ dnû' el-'enên*, "everything is a debt even the tears of the eyes," i. e. whatever kindness and sympathy one gets, he has to repay it.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. 21 8.

<sup>5</sup> Gen. 18 12.

<sup>6</sup> *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries*, p. 119.

is, the more it is respected. A clan (*ḥamûleh*) of 200 male members (often called *bawârdî*, a man able to carry a gun) is more honoured than one of 50.

Many names owe their origin to the special circumstances; thus if a father is blessed with many daughters he calls the youngest Muntahâ (the last), Tamâm, Kafâ (it suffices), Ziâdeh (too much) or Zmiqnâ (we are tired).<sup>1</sup> If she follows many brothers she is called Waḥideh (the sole one), Hadiyeh (gift), Amalî (my hope) or Sitt ilḥwithâ (the lady of her brothers). When a son dies the next born is called 'Awaḍ, 'Ôdeh, 'Âyed, 'Auwâd (stead, replacing) or Ḥalaf, Maḥlûf (follower). Children born at the beginning of a war, after a national victory (or a family success), in the month Ramadan, on a feast day or on Friday, are called respectively Ḥarbî (Warrior), Naṣrî (Victor), Ramaḍân 'Îd (Feast) or Djum'ah (Friday).<sup>2</sup> The same custom prevailed in the ancient east.<sup>3</sup> Some names are of the type: 'Abdallâh (the servant of God), 'Abd el-Ḥaiy (the servant of the Living; cf. Gen. 16 24; 24 62),<sup>4</sup> etc.

The name has a decided influence upon its bearer. It may bring him luck or disaster. Therefore it has been always and is still very important to choose carefully the name of the child. If one in the family died young his name is generally not given to others. That of an unfortunate, unlucky person is also not used.

A nearly extinct custom prevailed formerly in Jerusalem and was practised at the ceremony of naming a Mohammedan baby. The *dâyeḥ* (midwife) took a copper mortar and beating<sup>5</sup> on it she addressed the baby saying: "May the name of God and that of the Prophet protect you! Behold your name shall be A. B.! Do you understand it? your name is A. B.! Do not forget your name, which is A. B.!" She then passed the mortar three times around the cradle, going

<sup>1</sup> A family blessed with daughters only is said to be a "house of ruin," *bêt el-banât ḥarâbât*.

<sup>2</sup> Names which are thought to protect the child against the *djinn* will be mentioned later.

<sup>3</sup> Benoni, Isaâc, Manassch, Ichabod, etc., were names suggested by some incident of the moment.

<sup>4</sup> G. M. Mackie, *Hasting's Dictionary of the Bible*, Art. "Children"; L. Bauer, *Volksleben im Lande der Bibel*, 57.

<sup>5</sup> It is said that such a noise drives the *djinn* away, and makes the child courageous.





is why mothers some times feed their children at the breast for so long a time. Widows try to show their devotion and love to their young by long lactation. In case a woman becomes pregnant soon after the last delivery she is afraid to suckle much longer, thinking that pregnancy changes completely the composition of her milk. Every ailment of the baby is attributed to this milk (*ḥalīb ghêl*). A mother who has lost many children will not suckle the next with her first supply of milk (*ḥalīb el-libâ*) believing that in this manner she misleads the evil spirit, the *qarînêh*, who has killed her earlier children.

To quieten a child, while its mother is busy it is given a "*ṣurrah*" to suck. This is made of a piece of *ḥalqûm* (sweetened starch quadrates) wrapped in gauze. Wet nurses are needed only in exceptional cases,<sup>1</sup> such as the severe sickness of the mother. It is remarkable how even in chronic, wasting or severe febrile diseases of the mother she will not allow anybody else to put her child to the breast.

The response of the Palestinian women to the natural call of lactating their children would show the very best results were it not that the ignorant mothers begin very early to feed their children on every imaginable thing: bread, cakes, sweets, fruits, cucumbers, tomatoes, etc. They will rarely listen to any advice; they excuse themselves by saying: "The child craves it, and withholding it will undoubtedly result in some ailment." I firmly believe that this imprudence is the major cause of most of the intestinal troubles, which end often in marasmus and death.

In the cities the first food given to a child is tea in which bread has been soaked. The bread is removed and the resulting tea (called *moyet 'êš*)<sup>2</sup> is drunk by the baby. This is generally begun at the third month. It is further believed that if a child smells cooked food, it must have some, or else it will fall sick. The mother generally dips one finger in the food and touches the lips of the baby.

Another great mistake is the irregularity of feeding. The child is given the breast whenever it cries, in the belief that crying is caused solely by hunger. Thus we may observe how some children are

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<sup>1</sup> The same condition prevailed in biblical times, Gen. 35 8, 11 23.

<sup>2</sup> I owe this information to the kindness of Dr. Frêdj.

continually at the breast. Even gastric and intestinal troubles like vomiting and diarrhœa do not teach the mother the absolute necessity of regulating the frequency and times of feeding. This complete ignorance of the simplest natural rules shows its devastating effects on the growing child. Even after being weaned, children are given whatever they desire, and whenever they desire it.

Another bad custom which prevails all over the East with evil consequences to growing children, is that of never allowing them to rest. At the slightest cry the mother or one of the relatives runs, takes the child from the cradle and carries it around. A proverb says: "O mother of the child do not be stingy, with little things you can satisfy your baby."<sup>1</sup> Therefore a mother who allows her baby to cry is condemned as heartless. The youngsters are accustomed in this way to being continually carried; or the cradle is rocked until they are fast asleep. Many attach a rope to the cradle with which it can be rocked from the bed of the mother whenever the child makes the slightest sound.

In poorer families we meet with other conditions. The baby is left to cry until its ever busy mother finishes her work. At times the child's face is protected with a *mandîl* against the flies. This cover often chokes the poor creature, especially in the hot summer months. But if it is taken away dozens of flies cover the face of the child. He cries, screams and moves its head continually in its attempt to get rid of them, but slowly accustoms itself to its fate. Thus the babies of the poor and ignorant class must accustom themselves from their earliest days to the plagues of the country. This condition is drastically expressed in the following proverb:<sup>2</sup> "If they (the children) live they will be eaten by the flies, and if they die no shrouds are to be found (for them)."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *imm el-walad lâ tkînî baḥîleh, marḡât el-walad qalîleh.*

<sup>2</sup> *in 'âšû byâkulhum eḡ-ḡubbân, uin mâṭû mâ bilâqûš kfân.*

<sup>3</sup> Some proverbs describing the parents' anxiety about their children are: *šû biddak bil-wlâd in 'âšû dḡirân uin mâṭû nîrân*, "why do you care so much for children, if they live they will treat you as a neighbour (i. e. they will forget most of your love and devotion); their death will be a (burning) fire." *Fîlum hamm ubalâhum hamm*, "having them causes sorrow, and not having them causes sorrow."

"The baby itself looks like a tiny living mummy, for it is wrapped in its swaddling cloths, bound round and round from neck to foot with a long, broad strip of calico, so that body, arms and legs are held perfectly straight and rigid. This wrapping is worn until the child is about three months old if it is strong and healthy, but a weak child is swaddled for a much longer period."<sup>1</sup> The same way of swaddling<sup>2</sup> was customary in biblical times (Ezek. 16 4; Luke 2 12). After a few months this swaddling is replaced by clothes which allow the arms free movement, while the legs remain for some time longer fast bound. Soon afterwards the garments are made of a little cotton sack with three holes in it. Through the middle hole the head is pushed and the arms through the others.<sup>3</sup>

One more point has still to be mentioned. The children are either covered with innumerable clothes one above the other, or dressed with only one thin shirt. The first condition is met mostly in the cities and during the winter months, the latter among the villagers. The light dress is the more hygienic for the summer months, allowing the body free movement and exposing it to the pure air; whereas dressing babies and children with several layers of clothes, one superimposed over the other, has bad effect on the health. It prevents completely the skin action and so renders it less resistant to climate changes. Such children are more exposed to colds of the respiratory tract than others.<sup>4</sup>

Babies and young children cling to their mother. Wherever she goes they accompany her. A baby is carried either in a bag (*idel*) on the mother's back, or when it gets stronger and older it is swung on to her shoulder and there it rides astride clutching the mother's head to keep its balance. In Isaiah 49 22 we read "And thy daughters shall be carried on their shoulders." While she is working—kneading the dough, baking the bread, working in the garden, drawing water from the spring, etc.—the child sits beside her. This absolute

<sup>1</sup> J Finnemore, op. cit., p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> *taqmât, qamt.*

<sup>3</sup> The clothes of children resemble very much those of a grown up person, and these again, probably, clothes worn in biblical times. See C. Ninck, *Auf Biblischen Pfaden*, p. 392.

<sup>4</sup> I may mention here a proverb which describes a pampered child: *mîn 'aš (i)mdûrû mât saqîm*, "who lives pampered, dies sickly."

dependance and continuous company result in an extraordinary attachment and devotion of the children to their mothers.

The first words a baby utters are "*bābā*" and "*māmā*" (Isaiah 8.4). The next are "*abūk*" (an abbreviation of *allāh iyl'an abūk*, May God curse thy father!) and "*biddīs*" (I do not want). The parents are very proud when their dear ones succeed in uttering these curses. I have even often seen the father teaching his child these words.

As soon as the children begin to walk they roam around in the house and nothing is safe from them. Whatever they can get hold of is taken and it wanders generally to the mouth. Barefooted and without headress they spend most of the day in the yard or garden. This open air life continues until they go to school or begin to work.

This last description is true of the villagers and more or less of the poorer class of the city dwellers. The middle and rich classes give their children a better and a more hygienic treatment. Nevertheless the country child has one great advantage over the city child, namely, that he spends his whole day in the fresh, pure and dust-free air, while the other generally plays in the dirty and dusty streets (Jer. 6 11; Zach. 8 5), exposing himself all the time to the dangers of the traffic.

Children, especially those of the villages, are rarely washed. Their mothers, who have a special fear of the wet, never bathe them. They are seldom washed even after they have dirtied themselves. The faecal matter is wiped away with a piece of cloth. Thus their clothes get more and more saturated with dirt and they are changed only at long intervals. It is not laziness and ignorance alone which make mothers neglect their children, but it is the deeply rooted belief that uncleanness is the very best protection against the evil eye and the *garīneh*. *El-wasah birudd el-'én*, "dirt prevents the bad effects of the evil eye" is a well-known saying. Leaving a child unwashed for this cause is called "*mšabbar*" = mummified. The parents' reason is: The more beautiful a child is the more exposed it will become to these malicious supernatural powers, but uncleanness conceals its natural beauties. A physician has often to complain against the mother whose sick child is brought for treatment and who utterly refuses to give it the prescribed bath. She generally answers: "The child should not be washed until it asks for it itself."

"Nothing is more dreaded or disliked by the oriental parents than to have a child's healthy or beautiful appearance commented upon without thanks being expressed to God in the same breath. The mention of the Divine name is understood to avert the curse of the evil eye." Many, while caressing a child, therefore use repulsive expressions, like "O pig" (*yâ hanzîr*), "O young ass" (*yâ djahš*), "O excreter of dirt" (*hreyân*), "You should be spat upon" (*itfû alêk*), and the like.

A minor excuse for this neglect is the great lack of water. The children of such villages as are situated on the seashore or in the neighbourhood of springs are seen to play, wade or bathe continually in the water.

Teething is, generally speaking, easily endured by the Palestinian child. It causes difficulty only among such as have been already weakened by intestinal troubles resulting in digestive and nervous symptoms. Often babies are given a piece of polished bone cut in the shape of a flat finger to bite upon, in the belief that it hastens teething. I think that although it may show some good effects, it is very often the cause of new infections: it may have been used by others, and it is very rarely kept clean. This is why the period of teething is for the already weak baby one of the hardest, during which many a child succumbs to one of the various infections.

A proverb tells us that every child has three periods of anxiety: the periods of salting, of weaning and of teething.<sup>1</sup> It is also a well-observed fact that these periods are the most dangerous ones through which the children have to go. The following words are put in the mouth of a child who is teething: "When my teeth begin to cut through, prepare me my shrouds" (*êmtâ mâ tiġla' snânî haiyûlî kfânî*).

Every child is advised by his friends to throw a fallen tooth from between his legs towards the sun-disk with the words: "Take, O sun, this donkey's tooth and give me a tooth of a gazelle."<sup>2</sup> He is told that the new tooth will grow soon and will be strong and shining.

Every mother boasts of her child if he begins to walk early. This is why we meet with the bad habit of making the children stand on

<sup>1</sup> 'auwal hammak malġit djasadak, tânî hammak faġmak 'an bizz 'immak, tâliġ hammak tâli' sinnak.

<sup>2</sup> ħuġġi yâ šams sinn hal-ħmâr uā'īnî sinn ghazâl.

their feet before the still soft bones can support the weight of the body. A well-developed Palestinian child is generally of a wonderfully strong and symmetrical structure. He can walk or run a much longer distance than the average European child. As soon as possible children accompany their parents or elder brothers to their daily work, they roam around running in the fresh air following the sheep or playing in the garden or vineyard, or riding on a donkey. This continuous and natural exercise of all parts of the body which is not constricted by tight cloths causes a symmetrical development of the muscles and gives the children a healthy appearance.

A short description of the dwellings of the peasants<sup>1</sup> in which babies spend more than four fifths of their time, and children at least half of it, is of great importance, as it has its influence on their health and their development. The simple houses<sup>2</sup> are built close to each other with small, crooked and narrow roads into which all the refuse of the houses is thrown. The house itself is composed of one cube-shaped room vaulted in eastern fashion, and divided into two stories, a lower one without windows for the animals, and an upper one, with one or two very small windows, for the family.<sup>3</sup> Thus human beings and animals live in one and the same room, for both compartments are directly connected with each other, and as the windows are closed all the night, the air is bound to get contaminated. The reason for having only one or two very small windows (*šarrāqah* or *ṭāqah*) is twofold: (1) The fear of hostile attacks. This was also the cause that the houses were formerly built as small strongholds and devoid of any decoration. (2) The heavy storms in the winter months. The part inhabited by the family is generally divided by a set of large earthenware jars (*hābiyeh*) into a store room, which lies behind the receptacles, and into the special family compartment. During the winter months green wood or dried thistles are burned to heat the room. The resulting thick clouds of smoke make the air still more

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<sup>1</sup> F. A. Klein, *Mitteilungen über Leben, Sitten und Gebräuche der Fellachen in Palästina*, ZDPV, III, 104 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Most of the villages of Palestine are built on the top of a hill or a mountain. They are placed so that the fresh air, the cleansing sun-rays and winds have complete access to them. This explains the proverb of Christ in Matth. 5 14.

<sup>3</sup> L. Schneller, *Kennst du das Land?* 152.

unbearable. But the eyes and the lungs of the peasants are so accustomed to this irritating air that they cease to feel it.

The tent-dwellings of the Bedouin which allow the fresh air to pass through them all the time are, at least in this respect, much more hygienic. The poorer class in the cities also dwell in small dark rooms which are badly ventilated. But no animals share the same room with them.

"The playtime period in the life of peasant children is a very short one. They soon have to make themselves useful about the house or with the animals, and the little girls are set to work even earlier than the boys. Some of the children help to herd the sheep and goats, some are set to work to collect fuel."<sup>1</sup> The girls have to assist in the household work or in carrying water. Generally speaking the boys and girls of Palestine do not know and do not enjoy childhood in the same way as the children of the West, for very early they enter upon the stern realities of life.

As the child grows up he keeps most of the habits in which he was brought up. He is given—if anyhow possible—all that he asks for. If it is refused he cries and shouts, throws himself on the ground and curses until sooner or later he succeeds in getting what he wants, and thus remains nearly always the victor. The irregularity in his life is continuous. He is his own master and eats whatever he likes and plays and sleeps whenever he chooses. "The parent is seldom the castigator of the child; a child until it is six or seven years of age is allowed to do just as it pleases, and till that age no corporal punishment exists."<sup>2</sup> This treatment spoils the children only as long as they are children; as soon as they grow up the simplicity of their life overcomes all their defects and soon they show the true character of the patriarchal life of the East.

The attachment of the children to their parents, especially to the mother, is ideal. The great object of respect and devotion is and remains the mother. This is beautifully expressed in the proverb: "May a thousand eyes weep, but not those of my mother."<sup>3</sup> There is no loss which the Oriental suffers equal to that of his mother. As a

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<sup>1</sup> J. Finemore, *op. cit.*, 17.

<sup>2</sup> J. Neil, *Palestine Life*, 90.

<sup>3</sup> *'alif 'en tiblâ walâ 'en 'immâ.*



rule the father remarries and the step-mother more or less neglects the children; whereas a woman whose husband has died clings more and more to her children. She marries only if forced by external circumstances. Thus an Arabic saying teaches: "The death of the mother disperses, that of the father joins more closely the children."<sup>1</sup> The following two expressions illustrate excellently the above described devotion. When a person is in difficulty he calls *yâ riḍā el-wāldēn*, "O blessing of the parents;" *riḍa el-'abb min riḍā er-rabb*, "The blessing (really, the satisfaction, good will) of the father comes from the blessing of the Lord."<sup>2</sup>

"The strength of the family affections is the brightest feature of oriental life."<sup>3</sup> The father is the ruler of the family. He is not only honoured but generally all his wishes are fulfilled and his orders executed. As in biblical times, so now in Palestine: the parents decide the future of their children, the boys and girls are married without being consulted, and the newly married son lives in the same house with his parents. The young wife is subordinated to her mother-in-law. This condition is changing, especially in the cities.

Grown-up children accompany their fathers to all sorts of social and festive gatherings as well as to meetings where an important question is discussed or a case is being tried. Thus they attend at ordinary social calls, betrothal, marriage and circumcision processions, religious meetings, the welcoming of a member of the village who has recently returned from a voyage, or of guests in the guest-house, celebration of feasts at home or in a sanctuary, transaction of business, the trial of a murderer, and so forth.

