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*The articles marked with an asterisk were written originally to form part of a special volume in memory of the late Père Gaudence Orfali, O.F.M., born 19th February 1889, died 20th April 1926, President of the Society in 1926.

More of these articles will be published in forthcoming numbers of the Journal.

Treasurer's Reports, Lists of Members and similar announcements are omitted in this reprint edition.

JÉRUSALEM ET LES DOCUMENTS ÉGYPTIENS.

ALEXIS MALLON

(JERUSALEM)

Il a été admis jusqu'à ces derniers temps que le nom de Jérusalem n'a pas été trouvé dans les documents de langue égyptienne. Je dis, *de langue égyptienne*, et non *en Egypte*, car personne n'ignore que les lettres d'El-Amarna, en écriture cunéiforme, contiennent, plusieurs fois répété, le nom célèbre sous sa forme primitive *Urusalim*.

Depuis longtemps cependant, le Prof. Sayce a proposé d'identifier *Har-er*, No 8 de la liste géographique de Thoutmès III, à Karnak, avec Jérusalem¹. La jonction serait faite par הר־יהוה «la montagne de lahvé» (*Gen. XXII, 14*) qui serait le même que *Har-er (el)* de la liste égyptienne.

Mais ici tout est hypothèse, et l'on cherche en vain un point ferme à la démonstration.

Et d'abord, il n'est nullement établi que הר־יהוה de la Genèse soit *Har-er (el)* égyptien, les termes composés de «el» étant assez fréquents. Le premier d'ailleurs, désignait le sommet d'une montagne, tandis que le second s'attachait plutôt à un village.

Ensuite, non seulement il n'est pas prouvé, mais il n'est en aucune façon probable que la montagne où Abraham conduisit son fils Issaac pour l'immoler en sacrifice, soit la colline qui porta l'antique Jérusalem.

Indépendamment de plusieurs autres considérations, les fouilles récentes du *Palestine Exploration Fund*, ont démontré que Jérusalem remonte à une très haute antiquité, qu'elle existait déjà au temps d'Abraham, et que par conséquent il ne pouvait être question pour

¹ *Quart. Stat.* 1927, 217.

le grand Patriarche d'y amener son fils. Le texte sacré nous le montre allant sur une montagne apparemment inhabitée, isolée, couverte de buissons auxquels était attaché le bélier qui fit les frais du sacrifice.

Ensuite, dans la liste de Thoutmès III, *Har-er* est citée immédiatement après Gerar, au sud-est de Gaza, et tous les auteurs le localisent aux environs de cette ville¹. Quelques-uns l'identifient avec *Abu-Herereh*, au bord du *Wady esh-Shari'ah*, sur la route de Bersabée à Gaza².

Au surplus, si au temps de Thoutmès III, Jérusalem était tombée aux mains des Egyptiens, ils l'auraient mentionnée par son nom historique qu'elle portait déjà, *Urusalim*, comme ils firent pour les autres villes.

Le fait est que, par sa position réculée dans la montagne, la fameuse cité se trouvait loin des voies suivies par les armées pharaoniques. Celles-ci restaient dans la Shéphéla, longeaient la mer, et arrivaient à Megiddo par le défilé du *Wady 'Ara*.

Mais voici une autre série de documents d'un genre tout différent. Il s'agit des «Textes de proscription» publiés récemment par Kurt Sethe. Le savant égyptologue a délicieusement raconté l'histoire de la découverte et de la reconstruction de ces documents³.

En 1925, M. Heinrich Schäfer acquit à Louxor un lot d'ostraca qui semblaient intéressants, parce qu'ils portaient une écriture hiéroglyphique de haute antiquité. Le lot comprenait 251 pièces, dont 217 inscrites. Il fut encore augmenté plus tard par une nouvelle acquisition qui porta à 289 le nombre des fragments ayant des traces d'écriture.

Au musée de Berlin où ils furent déposés, dès les premiers essais de déchiffrement, il apparut que ces tessons avaient une importance qu'on était loin d'avoir soupçonnée.

1 H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, IV, 6.

2 Flinders Petrie, *A History of Egypt during the XVIIth and XVIIIth Dynasties*, p. 330.

3 K. Sethe, *Die Aechtung feindlicher Fürsten, Volker und Dinge auf altaegyptischen Tongefuesscherben des Mittleren Reiches (Abhandlungen der Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften, 1926, Phil.-Hist. Klasse 5.)* Berlin 1926.

Et d'abord on remarqua vite que plusieurs fragments s'ajustaient entr'eux, de manière à former un plat ou un vase, et que l'écriture continuait d'un tesson à l'autre et constituait, sur tout le pourtour du récipient, un texte suivi.

On retrouva ainsi des éléments de 80 plats ou vases et les deux tiers d'un même vase.

Il ne s'agissait donc pas d'ostraca proprement dits, écrits isolément à défaut de papyrus, mais de récipients entiers.

Le texte lui-même se révéla d'un intérêt exceptionnel. C'étaient des listes de noms de princes et de peuples ennemis sur lesquels on jetait l'anathème dans le cas où ils auraient attaqué l'Égypte ou causé des troubles en Égypte.

Et l'anathème ne consistait pas seulement en des paroles, mais il était sans doute accompagné de pratiques magiques. Après avoir écrit les noms hostiles sur le vase on l'avait brisé suivant un certain rite comme pour détruire la puissance nocive de ces princes et peuples.

Les ennemis ainsi proscrits et anathématisés sont divisés en quatre catégories: ceux du sud, les *Nehesu* de Kusch ou Ethiopie; ceux du nord, les *'Aamu* de Syrie et Palestine; ceux de l'ouest, les *Timihu* de Libye; enfin un groupe d'Égyptiens suspects au pouvoir central de Thèbes.

La catégorie qui nous intéresse est celle des *'Aamu* ou Asiatiques. Elle donne le nom de 31 princes distribués en 15 principautés différentes et le nom de 21 peuples.

On voit l'importance de ces documents pour une époque si ancienne, car la forme de l'écriture et la composition des noms propres Égyptiens prouvent qu'ils appartiennent à la XI^e dynastie, soit un peu plus de 2000 ans avant notre ère, donc près de sept siècles avant les lettres d'El-Amarna et six siècles avant Thoutmès III.

On était habitué à considérer la XI^e dynastie comme un temps de barbarie et d'ignorance, un temps où l'Égypte était la proie des révolutions, où elle restait entièrement fermée aux peuples voisins, et l'on regardait la XII^e dynastie, celle des Sésostris et des Amemhat, celle qui fonda le Moyen Empire, comme la première qui serait entrée en relations avec l'Orient sémitique. Les nouveaux

documents nous révèlent une situation assez différente. Si les Egyptiens croient devoir jeter l'anathème sur un si grand nombre de peuples et de villes de Palestine et Syrie, c'est qu'ils en connaissent la puissance et qu'ils la redoutent, c'est que leurs marins ont parcouru les côtes de Phénicie, exploré peut-être l'intérieur, et vu de leurs yeux ces tribus guerrières, ces jeunes cités s'entourant de hauts remparts et s'armant aussi bien pour l'attaque que pour la défense.

Malheureusement, la plupart des noms propres, des pays comme des princes, sont nouveaux, et les identifications sont extrêmement ardues, sinon impossibles.

Parmi celles qui sont certaines, on peut citer: *Kepeny*, Gebal, Byblos, bien connu par nombre d'autres textes; *'Iwat'a* qui est *Usu* des listes assyriennes, Hosa de la Bible (*Jos. XIX, 29*), Palaityros des Grecs ou Tyr continentale; *'Iyam(w)t* qui, selon toute vraisemblance est *Iarimuta* des Lettres d'El-Amarna, à situer probablement entre Tyr et Saint-Jean d'Acre, *'Iskanw* qui est évidemment Askalon.

On le voit, la liste suit la côte, du nord au sud¹. Après Askalon viennent deux noms d'identification incertaine, puis *Awsamm* nommée dans l'énumération des princes et dans celle des pays. Le rapprochement avec Jérusalem, *Urusalim*, s'imposait aussitôt de lui-même, étant donné surtout que *a* (le vautour, première lettre de l'alphabet conventionnel) avait parfois la valeur *r(l)*, ce qui donnerait *Awslmm* אושלם. Et il a été fait avec toute réserve par Sethe et après lui par Alt.

Dussaud va plus loin. Il donne également au premier *a* la valeur *r(l)*, déplace *w* en le mettant en tête et attribue la présence d'un second *m* à une "simple fantaisie du scribe"². Il obtient ainsi *Wrwslm* en transformant le signe bilitère *aw* en *rw*. Issue de pures possibilités, la métamorphose ne saurait être elle-même qu'une possibilité. Nous sommes loin de la certitude. Il faut remarquer, en effet, que le mot est écrit trois fois dans les textes, deux fois dans la liste des princes, une fois dans celle des pays, et tou-

1 Le Prof. Alt pousse encore plus loin au sud et identifie *'Iy-s'ipy* avec *Arsašapa* d'un texte d'Asarhaddon, pays situé entre Gaza et le «torrens Aegypti», *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, 63 Band, 1927, 42.

2 *Syria*, VIII, 229.

jours avec les mêmes signes. La graphie n'est nullement flottante. Elle répond à une intention ferme du scribe. Elle est voulue.

La présence des deux *m* est le moindre obstacle à l'identification. Sans recourir à la fantaisie, on l'expliquerait plutôt par quelque principe de phonétique; soit la mimation dont on retrouverait un autre exemple à peu près contemporain dans *Skmm* de la stèle de Sebek-Khu (XII^e dynastie). Que *Skmm* soit Sichem, c'est controversé, il est néanmoins extrêmement probable que le redoublement soit dû à la même règle dans les deux mots.

Mais le bilitère *aw* eut-il jamais la valeur *rw*? Et la métathèse, quelle raison avons-nous de l'invoquer sinon le besoin de la cause? Supposons une prononciation *Urusalim*, *u* se trouvant à la fois avant et après *r(l)*, la métathèse devient impossible à moins d'admettre une forme comme *rw-w-salim*. On s'arrêterait de préférence, s'il en était besoin, à l'aphérèse *Rusalim* qui supprimerait tout déplacement de lettre.

Aussi bien l'identification reste-t-elle problématique. Toutefois la ressemblance des deux termes étant indéniable, il serait imprudent de la condamner a priori et de parti pris.

Du point de vue géographique, il est vrai, si l'on faisait fond sur l'ordre suivi par les listes égyptiennes, *Awsamm* serait plutôt à chercher près du littoral de la Méditerranée, au sud d'Askalon, mais cet ordre n'est pas nécessairement rigoureux, et, de plus, il reste tant de toponymes à identifier qu'il est indispensable d'en situer plusieurs dans les montagnes.

Rappelons-nous d'ailleurs que, malgré sa position réculée à l'intérieur, Jérusalem entretint, même à une haute antiquité, des relations avec l'Égypte. Nous en avons pour preuve les monuments égyptiens trouvés dans les fouilles de l'Ophel et ailleurs. Les plus anciens sont les estampilles de jarre du Moyen Empire¹. Signalons également une tête en granit noir recueillie récemment dans le terrain de Saint-Pierre en Gallicante. La statue portait la titulature du personnage, sur barre verticale, dans le dos. L'inscription com-

¹ *Palestine Exploration Fund, Annual 1923-1925, Excavations on the Hill of Ophel, Jerusalem*, p. 178.

mençait par le mot *rp'a* "le prince", gravé en hiéroglyphes de la plus belle époque. Les traits du visage sont malheureusement effacés mais la perruque est assez bien conservée. C'est l'élégante perruque frisée de l'Ancien Empire, courte et s'arrêtant à la nuque. Les frisettes y sont disposées avec art, en lignes circulaires et parallèles horizontalement, mais en lignes obliques de haut en bas. Cette coiffure est ordinaire à l'Ancien Empire. Elle est portée par les personnages de Saqqara, Ti, Kagemni et les autres. On en voit un grand nombre d'exemples au musée du Caire¹. Au Moyen Empire elle est extrêmement rare². A la XVIII^e dynastie et à l'époque ramesside, la coiffure qui domine est la belle perruque à manteau qui couvre la nuque et s'étale même sur les épaules. On trouve aussi exceptionnellement une perruque courte mais assez différente de celle de l'Ancien Empire par la forme et la disposition des frisettes. Enfin, à l'époque saïte, époque de renaissance, comme on sait, on voit réapparaître sur quelques bas-reliefs une perruque courte analogue à l'ancienne³.

Notre fragment fut probablement apporté à Jérusalem par quelque amateur de l'époque romaine, mais les empreintes de l'Ophel entrent dans une catégorie bien connue. Des empreintes de scarabées semblables ont été recueillies à Jéricho ancienne, à Beisan, à Gézer. Il faut en conclure qu'au Moyen Empire, vers 2000 avant notre ère, la civilisation égyptienne exerçait déjà son influence non seulement sur le littoral méditerranéen, mais aussi dans la montagne et l'hinterland palestinien, et qu'elle s'était avancée jusqu'aux rives du Jourdain.



1 Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten*. I, 1911, numéros 1, 20, 21, 22, 24, 27-32, etc. (*Catalogue général*).

2 Legrain, *Statues et Statuettes de rois et de particuliers*, I, 42004; Borchardt, II, 464.

3 Maspero, *Le Musée égyptien*, II, pl. XXXVIII.

THE RHODIAN POTTER AGATHOBULUS

G. M. FITZGERALD

(JERUSALEM)

The commercial activity of the Island of Rhodes during the Hellenistic period is known to us principally from the fragments of amphorae which have been found in vast numbers round the Mediterranean, as far west as Carthage and Sicily, and also upon the Black Sea coast. They greatly outnumber those manufactured in Cnidus, Thasus and elsewhere. In Palestine they occur upon every site where Hellenistic pottery is found; the most important publications are of the finds at Tell Sandahannah,¹ Gezer,² Samaria³ and Jerusalem (Ophel).⁴

The origin of the Rhodian amphorae is attested by the characteristics of the stamps, sometimes circular sometimes rectangular, which were impressed, while the clay was still wet, upon their handles. These stamps have been exhaustively discussed by Professor Nilsson in his publication of the handles found at Lindus,⁵ a work indispensable to all who have occasion to study, or to publish, Rhodian amphorae.

Without dwelling on exceptions it will be sufficient to recall that normally every jar bears the impressions of two stamps, one on each handle, and that these two stamps between them contain three factors. These are (1) the name of the Priest of Helios holding office for the year in which the jar was made; (2) the month of manufacture; (3) the name of the potter.

1. R. A. S. Macalister, P.E.F. Q. S. 1901, pp. 25 ff., 124 ff., and more briefly in Bliss, *Excavations in Palestine*, p. 131 ff.