At such gatherings they sit listening to all that is said. They learn idioms, proverbs and stories; they listen to the hero-tales related by the old people or sung by the *šā'ir*, they learn the rules

<sup>1</sup> *môt el-'imm biḥimm, môt el-'abb bilimm*. The correct translation is "the death of the mother (corrupts the children, and they) become dirty; the death of the father brings them closer to each other."

<sup>2</sup> Sayings describing ungrateful children: *dallaltak yâ bneiḥi tahrît 'alaiyî*, "I have cockered you, O my child and you defaecated on me (maltreated me)." *Ḥêruh la ghêruh uhammuh la 'immuh*, "His good actions are destined for others and his anxieties have to be born by his mother." *Dallaltak yâ (i)bnâ umâ tizram 'allaîyî*, "I have cockered you, O my son, and you do not support me (when others attack me)."

<sup>3</sup> G. M. Mackie, H. D. B., art. "Children."

of hospitality and the laws of the peasant and Bedouin codes, they get to know the customs and religious practices governing the peasant life and the principles underlying all business transactions. Thus we see that such meetings are the only, but to a certain extent excellent, schools to educate the coming men in all departments of "peasant knowledge." This explains why the simple life of the peasant, and the continuous patriarchal supervision and influence of the grown-up on the children, imbue them with the characteristic and attractive features of Bible-Lands: gravity, elaborate courtesy, submission and gracefulness. "The youngest children display in a marked degree the exquisite politeness of their elders, which appears all the more marked because boys and girls, as soon as they can walk and talk, have no distinctive clothes, but dress like adults and look like diminutive men and women."<sup>1</sup>

While the Jews circumcise their sons on the seventh day the Mohammedans, who observe the same rite, perform it any time they choose. Generally it is done between the age of three and ten. Circumcision is always a very important event in the family-life of the Palestinian. Many a Moslem binds himself to do this act at the shrine of a special saint. 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. A rich man may vow: "I will take upon me to circumcise so many poor children together with my own son." This means that the vower must pay the expenses of the operation and give every child some clothing as a present.<sup>1</sup> Most of the circumcision celebrations include processions, which are more impressive if the act takes place in the shrine of some important saint like nebi Mûsâ, nebi Rûbin, nebi Şalêh, etc. Even in villages the children are taken to the most important saint of the locality to be circumcised.<sup>2</sup> Generally the child is dressed with new clothes and is bedecked by many amulets. The relatives and friends follow singing, dancing, playing and clapping the hands. The bed of the newly circumcised child is decorated with such amulets as will protect him from the bad effects of the evil eye and the evil soul.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J. Neil, op. cit., p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Canaan, JPOS VI, 58.

<sup>3</sup> Canaan, *Celebration of Mohammedan Feasts in Palestine*, "Palestine and Near East Economic Magazine," p. 135.

In mentioning diseases which affect the children it is not intended to give a scientific description, but only to note such ideas and customs as explain the current superstitions and habits which account for the heavy mortality of infants and children.

Orientalists believe that everything good and bad comes from God, a belief rooted in ancient Semitic civilization. Human beings cannot avert any malady, for "disease is an infliction sent by God. *min allāh*. No human being can cross the way of the Divine." The whole future of a human being is written at his birth on his skull. The zigzag lines of the sutures of the different bones represent this writing. This belief explains the complete resignation of orientals—Mohammedans more than Christians—to the so-called *qadr* (fate). Therefore he does not believe in any infection or contagion. A child with typhoid, measles or dysentery continues to live in the same room with the other children. They share the same bedding and food. For nobody can get sick if God does not allow it, and who is he who can escape from God's destiny? Thus we notice that during an epidemic most of the children of a village are attacked with the disease. Owing to the following very bad practice the infection spreads to most of the neighbouring villages. Peasant etiquette compels all friends and relatives to visit the sick and so show their sympathy. They come, men and women accompanied with children, and fill the room. The patient is exhausted by these visits, while the visitors carry away the germs with them.

Fortunately popular superstition forbids visits on Fridays and especially on Wednesdays, since it is believed that these two days—especially the latter—are governed by the malignant planets Mercury and Saturn, and exercise a bad influence on the sick.<sup>1</sup>

Palestinians, following in the wake of the people of the ancient East, believe in the existence of certain supernatural powers which were once the servants of God. But from the time when Satan rebelled against his Creator and was thrown out of Paradise, he and his children the demons, are continually trying to injure the human race, that creation which crowned God's work. In doing so the evil spirits are revenging themselves at the same time on men, for the creation of Adam—their ancestor—was the cause of Satan's being

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<sup>1</sup> *Aberglaube*.

cast out. We are told that when God created man of "dried clay, of black mud" and had breathed of His spirit into him he ordered the angels: "Do ye fell down and worship him . . . And all the angels worshipped Adam except Iblis . . . And God said unto him, O Iblis, what hindered thee from being with those who worshipped Adam? He answered, It is not fit that I should worship man, whom thou hast created of dried clay, of black mud, wrought into shape."<sup>1</sup> For I am better than he, as I was created of the flame.

The demons chiefly attack young children. There is even a female demon, *el-Qar'neh*, whose main duty it is to injure infants. She is continually on the look-out and whenever she finds one she falls upon it, it sickens and may even die. This terrible *djinniyeh* very often attacks pregnant women and causes abortion. Such unfortunate women lose one fruit of their pregnancies after the other. This *Qar'neh* is dreaded by all the inhabitants of Palestine.

There are several other demons who attack children. Sickly and weak infants—through their lowered vitality—are specially prone to be injured. All convulsions, palsies, tremors and epilepsy are caused by demons. The most dangerous evil spirits are those causing convulsions and epilepsy. They take the form of a "flying bird" (*têr tayyâr*).

A mother, who has lost several of her children, attributes all her misfortune to the demons. Her next born child will be therefore called *Ĥamis* or *Dib*. The *dib*<sup>2</sup> (wolf) is believed to be the only animal of whom the demons are afraid. His eyes detect the *djinn* and he instantly devours them. The name *Ĥamis* is chosen for two reasons. Firstly, because it suggests "five," "the hand," which is a powerful amulet; and secondly, because it is the vulgar appellation for a pig, which animal is greatly disliked by the demons, for it is even more dirty than the dirtiest *djinn*.

There are other supernatural powers which play an important rôle in the 'etiology' of disease. The two most important are the evil eye and the evil soul. It is always a human being who happens to be so unfortunate as to house one of them. While the demons described above attack their prey directly, these two supernatural powers inhabit a human being and attack their victim through him:

<sup>1</sup> Sûrah 15, 27 (Sale's translation).

<sup>2</sup> Often the names of other animals are used: *Şaqr*, 'Asad, *Ĥşênî*, *Djarû*, *Farhûd*, *Sabî'*, *Fahd*.

In a case of an evil eye the disastrous power of the demons radiates through the eye, and in that of an evil soul the evil comes by way of the breath. It is firmly believed that two thirds of all deaths are the result of the evil eye. Beauty, cleanliness, new clothes and the like, make the child more attractive and thus more exposed to the attentions of the evil eye. This suggests the methods to be adopted for 'prophylactic' treatment. Thus we find wealthy people dressing their children in the oldest, dirtiest and most ragged clothes and letting them run about filthy and unkempt. For the same reason boys are dressed at times as girls. The children have to wear a number of amulets and talismans. They are fastened on the cap, hang on the neck, and round the arms and feet or on the hand. Often one and the same child carries several such 'preventives.' Charms are often hung on the cradle and not seldom we find them under the mattress or bolster.<sup>1</sup> Some of these *hudjub* are to protect the child against the evil eye, others to keep the *Qarīneh* away, still others are intended to neutralize the action of the evil soul. It would lead too far to go into a minute description of these amulets.

When a child becomes seriously ill, the mother, father or some other relative may resort to one of the many saints, believing that the evil supernatural powers are more powerfully counteracted by the help of these stronger beings, who derive their power directly from God, the only "Almighty One." These *awliā* are promised some oil for their shrine, incense to be burned in their sanctuary or a sheep to be killed in their name. One may often hear a mother describing her child, who has caused her through his prolonged illness much trouble, by the words *rabbētuh kull šibir ibnīdir*,<sup>2</sup> "I have brought him up every span with a vow."<sup>3</sup>

*El-Kabseh* causes always the sickening of the child. As soon as a menstruating or in any other way unclean woman<sup>4</sup> steps over a child or over his clothes some of the evil powers (spirits) hovering

<sup>1</sup> The Jews practice the same precautions; cf. Blau, *Zauberwesen*, pp. 90 and 91; Hanauer, *Folklore of the Holy Land*.

<sup>2</sup> Children who are especially cared for are believed to remain weak and sickly: *kull maḥṣūṣ maṣṣūṣ*; *kull maḥrūs maḡrūs*.

<sup>3</sup> For the formulae used on such occasions, as well as for the different sorts of vows connected with children I refer to my *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries*.

<sup>4</sup> After sexual intercourse.

in or about the blood will attack the child. He falls sick. The evil effects of blood have been described at length in my book *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel*.

"Fright" is another cause of disease. It weakens for a moment the vitality of the child and the ever ready *djinn* take this opportunity to attack him. The universal cure, *ṭāṣit er-radjfeh*, has been described in the JPOS, vol. III, pp. 122ff. Another cure is to make the frightened child drink the urine of another child or of an old woman who has stopped menstruating (*qāṭ'ah*). This horrible potion drives out the demons.

Cold, a non-fulfilled desire of the child, *luqmeh* and *bašmeh*, will also cause disease.

The Orientals dread the cold. The children are protected from every draught. This custom prevails more among city dwellers and Christians than among the peasants and Bedouin. Cold is supposed to be the cause of all *nazlāt* (pl. of *nazleh*). By this expression the inflammations of the mucous membranes of the nose and the cavities connected with it, the throat, the bronchii, lungs and the gastro-intestinal tract are meant. They differentiate: *nazleh šidriyeh* (a cold in the chest), *n. 'ar-rās* (a cold in the head), *n. 'al-mašārīn* (a cold in the intestines).

This dread of the cold makes the mothers wrap their children in a great many clothes, so much so that the functions of the skin are completely checked. This bad custom explains the fact that the children of the cities are more susceptible to disease than those of the Bedouin and most villagers.

The peasants believe that the craving of a child for something will result in some disease if that thing is not granted him. He may get fever or diarrhoea or waste away. We often hear mothers excuse themselves for giving the child every prohibited thing by saying, "He asked for it." So, too, all the wishes of a pregnant woman must be satisfied, for it is firmly believed that every unsatisfied desire will have some bad effect on her infant. If, for example, she should crave for an apple and she does not get it, we are told that somewhere on the skin of the new-born a representation of an apple will show itself. Such a mark is called *šahueh* (desire). In the English language it is still called "mother's mark" (in German "Muttermal"), which expression shows clearly that a similar belief is still prevalent in Europe.

Should a child have an attack of vomiting with or without diarrhoea old women will assure you that it is due to some food which the child could not swallow. Such a *luqmeh* (= morsel) is said to block the oesophagus somewhere. Even after its descent to the stomach the irritation of the mucous membrane will continue.

*Bašmeh*<sup>1</sup> indicates gastro-intestinal trouble following a hearty meal which is not digested. The symptoms are vomiting and constipation.

"*Hurr*" is a colloquial expression for supposed different gastro-intestinal troubles, which manifest themselves in aphthae in the mouth, diarrhoea and inflammation of the mucous membrane of the anus.

A word about the treatment of these intestinal troubles is of interest. I shall not dwell on any home-remedies (cater oil, Ol. amygdal., anis-water, etc.) given to the child on the advice of 'wise women,' but will only describe a universal method used by all classes and denominations and believed to be the panacea for all troubles. It is *el-kaiy* = burning with fire. A proverb teaches *'āher et-ṭibb el-kaiy*, "The last cure is burning." *Tanqīt* is a technical expression meaning to cauterize repeatedly with a hot iron point. Generally a long nail is used. The abdomen is the place selected for this barbaric treatment. In cases of aphthae the base of the frenum linguae is burnt. I have even seen several cases where the skin over the anterior fontanel had been cauterized with the hot iron, and in one case the red-hot iron had passed through the skin, the meninges, and burnt the superficial layer of the underlying brain. The child died.

There are women—I know of two in Jerusalem—who are specialists in this sort of cure. Doubtless this barbaric treatment exhausts the already weakened baby. It has been impossible to eradicate such a foolish practice, despite the continuous advice of physicians, nurses and educated persons.

In inflammations of the respiratory organs (bronchitis, bronchopneumonia, pneumonia and pleurisy) midwives and old women advise one of the following cures: dry cupping (*kāsāt hawā*), wet cupping (*kāsāt damm*) or bleeding (*tašṭīb*). The last is also resorted to when a child has convulsions or high fever. In these last affections the back surface of the ears is cut superficially and repeatedly with a razor. In respiratory troubles the back is bled.

<sup>1</sup> Also called *luqmeh*.

A Palestinian mother will not leave the bed of her sick child. She carries him most of the time in her bosom. Night after night she watches without going to sleep. At such an occasion one may hear how she asks God to save her beloved one and to take her in his stead. Expressions used at such a time are: *'anû ualâ int yâ ibnî* (may I soon die and not you my son), *fidâk yâ ruhî* (may I ransom you, my soul!), *môtî 'anû yâ ualadî* (may I die, instead of you, O my child!), *yâ rabbî mâ (i)tdawiqnî hasirtuh*<sup>1</sup> (O my Lord, do not let me taste the bitterness of his death!). The same prayer was uttered by King David in mourning over his son Absalom: "Would God I had died for thee!" (2 Sam. 18 33).

It may be of interest to give some prescriptions used in ailments of children:

A necklace of small and undeveloped pomegranates put round the neck of a child suffering from diarrhoea will cure him.

A child with measles should eat lentil soup which will make the eruption develope quicker.

A mother who has lost all her children will not prepare any clothes for the coming one. Friends and relatives will present her with the necessary clothes.

Another practice is to "sell" a new-born child, whose brothers have all died. Every one of the friends pays to the mother a copper coin. These are fastened on the cap of the child or hung with blue beads and other amulets around its neck. The underlying idea of both customs is to mislead the *qarîneh* and to make her think that the child does not belong anymore to its mother.

Young girls who desire to have long hair have to cut the tips of it on the first day of the new moon.

In reviewing the ideas and customs which govern the health and the development of the Palestinian child we come to the following two conclusions:

1. The rate of mortality is enormous, especially among the peasants and the poorer class of city dwellers. In statistics kept by me in the year 1925, I found that of 2185 pregnancies 20 per cent. ended in abortions and still-births. Of the remaining 1740 children born alive, 44.7 per cent succumbed within a brief time.

<sup>1</sup> Another expression is *djôrtî yâ rabb qabl djôrtuh*, "Grant me, O my Lord my grave before his."



2. The children which survive to manhood are strong and healthy because they have already gone through most infections and contagions. In other words they have acquired a partial—in some cases a complete—immunity. This explains the great resistance of the peasants to most diseases, which resistance helps them to overcome in a marvellous way many severe ailments, and to endure the continuous hardships of their life. For example, if we consider the filthy conditions in which the confinement takes place, the absolute ignorance of the midwives, the septic, unhygienic and dirty manner in which they are treated during and after labour, we are astonished that at least 90 per cent of them do not succumb to puerperal infection.

In reviewing the moral and educative influences acting upon the children, and studying the results on their future we find that despite the ignorance of the parents and the low standard of knowledge and education of the environment which subject the children early to neglect and hard work, there are two shining stars marking their life: hospitality and the great respect, love and adoration to parents and aged persons. These two characteristics have always shown themselves in the life of the Semitic nations. Another distinctive characteristic is the high moral standard of the Palestinians. It is the highest ideal of peasants and is strictly held by men and women. Adulterers are punished according to the local peasant-laws as severely as murderers.<sup>1</sup> The European civilization which is bringing to Palestine many a blessing is eradicating at the same time many a beautiful and sound moral principle.

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<sup>1</sup> Barghûṭī, *Judicial Courts among the Bedouin*, JPOS II, No. 1.

## THE SITE OF THE BIBLICAL MOUNT SINAI

DITLEF NIELSEN  
(COPENHAGEN)

THE plain facts of the wanderings of the Hebrews from Egypt to Palestine have been variously transformed and deformed. Already in the Bible we see different narratives worked together; later, misapprehension after misapprehension has arisen, and religious imagination has changed natural events, unintelligible to a later age, into miracles against nature.

When now, after some three thousand years, we try to recover the facts which underly all these traditions, it is first of all necessary to realize that the desert-wanderings of the Hebrews were no unplanned tour but a journey having a definite objective—to reach Canaan by the quickest and easiest route.

From Arabia a continuous stream of immigration flows northwards to the cultivated countries, but no wave goes back. During the past thousands of years again and again we see the Bedouin undergo the process of development from nomad to semi-nomad and to agriculturist; but never the contrary process. Bedouin who acquire the taste of civilized comforts never return to the meagre and precarious existence of the Bedouin. After one or two generations it becomes a physical impossibility: no *fellaḥ* (peasant) will endure the hardship of desert-life.

This accounts for a fact which is repeatedly told in the different biblical narratives: the people murmured against Moses, complained of the irksome life in the wilderness, even wished themselves back in the servitude of Egypt, where, sitting by the flesh pots, they at any rate had food and drink. This detail is worth noticing: real Bedouin do not think desert-life a curse, but the supreme good. The radiant picture of the glory of desert-life against the monotonous and stagnant existence of the dull peasant ranks among the gems of Arabic poetry.

The people whose wanderings we now propose to follow, were not common Bedouin-tribes searching only for pastures for their flocks, but a desperate band of men who had for many years lived in a civilized country and now only by compulsion had to pass through the wilderness in order to force their way into the nearest cultivated land, Palestine.