2. Macalister, *Excavations of Gezer*, II 1912, pp. 351 ff.

3. Reisner, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria I*, 1924, pp. 18 f., 310 ff.

4. Macalister and Duncan, P. E. F. Annual IV, 1923-5, pp. 203 ff.

5. M. P. Nilsson, *Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Danemark*, 1909, pp. 37 ff. and 349 ff.

The name of the priest and that of the month gave the exact date of manufacture, for the priest was in office for a single year only, and was the eponymous magistrate of Rhodes. The precise status of the person whom I have called the potter is not quite certainly known; some authorities believe that the potteries were the property of the State, and that he was a public official, or that he worked under a concession from the State; others hold that they were private property and that the names on the stamps are those of owners of potteries or of their agents.¹

All three names are commonly found in the genitive case, that of the eponymous priest with the preposition *ἐπί*.

As might be expected, many of these impressions are extremely difficult to decipher. Not only have they often been partly broken away, chipped or otherwise defaced in the process of time, so that many letters have become illegible or indistinguishable from others, but we have also to reckon with defective impressions and with the mistakes which were frequently made by the persons responsible for cutting the original stamps.² Thus, apart from errors of spelling, we find letters omitted or added, or one letter written for another; it often happens that single letters or whole words are reversed on the impression, through failure to reverse them on the stamp. As a rule these mistakes, like the misprints in our newspapers, can be detected at once; but where an inscription is so blundered or defaced as to be difficult to read, it is often needful, in order to decipher it accurately, to possess an adequate knowledge of what the correct reading is likely to be. For lack of this, many publications are disfigured by erroneous readings, which attribute to priests and potters names which have no existence in fact.³ This was natural when the requisite information had not been collected and made available, but now, thanks to the work of Professor Nilsson and of Dr. Bleckmann,⁴ it should be possible as a rule to avoid mistakes of that particular

1 Nilsson *op. cit.* pp. 56 - 71, decides in favour of private ownership; W.W. Tarn *Hellenistic Civilisation*, 1927, p. 201, asserts the contrary opinion.

2 Nilsson *op. cit.* pp. 140 ff.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 106 ff.

4 Fr. Bleckman., *De inscriptionibus quae leguntur in vasculis Rhodiis dissertatio*. Göttingen, 1907, and *Zu den Rhodischen eponymen Heliospriestern*, *Klio*, 1912, p. 249.

kind. It is true that no inscription has yet come to light containing a list of the eponymous priests of Helios, but the jar-handles themselves furnish us with the names of a large number of them. Professor Nilsson's lists¹ contain about 300 names of priests, including some which are to be regarded as doubtful; Dr. Bleckmann has drawn up a list of 259 such names,² representing a period of at least as many years. Moreover the limits of this period are fairly well ascertained; its starting point is about the date of the founding of Alexandria, 331, and it comes to an end about the middle of the 1st century B.C.³ It appears certain therefore that for the period during which the trade in amphorae existed, we now have the names of all but very few of the eponymous priests. With regard to the potters, we cannot make quite the same claim, since their number is indefinite, but so many names have come down to us that we are fully justified, when a new name appears in any publication, in regarding it with suspicion, and in accepting any plausible emendation that will set in its place a name already known to us. This paper goes somewhat further, in proposing a substitute for a name which occurs twice over in each of two Palestinian lists.

The catalogue of stamps on jar-handles found at Gezer⁴ includes: (a) ΑΓΑΘΕΡΟΥΔΟΥ ΕΠ[Ι] ΑΡΙΣΤΑΚΟΥ

and (b) ΕΠΙ ΝΙΚΑΣΑΓΟΡΑ ΑΓΑΘΕΡΟΥΔΟΥ (with the name of the month Panamus on the other handle of the same jar).

In "Harvard Excavations at Samaria" we find (at p. 311)

(a) ΕΠΙΑΡΧΕΜ ΒΡΟΤΟΥΑΓΑ ΘΟΡΟΥΔΟΥ and

(b) ΑΓΑΘΟΡΟΥ ΔΟΥ [Ε] ΠΙΘΕ Ρ[ΣΑΝ]ΔΡΟΥ

In a footnote attention is called to the occurrence of "Agathoroudos" (sic) at Gezer.

It will be at once observed that the name of the potter appears in all these instances on the same impression with that of an eponymous priest. This is quite an exceptional arrangement; the custom was to stamp the priest's name on one handle and the

1 Nilsson *op. cit.* pp. 79 ff.

2 Klio, 1912, pp. 252 ff.

3 Bleckmann, *op. cit.* p. 27, and cf. p. 19.

4 Excavations of Gezer, pp. 354 (No. 85) and 360 (No. 359)

potter's on the other (the name of the month being found more commonly with the name of the priest than with that of the potter).

One potter, however, is known to have had the peculiarity of often putting his own name on one stamp with that of the priest. His name is Agathobulus.¹

In the list of stamps from Lindus this name is found with those of six eponymous priests,² including Nicasagoras, Aristacus and Thersander. Moreover the last two names are stamped with exactly the same divisions into lines as are found on the corresponding impressions from Gezer and Samaria, the dividing mark between and the discrepancy in the Nicasagoras stamps may be due to the accidental omission of the first and second lines in the Gezer catalogue. Professor Nilsson has especially noted the careless engraving of the Agathobulus stamps, but even without this we are surely justified in making the slight emendations necessary for altering the strange name Agathorodus (or Agatherodus)³ to that of the well known potter Agathobulus.

It may be surmised that a worn or blundered impression⁴ on one of the Gezer examples was originally responsible for an erroneous reading, which was thereafter adopted without sufficient scrutiny at Samaria also. A much worn stamp now in the Palestine Museum, Jerusalem, Ε[ΠΙ] ΝΙΚΑΣ[Α]ΓΟΡΑ ΑΓΑΘΟΒΟΥΛΟΥ (No. P. 947, provenance uncertain) may be the example from Gezer. The last line can easily be taken to read ΘΕΡΟΥΔΟΥ.

A further small piece of evidence, tending to confirm our hypothesis, is afforded by the stamp impressed on the other handle of the Nicasagoras amphora (Palestine Museum, P. 841), in which the last three letters of the word Πανάμου appear on the lower line, with a star between the ο and the υ, an arrangement repeated on another impression of the name of a month from Gezer,⁵ but

1 Nilsson, *op. cit.* pp. 73, 116, cf. p. 350.

2 His name follows those of Andrias, Andronicus, Aristogenes and Nicasagoras, and precedes those of Aristacus and Thersander.

3 No name with this termination occurs in the exhaustive catalogue given by Prof. Nilsson (*op. cit.* pp. 79 ff.).

4 See Nilsson, *op. cit.* p. 141, for examples of Δ stamped in place of Λ.

5 Gezer, p. 363 and fig. 467 (4).

not found on the other principal sites in Palestine. It occurs, however, on five handles, out of the eleven which bear only the name of a month, in the Lindus collection,¹ where we find eight instances of the name of a priest associated with Agathobulus.²

The emendation we have proposed may appear a somewhat trivial matter, but it is as well that a shadow of a name, such as "Agathorodus" seems to be, should cease to haunt the lists of Rhodian jar-handles. Moreover our potter's habit of joining his name to that of the priest gives him a special importance for us. Amphorae with both handles intact are somewhat rare, and, in the absence of any list of the priests of Helios, the relative dates of most of them can only be ascertained from the evidence of synchronism which is afforded when the names of priest and potter are found upon a single jar. Thus, one of the handles found at Samaria enables us to add the name of Archembrotus to that of the six (or possibly seven)³ priests who are known to have held office during the working life of Agathobulus. One of these, Nicasagoras, appears in the collection from Pergamum which is believed to date from c. 220 to 180 B.C., and also at Carthage, where the jars found are necessarily earlier than 146 B.C. The others are not found at Pergamum nor, so far as I am aware, at Carthage.⁴ There being some evidence that amphorae from Carthage are in the main not earlier than those from Pergamum, it is assumed with probability by Dr. Bleckmann⁵ that the priests, other than Nicasagoras, whom we find associated with Agathobulus, held office shortly before 220 B.C., and that Agathobulus flourished at about that date.

1 Nilsson, *op. cit.* pp. 498-9.

2 The Lindus catalogue, like so many others, fails to give details of the provenance of each handle, so we cannot tell whether there are any cases where such complementary handles are found close together.

3 See p. 4, footnote 3, *supra*. The name of Aristarchus, as an eponymous priest associated with Agathobulus, is cited by Nilsson (*op. cit.* p. 73, from Neroutsos, *Ἀθήναιον*, 1875, p. 444) but he elsewhere (p. 116) denies his existence. Possibly the correct reading is Aristacus.

4 The publications among which the more recent Carthaginian finds are scattered are not accessible to me.

5 *Klio*, 1912, p. 251.

THE ACCOUNT OF DAVID'S CAPTURE OF JERUSALEM

E. L. SUKENIK

(JERUSALEM)

The story of David's capture of Jerusalem in II Samuel 5⁶⁻⁸ has furnished material for much discussion and numerous hypotheses. The *crux interpretum* is the meaning of the word *šinnôr* and its connection with the somewhat obscure context of the Masoretic Bible. It is not necessary here to give a list of the explanations hitherto proposed, since the necessary references will be found in the three recent articles on the subject by Dalman, PJB 1915, 39-44; Albright, JPOS II, 286-90; and Vincent, RB 1924, 357-70. The rendering of *šinnôr* as "water-shaft," or the like, proposed originally by Birch, and brilliantly defended by Vincent, is now almost universally accepted, and has found its way into the new American Bible translations by Margolis (Jewish Publication Society) and by Waterman (University of Chicago). As shown by Dalman and more recently by Albright, this translation is philologically very difficult, and in spite of the skilful defence of Vincent the question remains just as obscure as before. Since all the interpreters admit the philological and textual difficulties of their solutions, it will not be necessary to go over this ground again. I will, therefore, in the following pages present my own interpretation, which differs considerably from those hitherto proposed.

Let us begin with the discussion of the word *šinnôr*. The word only occurs twice in the Bible, in this passage and in Psalm 42⁸, and does not appear to have any Semitic etymology, though it has been borrowed by Aramaic and Arabic, presumably

from Hebrew. Like such words as *kinnor*, "lyre," and *kaftôr*, "pillar-capital," it may well have been borrowed by the Canaanites or Hebrews from some non-Semitic people, along with the object or instrument which it denoted. Of the meanings which the word possesses in Aramaic and Arabic there is one which seems to me to have the most direct connection with the original meaning: "hook, flesh-hook." The Targum of Onkelos translates Hebrew *mazleg*, "flesh-hook," as *šinnôrâ*. In Modern Arabic *šinnârah* has, among other meanings, the sense "fish-hook"; the word is found in the lexicons, as well as, e. g., in present use on the Sea of Galilee. In the *Neginôt ha-Te'amim* there is a secondary accent in the form of a hook called *šinnôrît*. The ancient form of the flesh-hook was that of a three-pronged (more rarely a two-pronged) instrument like a trident, from which the modern meaning "fork" for *mazleg* has developed. Ancient Canaanite instruments shaped like tridents with the central prong longer than the two side prongs have been found at Gezer and at Byblos; see especially Vincent, RB 1923, 573, and plate VII. Macalister, *Gezer*, Vol. II, fig. 244, and Vincent, *loc. cit.*, consider these tridents as flesh-hooks, but it is also possible, as we shall see, to regard them as weapons. The ancient fish-hook was a modified harpoon, just as is the case with the Greek trident of Neptune, primarily, as well-known, a three-pronged harpoon. Among all ancient fishing and hunting peoples the weapons employed in the chase were also used for fighting. As we shall see, this was also true of the trident, which developed into a military weapon.

Savignoni has maintained that the instrument carried by the marching men on the Cretan cup known as the Vase of the Harvesters (cf. Dussaud, *Civilisations préhelléniques*, figs. 1, 32; Bossert, *Altkreta*², p. 67) is a weapon, a view which commends itself strongly when we observe that they are led by a man clad in a corselet of mail (*Mon. dei Lincei*, 1903, p. 80). This instrument is clearly a trident, as may be seen, e. g., from fig. 94 of Bossert's *Altkreta*. In the Roman gladiatorial combats, where many rare and obsolete weapons were utilized, the trident also found its place. My attention has also been called by Dr. Albright to the Egyptian representation of a trident (?) published by Montet, *Syria*, Vol. VIII, p. 87, fig. 5. There are also representations on Mesopotamian seal-

cylinders which appear to belong here, though they are not altogether clear.

In view of these considerations, it seems to me probable that the word *šinnôr* designated a weapon of the trident class. The tradition that it meant some kind of weapon persisted, as we see from the Septuagintal translation *παρὰξίφιδισον*, "dagger." The sense "weapon" is satisfactory in our passage if we take the verb *naga'* here to mean "smite," as often, rather than "touch," while the preposition *ב* does not introduce the object but is employed instrumentally. I would then render *ויאמר דוד כיום ההוא כל מכה יכוסי* "And David said on that day, Let everyone who smites the Jebusites smite the lame and the blind with his *šinnôr*, etc." I believe that the whole of verse 8 is a parenthesis introduced into the narrative, which it interrupts. The purpose of the parenthesis is to give a reason, based on popular tradition, for the prohibition of the entrance of the lame and the blind into the temple precincts. Verse 8 seems to be a quotation from a poem or song describing the capture of Jerusalem by David, and has perhaps been taken from a repertory like the Book of Jasher. We reconstruct the story approximately as follows. It was difficult for David to capture Jerusalem, because of the strength of the Jebusite stronghold. To mock him, the inhabitants collected their lame and blind and placed them on the city wall, in typical oriental fashion. The wrath of David at this mockery was so great that he commanded the successful assailant to smite the lame and the blind first, and promised to make him the commander-in-chief of his army. The scribe who introduced this citation into the text did not wish to give it in full,¹ and when he reached the words *את הפסחים ואת העורים* he stopped, and resumed the subject which had led him to quote the few lines with the conclusion: Therefore they say, The blind and the lame shall not enter the House. That the latter designates the Temple is clear from the fact that the order is not "the lame and the blind," as in the quotation, but "the blind and the lame"

¹ The Masoretic text has *בענור ואת*.

as in Lev. 21¹⁸, in the famous prohibition of entrance into the sanctuary on the part of defectives. While one cannot, of course, be sure of the reason for the use of the *šimmôr* in the capture of Jerusalem, it may be suggested that it was a weapon useful not only in direct combat, but also in scaling operations. This supposition would account for its use in storming a city, when the walls had to be scaled in the face of armed resistance from within. A weapon of the type suggested would be useful in catching hold of stones and projections in the wall, or could be inserted in crevices, while its shaft would be useful in supporting the weight of the climber. It may have had both a prong and one or two hooks.

Let us now turn to the second passage where the word is mentioned, Psalm 42²:

הוֹתֵם אֶל תְּהוֹם קוֹרָא לְקוֹל צְנוּרִים מִשְׁבְּרִים וְנֹלֵךְ עָלַי עֵבֶר

Deep calleth unto deep, at the voice of thy *šimmôrs*
All thy breakers and thy waves have passed over me.

In the Talmudic period this passage received a mythological exegesis, as is to be seen from *Ta'anit* 25b:

אָמַר רַבָּה: לְיָדַי חָזוּ לִי הָאֵי רִידִיא דְּמִי לְעִינָלָא וּפִירְסָא שְׁפוּרְתִּיהָ וְקִיּוּבָא
בֵּין תְּהוּמָא תְּתַהֵא לְתְּהוּמָא עִילָאָה זְכוּי

Rabba said, I saw Ridia (the angel of rain) in the form of a young bull, with cleft lips, standing between the upper and nether deeps, etc. Ridia is here portrayed as the regent of the storm, in the form of a bull, and is thus closely parallel to the contemporary Mediterranean representation of Poseidon as the regent of the storm, bearing a trident, with which he stirs up the waves, and symbolized regularly by a bull. Since we have already seen that the most reasonable meaning of *šimmôr* is "trident," or the like, it is natural to explain this passage in the same way, whether the plural or the singular form of the noun is preferred. The *šimmôr* was then the trident of God, with which he struck the sea and created the breakers. There may be here some Mediterranean, possibly Aegean influence.

The advantage of the preceding interpretation over the others hitherto advanced is that it does not do violence to the text, either textually or grammatically, and that it assumes an actually known

meaning of *šinnôr*, without any philological violence. The renderings which have been proposed recently, such as "water-shaft, penis, joint," all require much philological liberality for serious consideration. It may be added that Dr. Albright has withdrawn his own suggestion, as he informs me, and now accepts the view defended in this paper.

THE MEANING OF פְּרֵי עֵץ הָדָר

(Lev. XXIII, 40)

S. TOLKOWSKY

(TEL-AVIV)

וּלְקַחְתֶּם לָכֶם בַּיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן פְּרֵי עֵץ הָדָר כַּפַּת תְּכָרִים וְעֵנַף עֵץ-עֵבֶת וְעַרְבֵי-נָחַל...

RV : "And ye shall take you on the first day *the fruit of goodly trees, branches of palm trees, and boughs of thick trees, and willows of the brook..*"

The Feast of Tabernacles, which marked the completion of the harvest of fruit, oil, and wine, and historically commemorated the wanderings in the wilderness, was the most important of Israel's festivals, and as such it is also called תַּגְּיָהוּזָה "Feast of Yahweh" (Judges XXI, 19; Lev. XXIII, 39), or merely הַחֵן, "The Feast" (I Kings VIII, 2; Ezek. XLV, 23; 11 Chron. VII, 8). Some details of its ritual are, however, of a very late date; this is the case, in particular, with the water libation, which is not mentioned earlier than in Zechariah XIV, 16-19 (about 520 B.C.), and with the command as to the use of the פְּרֵי עֵץ הָדָר of which there is no trace either in the book of Ezra (about 458 B.C.) or in Nehemiah's account of the Feast of Tabernacles shortly after his first return to Jerusalem in 445 B.C. On the other hand, the chapters XVIII-XXVI of Leviticus, forming the so-called "Holiness Code" were complete before 400 B.C.; that is to say that the only existing mention of פְּרֵי עֵץ הָדָר (Lev. XXIII, 40) was introduced

into the Pentateuch subsequent to 445 B. C. but previous to 400 B. C.

What was meant by פְּרֵי עֵץ הָרֵר? Jewish tradition says: the *ethrog*, אֶתְרוֹג, that is the fruit which Theophrastus called the "Median" or the "Persian apple," and which botanists call *Citrus medica*. Josephus¹ says that it was this "Persian apple" that was used by the Jews during the Feast of Tabernacles; and this is confirmed by the story, told both by himself² and by the Talmud, of how Alexander Jannaeus, around the year 100 B. C. was pelted with their *ethrogim* by the congregation assembled in the Temple during the Feast of Tabernacles. The earliest trace of the *ethrog* in Jewish sources is found in the representation of this fruit on coins struck by Simon the Maccabee in the fourth year of the "Redemption of Zion," that is in 135 B. C. The date of the first introduction of the *ethrog tree* into Palestine we do not know; but what is certain is that it cannot have been before the third century B. C., because the earliest known mention of the fruit in western Asia occurs in Theophrastus' famous work on the geographical distribution of plants, in which he definitely states that in his time the *ethrog* was grown only in Media and in Persia³ and Theophrastus' treatise was written about 300 B. C. It follows that since the *ethrog* was not introduced into Palestine until the third century B. C. the פְּרֵי עֵץ הָרֵר of the fifth century Holiness Code cannot possibly mean the *ethrog*. What, then, is the meaning of פְּרֵי עֵץ הָרֵר?

The rendering "the fruit of goodly trees," which later translations have taken over from the Septuagint, and which is based on the Hebrew noun הָרֵר meaning "majesty, splendour," does not

1 Antiq. III. x 4.

2 Antiq. XIII, xiii 5.

3 Theophrastus: *Enquiry into Plants*, IV, iv 2.

appear to be satisfactory; hence the proposal made by the Amora Rabbi Abbahu of Caesarea about 200 A. D. to read הָרֵר , i.e. (a fruit) that remains "dwelling" on the tree from one year to the following one,¹ the reference being to the fact that the *elbrog*-tree blossoms at a time when the fruit of the previous year is still on its branches. But this rendering is hardly more satisfactory than that of the Septuagint. The analogous forms עֵץ הַפֶּן , the vine tree (Ezek XV, 2, 6), עֵץ הַזַּיִת , the olive tree (Hag. II, 19), and עֵץ הָאֲרֶז , the cedar tree (Lev. XIV, 6, 51, 52) prove that grammatically there is no reason why פְּרֵי עֵץ הָרֵר should not simply mean "the fruit of the *dar* tree," if it can be shown that *dar* was the name of a tree. In point of fact, *dar* is a Sanskrit word which means "tree," and we meet it in the name of the Indian holy tree *par excellence*, the giant cedar of the Himalaya mountains, known to botanists as *Cedrus deodara*, from the Sanskrit *devadaru* meaning "the tree of God." The Persians, who under Darius I Hystaspes conquered the north-western provinces of India,² borrowed from the Indians both the cult of the tree and its name; they called it *divdar*, "the tree of the *div* or genii."³ And Bonavia has shown that on certain Assyrian sculptures the very prominent cone-shaped object held in the uplifted hand of winged genii, who invariably hold a bucket in the other hand, is a cone of the *Cedrus deodara*,⁴ which was probably used as a sprinkler for "holy water";⁵ it is, besides, known from certain hymns that the cedar cone was held in great veneration in Assyria. That the conception of the cedar as "the tree of God" was not unfamiliar to the Jews of the time is shown by the post-exilic Psalms LXXX, 11 (אֲרֶז־אֱלֹהִים "cedars of God")

1 *Sukkah*, 35 a.

2 Herodotus, IV, 44 and III, 98.

3 The Arabs of the Middle Ages called it *divdar* and شجرة الله , *shejret-Allah*, "the tree of God" (see Ibn Beithar's *Dictionary of Simple Remedies*, No 1289).

4 E. Bonavia: *The Flora of the Assyrian Monuments*, London, 1894, p. 65.

5 *ibid.* p. 87.

and CIV, 16 (יִשְׁבְּעוּ עֵצֵי יְהוָה אֲרָזֵי לְבָנוֹן), “the trees of Yahweh are satisfied, the cedars of Lebanon”). During the fifth century B.C. Palestine and Babylonia were equally parts of the Persian empire, and I believe that from Babylonia the authors of the Holiness Code borrowed the ritual use of the cedar cone and the Persian name of the tree itself. But, since the Persian *dīva*, for God or the genii, could not very well be adopted by Jewish religious legislators and writers, only the word *dar* דָּר, for “tree,” was taken over into the Hebrew. A striking argument in favour of this view is, I think, furnished by the Book of Esther I, 6, where the floor of the great banqueting hall in the royal palace at Susa, the capital of Persia, is said to have been covered with, or made of, שֵׁשׁ (marble) and three other, unidentified, materials: בְּהַט, סַחֲרַת, and דָּר, a word which the Septuagint renders as *πινυπτος λίθος*, “pearl-stone.” I believe that דָּר has no other meaning than “cedar”; cedar wood, we know, was one of the most highly valued materials used in the construction and decoration of temples and royal palaces. The word דָּר is also recognizable in the terms אֲדָרָה,¹ and אֲדָר² which are occasionally used in the Talmud for a certain variety of the cedar. We even find, in two of the most beautiful poetical passages of the Bible, the homonyms הָדָר, “the cedar,” and הֲדָר, “majesty” or “excellency,” used as an occasion for a play upon words in connection with the cedars of Lebanon, namely in Isaiah XXXV, 2: כְּבוֹד הַלְבָנוֹן נִתַּן-לָהּ הָדָר הַפְּרָטִל וְהַשְׂרֹן הַפֶּה יֵרָאוּ כְבוֹד-יְהוָה הָדָר אֶלְהֵינוּ “the glory of Lebanon shall be given unto it (i. e. to the desert), the excellency of Carmel and Sharon; they shall see the glory of Yahweh, the excellency of our God,” and in Psalm XXIX, 4 and 5: קוֹל יְהוָה בַּפֶּתַח קוֹל יְהוָה בְּהָרָה; קוֹל יְהוָה שֹׁכֵר אֲרָזִים וַיִּשְׁבַּר יְהוָה אֶת-אֲרָזֵי: הַלְבָנוֹן “the voice of Yahweh is powerful, the voice of Yahweh is full of majesty; the voice of Yahweh breaketh in pieces the cedars,

1 Sabb. 67a; R. Hash. 23a; Sanh. 108b; B. Mets. 26a.

2 Bets. 15 b.

yea, Yahweh breaketh the cedars of Lebanon," where the word **הָרָר** with its twofold meaning of "majesty" and "the cedar" forms the link between the description of the power of Yahweh's voice, as expressed in the thunder, and the picture of the cedars of Lebanon struck down by the power of that voice. In my opinion there is, therefore, no doubt that **רָר** is a noun and **ה** the article, that **הָרָר**, literally "the tree," stands by contraction for "the cedar tree"; that consequently **עֵץ הָרָר** is a pleonasm, and that the meaning of **פְּרֵי עֵץ הָרָר** is "the fruit of the cedar tree," that is to say *the cedar cone*.

The question now arises as to when and why, in the ritual of the Feast of Tabernacles, this cedar cone was abandoned and the *ethrog* adopted in its stead. *A priori*, it may be said that this can only have happened after the cultivation of the *ethrog* tree in Palestine had reached such proportions that it became possible for every member of the multitude that went up for the festival to the Temple to acquire the fruit without difficulty and at a price which even a poor man could afford to pay. Allowing for the distance, the difficulties of transport, and the technical and biological conditions which govern the migration and dispersion of trees, and keeping in mind that by 300 B.C. the tree was still cultivated only in Media and in Persia, the *ethrog* can hardly have become common in Palestine before the second century B.C., and the place in Judea where its cultivation is most likely to have been practised on such a large scale was Jaffa, which is still to-day the centre of Palestine's orange industry. And now the occurrence of the *ethrog* on coins of Simon the Maccabee acquires a significance hitherto unsuspected. It was Simon who conquered Jaffa, drove out its Greek inhabitants, and annexed the city definitely as part of the Jewish state, in 143 B.C. In 139, he obtained from Antiochus VI Sidetes the right to issue money, and, though for the next three years his coins bear the emblem of the "lily of Sharon," in 136 (the last year of his life) we find him suddenly issuing copper

half-shekels, quarter-shekels, and sixth-of-shekels bearing the picture of an *ethrog* or two *ethrogim* together with the bundle of branches prescribed for use at the Feast of Tabernacles, or with baskets filled with dates and other fruits, an obvious reference to the offerings of the first fruits (בכורים) which, on ascending the Temple hill, each person was compelled to take upon his shoulder.¹ These facts, together with the further Facts that none of Simon's successors imitated his example and that he remained the only Jewish ruler who ever represented the *ethrog* on his coins in connection with the Feast of Tabernacles, seems to me to point definitely to the conclusion that it was Simon the Maccabee who introduced the *ethrog* in place of the cedar cone into Jewish ritual, and that this important step was taken by him on the occasion of the feast of Tabernacles, October, 136 B.C.

And now as to the reasons of the change. It may be taken for granted that the Maccabees, vindicators and restorers of the Jewish religion, did not of their own free choice abandon the use of the cedar cone, but that circumstances compelled them to do so. What these circumstances may have been we do not and may never know, but it is quite within the realm of possibility that the Seleucides, in their systematic campaign, first started by Antiochus IV Epiphanes in 168 B.C., for the destruction of the Jewish religion and the ceremonies connected with it, took steps to prevent the export of cedar cones from the countries under their rule to Judea. But once granted the necessity for Simon Maccabeus to find a substitute for the cedar cone, then the choice of the *ethrog* rather than any other fruit was undoubtedly prompted by the striking likeness which the unripe *ethrog* shows to the still green cedar cone, a resemblance so remarkable that at least one botanist, a century ago, gave the *ethrog* the scientific name of *Citrus Medica Conifera*.²

1 Madden: *History of Jewish Coinage*, London, 1864, pp. 47 and 50.

2 Etienne Michel: *Traité pu Citronnier*, Paris, 1816, p. 3 and plate 11, fig. 1 and 2.

There is one more interesting point in connection with this substitution of the *ethrog* for the cedar cone in the ritual of the Feast of Tabernacles. The Greeks called the cedar *κέδρος*, *kedros*, and its cone *κέδρίς*, *kedris*; the Greek-speaking Jews of Palestine called the latter *כִּיטְרוֹן*, *kitron*,¹ while they used the name *כִּיטְרִיא*, *kitria*, for the *ethrog*.² On the other hand, we find that the Romans, including Pliny himself, called both the cedar and *ethrog*-tree by one and the same name, *citrus*, which is obviously nothing else than a latinized form of the Palestinian-Greek *kitron*. This designation of two such widely different trees by one and the same name, a fact which has led astray many translators of the Latin classics, cannot be explained otherwise than by the philological interchange which occurred in Palestine at the time of the substitution of the *ethrog* for the cedar-cone in the ritual of the Feast of Tabernacles. And it is also as a result of the same interchange that *cedro* in Italian, and *cèdre* in medieval French are used both for the citron and the cedar, that in modern French the *ethrog* is named *cèdrat* which means, literally, "the fruit of the cedar," that in English it is called the citron, and that the word *citrus* has become the scientific name of the large family which comprises the citron, the lemon, the orange, the grapefruit, and the mandarine or tangerine.

1 Julius Fürst: *Glossarium Graeco-Hebraeum oder Der Griechische Wörschatz der jüdischen Midraschwerke*, Strassburg, 1890, p. 198.

2 Josephus, *Antiq.* XIII, xiii 5.

LE NOM DE CAPHARNAÛM

F.-M. ABEL
(JERUSALEM)

Les monographies consacrées à cette localité fameuse se sont en général si peu étendues sur le nom qu'elle portait dans l'antiquité qu'il nous a paru opportun de combler cette lacune en approfondissant ce côté de la question. Nous aurons d'abord à examiner l'origine des deux formes sous lesquelles les évangiles présentent le vocable de Capharnaüm, puis son étymologie la plus vraisemblable, ensuite la façon dont Josèphe l'a transcrit, pour en venir finalement à l'appellation moderne de Tell Hum. En chemin, nous ne ferons qu'effleurer l'histoire primitive de la ville que Jésus considérait comme sa patrie d'adoption.