The natural resting place on this journey was the complex of oases south of Palestine, one of which is now called 'Ain Kadis, i.e. "the Spring of Kadis" or "the Holy Spring." It has repeatedly been visited and described, and must—as almost all investigators agree—be identical with the biblical *Kadeš Barnea*, where the Israelites sojourned for many years.<sup>1</sup> It was their natural base of operations and sally-port to Palestine, and was used during the World War in the same way—but in the reverse direction—by the Turks during their attack on Egypt from Palestine. That the Israelites were defeated here and thus forced to make a circuit south and east of the Dead Sea is, no doubt, a historical reminiscence. Any later version of the Exodus and the conquest of Palestine would represent the immigrants as coming from the south. So far we are on comparatively safe historical ground. But how are the strange stories of Mount Sinai to be explained? And where is this mountain to be looked for? These points are still matter for dispute among modern historians.

It is often admitted that the so-called Mount Sinai in the southern part of the so-called peninsula of Sinai, which has now for more than a thousand years been a place of pilgrimage for pious Jews and Christians, is unlikely to be identical with the biblical Sinai. In the southern part of the desolate and solitary peninsula among the mountains, pilgrims found a comparatively high peak which they assumed to be the mysterious place where Moses spoke to God, and

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<sup>1</sup> The biblical *Kadeš Barnea* surely does not mean the small isolated valley of 'Ain Kadis only, but the whole district in the neighbourhood including 'Ain Kuderat, 'Ain Kuseime, Muvcille, etc. After ROWLANDS (1842) and TRUMBULL (1882), MUSIL visited 'Ain Kadis several times and questioned the identification (*Arabia Petraea II. Edom*, 1907, p. 177f. and 236). Perhaps C. L. WOOLLEY and T. E. LAWRENCE are right in pointing to the *Kuseime* plain between *Jebel Hilāl* and 'Ain Kuderat, where they found antiquities attributed to the second millennium B. C., as the headquarters of the Israelites. From this strategically important place main roads run to Egypt, Palestine and *Wadi Araba* (*Palestine Exploration Fund*, 1914, *The Wilderness of Zin*, Archaeological Report).

it was therefore called *Jebel-Musa*, "the Mount of Moses." Little is in favour of, while much is against this identification.

It is a late, post-Christian tradition of little value, advocated by certain communities who built a monastery there (the Convent of St. Catharine) for the benefit of pilgrims. What were the Israelites doing there? Why should they go southwards instead of northwards? Even if we place the crossing of the Red Sea at the Gulf of Suez, the distance in a south-easterly direction to the southern part of the peninsula is nearly as far as to the southern border of Palestine in a north-easterly direction; while if the crossing is to be placed somewhere near Ismailia, the distance is still greater and the narrative still less comprehensible. Furthermore, we now know that the peninsula of Sinai (at least the western side, which the Israelites had to pass in order to reach the supposed Mount Sinai), was at that time in Egyptian possession and occupied by Egyptian garrisons. Flinders Petrie's excavations in the Egyptian copper mines at *Wadi Maghara* (1905) on the western side of the peninsula, it will be remembered, brought to light the new Sinai-inscriptions.

This is in the neighbourhood of the alleged Mount Sinai. The children of Israel would here have run into the Egyptians from whom they were fleeing. For the same reasons other peaks in the vicinity, e. g. *Jebel Serbal*, which have been identified with Sinai by modern authors, must be excluded.

Searching for the genuine Mount Sinai, which can not be situated in the southern or western part of the peninsula, we draw up the real requirements, which may be summed up under four heads:

I. The holy mountain must be situated (a) not too far from the borders of Palestine and the oasis *'Ain Kadis* (*Kadeš Barnea*) and (b) in the neighbourhood of another oasis where the pilgrims might stay.

II. Before the times of the Israelites it must have been an old Semitic sanctuary. In Semitic antiquity the chief places of worship were always mountains.

III. It must have been a mountain devoted to the cultus of the moon-god who—as shown by many old Arabic inscriptions recently discovered—was worshipped as the chief god generally in Arabia. Several facts suggest that Yahweh, the God of the Israelites, was

originally a moon-god and worshipped in the form of the moon with rites similar to those known to us in the old Arabian moon-religion.

IV. The sites and the forms of worship here must be in accordance with the biblical narratives, or at any rate be the natural starting point of the later Israelite-Jewish cycles of legends about Sinai. Also, we may expect to find here an oriental local tradition, identifying this mountain with Mount Sinai.

### I.

As to the *geographical situation* of Sinai most modern scholars, on account of the biblical local names, hold it to be somewhere among the hills of the later Edom, south of the Dead Sea. Others, however, place it to the south and east in the north-western corner of Arabia, the Arabic Midian. Others again place it still more to the south in the volcanic region in north-western Arabia towards Tebouk and Medina.

The last hypothesis, however, has no real support in the Bible or tradition and is based only on the supposition that the fire and smoke which marked God's appearance at Sinai were due to volcanic eruption. Yet even so the hypothesis is weak since some investigators think that volcanic eruptions have taken place in southern Palestine even in historical times. Others suppose that at a later time, when the situation of the original Sinai was forgotten and the mountain remembered only as the abode of God, a mystical place far off in the South, it was glorified by being combined with the awe-inspiring volcanoes. But in any case, these volcanoes of Arabia were too far removed from the route of the Israelites and so cannot be the Sinai of the desert-wanderings.

Furthermore there has been a failure to realise what 'a holy mountain', 'a *mountain of worship*,' signifies. To get a true conception of ancient Israel and its religion we must correlate it with the other ancient Semitic nations and their religions; and then we shall be less inclined to take seriously any casual association with any casual peak on the supposed route of the Israelites, and still less with volcanoes off the route. We know about a hundred sacred mountains dating back to the primitive stages of Semitic religion. On these there were always certain cultus objects with at least an altar and its appurtenances, where the people assembled at their feasts; but

none of these mountains is a volcano, and from the history of the religion of the Semites we know of no volcano-god. We must look for a mountain with an ancient altar, water-basin drains and gutters for the blood or the like, a place where a particular god abides and is regularly worshipped at the hands of a legitimate priesthood.

*Midian* is better supported in the biblical narratives. Before the Exodus Moses sojourned with Jethro, his father-in-law, "the priest of Midian", herding his flocks west<sup>1</sup> of the desert, when he came to the "Mount of God". It is at Sinai that Jethro later visits Moses and advises him concerning judicial proceedings (Exod. 18). Most scholars now accept the older view that Midian is in north-west Arabia. Prof. KITTEL,<sup>2</sup> however, shows that the biblical Midian must have been more to the north, "the region between Palestine and what is now called Sinai, probably not far from Kadesh and Paran." 1 Kings 11 states that the Edomite prince Hadad and certain Edomites of his father's servants fled into Egypt: "they arose out of Midian and came to Paran... and came to Egypt;" the route is quite clear, and the Arabian Midian far distant; scholars have emended "Midian" into Ma'an, a place 50—55 kilometres east of Petra; but the emendation is not called for, since the passage can be referred to the region of the biblical "Midian." So, too, in the story of Gideon (Judges 6—8) the Midianites appear in conjunction with the Amalekites and the "sons of the east," i.e. the Bedouin. On the basis of the story of Gideon and through their being associated with (Num. 22 7) and confused with (Num. 25) the Moabites, it is to be inferred that the Midianites inhabited the region east of the Araba-valley.

This northerly position of Midian suits the natural route of the Israelites. I hope shortly to publish a more elaborate statement of the topographical problem in a volume on the ancient religion of the Hebrews; and will here adduce only the few leading facts. Mount Sinai must, on account of the biblical place names (Edom, Seir, Paran, Meribath-Kadesh, Jud. 5 4-5, Deut. 33 2, Hab. 3 3), be situated in the region south of the Dead Sea, east of Kadesh, where the

<sup>1</sup> Exod. 3 1. 'aḥar with BEKE and GRÄTZ: *Monatsschr. f. Gesch. u. Wiss. d. Judent.* 1878. Cf. the antithesis *Kedem-'aḥor*, Job 23 8 seq., Is. 9 11 and BUEHLER<sup>16</sup> on 'aḥor.

<sup>2</sup> *Gesch. d. Volkes Israel* I, 5—6, 347 N.

Amalekites lived in tents to the west of the Araba-valley towards the southern border of Palestine; while the Midianites lived to the east of the Araba-valley, south of Moab. These local and tribal names cannot be placed in the peninsula of Sinai.<sup>1</sup>

Here, however, scholars have pointed out a crux: while some traditions place Sinai in a region which was, later, Edomite territory, others state positively that Israel did not then enter or set foot on Edomite soil. Thus, Num. 20 14-28: "Moses sent messengers from Kadesh unto the king of Edom; ... we are in Kadesh, a city in the uttermost of thy border; let us pass, I pray thee, through thy country; ... we will go along the king's high way, we will not turn to the right hand, nor to the left, until we have passed ... And Edom said unto him, Thou shalt not pass by me, lest I come out against thee with the sword ... Thus Edom refused to give Israel passage through his border: wherefore Israel turned away from him. And the children of Israel, even the whole congregation, journeyed from Kadesh and came unto mount Hor ... by the coast (border) of the land of Edom" ... (33 38): "And Aaron died there" in the top of the mount.

A few recent scholars<sup>2</sup> have offered the following solution of the problem: Edom did not, as at the height of its glory, extend to the northern point of the Gulf of Akaba,<sup>3</sup> and did not in those days reach Kadesh to the west nor Mount Hor to the south, which, according to Josephus (Antiq. 4 4, 7) Eusebius<sup>4</sup>, and local tradition, was near Petra. That these places in the wanderings of the Israelites

<sup>1</sup> So GRÄTZ: *Die Lage des Sinai oder Horeb*, Monatsschr. für Gesch. und Wissenschaft d. Judentums, 27. Jg. 1878, p. 337-360 and SAYCE: *The Early History of the Hebrews*, 1897, p. 186-192, C. F. KENT: *Narratives of the Beginnings of Hebrew History*, New York 1904, 177: "All the earliest references in the Old Testament ... point with equal unanimity to some of the western spurs of mount Seir, not far from Kadesh." R. KITTEL: *Gesch. d. Volkes Israel*<sup>2</sup> I, 1912, p. 511: "Der geschichtliche Berg Sinai wird unweit von Kadesh in der Wüste südwestlich vom Edomitergebiet gelegen haben."

<sup>2</sup> G. DALMAN; *Petra und seine Felseigentümer*, Leipzig 1908; *Zur Geschichte von Petra*, p. 42; R. KITTEL: *Gesch. d. Volkes Israel*<sup>2</sup> I, 1912, 497: "Die hier genannte Grenze Edoms (der Berg Hor) kann wohl nur die Südgrenze sein."

<sup>3</sup> FR. BUHL: *Geschichte d. Edomiter* (Separatausgabe aus dem Reformationsprogramme der Univ. Leipzig) 1893, p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> *Onomasticon*: Die griech. christl. Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte. Eusebius Bd. III, Leipzig 1904, p. 177: "Or mons in quo mortuus est Aaron, iuxta civitatem Petram, ubi usque ad praesentem diem ostenditur rupes, qua percussa Moyses aquas populo dedit."



Fig. 1. New-moon symbols on the western side of the large place of sacrifice on the peak of Zibb-'aṭūf at Petra.

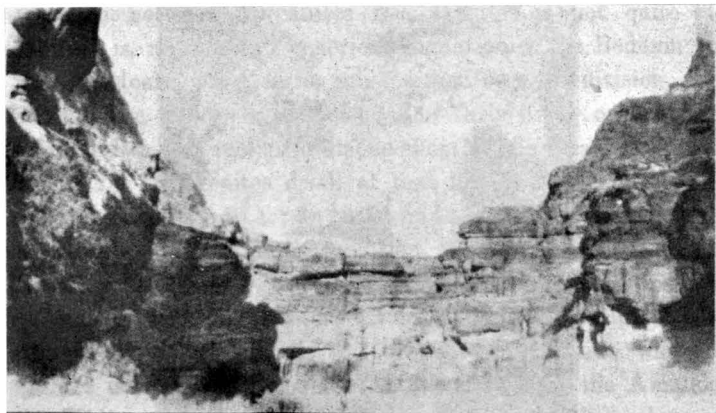


Fig. 2. The half-moon-shaped opening in the western rocky wall in front of the oldest high place at Petra.



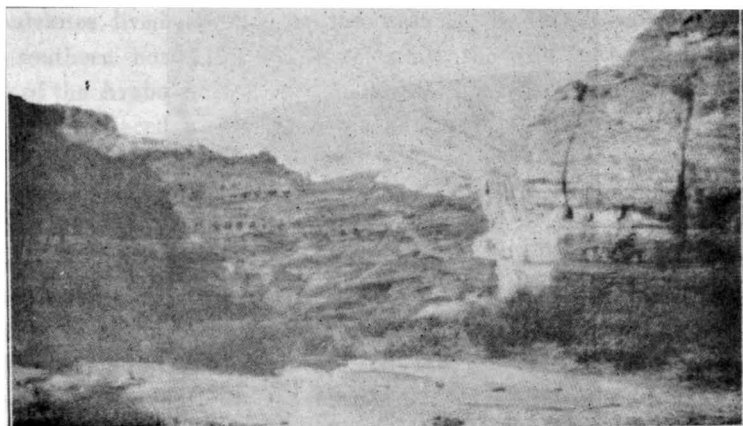


Fig. 3. The natural auditorium at the eastern entrance of the gorge leading to the "pulpit," the place of sacrifice and to the half-moon-shaped opening above.

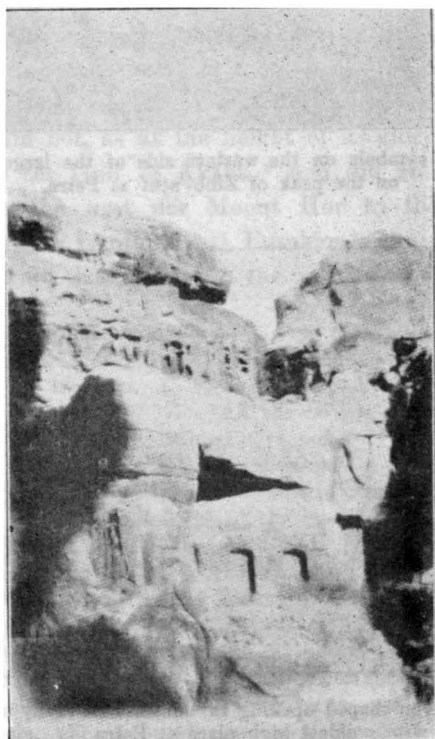


Fig. 4. The natural "pulpit" in the gorge below the place of sacrifice.

were at that time south of Edom is testified to by the Jewish tradition in the Targum on Deut. 1 19, which makes the Israelites camp at Petra (*Rekem gea*) and by Josephus, who tells us that Bedouin (Amalekites) at that time dwelled in Petra, which was called *Rekem* from a Midianite king (Antiq. 3 2, 1; 4 7, 1). Thus Israel passed south of the Edom of those days almost immediately between the Dead Sea and the gulf of Akaba in the neighbourhood of Jebel Harun and Petra—not by the northern "King's high way" (*derek ha-melek*, Num. 20 17) which was barred by the Edomites (the biblical "King's high way" is probably the present *Derb es-Sultān*, which runs from north-west to south-east through Wady Araba and Edom), but by the southern way *Kadesh—Wady Lussan—Bir Mayein—Wady Jerafi—Petra*. According to the probable emendation of Hollenberg and Budde, Judges 1 36 also mentions *ha-sela*, i. e. Petra, as the border, and no doubt southern border, of Edom.<sup>1</sup>

Searching for Mount Sinai on the map we thus find a blank, of which previous scholars took no account, south of Edom and between the Amalekites to the west and the Midianites to the east. Further biblical indications may take us further.

After the pioneer work of STADE and BUDDE many historians consider the Kenites the original worshippers of Yahweh and expect the 'mountain of Yahweh' to be situated in the region of the Kenites. The relation between Midianites and Kenites is not quite clear. "Midianites" is, no doubt, a generic designation of the Bedouin south and east of Moab; the Kenites must either be a subdivision, a clan of the Midianite tribes, or, on account of their living on the border of the Midianites, are reckoned among them by the Israelite tradition. But where did the Kenites dwell at that time? In the days of Saul and David (1 Sam. 15 6; 27 10; 30 29) we find them in southern Palestine, in the Negeb. The biblical tradition states that they migrated northwards together with the Israelites (Judg. 1 16) and hints that previously they dwelled at Sinai (Num. 10 29). This original abode is probably hinted at by the old prophesy of Balaam, where the Kenites are mentioned among the southern nations, the Amalekites and the Midianites, Num. 24 21: "Strong is thy dwelling place, and

<sup>1</sup> K. BUDDE: *Die Bücher Richter und Samuel*, 1890, 18—20. E. MEYER: *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, 1906, 388.

thou puttest thy nest on *ha-sela'*." Now the Septuagint translates *ha-sela'* by *Petra*, possibly correctly. And in 2 Kings 14 7 (2 Chron. 25 11) and Judges 1 36, *sela'* "the rock" (Septuagint: *Petra*), must be the mountain which is called by the same name to-day: *Petra*.<sup>1</sup> The same interpretation is probable in Num. 24 21.<sup>2</sup> Thus the original chief abode of the Kenites was the ring-shaped rock: thousands of caves made it a natural dwelling-place, and natural conditions an unconquerable stronghold where, later, Edomites, Nabateans and Romans built their nests. And this mountain of "*Petra*" was identical with the biblical Sinai, which is connected with the Midianites by the tradition like the ancient "*Petra*". Cf. *Rekem*, Num. 31 8 and Josephus Antiq. 4 4 7.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to understand why the identification of *sela'* and *Petra* has been denied. (BOHL: *Geschichte der Edomiter*, 1893, p. 25, 34—35, 65.) Already NÜLDEKE (ZDMG., vol. 25, 1871, 259) established *sela'* as a place name in *Wadi Musa* during the Middle Ages. "Also gab es hier noch im Mittelalter eine Burg, die den alten Namen *سلا* *Sul'* führte, für dessen Übersetzung man früher mit Recht das griechische *Petra* (*Πέτρα*) hielt." Cf. E. MEYER: *op. cit.* 388: "Daß *Sela'*, 'der Fels,' mit LXX als der einheimische Name vom *Petra* zu betrachten ist, ist mir trotz aller dagegen gemachten Einwände nicht zweifelhaft."