I

Au sujet de ce nom, les manuscrits des évangiles forment deux groupes assez tranchés dont l'un tient pour KAPERNAOUM et l'autre pour KAPHARNAOUM. Cette dernière orthographe est le fait de la recension égyptienne représentée par le *Sinaiticus*, le *Vaticanus*, et les versions coptes. Elle paraît aussi dans le groupe palestinien auquel se rattachent *Codex Bezae* et l'ancienne version latine. La leçon KAPERNAOUM est soutenue par la recension antiochienne représentée par l'*Alexandrinus* et la grande masse des manuscrits de la forme commune (Koinè). Cette forme attribuée à Lucien, prêtre et didascale d'Antioche, s'étant peu à peu imposée à tout l'Orient

grec en raison des influences liturgiques et hiérarchiques de Constantinople, il est naturel que les témoins des recensions voisines aient subi parfois les leçons de cette envahissante *Koinè*. Ainsi le codex appelé *Ephraemi rescriptus* (V^e siècle), rangé par von Soden avec les manuscrits égyptiens, présente la leçon KAPERNAOUM presque aussi fidèlement que l'*Alexandrinus*. Les évangiles de Koridethi en Arménie, qui semblent par ailleurs indépendants de l'Égypte et d'Antioche, ont sauf trois exceptions, KAPERNAOUM. Le scribe, pourtant, connaissait les deux modes d'écrire ce nom, car, pour Marc IX, 33, il les combine sous la forme complexe de KAPERPHARNAOUM. On peut donc admettre sur ce point un choix voulu de la leçon commune avec quelques retours involontaires à l'orthographe du groupe duquel relève ce manuscrit, qui pourrait bien être le groupe palestinien. Le codex Freer, à trois exceptions près, conserve KAPHARNAOUM. Dans Matth. IV, 13, on constate qu'il a superposé *Kaper-* à *Kaphar*. Le texte critique des œuvres de saint Épiphane édité par Holl à Leipzig en 1915 s'en tient à la forme commune KAPERNAOUM.

En résumé, ainsi qu'il ressort des appareils de Westcott-Hort et de von Soden, l'orthographe KAPERNAOUM est une forme syrienne qui s'oppose à la forme égypto-palestinienne primitive. Elle provient d'une prononciation du trilitère *Kp(h)r* propre au grec parlé du district d'Antioche, de l'avis de M. Burkitt exprimé dans un opuscule intitulé *The Syriac Forms of New Testament Proper Names* (Londres 1912). Pour ce qui est de la prononciation forte de *p* au lieu de *ph*, on en a des preuves irrécusables chez les Syriens d'Orient. En ce qui concerne l'Occident, Nestlé relève chez Théodoret, évêque de Cyr, un *Kapersanâ*, qui peut témoigner de la prononciation de la région antiochienne au V^e siècle. Bien plus, la Palestine elle-même nous paraît ne pas avoir été indemne de cette particularité. La localité que saint Jérôme transcrit *Casferdago* est appelée par Eusèbe, au passage correspondant de l'Onomasticon (éd. Kloss-termann, p. 50) *Keperadagôn*, aujourd'hui Beit Dedjân. Cyrille

de Scythopolis nomme *Kaparbaricha*¹ le village dont saint Jérôme parle sous le nom de Caphar Barucha². Kaparorsa, Kaparkotnei sont aussi des localités palestiniennes signalées par le géographe Ptolémée³.

Notons une forme intermédiaire où le son *b* marque le passage entre l'aspirée et la forte, par exemple : *Chabersaba* dans Josèphe Antiq. XIII 15 1 pour Kapharsaba de XVI, 5, 2, *Kabarbaricha* d'Épiphanè, Haer., XL, 1, ce qui nous rapproche de la leçon *Cabarnaum* du Sangallensis, Matth. IV, 13.

Il y a donc lieu de penser qu'on a de bonne heure en Syrie, parmi les populations de langue grecque, préféré la prononciation forte *p* à l'aspirée *ph*, et que cette préférence se manifesta en Palestine aux temps byzantins. Quant à l'adoucissement de *a* en *e*, commun, semble-t-il, dans le district d'Antioche, il provient d'une attraction exercée sur le son *e* par la consonne *rho*. Les grammairiens de la langue hellénistique qui ont relevé d'autres cas de ce phénomène phonétique analogue à celui que nous remarquons dans *Kaper-*, en recherchent généralement l'origine en Asie Mineure. Rien d'étonnant qu'il ait pénétré de là en Syrie. Mais cette forme *Kapernaoum*, qui n'est en somme qu'un idiotisme local imposé à un groupe de textes par l'autorité d'un Antiochien, peut-elle prévaloir contre une forme antique, appuyée par l'usage hébreo-palestinien ? Non. La forme *KAPHARNAOUM* qui a pour elle non seulement l'autorité de vénérables onciaux du IV^e siècle, mais aussi son équivalence dans l'hébreu talmudique et dans les transcriptions de la grande majorité des versions du Nouveau Testament⁴, cette forme a trop de garanties pour ne pas être gèneine. En tout cas, quel que fût le mode de prononciation de la Haute-Syrie du 1^{er} siècle, il y a

1 *Vie de S. Sabas*, c. 16 ; *Vie de S. Euthyme*, c. 15.

2 *Peregrin. Paulae*, c. 12.

3 *Geogr.*, V, 15, 3, 7.

4 Sans parler des transcriptions de Josèphe qui conservent au déterminatif local sa teneur de *Kaphar-*.

bien des chances pour que la localité en question ait été connue sous le nom de Capharnaüm parmi les Palestiniens contemporains de Jésus-Christ.

II

Kapharnaoum du grec revient, en définitive, à l'hébreu *Kefur Nakhum* attesté par le Midrasch Qoheleth I, 8 (9a), VII, 26 (38*), et cette équation se trouve confirmée par l'étymologie que propose Origène: «Kapharnaoum, écrit-il, c'est la campagne ou le village de la consolation, *ho tis parakliseôs agros*, ou *kômi*¹.» Or le radical hébreu qui implique l'idée de la consolation n'est autre que *nkhm*. A cette interprétation, favorisée par le rôle que joue cette localité dans le ministère messianique du Sauveur, saint Jérôme en ajoute une seconde, qui peut provenir de la même inspiration, mais avec laquelle l'orthographe établie de *K. Nakhum* s'harmonise beaucoup moins, je veux dire l'hypothèse d'un radical *n'm* (avec *'ain*) évoquant l'idée «d'être beau, agréable» C'est ce qu'il exprime en ces termes dans son traité sur Marc I 13-31: «Ils entrent, dit l'évangéliste, à Capharnaüm, dans le champ de la consolation; Caphar en effet signifie champ, et consolation se dit Nahum. Toutefois, comme la langue hébraïque donne lieu à de multiples compréhensions et que le sens s'y diversifie suivant les nuances de la prononciation, Naum, si nous voulons, signifiera «consolation» et «beau». Donc Capharnaüm peut s'interpréter «champ de la consolation» et «champ splendide». Là où nous lisons: Voilà comme il est bon et agréable, où nous disons *terpnon* et *Aquila euprepés*, l'hébreu porte Naum qui est interprété *pulchrum*².» Le Docteur latin réunit ici les deux interprétations que nous trouvons séparées ailleurs dans ses œuvres. A la remorque d'Origène dans son traité des noms hébreux il maintient l'étymologie «champ, ou villa de la consolation³. Mais

1 F. WUTZ, *Onomastica sacra*, p. 40, 643.

2 Dom MORIN, *Anecdota Maredsolana*, t. III partie 2, p. 333.

3 *Patrol. Latine*, t. XXIII, col. 888.

dans son Commentaire sur S. Matthieu, il n'avance pas d'autre sens que «villa très belle¹».

De la racine verbale *na'am* dérivent des noms de personnes tels que Nâ'am, Na'amâh, No'ami, Na'amân, et des toponymes comme Na'amâh, ainsi que l'adjectif nâ'im. On ne rencontre pas cependant Na'um dans l'hébreu biblique, tandis que l'autre radical, nakham, y forme le nom bien connu de Nakhum que la version grecque des Septante rend par *Naoum*. De là proviennent également les dérivations : tankhum «consolation» et Tankhumeth, nom propre de II Reg. XXV, 23, Jerem. XL, 8.

Il est assez vraisemblable que le second élément du nom de Capharnaüm soit un nom propre de personne. Nakhum tiendrait ici la place que Khanina occupe dans Kaphar-Khanina, Zacharia dans Kaphar-Zacharia etc. Ce personnage serait-il le fondateur de la localité ? Sa propriété aurait-elle été le noyau de l'agglomération postérieure ? Il y a bien un Nakhum qui figure dans Néhémie VII, 7, avec les rapatriés de marque. Mais, outre que son nom est donné différemment par la liste correspondante d'Esdras II, 2, il est dit revenir à Jérusalem et en Juda et non en Galilée. Mettre en avant le Naoum de la généalogie de saint Joseph (Luc III 25) qui représente la dixième génération après Zorobabel demeure un simple essai hypothétique auquel on reconnaît le mérite de ne pas franchir les limites galiléennes et de se rattacher d'une certaine façon à l'histoire du Christ. Le souvenir du prophète Nahum ne peut entrer ici en ligne de compte bien que certains critiques, tels que Hitzig et Knobel, aient prétendu le faire en regardant Elqosch, patrie de Nahum, comme l'antique dénomination de Capharnaüm. Que le nom d'un homme illustre arrive à supplanter un ancien nom local au pays de sa naissance ou de sa sépulture vraie ou fausse, c'est un fait qui se produit encore de nos

¹ *Patrol. Latine*, t. XXVI, col. 75.

jours et dont nous avons des exemples dans Abou Ghôsch et Néby Samouïl. Ce n'est pas de ce côté que viendrait l'objection. Elle vient plutôt de ce que la tradition judéo-chrétienne des premiers siècles a porté ailleurs ses recherches touchant la patrie du prophète Nahum, ce qui serait surprenant au cas où le site bien connu de Capharnaüm aurait consacré pendant une longue période la mémoire et le nom de ce personnage biblique¹.

L'identité du Nakhum (grec *Ναούμ*), dont le vocable est entré dans la formation du nom de Kapharnaoum, reste encore pour le moment difficile à saisir. En tout cas, ce n'est pas d'un rabbin des premiers siècles, nommé Nakhum le Vieux, que la localité tient son nom.

III

Le témoignage de Josèphe invoqué si souvent dans la question topographique relative à la cité en question est trop important pour être passé sous silence même au point de vue philologique, d'autant moins que sa valeur est conditionnée par la teneur authentique de son texte. La grosse édition de B. Niese (1887-1895) des œuvres de l'historien juif apporte des modifications aux transcriptions qui jusqu'ici courent encore dans les études consacrées à Capharnaüm. Aussi est-ce une raison de plus pour s'en occuper en cet article.

Kapharnaoum (Latin: Capharnaum) est clairement attesté par les manuscrits de *Guerre juive* III, 10, 8 (§ 519). Le Kapharnaoun du codex *L* constitue une variante insignifiante. Ce nom, tout à fait semblable à celui des évangiles, s'applique, selon Josèphe à une source très abondante qui arrose la contrée de Gennésar. Cette contrée formant le littoral ouest et nord-ouest du lac de Tibériade confine au territoire de Capharnaüm. On est donc fondé à recon-

1 Voir l'art. de *Legendre*, *Elcési*, Dictionn. de la Bible, t. II, col. 1647 sq.

naitre l'origine de l'appellation de cette source dans la proximité de cette ville. Sous l'aspect philologique, il suffit de constater l'identité des deux dénominations.

La confrontation est moins facile avec le texte de la *Vie* de Josèphe c. 72 § 403. Le village sur lequel Josèphe est évacué après la blessure reçue à Julias apparaît sous deux formes différentes et chacune de celles-ci offre des nuances. 1°. Le codex Palatinus (P) qui se recommande par son ancienneté (IX^e-X^es.) et sa qualité, car il émane d'un scribe inexpérimenté ne comprenant pas toujours ce qu'il écrivait, garantie contre les corrections et interpolations, ce codex qui forme la trame de l'édition critique de Niese a comme texte *Kepharnòkon*, accusatif qui suppose peut-être, si le nom n'est pas neutre, un nominatif *Kepharnòkos*. La leçon *Kepharnakòn* du codex Regius de Paris (R), dont l'accord est fréquent avec P, quoique du XIV^e siècle seulement, se rapproche beaucoup de la lecture précédente. Au même thème se rattache la graphie *Kepharnòkòn* du codex A, Ambrosianus, du XI^e siècle, qui est indemne des corrections et additions qui criblent d'autres manuscrits. Ces trois manières d'écrire ont ceci de commun que le κ fait le début de la syllabe finale du nom. Cette consonne serait-elle là comme équivalence du *kh* hébreu? Il est difficile de l'admettre d'autant plus que jamais, à ma connaissance du moins, Josèphe ne se permet une telle licence.

En dépit d'une certaine apparence d'affinité, il répugne de considérer *Nokon* ou *Nakon* comme la transcription de l'hébreu *Nakhum*. Il est tout à fait vraisemblable, par contre, que ce K malencontreux n'ait d'autre cause qu'un M mal copié, ce qui nous amène au second aspect du mot chez l'historien juif.

2°. Dans le codex Medicaeus de Florence (M) du XV^e siècle nous lisons *Karphanòmòn*, lecture défectueuse du *Kapharnòmòn* que présente le Vaticanus gr. 984 (W) qui date de 1354. Niese a remarqué que M et W marchent ensemble la plupart du temps et dans les passages importants. Mais ce qui est plus important pour notre cas en particulier, c'est l'excellence de ces deux manuscrits

en ce qui concerne l'autobiographie de Josèphe, connue sous le nom de *Vita*, d'où est extrait notre passage. Tandis que A s'y révèle inférieur, MW paraissent avoir conservé le plus souvent la vraie leçon, et l'éditeur, après avoir énuméré un certain nombre d'endroits excellents ou d'une gènuinité très probable présentés par ces deux manuscrits seuls, termine son enquête en ces termes: «In Vita igitur MW, quanquam non desunt corruptelae et interpolamenta, permagni sunt faciendi¹».

Forts de cette approbation, nous avons donc à concentrer notre attention sur la forme *Kapharnómôn*, comme sur une leçon authentique. On observera d'abord l'intention de Josèphe de greciser un vocable sémitique, intention qui se trahit tout le long des Antiquités, ouvrage adressé à un public grèco-romain, et aussi dans la *Vita* dont la composition a suivi immédiatement la publication des Antiquités. La syllabe longue *nô* remplace normalement, comme une contraction, la syllabe *naou*, un peu étrange à des oreilles grecques. Dans Antiq. IX, 11 13 § 239, l'écrivain est allé moins loin, se contentant d'helléniser la finale du nom du prophète Nahum: *Naoumos*.

Quant à la finale en *ôn*, la construction ne permet pas d'y voir le génitif pluriel d'un gentilice. Il semble plutôt que l'auteur ait voulu faire une sorte d'indéclinable comme Acchabarôn de Guerre juive II, 20, 6, § 573.

Ainsi donc, le point de vue onomastique, aussi bien que le point de vue topographique, nous engage à récupérer le vocable sémitique Kephâr Nakhum sous le Kapharnómôn de Vita, par l'intermédiaire de la forme semi-hellénisée de Kapharnaoum. Le maintien de cet aspect intermédiaire se comprend dans le texte de la Guerre juive que Josèphe retraduisait en grande partie d'une première rédaction hébréo-araméenne de son crû. Ptolémée (V, 10. 4) qui dépend de Marin de Tyr (II^e siècle) adopte l'écriture Kapharnaoum.

1 Ainsi pour la localité d'Achabari ce sont MW qui possèdent la meilleure leçon pendant que les autres codices ont l'inversion Acharabi. Vita c. 37 § 188.

Depuis l'édition de Niese, la leçon Kepharnômè des éditions antérieures fondées sur un manuscrit assez récent et défectueux n'a droit à aucune considération. L'adaptation de la finale aux deux accusatifs féminins qui l'encadrent est trop évidente pour ne point être artificielle.

IV

Avec les deux mentions souvent évoquées du Midrasch Qoheleth 1, 8 (9^a) VII, 26 (38^a) qui se réfèrent à un fait des environs de l'an 110, nous retrouvons le nom de notre localité sous sa physionomie hébraïque Kephâr Nakhum. A cette époque, les chrétiens avaient la prépondérance à Capharnaüm, ce qui dura jusqu'au soulèvement des Juifs en 132. Le nom de la ville, alors même qu'elle était déchuë sinon entièrement ruinée, se conserva dans les milieux chrétiens à travers l'époque byzantine et le Moyen Age. Il ne disparut point non plus de la mémoire des Fils d'Israël, si nous en jugeons par un passage des *Chemins de Jérusalem* composés par Ishak Chelovers 1333: «d'Arbel on arrive à Kefar Nakhum, qui est le Kefar Nakhum, cité dans les écrits de nos sages (dont la mémoire soit en bénédiction!). C'est un village en ruine, où il y a un ancien tombeau qu'on dit être celui de Nakhum le Vieux¹.» Tout le reste de la notice s'inspire du passage du Midrasch Qoheleth signalé plus haut.

Le premier des Nakhum cité dans la littérature rabbinique est celui qui émet les opinions de Khiya ben Abba dans le jer. Baba bathra 14^c. Etant postérieur au I^e siècle de notre ère, ce n'est pas lui qui a donné son nom à la localité. On ne sait rien sur son compte. Sa sépulture paraît bien être venue se fixer ici en vertu du nom existant de Kefar Nakhum. L'onomastique locale s'est muée en une personnification homonyme. C'est en raison du même procédé populaire que Beit Djibrîn a créé un Néby Djibrîn, que l'ancien site de Gézer a conservé un Cheikh Djezâry, que celui de

¹ Carmoly, *Itinéraires de la Terre Sainte*, p. 259 19.

Reḥob s'est perpétué par un Cheikh Reḥâb. Le tombeau du prétendu Nakhum n'a pas d'existence plus réelle; il est le fruit d'une explication simpliste et inadmissible du nom de la ville¹.

L'identité de ce Nakhum est d'ailleurs si peu établie que le traité publié par Carmoly sous le titre *Jichus ha-sadikim* paru en 1561 dit: «A Tankhum sont les tombeaux de Nakhum le prophète et de Rabbi Tankhuma².» Ce passage provoque la question du changement de nom de Kafar Nakhum que semble confirmer un autre témoignage du XVI^e siècle, celui d'Uri de Biel, en 1537: «Tankhum. Là est enseveli Rabbi Tankhum³.» Le plus fameux rabbi de ce nom est Tankhum ben Khanilai, amora du III^e siècle dont on ignore les circonstances de sa vie sauf qu'il mourut le jour de la fête de la Khanouka. Il en est cependant un autre, T.B. Khiya de Kafar 'Ako, qui vécut à Tibériade à la fin du III^e siècle. Son existence est aussi inconnue que celle du précédent⁴. Quoiqu'il en soit du bien-fondé de la sépulture d'un R. Tankhum à Kafar Nakhum, il paraît indéniable qu'à partir du XVI^e siècle au moins, cette mémoire s'est tellement imposée aux Juifs de Galilée qu'elle a supplanté l'ancien nom de l'endroit. C'est de la même façon que le Lazarium, ou Tombeau de Lazare, a évincé le nom de Béthanie qui se nomme aujourd'hui el-'Azarieh. Au lieu de Kafar Nakhum on disait Tankhum. Les Bédouins de la contrée, entendant cette appellation de la bouche des Juifs indigènes, l'adoucirent à leur façon, d'où le nom actuel de *Talhum*, que les savants occidentaux ont transcrit par Tell Hum, designant le champ de ruines de l'antique Capharnaüm. Au XVII^e siècle, le Père M. Nau s'en tenait à la transcription intermédiaire: *Telhboum*⁵.

1 C'est en vertu d'une homophonie plus vague encore que Yauq est devenu la sépulture d'Habacuc.

2 Op. cit. p. 385.

3 Ibid. p. 448.

4 BACHER, *Die Agada der Palestin. Amoraer*, t. III, p. 628, 636.

5 *Voyage Nouveau*, p. 272.

De la confrontation de nos documents, il résulte que ce changement de nom a dû s'opérer au cours du XV^e siècle. Aurait-on, cependant, déjà employé le nom de Kefar Tankhum au temps des Amora, c'est-à-dire au moins au III^e siècle de notre ère? Neubauer le prétend, mais Bacher et S. Klein, qui le nient, reprochent à cet auteur de donner des entorses au texte. C'est sans fondement, disent-ils, que Neubauer veut tirer un Kefar Tankhum d'un nom dont la teneur authentique est Kefar Tekhoumin, c'est-à-dire le Village des Frontières¹.

On a avancé également que Tell Hum dériverait normalement d'un Kefar Akhim (variante K. Akhum) mentionné par bab. Menakhoth 85a. A cause de l'incertitude du texte, Dalman, Strack et Billerbeck mettent en doute l'interprétation de S. Klein à ce sujet². L'identification avec Kefar Nakhum n'aurait de solidité qu'en recourant à l'hypothèse d'une erreur dans la transcription de la lettre initiale: un *aleph* aurait été substitué à un *nun*. Somme toute, un hapax douteux ne peut prévaloir contre la faisceau de preuves que forment l'ensemble de textes étudiés au cours de cette étude.

F.-M. ABEL, O.P.

1 Cf. *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Palaest.-Vereins*, XXV (1912), p. 40 note 4.

2 Ib. p. 40 *Palaest. Jahrb.*, t. IX (1913) p. 52, n. 4 STRACK et BILLERBECK, *Kommentar. zum N.T. aus Talmud und Midrasch* (1922), t. 1, p. 605.

SPUREN JÜDISCHER UND CHRISTLICHER EINFLÜSSE AUF
DIE ÜBERSETZUNG DER GROSSEN PROPHETEN DURCH
HIERONYMUS.

D. DR. FR. STUMMER,

(JERUSALEM).

Palaestina hat ein Werk entstehen sehen, das für die abendländische Christenheit von weittragender Bedeutung geworden ist: die Übertragung des Alten Testaments aus der *hebraica veritas* in die Sprache Roms. Man fragt sich, ob dieses *monumentum aere perennius*, das sich der gelehrte Dalmatiner Hieronymus gesetzt hat, nicht etwa deutliche Spuren des Landes trägt, in welchem es entstanden ist. Meint man, ein solcher Einfluss müsse sich darin zeigen, dass eine Reihe von Stellen nachweisbar ist, an denen sich die gegebene Übersetzung nur aus genauer Kenntnis Palaestinas erklären lässt, so muss ich persönlich gestehen, in diesem Sinne eine bejahende Antwort nicht geben zu können. Es ist aber sehr wohl möglich, dass ein langjähriger Kenner Palaestinas, der die Vulgata unter diesem Gesichtspunkt studiert, solche Übersetzungen finden könnte. Ob ihre Zahl gross würde, möchte ich allerdings nicht glauben. Denn einerseits war Hieronymus, als er den Boden des Heiligen Landes betrat, bereits zum ausgesprochenen Buchgelehrten entwickelt, andererseits waren die vielseitigen Interessen ascetischer dogmatischer und vor allem polemischer Natur, welche ihn bis in seine Mönchszelle in Bethlehem verfolgten, nicht geeignet, ihn zu einem methodischen, eindringenden Studium von Land und Leuten

die unbedingt nötige Ruhe und Sammlung zu gewähren. Möglicherweise hatte er als Mensch der antiken Mittelmeerkultur, zu deren Bereich ja Palaestina gehörte, gar nicht den Eindruck des Neuen, der hierzulande so mächtig anzuregen imstande ist.

Aber in anderer Hinsicht war es für das Übersetzungswerk des Hieronymus bedeutsam, dass die Stätte seiner Entstehung Palaestina war. Hier kam er in Berührung mit der rabbinischen Gelehrsamkeit. Gewiss hatte er schon vorher Beziehungen zum Judentum; aber zahlreiche Stellen seiner Schriften zeigen, dass diese erst seit seiner Ankunft im Heiligen Lande rechte Lebendigkeit erhielten. Indessen blieb Hieronymus, trotzdem er sich oft und nicht immer in glücklicher Weise von seinen jüdischen Gewährsmännern leiten liess, das, was er von jeher gewesen war: über dem Schüler der Rabbinen verleugnete er nie den christlichen Theologen.

Dieser Tatbestand ist längst beobachtet, aber bei weitem noch nicht erschöpfend dargestellt. So ist z. B. die Übersetzung der vier grossen Propheten meines Wissens noch gar nicht unter dem Gesichtspunkt betrachtet, inwieweit Hieronymus hier unter dem Einfluss seiner rabbinischen Gewährsmänner stand, und über die Auswirkung seines christlichen Standpunktes existieren auch nur jene gelegentlichen Bemerkungen, die man in den Lehrbüchern der alttestamentlichen Einleitung findet. Natürlich ist auch in dem vorliegenden Rahmen eine erschöpfende Behandlung des Themas unmöglich; sie muss sich damit begnügen, einige besonders deutliche Spuren jüdischen und christlichen Einflusses aufzuzeigen.

Dass Hieronymus bei den Rabbinen sich Rats erholt hat, sieht man an zahlreichen Einzelheiten lexikalischer Natur. Wenn er z. B. Jes 3, 4 תַּעֲלִילִים mit *effeminati* wiedergibt, so stimmt das mit dem targumischen הלשׂא doch sehr überein. Gewiss ist das Prophetentargum zeitlich jünger als Hieronymus; aber das hindert nicht, dass die dort schriftlich niedergelegte Tradition älter ist als er. Gibt es doch eine Reihe von Fällen, wo wir die im Targum sich findende **lexikalische** Auffassung schon in der Septuaginta nachweisen können.

Jes 66, 24 und Dan 12, 2 findet sich das Wort הִרְאוּן . Hieronymus übersetzt an der ersten Stelle, *usque ad satietatem visionis*, an der zweiten «*ut videant.*» Zu Jes 66,24 hat Driver¹ auf die Möglichkeit hingewiesen, dass der zu dieser Stelle freilich nicht erhaltene Aquila die Quelle dieser Wiedergabe sein könnte, da dieser, wie die Rabbinen das auch tun, die Zerlegung von Wörtern liebt. Aber ebenso gut ist möglich dass Hieronymus nicht von dem Proselyten aus Pontus, sondern direkt von den Rabbinen abhängig ist, da die gleiche Auffassung im Targum vorliegt: $\text{עַד דִּימִירוֹן עֲלֵיהוֹן צִדִּיקִימָא סַפֹּת הוּינָא}$: „bis die Gerechten von ihnen sagen: wir haben genug gesehen“. Das „*ut videant*“ Dan 12,2 darf als ungefähre Wiedergabe derselben lexikalischen Auffassung betrachtet werden. Interessant ist die Wiedergabe des etwas schwierigen Textes Jes 40,20a: $\text{תִּמְכֶן תְּרוֹמַת עֵץ לֹא תִמְכֶן הָרֶקֶב יִבְחַר}$. Bei Hieronymus lesen wir: „*Forte lignum et impu- tribile elegit.*“ Es lässt sich leicht feststellen, dass sich *forte* und תִּמְכֶן entsprechen, während תְּרוֹמַת einfach unterdrückt ist, wie das die alten Übersetzer bei Wörtern, mit denen sie nicht zurechtkommen, mitunter machen. Wie kommt aber nun die Gleichung תִּמְכֶן *forte* zustande? Darauf gibt uns der Kommentar, den Hieronymus zum Buche Jesajas verfasst hat, eine überraschende Antwort. Dort wird zu unserer Stelle bemerkt: *quodque intulit: „forte lignum et impu- tribile elegit . . . ,“ in Hebraeo legitur AMSUCHAN, quod genus tigni est in- pultribile, quo vel maxima idola fiunt.*“² Hieronymus hat also noch von dem den Assyriologen wohlbekamten *musukkanu*- Baum gewusst. Welchen

1 Note on the Hebrew text and the topography of the Books of Samuel, 2. edition (Oxford 1913), p. LXXXIII, n. 1.

2 Migne, PL XXVI, 422.

Dass Hieronymus im Vertrauen zur Auffassung seiner jüdischen. Lehrer bestärkt wurde, wenn er wörtliche oder sachliche Übereinstimmung mit einem der alten Übersetzer feststellte, ergibt sich z. B. aus seiner Bemerkung zu Am. 3,11: *Hebraeus, qui me in Sanctis Scripturis erudivit tribulationem interpretatus est (es handelt sich um die Übersetzung von עַד!) nec rennimus eius sententiam, quia et Symmachus, qui non solet verborum $\alpha\alpha\alpha\sigma\lambda\eta\lambda\iota\alpha\upsilon$, sed intelligentiae ordinem sequi, ait: obsidio et circumdatio terrae.* Migne PL XXV 1068 f.

Namen dieser Baum im Lateinischen führt, hat er leider nicht angegeben—vielleicht, weil die Beschreibung, die er von ihm erhielt, nicht ausreichte, um ihn zu identifizieren. So hat er, um seinen Lesern einen ihnen unverständlichen Namen zu ersparen, sich darauf beschränkt, ihn als „festes“ (*forte*) Holz zu charakterisieren. Nun ist wichtig, dass noch das Prophetentargum „festen Lobeerbaum“ (nach Jastrow wäre freilich—pine, Kiefer) liest. Das erinnert an das „forte“ des Hieronymus; ferner hat das Targum mit ihm die Unterdrückung des *תְּרוֹמַח* gemeinsam. Man sollte aber meinen: wenn Hieronymus in dem *הַתְּסִיכָן* einen Baumnamen erkannte, so hätte ihm die Übersetzung des *תְּרוֹמַח* keine Schwierigkeiten machen dürfen, da er ja die Bedeutung dieses Wortes kannte, wie z. B. aus Ez 20,47 und Mal. 3,8 hervorgeht. Wenn er dazu nicht gelangte, so erklärt sich das wohl am einfachsten durch die Annahme, dass er nicht mit eigenen Augen sah, sondern im Banne einer fremden Auffassung stand. Diese liegt uns aber im wesentlichen—nur durch die Beifügung des konkreten Baumnamens *אֹרֶן* bereichert—im Targum noch vor. Also folgt Hieronymus hier einer jüdischen Tradition. Dass schon die Septuaginta das *תְּרוֹמַח* ausgelassen hatte, mochte für ihn ein Grund mehr sein, der ihm von seinen rabbinischen Gewährsmann mitgeteilten Auffassung zu vertrauen.