<sup>2</sup> A. H. SAYCE in HASTING'S *Dictionary of the Bible* II, 834. LINA ECKENSTEIN: *A History of Sinai*, 1921, 79—80.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. G. DALMAN: *Petra und seine Felsheiligtümer*, 1908, S. 43. "Man wird Recht haben, mit Josephus an eine midianitische Vorgeschichte von *Petra* zu denken."

It is a well-known fact, that in Arabia the character of the inhabitants of a place may remain unchanged for centuries (see e. g., *Der dreieinige Gott* I, 1922, pp. 173—175). The character of the modern inhabitants of *Petra* certainly seems to conform with that of the ancient Kenites, descendants of the biblical Cain, who was a murderer and who (Gen. 4 15) with his descendants (Gen. 4 24) revelled in blood-revenge. They are unusually ferocious and will kill a man without scruple (cf. BOHL: *Gesch. d. Edomiter*, p. 32: Feindseligkeiten der jetzigen rohen und räuberischen Bevölkerung).

At the battle of *Petra* in the World War (21. October 1917) when German aeroplanes dropped bombs on the mountain, even the native women of that place helped Colonel Lawrence and his Bedouin to massacre the Turks in that narrow gorge (*aş-şik*), the only entrance to the place, where formerly the soldiers of Alexander the Great perished.

The inhabitants of *El-Gi* live for the most time in tents herding as nomads and prefer to call themselves Bedouin (*bedawi*). But they admit that they are *fellaḥs* also and are proud of their city (*belad*), the only village in these regions; the houses are used as store-houses. So it is not necessary, as some scholars have thought, to distinguish between the Cain who built a city and the Cain who was "a fugitive and a vagabond in the earth."

This position of Sinai south of the Edom of that time, and not far from Kadesh to the east, harmonizes with the main idea as to the route of the Israelites explained in this paper as well as with the biblical topographical evidence.

According to the narrative in Exodus, which mainly belongs to the sources J and E, the Israelites when wandering from Egypt to Sinai fought the Amalekites before their arrival at the mountain (Exod. 17). These fierce Bedouin, in the old historical time the sworn enemies of the Israelites, lived in the region west of Petra and the Araba-valley and constituted a barrier, blocking the way to the holy mountain. Not till they were defeated was the road open to the mountain of God in the wilderness where the Israelites encamped (Exod. 18).

Here Moses' father-in-law, the Midianite priest, visited him, coming from his own country, i. e. from the east; for on a former occasion Moses arrived at the mountain driving the cattle of his father-in-law westwards (*ahôr*, Exod. 3 1).

Again, the tomb of Aaron being close to Petra strongly favours the identity of Petra and Sinai: for the servants of a sanctuary are usually buried near their sanctuary (cf. the tomb of Miriam near the sanctuary of Kadesh, Num. 20 1).†

Finally, if the biblical narratives concerning Sinai contain any historical kernel, there must necessarily have been a spring at the holy mountain where the Israelites encamped, an oasis with pastures where a number of men might stay with their cattle for some time. It is not enough that a theory of Sinai should fit in with the biblical narratives and with the history of religion: it must above all have a *physical* basis. The region of Sinai must have been one of the few fertile places in these desolate and waterless parts, a natural resting place for the caravans, and probably a place where agriculture was anciently practised. The identification of the biblical *Kadesh Barnea* and the district of *'Ain Kadis* is accepted by almost all modern scholars; for here is a physical basis, a natural resting-place and dwelling-place, which in the course of history has been constantly used and is still used; whereas most of the theories as to Mount Sinai being situated in the peninsula of Sinai, as well as those which make Mount Sinai a volcano in Arabia, lack this physical basis—they afford no oasis where a tribe could possibly assemble.

When riding on horseback towards Petra through the desert which encloses the place on all sides, the traveller looks with pleasure on the green, fertile fields near Petra and its venerable shrines. Here is now a little village, *El-Gi*, which is called a city (*belad*) by the Bedouin of these parts, exactly as the settlement at *Kadesh Barnea* in the Bible (Num. 20 16) is called a "city" (*ir*). The slope, stretching gently down towards the valley from which the majestic multi-coloured rocks of Petra arise steeply, is watered by the holy spring of Moses, the *'Ain Musa*; after the rainy season this spring grows into a torrent, the *Wadi Mūsa*, which breaks through the eastern rocky wall of Petra in a deep gorge (*Aṣ-Sik*). The upper part of the slope, the source of *'Ain-Musa*, is a watering place much frequented by the neighbouring Bedouin. Farther down towards the west between *'Ain Musa* and Petra, around the village of *El-Gi*, agriculture flourishes even to-day and numerous remnants of terraces and ancient buildings show that in earlier times the natural conditions of agriculture were turned to still greater account.<sup>1</sup>

It is easily understood how this little paradise in the desert became a centre of trade during the Nabatean and Roman periods. One of the few possible routes east to west, evidently the road by which the Israelites travelled, passed by Petra in ancient times and still does so. Thus topographical and geographical conditions seem to point to the identity of Petra and the biblical Sinai. In the various districts which enter into consideration we know of no other mountain which complies with the conditions required.

The materials afforded by the history of religion must also be taken into consideration.

## II.

Israel did not drop from the heavens fully made; nor did its religion. Before they went to Egypt they lived in the north-western part of Arabia, and probably somewhere around Kadesh, Sinai and Edom (his "brother"), and they had the same religion as the inhabitants

<sup>1</sup> See also A. MÜSL's description in the *Arabia Petraea* II, Edom I, 1907, p. 39; 2, 1908, p. 11 f., 223 f. According to Musil barley and wheat are grown in the fields of *El-Gi*; and in the gardens such fruits as figs, grapes and olives which are sold to the inhabitants of Maan.

of these regions.<sup>1</sup> By connecting Moses with the "priest" (*kōhen*, a word of Arabic origin) of Midian as well as with Aaron, a "*Levite*" (i. e. priest, another word of Arabic origin known from early Arabic inscriptions), from these regions (Exod. 5, 14—27), the biblical tradition suggests a relationship between the primitive Arabian and the Mosaic religion. Besides, the two Arabian priests worship God by the same name (Yahweh) as do Moses and the Israelites; Dr. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH has recently shown that the name Yahweh probably appears among ancient North Arabic personal names. The events at Sinai first cause a reform of this religion. In Egypt the religion of the people is still the common old Arabian natural religion. The feast e. g., which is mentioned (Exod. 3) is the well-known old Arabian spring-festival of the nomads, from which the later Jewish and Christian paschal feast has developed. This festival corresponds exactly with the harvest-festival of the peasants; the flocks bring forth their young ones and multiply, the crops wax ripe, and a lamb is brought as a thank offering—the later paschal lamb; and the peasants tithe their crop. They make a pilgrimage to one of the holy mountains in order to bring a sacrifice; for the ancestral customs must be observed at the old shrines. Hence the people in Egypt ask Pharaoh for permission to go into the wilderness to bring their God the ritual sacrifice at the ancestral place of worship and bring cattle for sacrifice with them (Exod. 10, 25—26). In their trouble they return to the God of their fathers and seek him in the place where their fathers met him, just as, later, Elijah and others did. Only when permission was refused, was the old feast celebrated, and the lambs slaughtered, within their houses—as is done now, instead of in tents at a place of worship on a holy mountain. The punishment for this transgression falls upon the Egyptians.

In order to localize Mount Sinai we must, within the prescribed region, find a mountain with a place or places of sacrifice dating back to the primitive Arabian religious cultus.

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<sup>1</sup> B. STADE: *Die Entstehung des Volkes Israel*, 1897 (Rektoratsrede, Gießen); K. BUDDE: *Das nomadische Ideal im Alten Testament*, Preuß. Jahrb. 85, 1896, p. 57—79; *Die altisraelitisch Religion*<sup>3</sup>, 1912, p. 1—20; *Der Ursprung der Jahweh-Religion*; Ed. Meyer: *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, 1906; H. GRESSMANN: *Mose und seine Zeit*, 1913.

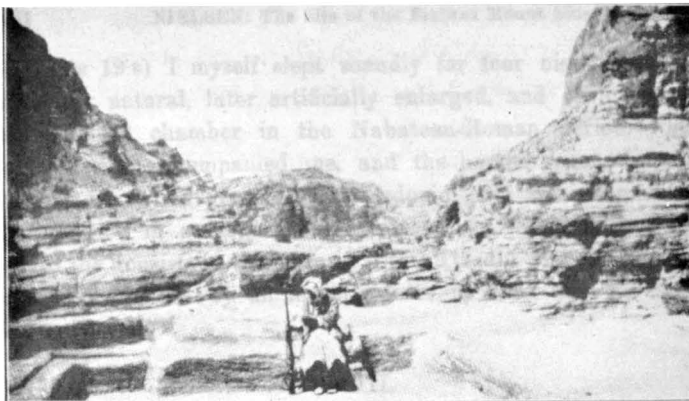
Such places of sacrifice have long been known in *Petra*, the "rock" or "mount."<sup>1</sup> More than twenty years ago I pointed out that Mount Sinai, according to biblical traditions, must needs be a mountain with offering-places of the same kind as those in *Petra* (*Die alt arab. Mondreligion*, Straßburg 1904) and I have recently repeated this suggestion (*Handbuch der alt arabischen Altertumskunde*, I, 1927, p. 246). But not till I visited *Petra* in April 1927 was I able to identify this place with the biblical Sinai.

Numerous and excellent works describe the *Petra* of the Nabatean and Roman days, i.e. a few centuries before and after Christ. At that time *Petra* was a naturally fortified centre for traffic and trade on the important route to the Red Sea and India. It was, however, not until the last centuries B. C. that the shipping trade to India flourished. Before that time the highway of commerce was the caravan-route northwards through Arabia by Mecca, Medina, El-Ula and Ma'an. The Indian and South-Arabian articles of luxury were then carried on the backs of camels northwards by the powerful commercial nation of Ma'an (the classical Minæans). Ma'an had in the north caravansaries and colonies. *Petra*, however, was then, as it is now, desolate, a haunt of the Bedouin, who, at most, practise but a little agriculture at the ridge of El-Gi near 'Ain Musa. When visiting *Petra* in 1927 my aim was to explore into the earlier and little known history of *Petra*.

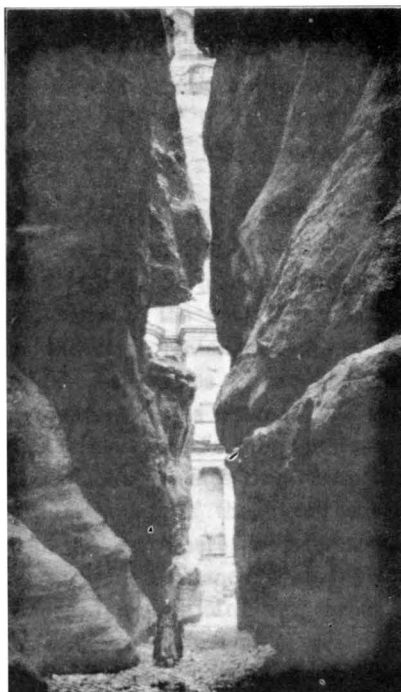
It is evident that *Petra* had an ancient history. In the first place the strange, many coloured nature of the rocks must at all times have awed and fascinated the visitor; a sun-rise, or a moonlit night there, is an experience not to be forgotten. Secondly, the place is a natural strong-hold against enemies and a refuge in rough weather. A long, narrow chasm being the only practical entrance to the valley, it is very difficult to capture. During the Syrian War of a hundred years ago, it was the only place (so I was told) which Ibrahim Pasha could not conquer. And the innumerable caves in the rocks afford a shelter to the Bedouin and great flocks of goats. Like Elijah

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<sup>1</sup> A Greek translation of the *Sela'* in the Old Testament; the word as used in the O. T. is a common designation of a "rock" or "mount," but also a proper name used of this almost ring-shaped mountain, which surrounds a valley, which the Arabs call by the name of the stream, flowing in the middle of it: *Wadi Mûsa*, the valley of Moses.



**Fig. 5.** The oldest high place at Petra below the half-moon-shaped opening in the western rocky wall.



**Fig. 6.** The curious gorge with the miraculous water, supposed by Prof. G. DALMAN to be the origin of the legend of Moses striking water out of the rock.





(1 Kings 19 9) I myself slept soundly for four nights in a cavern, originally natural, later artificially enlarged, and obviously used as a sepulchral chamber in the Nabatean-Roman period, while the soldiers who accompanied me, and the horses spent the night in another. And one evening some Bedouin gave a dancing and singing performance in a larger mountain-chamber. Sometimes even *Cook* lodges the tourists in this natural hotel. Thirdly, the places of worship must—as admitted by all investigators—be older than the Nabatean-Roman period.

### III.

My chief aim was to visit these old places of sacrifice and to ascertain whether they belong to the Sun-god, as in Nabatean days (we know that the Nabateans worshipped *Dusares*, a Sun-god), or whether the symbols and forms of cultus pointed rather to an ancient worship of the Moon-god. Fortunately the sites here are the most intact which survive from Semitic antiquity; in other more civilized regions in Arabia, as well as in Palestine, the zeal of Jews and Mohammedans has destroyed the remnants of "idolatry" and "ignorance."

On the peak of *Zibb-atuf* south of the valley, on the highest northern summit, a large well-known offering-place is situated. Two ancient stone pillars (*Masseboth*) mark the entrance to the holy place; the offering-place, hewn in the rock, recalls the Temple Court of Jerusalem; it has the same rectangular shape, the same altar, the same water basin, the same drains for the blood; the same orientation towards the four quarters of the heaven. The important question is now, whether it is orientated towards the east, the *Kiblah* of the Christian churches, which originates from the primitive North-Semitic natural religion, a worship of the rising sun, or whether it is 'orientated' towards the west where the new moon appears, as in the primitive Arabian religion. This ancient observance of the new moon has left traces among Jews and Moslems; the feast of the new moon in ancient Israel was also a survival of this. The hypothesis of an orientation towards the east is quite impossible in the great offering-place of *Zibb atuf*; the altar faces the west; the steps leading up to the altar are to the east of it; i. e. the priest faced the west when offering the sacrifice, and the congregation behind him also faced the

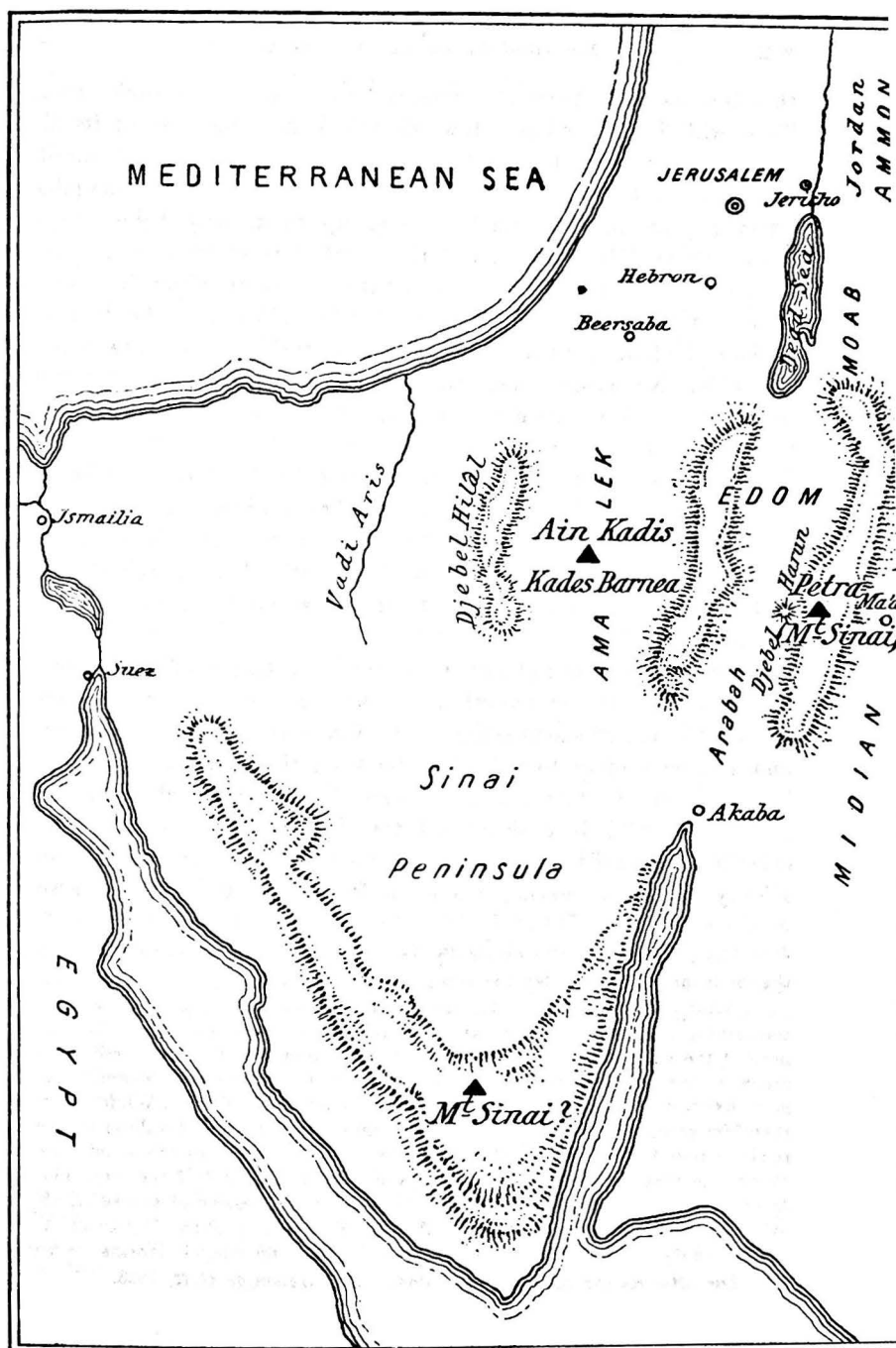
west. This place of worship is orientated towards the west, as was the temple of Jerusalem; it was originally a holy place devoted to the Moon-god.