Jer 16,5 übersetzt Hieronymus *בְּתַלְרוּחָה* durch *domus convivii*. Die Septuaginta übersetzt an der betreffenden Stelle *βίαιος*, Hieronymus dagegen nimmt das Wort in der engeren Bedeutung, die es in der rabbinischen Literatur angenommen hat.

Ez. 13,10 entspricht „*luto absque paleis*“ hebräischem *תַּסִּיל* „Tünche“. Das Targum umschreibt dieses Wort durch *טִין פַּטִּיר*. Die Übereinstimmung ist zu offenbar, als dass man nicht annehmen sollte, Hieronymus sei hier von der jüdischen Auffassung abhängig. Wir haben dazu umso mehr Recht, als weder die Septuaginta noch einer der drei Übersetzer Aquila, Symmachus und

Theodotion als Quelle gedient haben können¹. Im folgenden Vers dient „*Lapides praegrandes*“ zur Wiedergabe von אֲבְנֵי אֶלְנָבִישׁ; auch das stimmt mit einer Auffassung überein, die im Judentum heimisch ist. Ich weiss freilich nur den mittelalterlichen Exegeten Raschi als Quelle anzugeben, der die betreffenden Worte durch אבני ברד נדלוח erklärt. Aber es ist sehr wohl möglich, dass diese Auffassung sehr viel älter und Hieronymus ihr erster Zeuge ist.

Ez 30,14, wie übrigens schon Jer 46, 25, wird der aegyptische Stadtname אַלְכְּסַנְדְּרִיָּה mit „Alexandria“ übersetzt. Dass hier rabbinischer Einfluss vorliegt, hat uns Hieronymus selbst in seinem Kommentar zum Propheten Nahum gelehrt, wo er zu Nah. 3, 8 zur Erklärung der dort wiederkehrenden Gleichung אַלְכְּסַנְדְּרִיָּה Alexandria bemerkt: „*Hebraeus qui me in Scripturis erudit ait Hebraice no dici Alexandriam².*“ Das Targum hat tatsächlich an den drei zitierten Stellen אֶלְכְּסַנְדְּרִיָּה.

Durch Rückgriff auf die jüdische Tradition lässt sich manche Übersetzung des Hieronymus erklären, die sonst unverständlich bliebe. Es sei gestattet, hier eine Stelle anzuführen, die zwar in einer Schrift steht, die gemeinhin nicht zu den grossen Propheten gerechnet wird, aber in der Septuaginta und Vulgata im Korpus der prophetischen Schriften steht. Thren 5,10 wird der ganz einfache Text: טַחֲוֹן טַחֲוֹן נְשָׂאוֹ – „die Jünglinge mussten den Mühlstein schleppen“ auf folgende Art übersetzt: „*adolescentibus impudice abusi sunt.*“ Man bemüht sich zunächst vergebens, eine Erklärung für diese merkwürdige Übertragung zu finden. Schlägt man aber den *Midrash Echa Rabba* zur Stelle auf, so liest man dort folgende Auslegung: דִּי אֲבָרִימָה בְּחֻרִים טַחֲוֹן נְשָׂאוֹ לְשׁוֹן נָקִיָּה הוּא כְּרִיָּה וַיְהִי. Die letztere Stelle steht Ri 16,21 und handelt von Simson. Welchen obscoenen Sinn

1 Das ergibt sich aus dem Kommentar des Hieronymus zur Stelle, wo er die Übersetzungen von חַמֶּל, die sich in der Septuaginta und den drei Übersetzern finden, einzeln anführt: vgl. Migne PL XXV, 117.

2 Migne, PL XXV, 1320.

man darin finden zu können glaubte, mag man b. Sota 10^a nachlesen. Es ist kein Zweifel dass sich Hieronymus an der in Rede stehenden Stelle der Klagelieder diese Auffassung von seinem rabbinischen Gewährsmann aufdrängen liess, während er Ri 16,21 nach dem Wortsinn übersetzte.

Jer. 51,59 wird ein שֵׁר שְׂרִיָּה שֶׁר מְנוּחָה erwähnt. Dieses מְנוּחָה hat schon der Septuaginta Schwierigkeiten gemacht, die es als מְנוּחָה fasste und durch *ἠσέως* wiedergab. Aber wie kommt nun die Vulgata dazu „*princeps prophetiae*“ zu übersetzen. Den Schlüssel dazu findet man in Bachers „*Aggada der palaestinischen Amoraer*“¹, wo zwar nicht von unserer Vulgatastelle gesprochen wird, wohl aber auf eine Überlieferung hingewiesen wird, die sich wiederholt, u. a. auch Bar. Meg. 14 b findet. Dort wird Seraia unter den acht Nachkommen der Rahab genannt, die zugleich Propheten und Priester gewesen seien. Nimmt man noch dazu, dass im *Midrasch Num. rabba* s. 10 mit Beziehung auf unsere Stelle der Satz ausgesprochen wird: תְּנוּחָה נְקִרְאָת מְנוּחָה, so dürfte kaum mehr zweifelhaft sein, dass Hieronymus hier unter rabbinischem Einfluss steht.

Mitunter hat er allerdings die Anschauung seiner Gewährsmänner ungenau wiedergegeben aber sie (bewusst oder unbewusst) umgedeutet. Für beides je ein Beispiel! Jes 33, 3 heisst es: מְקוֹל מְרִדֵי עַמִּים, „vor gewalrigem Getöse fliehen Völker.“ Hieronymus hat das folgendermassen übersetzt: „*a voce angeli fugerunt populi*“. Wir würden wohl kaum erraten, wie er dazu kam, wenn er nicht selber im Kommentar zum Buche Jesajas die Stelle erklärt hätte. Da sagt er: *A voce enim angeli quem Hebraei Gabrielem autumant et habere etymologiam populi, fugit Assyrius.*“² Nun wird b. *Sanhedr. 95b* tatsächlich von R. *Elieser ben Jose*, dem Galiläer (2. Jahrh. n. Christus) gelehrt, der Auftrag Jahwe's, das Heer Sanheribs zu schlagen, sei an den Erzengel Gabriel ergangen. Die Frage,

¹ 2 Band (Strassburg 1896) S. 506, Anm. 4.

² Migne, PL XXXI, 376.

womit er die Assyrer geschlagen habe, wird im gleichen Zusammenhang von R. Isaak dem Schmied, (3/4 Jahrh.), mit Berufung auf unsere Stelle dahin beantwortet, er habe ihnen die Ohren geöffnet, dass sie das Lied der vier Tiere (d.h. der Ez 1 geschilderten Kerube) hörten und davon seien sie gestorben. Dass Gabriel **הַמְּחֹן** sei, wird, soviel ich weiss, nirgends gesagt. Hieronymus hat also offenbar die ihm von seinem jüdischen Lehrer mitgeteilte Auffassung nur mangelhaft wiedergegeben, woran ein Gedächtnisfehler die Schuld tragen mag.

Eine bewusste oder unbewusste Umdeutung einer rabbinischen Auffassung sehe ich Jes' 45,16. Da werden in der Vulgata aus den **הַרְשֵׁי צִירִים**, den „Verfertigern von (Götzen)-bildern“ *fabricatores errorum*. Man denkt daran, dass sowohl das nhbr. **טְקוּתָא** wie das jüd.-aram. **טְקוּתָא**, zwei Wörter, die oft, und oft im Sinne von Götzenbild, gebraucht werden, eigentlich „Irrtum“ bedeuten. Zwar ist mir kein Beleg bekannt, dass an unserer Stelle speciell eines dieser beiden Wörter zur Erklärung von **צִירִים** verwendet wurde; aber der Gebrauch von **טְקוּתָא** und **טְקוּתָא** im Sinne von Götzenbild ist häufig genug, dass wir auch dem Hieronymus die Kenntnis desselben ruhig zutrauen dürfen. Seine Wiedergabe von **צִירִים** durch *errores* darf also auf rabbinischen Einfluss zurückgeführt werden. Dagegen scheint nun freilich auf den ersten Blick die Erklärung der Stelle zu sprechen, die Hieronymus in seinem Jesajaskommentar gibt: „*Confusi sunt et erubuerunt simul scribae scilicet et pharisaei. Et abierunt in confusione fabricatores errorum, qui in toto mundo disseminare mendacium, ut eum (scil. Christum) dicerent ab apostolis furto esse sublatum*“¹.“ Aber diese Auffassung ist nur möglich auf grund der Textworte *fabricatores errorum*; es muss also erst erklärt werden, wie diese Übersetzung zustande kam. Die eben erwähnte Erklärung ist nachträgliche Ausdeutung. Es ist ja bekannt, dass bei Hieronymus die grammatische und die allegorische Auslegung oft unvermittelt nebeneinanderstehen. Hier hat er die Gleichung **צִירִים** = *errores* in

¹ Migne, PL XXIV, 463.

einem Sinne ausgedeutet, die seinen Interessen als christlicher Theologe (und Polemiker) entsprach. So darf also diese Stelle unter die Beweise gezählt werden, dass Hieronymus trotz aller Neigung, von den Rabbinen zu lernen, niemals seinen Standpunkt als christlicher Theologe vergass.

Noch mehr zeigt sich natürlich der Einfluss des christlichen Mutterbodens, dem die ganze Bibelwissenschaft des Hieronymus entwachsen war, an Stellen, wo er die Belehrungen seiner jüdischen Ratgeber nicht nötig zu haben oder nicht annehmen zu können glaubte. Der Einfluss der christlichen Umwelt offenbart sich schon darin, dass Hieronymus nicht selten sich eng an die Septuaginta anlehnt, wenn es auch zu weit geht, sein Übersetzungswerk als eine Überarbeitung der aus der Septuaginta geflossenen Vetus Latina nach dem Hebräischen zu bezeichnen. Gewiss hat er das in einer ganzen Reihe von Fällen einfach aus einem philologischen Grund getan, weil er nämlich an der Übersetzung der Septuaginta nichts auszusetzen fand. Aber gerade bei den Propheten mag auch der Umstand mitgewirkt haben, dass die Septuaginta, dieses Werk des antiken Diasporajudentums, durch eine merkwürdige Fügung des Ganges der Geschichte zu einem Buche geworden war, das dem Christentum diene und von ihm jene Wertschätzung erfuhr, die ihm die Nachkommen seiner Urheber versagten. Hieronymus hat es ja am eigenen Leib erfahren müssen, was es damals bedeutete, die Septuaginta durch Besseres ersetzen zu wollen. So liess er z. B. Jes 11,2 f. in der Form, welche die Septuaginta der Stelle gegeben hatte: „*Et requiescet super eum spiritus Domini : spiritus sapientiae et intellectus, spiritus consilii et fortitudinis, spiritus scientiae et pietatis, et replebit eum spiritus timoris Domini*“, während im Hebräischen nur ein sechsfacher Geist genannt wird, und der Schluss-Satz lautet: „und sein Wohlgefallen (וְהִרְיָאֵהוּ) hat er an der Furcht des Herrn“.

Längst beobachtet ist die Erscheinung, dass Hieronymus manche Stellen so übersetzt hat, dass sie einen messianischen Sinn erhalten

oder dass wenigstens eine Beziehung auf Christus schärfer hervortritt. Dass sich das namentlich im Buche Jesajas feststellen lässt, kann niemand überraschen, der die Auffassung kennt, die Hieronymus mit dem ganzen christlichen Altertum teilt und in der Vorrede zum Isaiaskommentar so formuliert hat: „*sicque exponam Isaiam, ut illum non solum prophetam, sed evangelistam et apostolum doceam*,”¹ oder noch schärfer in der Widmungsepistel an Paula und Eustochium, die der Übersetzung dieses Buches vorangeht: „*quod non tam propheta, quam evangelista dicendus sit.*”² So stellt er Jes 11,10 eine Beziehung zu den Evangelien her, wenn er das כבוד מלכותו לעולם ועד durch „*et erit sepulcrum eius gloriosum*” wiedergibt. Man fragt sich, ob Hieronymus zu dieser Übersetzung nicht dadurch angeregt wurde, dass er das Grab Christi in der Pracht, mit der es die Bauten Konstantins umgeben hatten, mit eigenen Augen gesehen hatte. Im Kommentar hat er allerdings die Sache anders begründet: er ist von der Übersetzung der Septuaginta (מנוחה = ἡ ἀνάπαυσις αὐτοῦ) ausgegangen und hat dies auf den Tod Christi bezogen: „*venit (sc. propheta!) ad mortem, quae non consueto mortalium nomine, sed quia in Christe erat vita perpetua, requies appellatur. Nos autem, ut manifestum legenti sensum faceremus, pro dormitione et requies altero verbo sed eodem sensu, sepulcrum vertimus*”³. Das schliesst natürlich nicht aus, dass Hieronymus zu diesem Gedankengang durch den Anblick des Heiligen Grabes angeregt wurde. Nur lässt es sich eben nicht strikte beweisen.

Längst bekannt ist auch, dass Hieronymus aus dem Bestreben heraus, Textworte als messianische Weissagung möglichst scharf hervortreten zu lassen, in einer Reihe von Fällen die Abstracta der Vorlage in Konkreta umzusetzen. Es mag hier genügen, an Jes 45,8 zu erinnern: *rorate, caeli, desuper et nubes pluant iustum; aperiatur terra et germinet salvatorem*, wo im Text dem „*iustum*” צדק

1 Migne, PL XXIV, 18.

2 Migne, PL XLVIII, 825.

3 Migne, PL XXIV, 152.

„Gerechtigkeit“ und dem „salvatorem“ ψ „Heil“ entspricht. Diese Stelle verdient auch deswegen Erwähnung, weil die Fassung, die ihr Hieronymus gegeben hat, Anregung zu einem der schönsten und beliebtesten deutschen Kirchenlieder gegeben hat.

Anderswo hat das gleiche Bestreben die Auswahl bestimmt, die Hieronymus unter seinen Gewährsmännern traf. Er hat ja nicht bloss die Septuaginta berücksichtigt, nicht bloss, wie wir sahen, bei den Rabbinen sich Rats erholt, sondern auch die der drei griechischen Übersetzer Aquila, Symmachus und Theodotion, gern und ausgiebig benutzt. Wem er nun den Vorzug gab, das war nicht nur von philologischen Erwägungen, sondern mitunter auch von theologischen Rücksichten bestimmt. Jes 53,7 hat er die Worte $\text{נִכְנַץ וְהוּא שֹׁבֵב}$ durch „*oblatus est quia ipse voluit*“ wiedergeben. Das erinnert zu sehr an die Übersetzung des Symmachus $\text{\textit{\rho\rho\omicron\beta\eta\nu\acute{\epsilon}\chi\theta\eta\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \iota\pi\eta\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\sigma\theta\eta\nu}}$ als dass man nicht annehmen sollte, er lehne sich an diesen, von ihm auch sonst geschätzten Übersetzer, an. Der Grund, warum er es tut, dürfte auch klar sein: in der Fassung des Symmachus fügt sich die Stelle besonders gut in das Bild vom leidenden Messias ein.