A confirmation of this view I found when climbing round to the western side of the summit. The sandstone which is so easily worked is here artificially flattened, and some religious symbols, facing the west, are cut into the rock—two pillars crowned by new moons.

Scaling the steep rocky wall west of the valley yielded no result.

One wonderful moonlit night I ascended the Roman ruins in the valley to look at the setting of the moon. The moon was setting behind the western rocky wall, but towards the north it was still to be seen. I climbed the top of the ruins and from here saw the descending half-moon through a huge semi-circular depression, a cleft carved by nature in the shape of a half-moon in the far-stretching, almost horizontal rocky-wall. The shape of the depression corresponds exactly with the moon's disc, the new moon and the half moon being horizontal in Arabia. The white half-moon was thus below framed by a dark-blue half-moon. This happened on the night of Friday, the 8th of April, 1927, a week before Good Friday, the moon being full on the following Sunday.

The next morning I explored the ravine towards the west. It is funnel-shaped, is narrowed towards the west and is but a few hundred yards wide at the eastern entrance. Here, on the eastern slope, there is a natural auditorium accommodating a few thousand people; farther to the west and ten or fifteen yards higher up is a natural pulpit in a square block of the rock. On this rock are found certain religious symbols, some of which are so indistinct that it may be doubted whether they really are carved symbols or merely natural inequalities of the rock; but a triangular bull's head with the half-moon above it is quite distinct, it is the very same form as that which is frequently seen in the ancient Arabian monuments. Through a gallery I ascended to the top of the perpendicular rock. Here, just in front of the great half-moon in the western rocky wall I found, as I expected, a *madbah*, an offering place, orientated towards the new moon in the sky and the rocky new moon above! It is formed by nature, the three sides being bounded by perpendicular rocks, the fourth, eastern, side devolving into a table land, where there is room for those who partook of the sacrificial meal. Between



this and the altar there is a smaller lower court seven yards square. This, with its water-basin towards the south, the form of its altar and orientation of the court, recalls the greater place of sacrifice on *Zibb-atuf*. But while the holy place on *Zibb-atuf*, its stone-pillars, offering place and approach leading up to it, may belong to the Nabatean or Edomite period,<sup>1</sup> this smaller place of worship, which to a great extent is formed by nature, is certainly much older. It is nearer the valley and easier of access. Besides, the tombs of *Zibb-atuf*, characterized by their ornamental portals, date back to the older Nabatean time, whereas the numerous tombs near the lesser place of sacrifice are natural caves or simply cut into the rock<sup>2</sup> without any ornaments.

A third offering-place was discovered by Prof. Hoskins in 1905 on the eastern rocky wall of Petra; it has a court and an altar and is orientated towards the west like the others, but also towards the moon-shaped depression of the western rock. I much regret that I had no time to climb the radiant white mountain to look at it myself.

Now these offering-places definitely show traces of moon-worship. That the ancient *Yahuveh*-religion has sprung from a moon religion, and that its cultus shows traces of it, I have tried to prove elsewhere,<sup>3</sup> and I hope shortly to publish a book on this subject. Here I only lay stress on the fact that the tabernacle as described in the Bible, the holy rock of Jerusalem, and the Temple of Solomon, were all orientated towards the west, and show in the arrangement some affinity with the offering places of Petra. So there may be some

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<sup>1</sup> The Nabateans, being originally Arabs, may in older times have worshipped the moon and not till later the sun-god.

<sup>2</sup> While DALMAN pays no attention to this lesser place of sacrifice as being too trifling and poor, Prof. Hoskins has discovered and described it; he has not noticed the orientation towards the west and the marks of moon-worship, but is much impressed by the wild and romantic surroundings: "Towering rocks 200—400 feet high surrounded the weird spot on every side... While not more than 300 yards away from the Arch of Triumph (in the Petra valley) one might imagine that he had gone a day's journey into the heart of the mountains... It may be that the main "high place" was the "Cathedral" of the city, and the second high place a sort of "winter church" much easier of access" (*Biblical World*, March 1903, p. 167—174 = *Jordan Valley and Petra* II, Chap. VIII, pp. 192—207). If we change "Winter church" to "Old chapel" Hoskins is right.

<sup>3</sup> *Die altarabische Mondreligion*, 1906. *Der dreieinige Gott*, 1923.

truth in the statement (Exod. 25 40 that the tabernacle was made) after the pattern which was shown to Moses in the mount.<sup>1</sup>

#### IV.

Modern biblical scholarship has failed to realize the identity of the biblical "mount of God," Sinai, Horeb or the "mountain" (par excellence), with the mountain which also, later on, was called "the mount" or "rock" (*Petra, Sela'*). The *oriental tradition*, however, has always known it.

Already pre-Christian Jewish sources of information place the Mosaic events in this place as well as the mountain where Aaron died. The local Arabic name of the valley is *Wadi Musa*, the valley of Moses. The spring is the spring of Moses, *'Ain Mûsa*, and the population makes pilgrimage there to drink the healing water and to be healed of their ills. In winter, after the rainy season, this spring swells into a torrent which runs through a narrow fissure, more than a hundred yards deep, in the eastern ridge. Prof. G. DALMAN, the distinguished Swedish investigator, supposes that the starting point of the Moses-legend concerning the miraculous water is not the spring itself, but this curious gorge which looks as if hewn out of the rock.

Now it is worth noticing that not only do Mosaic traditions speak in favour of Petra, but also a still surviving local cultus; it is *even now a place of worship*. The spring is still holy and much frequented; and to the top of *Jebel Harûn* Bedouin still make pilgrimage from far away, and on certain days the local "prophet" (*Nabi Harûn*) is worshipped by the sacrificing of lambs. The place is so holy that profane foreigners are not admitted; no local guide would accompany me there; and the local English commandant requested me not to

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<sup>1</sup> That the ancient Arabian moon-religion was widely spread in these regions is confirmed by its occurrence in the peninsula of Sinai at a very early date. W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE: *Researches in Sinai*, London 1906. LINA ECKENSTEIN: *A History of Sinai*, London—New York 1921, chap. II: Sinai a Centre of Moon-Cult, pp. 8—16, chap. III: The sanctuary of Serabit, p. 17—40. Such worship still survived here; for the martyr Antoninus describes a new moon festival at the traditional Sinai in the 6th century A. D. F. R. TUCK: *ZDMG.*, vol. III, 1849, pp. 162—203. FR. BAETHGEN: *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin 1888, p. 105f.

go there alone.<sup>1</sup> Now the immutability of holy places is perhaps the most established fact in the history of religion, and in Palestine Mr. CURTISS<sup>2</sup> and Dr. CANAAN<sup>3</sup> trace the history of the present shrines of the peasants back to Semitic antiquity. The same holy place in Jerusalem, for instance, has been a holy rock, perhaps a temple of Ishtar, the Temple of Solomon and of the later Jews, a Roman temple of Jupiter, a Christian church and a Mohammedan mosque. The "mount of Yahweh" was, even before the coming of Moses, a "mount of worship," for it was said to him: "Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place (*makam*) whereon thou standest is holy ground." Even now, and especially in Islam, the "putting off of the shoes" is the chief duty when entering a *makām* (holy place).

When we try to fit the biblical narratives, whether they be real facts or legends, into the geographical frame of Petra, it must be emphasized that the biblical sources, though written comparatively late, may contain an old kernel, e. g. the list of festivals in the later priestly source is based on moon-seasons; it does not, of course, imply moon-worship, but it implies institutions which go back to moon-worship.<sup>4</sup>

From *Ed-Deir*, the southern part of the western rocky-wall of Petra, there is a fine outlook towards 'Ain Kadis. Here the children of Israel wandered in "the wilderness of Sin," which is between Elim and Sinai, "where Israel arrived" on the fifteenth day of the second month after their departing out of Egypt" (Exod. 16 1). As usual they murmured against Moses, but he and Aaron said to them: "... At even ye shall know that Yahweh hath brought you out from the land of Egypt... Come near before the face of Yahweh... And it came to pass as Aaron spake unto the whole congregation of the children of Israel that they looked toward the wilderness (i. e. towards the east), and, behold, the glory of Yahweh appeared in the cloud."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. MUSIL: *Arabia Petraea* II, Edom 1, p. 335.

<sup>2</sup> *Ursemitische Religion*, Leipzig 1903.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, vol. IV, 1924, pp. 1-84. Vol. V, 1925, pp. 163-203. Vol. VI, 1926, pp. 1-69, 118-168.

<sup>4</sup> Of course the dates of the priestly code afford no historical data from the time of the wanderings in the desert, but they are based on the old real lunar festivals of the Israelites which go back to moon-worship, and the origin of these lunar festivals is by the priestly code traced back to Arabia as well as to the God who was worshipped in those days (Ex. 6 3).

The "face of Yahweh" and the "glory of Yahweh" are old designations of the full-moon, which appears on the fifteenth of the moon-month as a sign of the presence of Yahweh.

This wilderness in the middle of which 'Ain Kadis is situated is bounded on the east by the biblical Sinai (Petra), the "moon-mountain," on the west by *Jebel Hilāl*, the "new moon-mountain," and is itself called the wilderness of Sin, "the wilderness of the moon." From the desert the new-moon is seen in the western sky above *Jebel Hilāl*, the full-moon in the east above Sinai. Thirty years ago A. H. SAYCE and FR. HOMMEL advanced the theory that the biblical *Sin* and *Sinai* are derived from the name of the Babylonian Moon-god. From its occurrence in the ancient Arabic and Ethiopic inscriptions, the name of Sin is now known to be not only a Babylonian but an ancient, common Semitic term for the moon-god. Now Yahweh was originally a Moon-god, and our hypothesis that his abode is to be found in these regions is confirmed by these ancient place names.

The next chapter (Exod. 17) states how Moses smote the rock and water came out. It has already been mentioned that Prof. DALMAN thinks the gorge of Wadi Musa to be the scene of the miracle.

The pilgrims encamped at Sinai-Petra just as do the Moslems at the holy mountain of Mecca and the Samaritans at Gerizim. For three days they were to be continent and purify themselves—usages familiar from the ancient Arabian and later Semitic religion. Only Moses and Aaron had access to the top of the mountain and its altar—it corresponds to the Sanctuary and the Holy of Holies of the Tabernacle and of the Temple—the people remaining as in the Temple, devoutly aloof. "And it came to pass on the third day in the morning, that there were thunders and lightning, and a thick cloud upon the mount and the voice of the trumpet exceeding loud... and Moses brought forth the people out of the camp to meet with God; and they stood at the nether part of the mount... So Moses went down to the people and spake unto them" (Exod 19). The sound of the trumpets and the proclaiming of the commandments of the law form a conspicuous part of later Israelite worship;<sup>1</sup> from the gallery of the minaret the Mohammedan *mueddin* proclaims the greatest commandments to the people. Moses perhaps took the people

<sup>1</sup> The "trumpet" (*Shofar*), usually a ram's horn, is used by the Israelites for the announcement of the New-Moon and other solemn festivals.



to the above-mentioned natural auditorium and spoke from the natural pulpit above among the rocks. The fire and smoke on the mountain came not from a volcano, but from the sacrifices offered in the old place of sacrifice above in the rock.

Now it is a distinctive feature of the holy places of Petra that they are natural rock formations, fashioned by nature—or God—and but little due to art; originally any artificial working of the holy place was avoided. Also the commandment in Exod. 20 25 prohibits any artificial working of the altar, "for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it."

A natural plateau, only partly hewn out of the rock, is found, as mentioned above, by the side of this place of worship, accommodating fifty or a hundred men. It is quite evident—and the Bedouin say so too—that only a smaller number of persons assembled here who were worthy to partake of the sacrificial meal. Exod. 24 states that after the proclamation of "the commandments" Moses and Aaron and seventy elders of Israel went up...and they saw God and did eat and drink (vv. 9 and 11). In the same way the Arabs to-day after a sacrifice on a holy mountain eat the flesh of the sacrifice, and the Samaritans eat the lambs of the offering on Mount Gerizim. Also the rites of the covenant, such as the sprinkling of blood on the altar and on the people, are an old Arabian practice (Herodotus III 8).

This offering-place and the plateau where the partakers of the sacrificial meal assembled, is orientated towards the half-moon-shaped cleft in the western rocky wall, where the new moon appears in an impressive way, the white new moon being framed by the dark-blue sky below it.

This striking outlook may account for the holiness of this place of worship. Thus, too, we may explain the detailed description of the elders' vision, when they "saw God": "And they saw the God of Israel: and there was under his feet as it were a *paved work* of sapphire stone, and as it were the very heaven for clearness" (Exod. 24).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Die altarabische Mondreligion*, p. 166. The expression "paved work of sapphire stone" is difficult. May the text be emended into כִּלְבָּנָה כְּמַעֲשֵׂה הַסַּפִּיר "as a moon, as a work of sapphire stone?"

Perhaps this remarkable vision explains also the enigmatical narrative of Exod. 33, the vision of Moses. The story was later changed to conform with the theology of later Judaism; it avoids the old religious conceptions which saw God in the moon and the sun; God is invisible: "thou canst not see my face." The original story, however, told how Moses wished to see the "glory of Yahweh" which, being identical with the "face of Yahweh," was the moon. "And Yahweh said, Behold there is place (*makām*, a holy place) by me, and thou shalt stand upon the rock; and it shall come to pass, while my glory passeth by (*'abar*), that I will put thee in the cleft of the rock...and thou shalt see..." The passage is obscure; but at any rate it speaks of a curiously shaped place in the rock where Yahweh may be seen in a peculiar manner.

The importance of the New-moon festival is conspicuous in the ancient Israelite religion and also among the Arabs to-day. Even in present-day Judaism a special prayer ("Blessing of the New Moon") is used. The episodes at Sinai are fixed by the days of the moon. According to the 'Priestly Code' the Israelites arrived at the beginning of a month (cf. Exod. 19)<sup>1</sup> and Yahweh appeared to Moses (Exod. 24 15 f.). According to sources "J" and "E" the people had to purify themselves for these days; on the third day the new moon was seen in the western sky, when setting. So God commanded: "Be ready against the third day; for the third day Yahweh will come down (i. e. set, *yarad*) in the sight of all the people over mount Sinai" (Exod. 19 11); and Exod. 19 20 states that Yahweh descended (*yarad*) while the sacrifices were offered on the mount. At Arabian, Jewish and Samaritan festivals worship does not begin till after the setting of the sun and the appearance of the new moon.

It is important to note that the Covenant took place outside of Canaan in Arabia. This must be a historical fact: no fiction would have placed the events here. Again the religion shows many Arabian traces. And above all, the God of the people is no North-Semitic solar-deity, but the ancient Arabian Moon-god. In Arabian antiquity religion and nation are inseparable; the making of a nation is the

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<sup>1</sup> DILLMANN has proposed this emendation (בִּצְחָר לַחֲרִישׁ) in his commentary on Exodus 19 1; a later hand has destroyed the original date of the theophany at Sinai, the new-moon-day, perhaps to eliminate any trace of worship of the moon.

origin of a new national god, the god of the people, the only god to them; but this god among the old Arabian nations is but a modification of the well-known popular Arabian Moon-god, and even his name may be old. *Wadd* and *Ilmukah 'Amm* and *Yahweh* are all national gods as well as modifications of the same primitive Moon-god. The history of religion proves that monotheism comes into existence by the elevation of one chief god and the elimination of the others.<sup>1</sup> This is shown by the history of Islam; before Mohammed Allah was the chief Arabian god and was probably worshipped in the shape of the moon. While among the North-Semitic and Egyptian people the attempts at henotheism and monotheism concentrate on the Sun-god, the parallel movements in Arabia concentrate on the Moon-god. If we would trace the origin of Yahweh worship and take account of the more outstanding Semitic deities, we are limited to a choice between the North-Semitic solar deity and the Arabian lunar deity. Theories deriving Israelite monotheism from a Sun-god have wholly failed; Yahweh is no *Ba'al*. On the other hand traces in Israelite worship, perhaps even the name of Yahweh and the tradition of the abode of God and the place of the Covenant, all point to the south.

So St. Paul is right in symbolizing the Old Covenant by the handmaid of Sara (Gal. 4 25). "Now Hagar is Mount Sinai in Arabia." He, too, knows that originally the religion of Israel did not belong to the promised land, and that Sinai is situated in Arabia.<sup>2</sup>

I am much obliged to the scholars, cand. theol. P. O. BOSTRUP, Copenhagen and Rev. Dr. H. DANBY, Jerusalem, for their kind and very valuable assistance in translating this article in to English from my Danish paper.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. RAFFAELE PETTAZZONI: *Die formazione e sviluppo del monotheismo nella storia delle religioni*, vol. I, Roma 1922. *La formation du monotheisme*, *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, tome 88, 1923, p. 193—229.

<sup>2</sup> The word *Hagar* is obscure. Have, perhaps, the Semitic sounds *h* and *k* been confused?—*hagar* in Arabic meaning "a stone", "a rock", like *Petra* and *Sela*.

## BOOK REVIEWS

KURT WIESE, *Zur Literarkritik des Buches der Richter*, being a separate book bound up in *Studien zu Ezechiel und dem Buch der Richter* von Lic. theol. Siegfried Sprank und Lic. theol. Kurt Wiese. W. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart 1926.

By a somewhat unusual arrangement two entirely distinct works on different subjects have been united to form a single volume. The present notice is concerned only with one of them.