Der Einfluss der christlichen Atmosphäre, in der Hieronymus lebte, hat aber noch eine andere Erscheinung gezeitigt, auf die meines Wissens noch nicht hingewiesen wurde. Jer 22,13 f. wird zweimal das Wort *coenaculum* als Übersetzung für $\text{\textit{\etaבלעי}}$ „Obergemach“ gebraucht. Wie kommt Hieronymus dazu? In der Septuaginta steht an beiden Stellen $\text{\textit{\iota\nu\epsilon\rho\omega\nu}}}$. Nun kommt es in den neutestamentlichen Texten der *Vetus Latina* sehr häufig vor, dass dieses Wort durch *coenaculum* wiedergegeben wird. Noch unsere Vulgata hat diesen Gebrauch, der offenbar von Marc 14,15 seinen Ausgang genommen hat, wo *coenaculum* tatsächlich eine freie, aber sinngemässe Übersetzung von $\text{\textit{\iota\nu\epsilon\rho\omega\nu}}}$ ist. In der alttestamentlichen *Vetus Latina* scheint das Wort, soweit ich sehe, nicht gebräuchlich gewesen zu sein. Hieronymus hätte also die ihm aus dem Neuen Testament geläufige Gleichung $\text{\textit{\iota\nu\epsilon\rho\omega\nu}} = \text{\textit{coenaculum}}$ mit der aus der Vergleichung

des hebräischen Alten Testaments mit der Septuaginta bekannten קליה = ἐκβλάττω verbunden. Er hat das übrigens nicht bloss an der bezeichneten Stelle des Buches Jeremias getan. Vielmehr ist es für ihn geradezu typisch, dass er קליה mit *coenaculum* wiedergibt.

Jer 20,3 wird ויהי ספחרה mit „*cumque illuxisset in crastinum*“ wiedergeben. Ähnlich wird I Sam 20,27 dieselbe Wendung durch „*cumque illuxisset dies*“ übersetzt. Sonst pflegt Hieronymus dieses ויהי ספחרה viel einfacher wiederzugeben. Man fragt sich also, wie er an den zwei erwähnten Stellen zu dieser etwas breitspurigen Übertragung kommt. Da darf wohl daran erinnert werden, dass Matth 28, 1 eine ganz ähnliche Redewendung vorkommt: „*vespere autem sabbati quae lucescit in prima sabbati*“ (ὁψὲ δὲ βαββάτων, τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς μίαν βαββάτων). Das „*lucescit in prima(m) sabbati*“ ist doch dem „*illuxisset in crastinum*“ unserer Prophetenstelle merkwürdig parallel. Nun ist aber die Vulgata zum Neuen Testament älter als die Übersetzung aus der *hebraica veritas*, und der Gedanke, die zitierte Stelle aus Matthäus habe für die Übersetzung von I Sam 20,27 und 20,3 als Muster gedient, ist nicht von vornherein von der Hand zu weisen.

Jer 23,23; 37,16 (17); Ez 8,6; 37,3; Dan 2,26; 6,20 (21) wird die Fragepartikel הַ durch „*putasne*“ übersetzt, z. B. Ez. 37,3: הַתְחַיִּינָה הַעֲצָמוֹת תֹּאמַרְהוּ = *putasne vivent ossa ista?* Dieser Gebrauch ist durchaus nicht auf die grossen Propheten beschränkt; Beispiele dafür sind auch in andern von Hieronymus übersetzten Büchern des Alten Testaments anzutreffen¹. Nun ist die Redewendung *putasne* (oder *putas*) dem Leser des lateinischen Neuen Testamentes sehr gut bekannt. Dort dient sie Matth 18,1; 24,45; Marc 4,40; Luc. 1,66; 18,8; Act. 8,30 zur Wiedergabe der Fragepartikeln ἄρα; ἄρα und ἄρα γε. Natürlich war auch dem Hieronymus dieser Sprachgebrauch nicht fremd, um so weniger, als er ja durch seine im Auftrag des

1. Gn 17,17; II Sam 9,1; 10,3; I Reg 21,2 II Chron 25,8; Tob. 10,1f.; Jdth 6,5; Esth. 9,12; Köh. 7,11; Jon 4, 4. 9.

Papstes Damasus unternommene Revisionsarbeit mit dem lateinischen Neuen Testament viel genauer vertraut sein musste als der gewöhnliche Bibelleser.

In allen diesen Fällen liegt die Sache so, dass das lateinische Neue Testament auf die sprachliche Form der Übersetzung aus der *hebraica veritas* Einfluss geübt hat. Dass das keine willkürliche Annahme ist, ersehen wir aus Jes 10-22f. und Dan 9,24, weil wir wenigstens zur ersteren Stelle eine Äusserung des Hieronymus haben, welche meines Erachtens diesen Einfluss unwiderleglich beweist. Jes, 10,22 wird כְּדִיּוֹן נִחְרַע „beschlossene Vernichtung“ durch *consummatio abbreviata* wiedergegeben; im folgenden Vers כְּלָה וְנִחְרַצָּה „Vernichtung und Beschluss“ mit „*consummationem.. et abbreviationem*“ übersetzt; Dan 9, 24 steht „*septuaginta hebdomades abbreviatae sunt*“ für שִׁבְעִים שָׁבָעִים נַחְתָּךְ „siebenzig Wochen sind bestimmt.“ In der Septuaginta zu Jesajas und in der Danielübersetzung des Theodotion wird an den zitierten Stellen für den Stamm הֲרַע bzw. חֲתָךְ das Verbum *συνιέμεν* gebraucht. Dieses Verbum steht natürlich auch Rom. 9,27 f., wo Jes. 10,22 f. zitiert wird. Hier aber wird es im lateinischen Neuen Testament durch (*ab*)*breviare* wiedergegeben: *λόγον γὰρ συντελῶν καὶ συντέμενον* durch „*verbum enim consummans et abbrevians*“, *λόγον συντετεμημένον* durch „*verbum breviatum*“. Dass aber hier die Quelle für die Übersetzung des Hieronymus ist, deutet er selber hinlänglich klar im Kommentar zu Jesajas an. Dort führt er bei Besprechung unserer Textworte die eben erwähnte Stelle des Römerbriefs in folgender, von der Vulgata nur ganz unwesentlich abweichender Fassung, an: „*Isaias autem clamat pro Israel: Si fuerit numerus filiorum Israel tamquam arena maris, reliquae salvae fient. Verbum enim consumans et breviatum in aequitate, quia verbum breviatum faciet Dominus super terram. Et sicut dixit Isaias: Nesi Dominus Sabaoth reliquisset nobis semen, sicut Sodoma facti essemus et Gomorrhae similes fuissetis*“ und fährt dann fort: „*Ubi ergo tanti viri praecedit auctoritas, cesset alia omnis interpretatis.*“ Er sagt mit diesen Worten doch nichts anderes, als dass er in der zitierten Fassung des Römer-

briefs, die ihm ohne weiteres mit dem paulinischen Originaltext identisch ist, die autoritative Auslegung der Jesajasstelle erblickt. Dann ist es aber eine fast notwendige Folge, dass er sich auch in der Wortwahl bei der Übersetzung derselben von der zitierten Römerbriefstelle leiten liess. Nachdem ihm aber einmal auf grund des lateinischen Neuen Testamentes die Gleichung *συντέμνειν* = *abbreviare* feststand, kann es nicht wundernehmen, dass er auch bei der Übersetzung von Dan 9,24 von ihr Gebrauch machte. Wir dürfen also auch bei den erwähnten Stellen Einfluss des lateinischen Neuen Testamentes annehmen. Hat sich Hieronymus doch auch sonst bemüht, den seinen Lesern vertrauten biblischen Stil zu wahren, wenn er auch in diesem Punkt nicht konsequent verfahren ist und der in seiner Jugend genossenen rhetorischen Schulung wie dem Stilgefühl des gebildeten römischen Lesers manches Zugeständnis gemacht hat.

Ich kann hier auf diesen Punkt nicht weiter eingehen und muss mich auf die Bemerkung beschränken, dass wir auch auf diesem Gebiet die Beobachtung machen würden, die sich bei der Betrachtung der jüdischen und christlichen Einflüsse auf die Übersetzung der Propheten wohl uns allen aufgedrängt hat: in der Vulgata stehen Elemente, die aus ganz verschiedenen Quellen stammen, unausgeglichene neben einander. Man halte nur einmal Thren. 5,13, wo Hieronymus ohne erkennbaren Grund einer durchaus haltlosen und noch dazu geschmacklosen Deutung rabbinischer Kreise folgt, mit den Stellen zusammen, denen er eine ebenfalls nicht begründete Deutung auf die Person des Messias gibt. Das mag man als einen Mangel bezeichnen, aber man muss sich hüten, deswegen den Hieronymus zu scharf zu beurteilen oder gar zu verurteilen. Hätte er sich auf das beschränkt, wozu ihm wohlmeinende Freunde, unter ihnen auch Augustinus von Hippo, rieten, nämlich der abendländischen Christenheit eine verbesserte lateinische Übersetzung der Septuaginta zu schenken, so wäre es ihm bei seinen Fähigkeiten wohl nicht schwer gefallen, ein Werk aus einem Guss zu liefern.

Nun aber war er einer, der Neubruch pflügte, indem er der erste lateinische Christ war, der es unternahm, das hebräische Original des Alten Testaments zur Grundlage der Übersetzung und Exegese zu machen. Pioniere der Wissenschaft sind aber immer in Gefahr, dass es, ihnen nicht restlos gelingt, zwischen dem Alten, das sie überkommen, und dem Neuen, das sie erarbeitet haben, das rechte Verhältnis herzustellen, und nur wenigen ist es beschieden, diese Gefahr ganz zu vermeiden. Je länger man sich mit Hieronymus beschäftigt desto mehr staunt man über die Fülle exegetischen Wissens, die er der lateinischen Christenheit vermittelte, und die Hochachtung steigt noch, wenn man bedenkt, dass die Bibelwissenschaft nicht einmal sein einziges Arbeitsgebiet war. Bei dieser Sachlage bedeutet es nicht viel, wenn an diesen und jenen Einzelheiten berechtigte Ausstellungen gemacht werden können. Als Ganzes betrachtet ist seine Übersetzung der grossen Propheten,—wie seine Übertragung des Alten Testaments aus der *hebraica veritas* überhaupt,—auf lateinischem Sprachgebiet niemals überboten worden.

NOTES SUR LES ENVIRONS DE BIR-ZEIT.

F.-M. ABEL O.P.

(JERUSALEM)

Un petit séjour au village de Bir-Zeit à la fin de juillet dernier m'a procuré l'occasion d'explorer cette localité et ses abords immédiats. Il sera peut-être utile de communiquer ici quelques-unes des observations que m'a suggérées la vue directe des choses. Bir-Zeit est trop connu pour que nous y consacrons un grand nombre de lignes. Quand on a mentionné ses trois sources, quelques ouvertures de tombeaux taillés dans le roc, une grosse maison bien délabrée exhibant un fût de colonne et sa base, ailleurs un bloc imposant sur lequel est gravé un cartouche sans inscription, des aires rocheuses où se dépie le grain depuis des siècles, on a passé en revue à peu près toutes les curiosités de ce village. Plus avantagés que les archéologues, les folkloristes ont trouvé et trouvent encore parmi la population à l'esprit éveillé une ample récolte de traditions et de légendes¹. Je me suis laissé dire que l'ancien nom de la localité était *Mâmsia*, ما. ماسيا. Quelle valeur a ce renseignement? Il ne m'est pas possible pour le moment de le contrôler. En tout cas le vocable de Bir-Zeit (Birzeit) plutôt que Bir ez-Zeit, d'après les habitants, remonte à une certaine antiquité puisque nous le rencontrons dans Josèphe à propos de l'histoire de Judas Maccabée sous la forme araméenne Berzetho, et dans trois manuscrits de I *Macc.* sous la forme Beerzath. Sans

¹ Cf. *PJB.*, IX, p. 133 ss.

nous arrêter à établir ce que vaut en la circonstance la mention de ce point géographique, sur lequel je me suis étendu ailleurs¹, prenons-en toujours acte afin de nous faire au moins une conviction sur l'antiquité de ladite bourgade. Bir-Zeit existait donc au 1^{er} siècle de notre ère sinon auparavant, à l'époque séleucide. Mais une question se pose ici à l'esprit du chercheur, à savoir si Berzetho était située sur l'emplacement du moderne Bir-Zeit ou bien au sommet qui s'élève à quelque distance au sud-ouest du village sous le nom de Khirbet Bir-Zeit.

KHIRBET BİR-ZEIT.

«Ruines de murailles apparemment pas très anciennes» c'est à ce simple diagnostic que se borne l'observation du Survey², lequel, pour de plus amples détails, renvoie à Guérin. Or ce dernier signale les ruines d'une petite forteresse aux murs très épais qui paraissent remonter tout au plus à l'époque byzantine, et, au dehors, plusieurs citernes, trois tombeaux en forme d'auges et des vestiges d'un village renversé autour du *bordj*³.

On doit ajouter à cette esquisse archéologique du Kh. Bir-Zeit la mention d'une sépulture en plein roc offrant une entrée taillée avec soin et la présence de tessons dont quelques-uns se classent à la première période du Fer. Quant au *bordj*, les salles voûtées et l'angle appareillé qui en subsistent témoignent d'une construction très solide faite à l'aide d'une chaux excellente renfermant des fragments de poterie romaine et plus antique encore. Cette ruine, nous semble-t-il, appartient à l'une de ces installations médiévales qui parsemaient toute cette partie montueuse du domaine royal. Elle se range à côté de Bordj Bardawil, de Bordj el-Lisâneh, et autres fortins des Croisés élevés sur des sites antiques bien en vue. Son histoire nous échappe comme celle des propriétés de la couronne

1 *Rev. bibl.*, 1924. p. 372 n. 1, p. 382 et notes.

2 *S.W.P. Memoirs*, t. II, p. 329.

3 *Description de la Palestine, Judée*, t. III, p. 34.

qui ne furent pas l'objet de tractations ou de cessions. Ce ne sont guère, en effet, que les actes de donation ou de vente consignés dans les cartulaires des ordres religieux ou militaires qui nous ont conservé la mention des villages palestiniens et syriens au Moyen Age. La signature d'un témoin peut nous apporter un rayon de lumière sur l'origine d'un édifice demeuré jusqu'ici anonyme. Ainsi le nom de Raymond de Jafenia au bas d'un acte de 1182¹ paraît bien désigner un seigneur Djifnâ, ou un des administrateurs royaux qui résidaient dans ce bordj dont la porte en tiers-point avec coulisse pour la herse se voit encore au centre de Djifnâ.