Regarded as a whole this little treatise is a vigorous attack on the view that the supposititious Pentateuchal sources J and E are to be found in the historical books. "Die Annahme, daß zwei große Darstellungen (J und E) die Geschichte Israels von ihren Anfängen (Genesis) bis zum definitiven Zusammenbruch (Reg. 2, Ende) behandelt haben, ist eine Übersteigerung des literar-kritischen Systems, das gewöhnlich kurz nach Wellhausen genannt wird" (61). Whether the author believes that these sources existed in the Hexateuch is not quite clear. Apparently the position is that at present he does, but would cease to do so if he were to apply to the study of the Pentateuch the methods he adopts in the case of Judges.

It would have been well if Wiese before approaching the details of his subject had drawn attention to some of the larger aspects which are at least as pertinent as any of the arguments he has produced: for the historical books regarded broadly as a whole provide a not unfavourable field for testing the hypothesis.

1. In the first place, we are struck by the fact that they contain a number of passages in which the exact opposite of the process postulated by the advocates of J and E can be shown to have taken place. Instead of a narrative that is compounded of two earlier accounts, one Judaeon and using the Tetragrammaton, the other Ephraimite and characterised by the employment of Elohim, we have

numerous cases in which a single document has reached us in two different forms. The parallel texts in Joshua and Judges on the one hand and Samuel-Kings and Chronicles on the other are familiar examples. And many of these are remarkable for variations in the Divine names. If, for instance, we find a narrative in Samuel where the older book presents the Tetragrammaton and the Chronicler Elohim, are we to say that the books of Samuel are a Judæan narrative and Chronicles an Ephraimite, reversing the designations when we find passages in which the opposite phenomena appear?

2. There are frequent versional variants, and it is abundantly clear that the text was treated in early times with a latitude of which current criticism takes no account. For reasons of space it is impossible to do more than merely indicate this and the other arguments: but it may be hoped that Wiese or another will find occasion to expand them in a future study.

3. Strong grounds exist for thinking that the word Baal was frequent in the original texts and that our present divine appellations are often nothing more than scribal substitutions for it. For example in 1 Sam. 29 6 we find the Philistine king Achish represented as swearing by the God of Israel. Yet it is certain that He was not worshipped in Philistia and that persons going thither were regarded as leaving the inheritance of the Lord for a territory in which they would perforce sacrifice to other gods (1 Sam. 26 19). In Israel itself the oath 'as the Baal liveth' remained usual for centuries after. It can hardly be doubted that we should restore it here and that the text has been altered in deference to Jer. 12 16. Similarly in Jgs. 9 7 every consideration of sense and literary form leads us to read שמעו אלי בעלי שכם וישמע אליכם הבעל for the obviously inappropriate Elohim, as can be seen by anybody of literary feeling who troubles to read the passage in the light of the preceding narrative. But such facts are quite fatal to the J and E hypothesis.

4. It is utterly impossible to squeeze out of the historical books any support for a theory of compilation from a Judæan and an Ephraimite document. Where in the books of Samuel is there a hint of Northern or Ephraimite tendencies? The interests displayed, the motives revealed, the problems discussed are of an entirely different kind. Monarchy or no monarchy, house of Saul or house of David, priesthood of Eli's family or of another, such are the matters in

debate. And who can suppose that if we had a Judæan source in Judges we should hear so little of the tribe in which it originated? Here again such tendencies as appear suggest very different considerations. If we compare the song of Deborah with the later prose narrative in Jgs. 4 we are impressed by the fact that whereas the poem embraces the greater part of Israel and shows a consciousness of the unity of the nation as a whole in its very first verse, the prose account represents Naphtali and Asher as alone responsible for the victory. Similarly parts of the story of Gideon give preeminence to the same tribes (6 35, 7 23), while in this narrative, and still more in that of Jephthah, Ephraim is presented in a very unfavourable light. To what origins do such phenomena point?

5. The historical books contain passages which are separated from each other by wide spaces of time. Thus there are texts that were written before Jerusalem or Gezer had become Israelite. How can these be assigned to a narrator who told of the Schism or of the fall of the Jewish monarchy? Or again how credit a later writer with a history that ended with David's reign? An attempt is made to meet such contentions by postulating schools of J.'s and E.'s that for centuries on end—from some period in the time of the Judges till the fall of the state—existed side by side using styles that were practically indistinguishable and yet marked by a few very delicate individual characteristics. Nobody with any sense of reality will believe anything of the sort on the evidence offered, which is in truth too tenuous to merit discussion.

6. While the theory of the existence of J and E in the Pentateuch is still widely held by men who refuse to give any consideration to the facts and arguments that have been adduced to dispose of it, nobody has been found to attempt any public refutation of these. On the other hand an increasing number of scholars who have attempted to face them have been constrained to abandon the hypothesis. It is still possible for men like Wiese to rely complacently on old books like Holzinger's Hexateuch as representing the last word on the subject, but that attitude is becoming daily less tenable, and with the increase of literature on the other side it will react steadily on the reputation of those who seek to maintain it.

Such are some of the principal considerations that come into view on any attempt to face the hypothesis of J and E in the historical

books. There appears to be a movement at Leipzig to oppose it. It is a pity that its supporters habitually leave out of account some of the arguments that would do most to strengthen their thesis.

Wiese's study is limited to an attempt to refute his opponents on the basis of some of the narratives of Judges. He is better in reply than in construction. Many of his comments on the prevailing hypothesis are convincing, and he is often successful in its refutation. On the other hand he is apt to fall into the same errors in a slightly different form. There are two dominating considerations which he in common with his opponents frequently overlooks; first, our information is often too scanty and indecisive to warrant any hypothesis at all; and secondly the subjectivity of the modern West is entirely different from that of the ancient East. Hence he often leaves his readers cold and unconvinced.

The passages he has selected for treatment are the stories of Ehud, Deborah and Barak, Gideon (but without Abimelech), Jephthah and Samson. It is not a happy selection, for the first and the last are of very minor importance for the J and E theory, the material of the appendix is not treated at all and the important chapter 9 is left out of account. One or two instances of his methods may be given.

He insists that the conception of Israel as a political unity is later than the story of Ehud (5f., cf. 24). As has been pointed out above, it is to be found in the song of Deborah, and the remarkable fact is that Judges 4 assigns to only two tribes what was really the achievement of far larger sections of the people. But Wiese's argumentation (5 *note*) is faulty. What may be considered good German style I cannot say, but in English we should find nothing singular in speaking of Bavarian troops as Germans, nor should we draw any farfetched inferences from such a phrase as Germans from Bavaria, Baden and Wurtemberg. Yet he argues that 7 23 'Israelites from Naphtali and Asher and Manasseh' is impossible. "Wir sagen auch nicht: Deutsche aus Ostpreussen, Pommern, usw." Possibly not in German, though the phrase is unobjectionable in other languages; but this contention possesses no value at all to those who realise that every language and every people have their own turns of expression. Again on the following page 4 16 is made a gloss for no objective reason, except that it suits his theory.

The most important of the passages he discusses from the point of view of his thesis is undoubtedly the story of Gideon. At the

very outset we miss an adequate consideration of the state of the text. This is true of all the divisions of Wiese's book, but it has a special importance here, because there is ground for believing that serious alterations have taken place. Our oldest external witnesses point to a book of Judges in which Jerubbaal not Gideon was the predominant name of the hero. In 1 Sam. 12 11, which appears to come from an editor of Judges, he is so designated. Had the text of the book known to that editor been anything like that of the Massoretic Judges we should have had Gideon in this passage. In Hos. 10 14 for the corrupt Arbel A Q<sup>a</sup> read Jerubbaal. The passage appears originally to have referred to the destruction of his house by Σαλαμαν (BAQ), seemingly the same person as the Σελμανα or Σαλμανα who is represented by the Salmunna of the Massoretic Judges. The allusion of Hosea is confirmed by the tenour of Jgs. 8 18f. and suggests that the prophet had before him the original book from which these verses were extracted.

It is obvious too that the name Gideon has failed completely to oust Jerubbaal in two passages of our Hebrew (7 1 and 8 35). What did the earliest text of these chapters look like? And what light would it have thrown on our enquiry? What was its relation to Jgs. 9 and to the passages in Samuel which are from the same book as that chapter (see above pp. 138ff.). Wiese does not deal with these problems. Instead he treats us to a discussion of the Gideon story which is as arbitrary and unconvincing as the hypothesis he seeks to refute.

But enough of criticism. In his main contention the author has been successful and he has shown courage and a knowledge of his own mind in the work. If he will persevere in his task and broaden his knowledge and his methods, his future labours should give steadily improving results.

HAROLD M. WIENER.

*Hermetica*, The ancient Greek and Latin Writings which Contain Religious or philosophic Teachings Ascribed To Hermes Trismegistus edited with English Translation and Notes by WALTER SCOTT. Vol. I: Introduction, Texts, Translation. Vol. II: Notes on the Corpus Hermeticum. (Oxford. Clarendon Press. 1924/1925).

In diesem umfangreichen Werke wird zum ersten Mal der Versuch gemacht, ein grosses Gebiet antiker Geistesgeschichte und



religiöser Entwicklung zu umspannen, das bisher abschreckte, weil es fast unzugänglich war. Denn die Quellen waren verstreut und ihr Text nur in Bruchteilen lesbar. Scott will das gesamte Material der hermetischen Schriften einschliesslich aller Fragmente sammeln, ihm durch eine rezensio eine kritische Basis schaffen, es kommentieren und deuten und schliesslich durch einen Indexband es als Quelle auch dem erschliessen, der nicht speziell auf diesem Gebiete arbeitet. Zwei Bände liegen mir vor; der erste umfasst den Text der 18 libelli des Corpus Hermeticum, die drei Bücher Asclepius, die unter Apuleius' Namen erhalten sind, und alle bei Stobäus erhaltenen hermetischen Exzerpte, darunter Exc. XXIII, die umfangreiche *κόρη κόσμου*. Den Schluss bilden Fragmente aus sonstigen Quellen. Alles wird mit Übersetzung und ausführlichem textkritischen Apparat gegeben. Der zweite Band enthält den Kommentar der 18 hermetischen Libelli. Der dritte, inzwischen erschienen, enthält den Schluss des Kommentars, der vierte soll testimonia, appendices, indices enthalten. In seiner Einleitung (I 1-16) definiert Scott als zum Corpus Hermeticum gehörige Texte diejenigen philosophischen oder religiösen Schriften, die dem Hermes Trismegistos zugeschrieben werden. Die auf seinen Namen gehenden astrologischen, magischen, alchemistischen Schriften bleiben von dem Corpus ausgeschlossen. Etwa wie Ammonius Saccas, meint Scott, hätte man sich die Verfasser der hermetischen Traktate vorzustellen. Plotius Lehrer, der einer kleinen Schülergruppe mündlich seine Lehre übergibt, ohne mit den Philosophenschulen zu konkurrieren, kann uns eine ungefähre Vorstellung von den hermetischen Denkern, ihrem Leben und ihrer Arbeitsweise geben. Die erhaltenen hermetischen Traktate sind nachträgliche Niederschriften solcher Gespräche, wahrscheinlich von Schülern hergestellt. Die Stärke dieser Literatur, die aus der ägyptischen Thot-Hermes-Überlieferung entsteht, beruht auf ihrer „directness and simplicity of statement“, obwohl kaum einer der Gedanken absolut neu und originell ist. Mit Recht betont der Herausgeber das Fehlen des Sacramentalismus in diesen Schriften. Von Wichtigkeit sind Scotts chronologische Bestimmungen. Um 310 p. C. existiert der grösste Teil der uns erhaltenen Hermetica. 207—213 lesen Christen schon ähnliche Schriften. Nur Asclepius Lat. III wird von Scott genauer datiert und zwar „within a year or two of A. D. 270“. Die Gründe für letztere Ansetzung kann ich nicht

prüfen, da sie in der Einleitung des mir nicht vorliegenden dritten Bandes gebracht werden. Alle Hermetica sind jedenfalls nach Scott nachposidonianisch. Der grösste Teil von ihnen ist im 3. Jahrh. geschrieben, einige vielleicht im 2. Jahrh., keins im ersten. Jeder Traktat hat einen eigenen philosophischen Platonismus, besonders ist der Einfluss des Timaeus kenntlich; sonst sind stoische Niederschläge vor allem in kosmologischen Partien vorhanden. Im Poimandres, (Corp. I) und in Corp. III ist der Anfang der Genesis benutzt, jüdische Spekulationen findet Scott sicher im Poimandres, aber dieser kleine Traktat war nach Scott den meisten Hermetikern unbekannt und nicht sein Verfasser selbst hat ihn dem Hermes zugeschrieben. Nur Corpus XIII enthält deutlich Christliches, nämlich die Lehre von der Wiedergeburt. Im übrigen wird das Christentum von dieser Literatur ignoriert. Der Hermetiker hatte freilich, wenn er zum Christentum überging, nicht viel umzulernen. Mit den Worten von Matth. 5 8 liesse sich nach Scott auch der Grundgehalt der hermetischen Lehren zusammenfassen. — An die ausführliche Übersicht über Handschriftenbestand und Überlieferung im zweiten Teil der Indroduktion schliesst Scott ein kurzes Referat über die Ergebnisse der Forschungen von Reitzenstein, Jos. Kroll und Heinrici. Das Kapitel Testimonia (p. 87 sq.) gibt eine Übersicht über die Geschicke dieser Literatur und ihr Nachleben bis in arabische Zeit.

Die Prinzipien seiner Editionstechnik setzt Scott, p. 24 sq., auseinander. Der von den Handschriften gebotene Text und die vom Editor hergestellte Rekonstruktion des ursprünglichen sollen dem Leser gleichzeitig mit einem Blick geboten werden; wirklich eine komplizierte Aufgabe. Zu diesem Zweck hat Scott ein verwirrendes Zeichensystem benutzt, das leider den Text unübersichtlich macht und weder für den, der diese Texte untersucht, noch für den, der in ihnen etwas nachsieht, bequem ist. So ist ein Textbild zustande gekommen, bei dem man mühsam feststellen muss, was die Handschriften bieten und was durch Konjekturen oder Emendationen eingesetzt worden ist. Das ist um so schlimmer, weil Scott den Bestand unserer Überlieferung für heillos verdorben hält und in massloser Weise konjiciert, korrigiert und umstellt. Schöne geschlossene Textstücke erscheinen in seiner Bearbeitung wie zerstückelt und bisweilen sogar banalisiert. Es genügt z. B. den Poimandretext, wie er sich unter Scotts Händen gestaltet, zu vergleichen mit der von Reitzenstein (Studien zum antiken

Synkretismus [1926] p. 154sq.) hergestellten recensio, um zu sehen, wie willkürlich Scott in dieser Hinsicht arbeitet. So bietet dieses grossangelegte Werk keinesfalls, was wir hofften, nämlich einen mit unseren Mitteln erreichbaren, fundierten Text.

So viel Vorsicht also der Benutzer des Textes nötig hat, der Benutzer des Kommentars kann sich freier fühlen. Hier ist ein umfangreiches, gelehrtes, zum Teil kostbares Material zusammengetragen, das die Erforschung des Synkretismus bedeutend bereichert. Freilich, dass bei der Datierung der hermetischen Schriften auf lexikographische und stilistische Indizien nicht Wert gelegt worden ist, involviert eine Schwäche des Kommentars. Form und Stil dieses γένος kommen auch im Kommentar zu kurz. Denn er ist zum grössten Teil Sachkommentar oder Rechtfertigung von Scotts Lesungen, Probleme der Form religiöser Rede und Belehrung werden kaum gestreift. Trotz aller Schwächen ist hier ein bedeutendes Werk geschaffen, das ein unübersehbares Gebiet zugänglich macht und so zu seiner intensiven Erforschung anregen wird.

M. SCHWABE.

- ٥١٤ امين مثل الكلب  
 ٥١٥ اجر ب مثل الكلب  
 ٥١٦ اخصي ا مثل الكلب  
 ٥١٧ اذا خصيت [ خزيت ] لـ كلب بـ سكت  
 ٥١٨ الكلب بيا كل ويـ دعي بالخير  
 ٥١٩ الكلب بتفاشر مع صاحبه  
 ٥٢٠ كلابنا سود نيا بهن بيض  
 ٥٢١ كون مثل انسبع لا مثل الكلب  
 ٥٢٢ كلب فالت ولا عشره مر بوطين  
 ٥٢٣ كلب معاك ولا عشره عليك  
 ٥٢٤ كلب الحاره بيقابل الضيوف بالعوى  
 ٥٢٥ كلب الصالون بيلحوس الضيف  
 ٥٢٦ مثل الكلب ييشمشم وهو ماشي  
 ٥٢٧ الكلب ييشم ريمة صاحبه  
 ٥٢٨ الكلب بتشاطر من بعيد لبعيد  
 ٥٢٩ مثل الكلب بتحب انتمصص لعضام  
 ٥٣٠ طعمي كلب ولا تطعمي حمار  
 ٥٣١ المك دنب مثل دنب الكلب  
 ٥٣٢ كلب بري ولا كلب جوي

- ٥٣٣ كلب بلادنا ولا كلب غريب  
 ٥٣٤ صاحب كلب امين ولا انسان لثيم  
 ٥٣٥ الكلب ما بنشاطر الا على اخوه  
 ٥٣٦ حدو الكلاب مثل حدو القطاط  
 ٥٣٧ روح دور على كلب واحديه  
 ٥٣٨ لاعب كلب ولا تلاعب حصان  
 ٥٣٩ خرى كلاب  
 ٥٤٠ لطيز الكلب  
 ٥٤١ لسان الكلب = بفت  
 ٥٤٢ فسو الكلب  
 ٥٤٣ مشمش كلابي  
 ٥٤٤ لحم كلاب بملوخيه  
 ٥٤٥ كلب اجر ب . مسلوخ . مصروع  
 ٥٤٦ ام سبع بزاز  
 ٥٤٧ كوكش . وشت  
 ٥٤٨ كلب ابن كلب . ابن كلب مصفى  
 ٥٤٩ كلب النور . كلب العرب . كلب الحاره  
 ٥٥٠ يا ابن اللي ها . . . والمقطشين ذنبا . (يا لا بعد)  
 ٥٥١ كلبتين . كلابه

- ٥٥٢ كلب سلاقي (سلوقي)  
 ٥٥٣ جرو . طوقان . سمور . كليب n. p. m.  
 طوقان . سموري . عو . عوا . سلق . ابو الكلبات n. g.  
 \* لو كما عوى كلب القمته حجرا لصار مثقال الصخر بدینار

## Addenda To Mammalia

- ٥٥٤ السبع ملك الحيوانات  
 ٥٥٥ عاشر سبع ولا تعاشر البغل  
 ٥٥٦ عاشر السباع ولا تعاشر الضباع  
 ٥٥٧ نام جب السبع ولا تقرب الضبع  
 ٥٥٨ حسه زي زئير السبع  
 ٥٥٩ قلبه قوي مثل قلب السبع  
 ٥٦٠ رضمان حليب سباعي  
 ٥٦١ ابن اللبوء . سبع خلف شبل  
 ٥٦٢ عليه راس مثل راس البغل  
 ٥٦٣ لا زوق ولا تي مثل بغل الشموص  
 ٥٦٤ برفس مثل البغل  
 ٥٦٥ مثل الفرس بتعير البغله بالحبل

- ٥٩٩ ابو هابغل ثور  
 ٥٦٧ حلك تفهم يا تيمس . احنا من علم تيوس ؟!  
 ٥٦٨ ان وجدت اتيس منك هقتل حالك  
 ٥٦٩ متل التيوس دايماً سر زوق  
 ٥٧٠ نط التيس عالعزيزه قالتله : مالك ؟ قلها : بلعب  
 ٥٧١ بيظهر انك اشتريت التياسه براس مالها  
 ٥٧٢ انت ابن عم الفلاح بالتياسه  
 ٥٧٣ قرونك بيسوا متل قرون التيوس  
 ٥٨٤ طووع متل السخل المجرور عالسلخ  
 ٥٧٥ شوف العزيزه وكول من حليبها  
 ٥٧٦ حملوه عزيزه شرط . حملوه الاخرى انشرط  
 ٥٧٧ نبال الي اله مربوط عزيزه في الجبل  
 ٥٧٨ ما ضل عالمداد غير هر ريش البقر  
 ٥٧٩ شوف البقره وخليك من حليبها  
 ٥٨٠ ما بيعرت البلاد الا عجوها  
 ٥٨١ اطلع في وجه البقره قبلما تحلبها  
 ٥٨٢ يخزي العين ابزازها متل ابزاز البقره  
 ٥٨٣ الطول عالسجره والسمن عالبقره  
 ٥٨٤ رجال متل الثيران بيعرثوا فدان

- ٥٨٥ جعلتني بقره حلابه ؟  
 ٥٨٦ محبوب ما ضل فيك بركة .  
 ٥٨٧ ابوك ثور وامك بقره وما ضل فيك الا الجبزه  
 ٥٨٨ حنونه على اولادها مثل البقره  
 ٥٨٩ حلييك بقري (حليب الرضاعة)  
 ٥٩٠ اندبع (وقع) مثل الثور  
 ٥٩١ عينه بتقدح مثل عين الثور  
 ٥٩٢ ان حالت بقرتك لا تذبجها .  
 ٥٩٣ اب سبقتك جارك عار بيع اسبقه عالصقيع .  
 ٥٩٤ ان قلت: «حو» رد العجول  
 ٥٩٥ بدك تبغ البقره وتعاود تحلبها ؟  
 ٥٩٦ عجل اذار وجش نيسان بيكون منيح  
 ٥٩٧ ثور وبقره يدهاهن باللي سايقهن  
 ٥٩٨ اللي ما يفهم في الوعى الحكي معه خساره  
 يشبه لثور البقر يحرث في البرية  
 ٥٩٩ اللي يضل عالمذود ما بيرفع راسه غير في هالمذود  
 ٦٠٠ كرباج دنب ثور  
 ٦٠١ الزله [الرجال] راكب الجمل = سكران  
 ٦٠٢ راكب الجمل ولايس طاقة الخفا .



- ٦٠٣ ليك جملك بين اجر يك  
 ٦٠٤ هيل عقله خفاقتين عجمل  
 ٦٠٥ عقله اخف من ريشتين عجمل  
 ٦٠٦ اذا ابتليت استر مثل الجمال  
 ٦٠٧ اذا عشقت استر مثل الجمال  
 ٦٠٨ الشايب لما يدلع مثل الجمل المخلوع  
 ٦٠٩ خاير وزبده نازل مثل الجمل  
 ٦١٠ الجمل مركب البر . بز الجمل  
 ٦١١ قالوا للجمل : اركض قال لهم : ضعيف  
 ٦١٢ حقود مثل الجمل  
 ٦١٣ راكب الجمل بالعرض = حامل اسلم بالعرض  
 ٦١٤ الجمل مات . تنأسف عالرحل ؟  
 ٦١٥ في آذار يحمض اللبن ويبيع الجمل وينشف الراعي بلا نار  
 ٦١٦ زي اللي بيدور عجمل خالته . ان روح غني وان ماروحش غني  
 ٦١٧ طولة العمر الاك . اخذك البنات ركبك المصهفات  
 ومشيك عالنبات  
 ٦١٨ مثل الخيل البطرانة ( البطاله )  
 ٦١٩ بركض مثل الرهوان . الخيل عن  
 ٦٢٠ بطران مثل دواب الدير

- ٦٢١ الحصان ييكد الارض بالعرض
- ٦٢٢ لحمه فاسي مثل لحم الخيل
- ٦٢٣ ييوكل ويينط مثل خيل الزط
- ٦٢٤ الخيل بنات الحصن
- ٦٢٥ تعاركو الحصن على رد (= تعب) سايس . (بغداد)
- ٦٢٦ و نين الهوا؟ في ظهر الخيل
- ٦٢٧ زي الكدش ييوكل شعير ويغنقص
- ٦٢٨ الفرس الي بنزل عنها ان شاء الله الجان تركها
- ٦٢٩ نقتلوا المكارية اجت منيحه للركاب
- ٦٣٠ كثر التعلیم بيلم الحمير
- ٦٣١ حورن مثل الحمير
- ٦٣٢ راسه يابس مثل راس الحمار
- ٦٣٣ راکب علی کر ومدندل اجره
- ٦٣٤ زي الحمار ما بيشي الا بالنخز
- ٦٣٥ زي الحمار ما يفهم الا الي في راسه
- ٦٣٦ الحمار بتقطش مره . ما بتقطش قطشتين غير الحمار
- ٦٣٧ بدال ما نقول للحمار: ظفر (يقطعك) قولله : مد شعير
- ٦٣٨ في راس الحمار صوت حلف الحمار غير يزعه
- ٦٣٩ ما بتلاقي الجعفصه الا على الحمير المقامطه

- ٦٤٠ مثل حمير الحجة آره جواعى بطارى  
 ٦٤١ لو يوكلو الحمير جنز بيل غير الحمير يظلموا حمير  
 ٦٤٢ ما بتلاقي الفص القوي الا عند الحمار المرق  
 ٦٤٣ لا من اللي امنوا ولا من اللي كفروا  
 من اللي دشروا الحمار وانهمزمو  
 ٦٤٤ مقتايه وقطمها جحش  
 ٦٤٥ زي حمير التراسه بالروحه محمل وبالجنينه مر كوب  
 ٦٤٦ الي ما قري وما درس شده بين الحمار والفرس (بغداد)  
 ٦٤٧ لبن يا تيس افهم يا حمار  
 ٦٤٨ برامات الحمار . وين ؟  
 ٦٤٩ تقدملك العليق وتقدملنا اللبيط  
 ٦٥٠ قال : يا حمار اهلك بندهولك . قال آه يا ظهري .  
 يا هو ع حطب . يا هو ع مي  
 ٦٥١ سوق حمارك بخلالك . حمل القطة خيرا لك  
 ٦٥٢ زلكناله دخل هو وحماره  
 ٦٥٣ لما خلق ربنا الاكراد بكت الحمير (حلب)  
 ٦٥٤ ركبك حمار اعرج يمشى فيك ويبطعوج  
 ٦٥٥ اربط الاصيل عند الحمار يا بيعلمه الشهباق يا بيعلمه النهيق  
 ٦٥٦ الحمار بطران من مرعى الخيخام

- ٦٥٧ هن الفهايم واحنا البهايم
- ٦٥٨ حمار شغل
- ٦٥٩ ابو الحصين لو يسلم من العواينه كان طاح السوق وتسوق
- ٦٦٠ مين صار نعيه اكلته الدياب
- ٦٦١ كل نعيه تعلق من كراعا (بغداد)
- ٦٦٢ بكتب الدب للحمار: اخي العزيز: ثقيل مثل الدب
- ٦٦٣ كردي دبي ولو كان وليا (حلب)
- ٦٦٤ صوفك وخر وفك ، مالي عين تشوفك
- ٦٦٥ زي الي بيوصي الديب عالغنم
- يا ديب دير بالك عالغنم
- ٦٦٦ الضبع بالنهار كلب وبالليل سبع
- ٦٦٧ فلان ملعون ييضع الواحد ضبع
- ٦٦٨ شباط اللباط بخنق العجل بالرباط
- ٦٦٩ شباط اللباط يقطع البقر بالرباط
- ٦٧٠ قال : يا غزاله غدر الرحيل . قال : طوطحت دنبتها .
- ٦٧١ تفرجت عالغزاله الي بتطن سمس؟
- ٦٧٢ هالمرأ غزلانيه
- ٦٧٣ عند الغول دعوه قال : انجق يشبع هو وجبايه
- ٦٧٤ الخيار اوله للسلاطين وآخره للجرادين

- ٦٧٥ هاللون مرقش مثل لون الفبراه
- ٦٧٦ فيرانكم محتومين
- ٦٧٧ قال: خربت الزيت عاصما به . قال : قصر فيك ذيل يأزعر .
- ٦٧٨ اللى بيؤخذ جوز الضراير يحط قرد وسعراه في يته .
- ٦٧٩ بتشكي القرد لاه
- ٦٨٠ وصي القرد عالطحينه
- ٦٨١ ( اخذنا ) من الحزمه عود والباقي يشتا لوه ( تحمله ) القروود
- ٦٨٢ تعذب عذاب القروود
- ٦٨٣ انت معاك مناخير قط كل شي بتشقه ؟
- ٦٨٤ راسك زي راس الكلب اللى شبعان خميص
- ٦٨٥ كلب الصيد بيطلعه معهم يروح بحرى ( بغداد )
- ٦٨٦ حرك . ذنبك يا إبليس .
- ٦٨٧ عضني الكلب يستورك اعضاءه .
- ٦٨٨ ارفع اجررك . رفع اجر به .
- ٦٨٩ لو ان الشحمه فيها خير ما بتسواش عياط الكلاب
- ٦٩٠ ان احمك شخ الكلب عالاسد وان اخصبت باض
- الحمام عالوتد كل كلب احسن من سمور
- ٦٩١ مش كل سمور ييكون كلب
- ٦٩٢ يحرم علي ترباية الكلاب

- ٦٩٣ الكلب لن جاع خرب  
 ٦٩٤ يهدك يا ازار قدش انك غرار بتشوف القبه بيضا بتحسبها مزار  
 ٦٩٥ مثل الكلبه الحنشه (القويه)  
 ٦٩٦ الدار بلا باب مأوى للكلاب  
 ٦٩٧ اللي بيعتاز الكلب يسميه يا عم  
 ٦٩٨ زي الفطيسه ما بتحركش  
 ٦٩٩ يا طاب الدبس من طيز النمس (كفالك شر العسل)  
 ٧٠٠ النمس . النيس . النسناس . النمر . النمرى . نمر . نموره .  
 الغول . فهيد . فهيد الغول . الوحش . الخفاش .  
 ابو فاره . n. g.  
 نمر . فهيد . فهيد . n. p. m. نمره n.p.f.

## II Aves المصفور . الطير . الفرخ

- ٧٠١ الطير يسبح ربه  
 ٧٠٢ خلص بريشه وعراميشه . خده بريشه وعراميشه .  
 فات بريشه وعراميشه .  
 ٧٠٣ المصفور بتفلى والصياد بتفلى  
 ٧٠٤ عصفوره خربت مطموره  
 ٧٠٥ ما بوقع بالفخ الا كل حدري

- ٧٠٦ الدنيا شوب بتحرق دنية العصفور  
 ٧٠٧ حسها بيرمي الطير  
 ٧٠٨ عصفور قلبي بجمني  
 ٧٠٩ احنا منتقض الطير الطائر Volucris  
 ٧١٠ ممعوط مثل العصفور المبلول  
 ٧١١ يلسحب الشغله من منقار الطير  
 ٧١٢ مثل الطائر الطائر طار عقله  
 ٧١٣ لوفيه خير ما رماه الطير  
 ٧١٤ ان اوجه طيرك اوجه خيرك Præpes  
 ٧١٥ خير يا طير شرك بين جناحك  
 ٧١٦ عصفور بالايدي ولا ١٠ (١٠٠) على السجره  
 ٧١٧ عصفور بايدك ولا حمامه طايره  
 ٧١٨ حطالك حجر على ذبالك احسن ما تطير  
 ٧١٩ يحيب لبن العصفور طلبت لبن العصفور  
 ٨٢٠ الطير في البريه مش خالي من البليه  
 ٧٢١ ما حدا خالي من الباسور حتى الجمل والعصفور  
 ٧٢٢ الطيور بتقع على اشكالها\* ان الطيور على اشكاله تقع  
 ٧٢٣ الحب بالمفصوص حتى يحبك الطيار  
 ٧٢٤ طير في السما بيقول سيمان موفق الاشكال

- ٨٢٥ الجاهل ما يبتسك عصفور  
٧٢٦ فرفور دنهم مغفور  
٧٢٧ عصفور بخيطه . ٧٢٨ قريد العش . ٧٢٩ حليب الطير  
٧٣٠ راس العصفور . لسان العصفور plants  
٧٣١ لسان العصفور argot  
٧٣٢ عشت وعششت  
٧٣٣ طيره . عصفوره n.p.f. عصفور . عصفوره . فروج n.f.  
٧٣٤ وشه زي وش البوم (شنيغ)  
٧٣٥ زي البومه  
٧٣٦ طواع البوم بيدلك عالخراب  
٧٣٧ قال سيدنا سليمان للبومه: جيي احسن الطيور . قامت  
راحت جابت بنتها  
٧٣٨ زي البوم ما بنعق الا بالخراب osceen  
٧٣٩ صافي زي عين البومه  
٧٤٠ عيونه مثل عيون البوم  
٧٤١ هذا مأوى بوم  
٧٤٢ كل الديوك صاحت بقي ممعوط الذنب  
كل الديوك (دكدكت) ما ضل غير ممعوط الذنب  
٧٤٣ زي الديك عالمزبله



- ٧٤٤ جرب ادويك
- ٧٤٥ كل ديك عمز بلكه صياح
- ٧٤٦ الديك ما ييصيح الا من حوصلاته
- ٧٤٧ قالوا للديك: صيح قال: كل شي في وقته منيح
- ٧٤٨ الديك الفصيح من البيضه ييصيح
- ٧٤٩ اصقى من عين الديك = ماء قراح
- ٧٥٠ من قلة الرجال سمو الديك ابو هاشم
- ٧٥١ ما ظل عائلته غير ممعوط الذنب
- ٧٥٢ مطرح ما بتقاني بيخس
- ٧٥٣ عيد الجاج عقة الجاج.
- ٧٥٤ سبحان رافع الجاج على السياج
- ٧٥٥ راسه زي بطن القروقه
- ٧٥٦ اشتبهنا جاجه واكلناها بريشها
- ٧٥٧ ابو بيضه ما بتقامش (بتطافش)
- ٧٥٨ اللي بيكسر البيضه يحط حقها
- ٧٥٩ بيضه من جاجه سوده
- ٧٦٠ جاجه مسفكه ٧٦١ بنام مع الجاج
- ٧٦٢ خطه زي خرايش الجاج ٧٦٣ زي خبط الجاج بالي
- ٧٦٤ الجاجه (البسه) بتوكل عشاء جاجه عتقه

- ٧٦٥ جاجة بتشرب بنسج (بتطلع) لربها
- ٧٦٦ جاجه حفرت على راسها عفرت (دفرت)
- ٧٦٧ ناس بتوكل جاج وناس وناس بتقع في السياج
- ٧٦٨ بيضة اليوم احسن من جاجة بكره
- ٧٦٩ اللي بسرقت البيضة بسرقت الجاجه
- ٧٧٠ بده يفهم الجاجه مين جابها والبيضة مين باضا
- ٧٧١ جاي يبيض عيضا يبيض
- ٧٧٢ مالك عم بتحوم زي الجاجه اللي بدها تبيض؟
- ٧٧٣ الحق الديك شوف وين بوديك
- ٧٧٤ صوص التين بيضل ينين
- ٧٧٥ صوص تشارين بوكل وبنين
- ٧٧٦ طلع الحنون وما بضنا يا عيننا يا عزارتنا من صاحبنا
- ٧٧٧ الجاجه بتغرق على طيزها بيضه
- ٧٧٨ عظمه (رقيق) زي عظم الصوص
- ٧٧٩ طريه متل لحمة الصوص
- طريه متل لحمة (الزغلول)
- ٧٨٠ رصد الجبال بيكون ديك ويظهر في الدور اكثر ما يكون
- ٧٨١ فلان ديك (زي الديك)
- ٧٨٢ متل ديك العصيده فارش

- ٧٨٣ الديك — كفر الديك . عرف الديك
- ٧٨٥ ديك . دويك . دويكات . ديوك . ادوكه .
- ٧٨٦ جاجه . ابو جاجات . صوص . ابو صيصان n g.
- ٧٨٧ ابو الصيصان . ابو قيقوص
- ٧٨٨ مسكين زي الصوص
- ٧٨٩ حمام . بمام . قري . زغلول .
- ٧٩٠ قلبه ايض مثل الحمامه
- ٧٩١ عصفور بيدك ولا حمامه طايره
- ٧٩٢ قالت الحمامه : يا سوادي . قال الغراب : شو انا ؟
- ٧٩٣ حمام . حمامه . زغلول . n. g.
- ٧٩٤ اجر الحمامه . رف حمام . حمامه . . .
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- ٧٩٦ قالوا للغراب : ليش بتسرق الصابون ؟ قال : الاذي طبع .
- ٧٩٧ زي الغراب ما بدعي الا بالخراب
- ٧٩٨ تاتحج القيقان وترجع بلاميقان تاتحج القعقان وتعاود بلا عصبان
- ٧٩٩ الله ما يحبط عالقعق غير الاستحقاق
- ٨٠٠ الحق الغراب بيدك عالخراب
- ٨٠١ اسمر مثل الغراب . اسود مثل غراب البين
- ٨٠٢ وشك وش غراب (وجه شر)

- ٨٠١ الغراب الدافن ييقول: نصيبي على الله  
 ٨٠٢ تبصير القيق عند العليق يفيق  
 ٨٠٣ نهوا الغراب عن السرقة قاللهم: الاذى طبع  
 ٨٠٤ شو عبال الغراب من سواد الوجه ؟  
 ٨٠٥ زيك زي الغراب لا ودي ولا جاب  
 ٨٠٦ غراب نوح · غراب البين ·  
 ٨٠٧ قلبه اسود مثل الغراب  
 ٨٠٨ غريب · ابو غراب · القعق · الزاغ · ابن الزاغه  
 ٨٠٩ مثل الرهم ما بتهدي الا عالفطاييس  
 ٨١٠ انت زي القميره رزقك بخزقك  
 ٨١١ يبحكي مثل الدرره لسانه لسان دره  
 ٨١٢ يفهمش شو يبحكي زي البيغا  
 ٨١٣ اجرها مثل اجرين اللكلك [ابو سعد]  
 ٨١٤ ابو سعد: طول السنه بلا حسنه  
 ٨١٥ بيمشي مثل الكركزان  
 ٨١٦ ماشيه وبتتختر مثل ديك الحبس  
 ٨١٧ ماشيه وشايفه حالها زي ديك الحبش  
 ٨١٨ بيمشي وبتقمير مثل الطاووس  
 ٨١٩ مثل فسي الفسور بالجو

- ٨٢٠ يلبق للشوم رجوحه ولاً بو بريص قبقاب  
 ٨٢١ خير يا طير شرك بين جناحيك  
 ٨٢٢ كل عصفور حرق بوقع في الفخ  
 ٨٢٣ وديني اوديك تبصيح الديك  
 ٨٢٤ مين كان الديك دليله كان القن مأواه  
 ٨٢٥ ما ضل عائلته ريش الا انت يا ممعوط الذنب؟  
 ٨٢٦ الحق [ اركب ] الديك وشوف وين بيوديك  
 ٨٢٧ ابتقرق راح تبيض ماشي على بيض  
 ٨٢٨ النقطة في نيسان بتسوى القرقة والصيدان والسكه والفدان  
 ٨٢٩ دير بالك لا يتفكش البيض تحتك  
 ٨٣٠ زي الجاجه بتفرح ليوم الغرابله  
 ٨٣١ زي الجاجه الي بتحكش على بيضها  
 ٨٣٢ احى الزرزور كفل الدبور طلوعوا تنينتهم طاييرين  
 ٨٣٣ شكى الزرزور للدبور طلوعوا تنينتهم طاييرين  
 ٨٣٤ سنة الزرزور احرت البور  
 ٨٣٥ سنه القطا بيع الفطا (واشتري لامك وطا)  
 ٨٣٦ لحك ازرق متل لحم الحمام السيتي  
 ٨٣٧ رومي عظامه ازرق  
 ٨٣٨ ما شاء الله فلانه متل البطه

- ٨٣٩ البطة . بطة السان .  
 ٨٤٠ فرخ البطة سباح .  
 ٨٤١ بنت الوزه عوامه  
 ٨٤٢ بنت العوامه عوامه  
 ٨٤٣ بنت الخواضه خواضه  
 ٨٤٤ نطق البلبل  
 ٨٤٥ حط البلبل في قفص ذهب يبصيح وييقول: يا وطني  
 ٨٤٦ عمرك شفت عصفور يزاحم باشق؟  
 ٨٤٧ الهدهد طير الملك سليمان  
 ٨٤٨ فجمان زي البجع  
 ٨٥٩ قيموا ييادر كم اجى الصفارى  
 ٨٥٠ اذار ابو الزلازل والامطار . مره شمسه مره نار  
 ومره مقافا للسار  
 ٨٥١ قالب وش متل وش البوم  
 ٨٥٢ محبتك محبة البومه لابنها  
 ٨٥٣ قالوا للبومه: هاتيلنا احسن شي في العالم . جابتلهم ابنها  
 ابو صقر . صقر . قنبر . ابو الهدهد . قطاونه  
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 سوادى . الحزن . شاهين . شعور . n. 8.  
 III REPTILIA ماده راسها زي انرقعه ٨٥٥  
 ثقييل بليد زي انرقعه ٨٥٦  
 السمعيه . رضاعة الحية . الوران . ابو بريس . ٨٥٧  
 زرعك قمحه طلعتي زوانه حسبتك ابو بريس طالع ٨٥٧  
 من الخزانه  
 خانها مثل خلقة الحربايه ٨٥٩  
 فلان طبعه متلون زي الحربايه : كل ساعه بلون ( شكل ) ٨٦٠  
 مثل الحربايه ما بتترك عود الاتمسك الثاني ٨٦١  
 الحربايه بتدعي عليك ان ضربتها ٨٦٢  
 جلده متمسج ٨٦٣  
 فلان يشوشح راسه مثل المردود ٨٦٤  
 المردود ييجوز ابنه ( يلاع بته ) ٨٦٥  
 الحيه عريده . حنيش ٨٦٧ الحيه حياه . ٨٦٦  
 عيونه مثل عيون الحيه ٨٦٨  
 تحتاني مثل حيه التبن . ملعون زي الحيه ٨٦٩  
 ان كانت الحيه بتنطاق في العب عمره العدو ما يصير محب ٨٧٠

- ٨٧١ زي حية التبن ( يلمس وتخبأ ) يقرص؟ يعض؟
- ٨٧٢ يعيش الراس والذنب ويموت الوسط كبد؟
- ٨٧٣ الحية واقفه على ذنبها
- ٨٧٤ تكبر حيه ولا تلد ابنيه
- ٨٧٥ لسانها مثل لسان الحية
- ٨٧٦ لسان الحية ( قماش ونبات )
- ٨٧٧ لسانها يبطلع الحيه من وكرها
- ٨٧٨ الكلمة المنجيه بتطلع الحيه من وكرها
- ٨٧٩ اشي انعم من الحرير واخرش من الصدر: الحيه
- ٨٨٠ عند العقرب لا تقرب عند الحيه افرش ونام
- ٨٨١ بعد ما انقرصوا احترسوا ٨٨٢ كل محروس مقروص
- ٨٨٣ المقروص ( المعقوص ) يخاف من جرة الحبل
- ٨٨٤ الغني لن اكل الحيه قالوا: من حكمته  
والفقير لن اكل الحيه قالوا: من جوعه
- ٨٨٥ ابو الحيات . قراقع g. n.

## IV AMPHIBIA

- ٨٨٦ قالوا للضفدعه: احكي . قالت: بقدرش قمي ملان مي .  
\* قالت الضفدع قولاً فسرته الحكماء  
في في ماء وهل ينطق من في فيه ماء



٨٨٧ مثل الضفدعه لا كسم ولا رسم

٨٨٨ كرشك ملان ضفادع

٨٨٩ ابو ضفدعه . n. g. بلعوط

## Y-PISCES

اسما اسماء في ميفاء:

عصفور . غزال . قمبر . جمل . وحش . زرزور . n. g.

٨٨٩ يافا : بوري . لباط . n. g.

غزه : ابو منقار . طبريا : مشط . ابو كلب . مرمور

مختلف : سمك موسي . مردنين . كلب البحر . برش .

٨٩٠ السمكه ما بتتن الا من راسها

٨٩١ ان نام السمك بالبحر انا بت

٨٩٢ مين ( حدا ) يشتري سمك بالبحر ؟

٨٩٣ ناصح مثل السمكه البوريه .

٨٩٤ انكسر باعي وذراعي الحمد لله اللي انكسر راس الفسيخه .

٨٩٥ سمكه . سماكه . loci ثيم سمكه plant

## B INSECTA

٨٩٦ الخنفسه شافت بنتها عالحيط حسبته لولوه بخيط

٨٩٧ الخنفسه شافت بنتها عالحيط قالت : اسم الله عليك لولوه

ماضومه بخيط

- ٨٩٨ الحنفسه شافت بنتها عالجبط قالت: اوخي لولتين بنحيط  
(مثلك ماريت)
- قال عمها: انا عم الجمران اهل الحسن والجمال
- ٨٩٩ زي الحنفسه ما عجبهاش حدا غير ابنها.
- ٩٠٠ لبد زي الحنفسه . ما حدا تخنفس
- ٩٠١ جباحه n. g. ضوالقوله سراج العدرا .
- ٩٠٢ زي حرايته نفسها بتضوي عالناس وبتنام عالعتمه
- ٩٠٣ زي الدبور فش من طيزه عسل
- ٩٠٤ لا عـملك ولا نـعـصيني
- ٩٠٥ هذّ العصفور على الدبور قالله: شو بدك تلحس مني اللي انا  
بلحس البولاد
- ٩٠٦ متل الدبور لا ابتلحس ولا بتلحس
- ٩٠٧ متل الدبور ما بتشخس على ايد المجرّوح
- ٩٠٨ ابو النحله n. g. نحالين locus
- ٩٠٩ خفيف متل البسار (البشوره)
- ٩١٠ متل الفرائس . بتحرق حالها
- ٩١١ بشور . بشوره n. g.
- ٩١٢ دودة الحرير . دودة الربيع . مبرقص
- ٩١٣ هالشي اكله العت . هتعت

- ٩١٤ صام صام وفطر على دبانه (بصله مصنته)
- ٩١٥ فاتح تمه المدبان . دبانه الفرس .
- ٩١٦ الدبان يعرف بيت اللبان
- ٩١٧ الدبانه مش نسه بس بتفلق (بتسكر) المنافس
- ٩١٨ اشي قد الدبانه اله مفتاح وخزانه (القمح)
- ٩١٩ زي الدبان عالحري .
- ٩٢٠ الله يعطيك زما اعطى الدبانه جناح لطير وطيز عريانه
- ٩٢١ يا ربني برغته حتى اسمع الوشوشه
- ٩٢٢ قد البرغوت . برغوت كبير (صغير)
- ٩٢٣ متل البرغوت في اللبن: اسمر في بياض
- ٩٢٤ يخصي براغيت
- ٩٢٥ الي ماله شغل يشتغل فيه يشلح ثوبه يفليه .
- ٩٢٦ بدل شانك وشنشانك شيل القمل من اردانك
- ٩٢٧ المال يجر المال والقمل يجر سيبان
- ٩٢٨ كل شي بتحمل الا الطق والنق والبق
- ٩٢٩ دمه ثقيل (خفيف) متل دم البق
- ٩٣٠ اشي قدده قد الكف بيقتل ميه والـ (المشط)
- ٩٣١ ابونموس . برغوت . برغوتي . براغيتي . براغته
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- ٩٣٣ متل الجراد مغطي عين الشمس
- ٩٣٤ زي الجراد . ٩٣٥ سنة الجراد ٩٣٦ جراد قراده
- ٩٣٧ عرب البو جراده . جراد . صرصور . زين n. g.
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- ٩٤١ الصلطنون . ابو مقص . الاربعينه
- ٩٤٢ اضيق من كس العقربه . عقربه
- ٩٤٣ اهلك لا تقربهم بيقرصك عقربهم [يعضك]
- ٩٤٤ دود الشتا . عصاة هرون . دودة القرع . حبرقص
- ٩٤٥ دوده من عوده ٩٤٦ مسوسه خشب مسوس .
- ٩٤٧ دود الجبن منه فيه . ٩٤٨ دوده بتخزه
- ٩٤٩ كل فوله (قمحه) مسوسه بيحيها كيال اعور
- ٩٥٠ دمه اثقل من دم العلق . زي العلقه .

## Addenda II

- ٩٥١ عمر الحيه ما بتصير خيه
- عمر الحيه ما بتخط في العب
- ٩٥٢ بدال ما نقول للحاجه كش اضربها واكسر اجرها

- ٩٥٣ الخنافس بالطنافس والبكاوت بلا غطا  
 ٩٥٤ الدجاج ما بتهدس الا في الغر بله  
 ٩٥٥ رسن البغل تحت ايد المكارى  
 ٩٥٦ الضرب بيعلم الدب يرقص  
 ٩٥٧ العنزه فزرت كرشتها من ضرت الا نفسها  
 ٩٥٨ فلان برغشه على كعب جميزه  
 ٩٥٩ قات العنزه وهي سارحه : يا مأحلى ليلة مبارحه  
 ٩٦٠ كل الجمال بتعارك من دون جملنا بارك  
 ٩٦١ لو كان فيه خير ما رماه الطير  
 ٩٦٢ ما في بالحيات صالحات  
 ٩٦٣ الماشي طير وانهاعد حجر  
 ٩٦٤ مين صار نجه اكله الديب  
 ٩٦٥ هذي اول دفعه من ثن العجل  
 ٩٦٦ وقعت والا رماك الجمل ؟ قال : وقعت على كل حال  
 ٩٦٧ حس كل عصفور بتاكل لحمه .  
 ٩٦٨ زي هرش الكلاب لا يبهمر ولا يينمر .  
 لا يهش ولا ييكش  
 ٩٦٩ لا ثورك متودر ولا عمك بتخلفلك  
 ٩٧٠ المدني مثل الجاجه اطعمه سنه يشبعك ليله

- ٩٧١ كول راس حيه ولا توكل راس يبنجانه نه
- ٩٧٢ يا رايحه حردانه بتروحي قلبه بترجي سيانه
- ٩٧٣ احنا مقاقين في مية فقص
- ٩٧٤ بيلولحوا بدنهم
- ٩٧٥ مثل الخنكليس كيفها مسكته بيلمص
- ٩٧٦ محتار زي الجاجه العميا
- ٩٧٧ الدبانه ما بتتلش بستقلب المنافس
- ٩٧٨ هات اليوم صوف وبكره خذ خروف
- ٩٧٩ البغل بيقول : لو طاوعني ضرمني ما خليت التبن عيني
- ٩٨٠ الكلب بيقول : الله يقطع اولاد اهلي دبه دبه كسروا ظهري
- ٩٨١ مزاحرة الحمير من بخت المكاريه
- ٩٨٢ اضبط من الجمل بشرد والفرس مربوطه
- ٩٨٣ حجر حجر جر : حجاره ؟ لا .
- تمشي عالاربع : حماره ؟ لا
- تبيض ثقافي : شانره ؟ لا ( الفرقعه )
- ٩٨٤ لا لملك بتناكل ولا جلدك بتسكف
- ٩٨٥ الشب بلا سيكاره زي الخمار بالحاره
- ٩٨٦ الانسان اضعف من النمله واقيوى من الجمل
- ٩٨٧ طول دنيا عوج قرنبا عزه الله لا يهديك عليها

- ٩٨٨ اسمر برني قاعد بالقرنه بلوق باحنا كه يا سعد من ذاقه  
 ٩٨٩ جبل الجمل ما يبطول بطنك  
 ٩٩٠ اجر الديك بتجر الديك  
 ٩٩١ داير دبره لوكر الدباير و بقول هادي التقادير  
 ٩٩٢ داير يفتش زي الحمام العشاق  
 ٩٩٣ الجيران في بعضها شو دخل الفيران ؟  
 ٩٩٤ يدسحب الورور عالبرغوت  
 ٩٩٥ بارد زي الجراد عالندى  
 ٩٩٦ سراج الغول · ضو الغوله · سراج العدرا ·  
 ٩٩٧ بيتشمس زي الحردون  
 ٩٩٨ عينه مثل طيز الزغلول  
 ٩٩٩ حيا القمله براس الاقرع  
 ١٠٠٠ بعموم زي كلب المي  
 ١٠٠١ اشى اسود من سواد الليل ابيض من حليب الطير لا سيف ولا  
 ١٠٠٢ سكين ولا موس ولا اشى بقطع ابدآ ·  
 ١٠٠٤ سمكتي بالماء اثر الماء ما فيها  
 ١٠٠٥ سيحان رب خلقها شكل الحسك ما فيها ( اللسان )

- ٥١٤ امين مثل الكلب  
 ٥١٥ اجر ب مثل الكلب  
 ٥١٦ اخصي ! مثل الكلب  
 ٥١٧ اذا خصيت [ خزيت ] الكلب بسكت  
 ٥١٨ الكلب بيا كل ويدي بالخير  
 ٥١٩ الكلب بتفاشر مع صاحبه  
 ٥٢٠ كلابنا سود نياهن بيض  
 ٥٢١ كون مثل انسبع لا مثل الكلب  
 ٥٢٢ كلب فالت ولا عشره مر بوطين  
 ٥٢٣ كلب معاك ولا عشره عليك  
 ٥٢٤ كلب الحاره يقابل الضيوف بالعوى  
 ٥٢٥ كلب الصالون يلحوس الضيف  
 ٥٢٦ مثل الكلب ييشمشم وهو ماشي  
 ٥٢٧ الكلب ييشم ريحة صاحبه  
 ٥٢٨ الكلب بتشاطر من بعيد لبعيد  
 ٥٢٩ مثل الكلب بتحب اتصمص لعضام  
 ٥٣٠ طعمي كلب ولا تطعمي حمار  
 ٥٣١ الك ديب مثل دنب الكلب  
 ٥٣٢ كلب بري ولا كلب جوي