Pour en revenir à *Birzetho*, le sommet du Kh. Bîr-Zeit, recouvert d'une terre de décombres et de tessons, se présente assez propice à une installation de l'âge israélite. Les flancs de la colline et le *merdj* qui s'étend au pied du côté sud-est sont très fertiles. Quant aux aires à battre les céréales, elles pouvaient dès cette époque se trouver où nous les voyons, c'est-à-dire à proximité du village de Bîr-Zeit, qui doit dater de l'époque byzantine. Dans un siècle de sécurité, les habitants ont dû émigrer du sommet pour se rapprocher des sources et des aires et former l'agglomération actuelle. Seulement, au temps des Croisades, les usages féodaux et la garde du pays donnèrent lieu à l'édifice dont les restes se dressent sur l'emplacement de la bourgade de l'âge du Fer à ses débuts.

TARFÎN.

Si l'on quitte le chemin de Bîr-Zeit à 'Attara un peu avant le joli paysage de Sheïkh Qatrawâni pour se diriger vers l'est sans descendre dans les ravins, on s'engage dans une région très pierreuse que le guide du pays nomme Darka. On y voit les traces d'un vieux chemin et une fosse sépuicrale taillée dans le roc. Le sentier creusé sur le pronmontoire qui se tend entre deux ouâdys nous amène bientôt sur une éminence que les indigènes appellent Tarfîn.

1 DELAVILLE LE ROULY, *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, n° 625. Cf. REY, *Les colonies franques de Syrie*, p. 385, s.

Le sol, maintenant cultivé, laisse voir des fragments de poterie romaine et byzantine, de meules de basalte et de colonnes. Les fondations de maisons et les rangées de pierres de taille appartiennent à une époque peu reculée. D'ailleurs, au sud du khirbeh, il est aisé de constater l'emplacement d'une église aux tronçons de colonnes calcaires, aux gros blocs d'appareil, à l'alignement d'une muraille nord, à un seuil en place accompagnés de cubes de mosaïque détachés et mêlés à la terre. L'endroit était encore habité au Moyen Age. J'en trouve la preuve dans le Cartulaire de N.-D. de Josaphat publié par Delaborde. Une charte de 1154 porte, en effet, parmi les possessions de l'abbaye bénédictine de la vallée de Josaphat deux casaux ou villages nommés *Cavea* et *Tarphin*¹. D'autres actes déforment le nom en *Daltin* et *Dalfin*, mais la leçon qui répond le mieux à la réalité est certainement *Tarphin*, d'autant plus que cette mention est ordinairement jointe à celui de *Mezera*, *Mezerech*, *Mezerez*² qui n'est autre que *Mezeinat el Qiblih* au sud-ouest de Bir-Zeit. Nous obtenons ainsi une identification satisfaisante que Rey renonçait à trouver et que Röhricht cherchait à Talfit au nord de Seiloun³. Le casal de Tarphin tomba aux mains des Templiers qui durent, à la suite d'un arrangement, céder la moitié de la dîme qu'ils en retiraient à l'abbaye de N.-D. de Josaphat⁴.

La carte du Survey indique le site sous le nom de *Râs et Turfineh* et les Memoirs, t. II, p. 367 se contentent d'y signaler : «Heaps of stones and traces of ruins». Le nom de *Tarfin*, qui nous a été donné sans plus et répond tout à fait à l'onomastique médiévale, provient, à n'en pas douter, d'un temps plus ancien. Il

1 N° 28 : *necon decimam duorum casalium Cavee et Tarphin que fuerunt Gumpfredi de Turri*. Cf. n° 49 (an. 1255) et *Rev. de l'Or. Lat.*, VII, p. 125 ss.

2 N° 1 (an. 1112), N° 12 (an. 1123). Ce Gouffroy de la Tour (de David) est le même que le Gouffroy de Cavis qui céda à l'abbaye de Josaphat la dîme des deux villages en question. *Cavea* paraît être identique à *Mezera* d'après la comparaison des chartes entre elles.

3 REY, *Les colonies* . . . , p. 381 ; *ZDVP.*, x, p. 213, n. 11.

4 DELABORDE, *Chartes de T.S.*, n° 42 (an. 1183).

est très probablement la transcription du grec *Tryphon*, ainsi qu'il appert de l'usage talmudique. L'introduction d'un nom propre de personne dans la toponymie n'est pas rare en Palestine. Un exemple voisin est celui de *Beitounia* ou «maison d'Onias», sans parler de *Beit Silâ* «maison de Silas», ni de Beit-Hanîna.

DEIR EL-'OQBAN.

Pour s'y rendre de Bir-Zeit, prendre une antique voie qui se dirige vers le nord-ouest dans la direction de Bourham. En route on peut admirer une belle meule encore dans son lit de carrière et des débris de silex. Le khirbeh lui-même est occupé par un verger de figuiers, coupé de murailles en blocs taillés de vieille date. Au fond d'une grotte jaillit une petite source qui, en hiver, s'écoule par un caniveau creusé dans le roc. Près de là on remarque une base de colonne et quelques beaux blocs d'appareil. Röhricht a proposé de placer en ce site un casal de l'abbaye de Josaphat situé sur le territoire de Jérusalem et dont le nom apparaît dans les chartes sous les formes plus ou moins estropiées de Darchiboam ou Dargeboam¹. L'identification reste douteuse.

DEIR SA'IDEH

Le point le plus intéressant à visiter aux environs de Bir-Zeit est sans contredit Deir Sa'ideh, auquel le Survey, *Memoirs*, t. II, p. 319, n'accorde que cette brève mention : Foundations. Moins sec, Guérin, *Judée*, III, p. 35, mentionne les ruines qui lui paraissent la plupart musulmanes, à l'exception de quelques vieux pans de murs, qui semblent accuser une époque plus ancienne. Cet explorateur apporte quelque attention aux ruines d'un petit village avoisinant un ouély devant lequel croît un mûrier géant et derrière lequel se voit la façade assez bien construite de ce qu'on appelle proprement le *Deir*. Celle-ci consiste en une muraille composée de gros blocs à bossage et à refends, se développant sur 11^m, 30 de longueur

¹ *Ibid.*, nos 15, 17, 18, 28, 49. f. *ZDPV.*, X, p. 214.

et 3 mètres de haut. L'ouverture ménagée dans ce beau mur constitue une porte de 1^m, 50 de hauteur sur 0^m, 85 de largeur, surmontée l'un linteau de 1^m, 75 de long et haut 0^m, 58. La façade du monument seule est soignée, le reste est fruste ou bâti en matériaux médiocres qui se sont en partie effondrés. La baie de l'ouély comprend quelques blocs d'appareil bien taillés empruntés sans doute aux ruines voisines. Ce soubassement, car cette façade est incomplète ou se terminait primitivement par des assises en blocs moindres, ce soubassement, dis-je, est vraisemblablement le reste d'une installation chrétienne de l'époque byzantine et, si l'on pouvait fouiller sous l'ouély, ou n'aurait pas de peine à retrouver les vestiges d'une église.

Les matériaux, certes, ne manquaient pas dans la région, car Deir Sa'ïdeh est encore un des coins de la Judée où la roche calcaire se délite naturellement en grands bancs massifs faciles à équarrir. Les diaclases y ont provoqué une aire de lapiés fort caractéristique.

Il n'y a donc rien d'étonnant de trouver dans ce domaine de calcaires dénudés et se débitant spontanément en beaux quartiers une station mégalithique intéressante, mais qui ne paraît pas avoir attiré jusqu'ici l'attention des topographes. En visitant est endroit le 30 juillet 1927, en compagnie du missionnaire latin de Bîr-Zeit, le R.P. dal Medico, je fus plus attiré par l'examen des monuments de pierres brutes qu'à la contemplation des ruines du Deir.

Ces monuments sont dispersés en partie sur la croupe déchiquetée de Deir Sa'ïdeh et en partie sur le flanc de la colline de roc qui monte vers le Kh. Bîr-Zeit. L'aire qu'ils occupent est traversée par le chemin d'Abou Qash au village d'Abou Shekheidem. Ils consistent en des chambres basses de forme rectangulaire dont les murets en pierres sèches supportent des dalles de couverture. Cette description est un peu théorique parce que des huit specimens que nous avons étudiés le 20 février avec P. Barrois et M. Burgard, la plupart sont bien endommagés. Mais il reste toujours une assise

ou deux pour les supports et quelques dalles pour le revêtement qui permettent de se faire une idée de ces monuments qui ont en général environ 4 mètres de longueur sur 2 ou 3 de largeur. Le mieux conservé, placé sur le rebord d'une plateforme calcaire, domine une déclivité ce qui lui donne une certaine allure. Il est élevé comme les autres sur une base de rocher fixe. On remarquera auprès de l'un de ces cubes de pierres entassées une cupule ronde fort régulière pratiquée à même le roc du soubassement. Enfin, détail à relever aussi, au sommet de ce domaine funéraire antique se trouve une énorme dalle inclinée, isolée de son milieu rocheux par une sorte de chemin de ronde qui permet de circuler tout autour. La surface est sillonnée de deux petits canaux tracés d'une façon assez fruste, qui aboutissent à un bassin carré de 0^m, 70 de côté environ. L'ensemble évoque l'idée d'un lieu de culte plutôt que celle d'un pressoir, peu en situation sur une colline caparaçonnée d'une armure calcaire.

Cet ensemble est à ajouter à ces cimetières du premier Bronze dont nous avons déjà relevé quelques exemplaires en Samarie et en Judée. Aux abords, on peut recueillir des éclats ou débris de silex.

BOOK REVIEWS

Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament, herausgegeben von RUDOLF KITTEL, 3. Folge Heft 2. JOHANNES HEMPEL : *Gott und Mensch im Alten Testament*; Studie zur Geschichte der Frömmigkeit, 1926. W. Kohlhammer Verlag, Stuttgart.

Die alttestamentliche Theologie der letzten Jahrzehnte war streng historisch geartet. Insofern war sie ein getreuer Exponent der Zeitrichtung und fügte sich den Bahnen der Gesamtwissenschaft in deren naturwissenschaftlich-geschichtlicher Einstellung durchaus ein. Das Ziel war: die historischen Gegebenheiten zu erkennen, so wie sie einst gewesen sind. Am klarsten kam das zum Ausdruck in der „literarkritischen Schule“, die vor allem mit dem Namen Wellhausen verbunden ist, und die sich die Entstehung und ursprüngliche Gestaltung der alttestamentlichen Texte zum Gegenstand der Arbeit ausersehen hatte. Die „religionsgeschichtliche Richtung“ brachte keine grundsätzliche Änderung, sondern nur eine Erweiterung des Arbeitsgebietes; die religiösen u.a. Vorstellungen des A. T. wurden in die grösseren Zusammenhänge der allgemein-semitischen Vorstellungen hineingestellt. Auch die neueren gattungs- und formgeschichtlichen Arbeitsmethoden entsprachen diesem Gesamtbilde. Es ist hier nicht der Ort, darüber zu sprechen, wie in diesen beiden „Richtungen“ schon eine Art Auflösung des „Historismus“ sich vorbereitet; gerade die Erweiterung des Gesichtsfeldes in materialer wie in formaler Hinsicht musste zu der Erkenntnis der Unmöglichkeit führen, auf geschichtlichem Wege bis zum letzten vorzudringen. Es konnte schliesslich meist doch nur eine Konstatierung von Tatbeständen sein, nicht eine Aufhellung von Ursprüngen.— Die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft wird die letzten Jahrzehnte immer als eine besonders wichtige Periode in ihrer Geschichte ansehen. Hier

sind wissenschaftliche Fundamente gelegt worden, auf denen weitergebaut werden kann. Und kein Forscher, er gehöre welcher Richtung immer an, kann es bestreiten, dass die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft in den Fragestellungen und Ergebnissen der letzten Jahrzehnte Unverlierbares geschaffen hat. Dennoch ist seit dem Kriege ein bemerkenswerter Umschwung eingetreten. Er tut sich äusserlich kund in einer gewissen Abkehr von den rein historischen, z.B. auch von rein literarkritischen Methoden und Problemen, und einer Hinwendung zu den Dingen, die historisch in ihren Ursprüngen nicht erfassbar sind, — oder anders ausgedrückt in einer Rückkehr von der Religionsgeschichte zur Theologie. Die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft ist auf dem Wege, wieder Theologie zu werden. Noch einmal: die historischen Fragestellungen müssen und werden immer ihr Recht behalten. Gerade auch um der immer lebhafter werdenden Verbindung mit anderen Zweigen historischer und philologischer Wissenschaft willen. Dennoch ist die neuere Entwicklung gewiss ein Fortschritt.

HEMPEL ist einer von denen, bei welchen das am deutlichsten wird. In einer Reihe von Arbeiten und Aufsätzen, die mit bemerkenswerter Schnelligkeit einander gefolgt sind, hat er das bereits erwiesen. Bei ihm vereinigt sich eine gründliche geschichtliche Sachkenntnis mit dem Blick für die zentralen Gegebenheiten des A.T. Das obengenannte Buch zeigt beides. Es ist erstaunlich, wie H. die alttestamentlichen und benachbarten Stoffe beherrscht. Man hat den Eindruck, er greife mit leichter Hand in alle die in Frage kommenden Gebiete hinein und nehme heraus, was er zur Beleuchtung dieses oder jenes Punktes braucht. Er steht in den Dingen drin, — das zeigt die in den Anmerkungen deutlich werdende Fülle an Auseinandersetzung mit Einzelfragen — und steht doch über ihnen, so dass er den Standort einnimmt, von dem aus sich in der Tat das Wesentliche behandeln lässt.

Gott und Mensch im A.T. — das ist der Inhalt der alttestamentlichen Religion. Es ist leicht und schwer zugleich, darüber etwas

zu sagen. Leicht, denn die hierzu gehörigen Dinge treten einem auf jeder Seite des A.T. entgegen. Schwer, denn die Fülle des Stoffes ist übergross. Man hat daher auch hier manchmal den Eindruck, als komme der Verfasser vor lauter Stoff nicht hindurch. Es ist trotz der übersichtlichen Gliederung nicht ganz leicht, dem Faden zu folgen. H. hat sich aber auch die Themastellung nicht leicht gemacht. Seine Arbeit will „die inneren Schwingungen aufweisen, die bei den einzelnen Kultakten, Glaubensvorstellungen und Hoffnungsbildern die Seele des alten Israeliten durchzitterten“ (S.V.) Die dafür charakteristischen Momente sind Furcht und Vertrauen — Abstands- und Verbundenheitsbewusstsein; Jahwe ist der Mächtige und zugleich der Treue. Hieraus ergibt sich eine Reihe wertvoller Einzelbeobachtungen: dass Unheils- und Heilsprophetie nebeneinander möglich sind, ohne notwendig ein Gegensatz zu sein; dass ein mystisches Einssein mit Gott nicht in die israelitische Frömmigkeit passt; dass der Übergang vom „Katastrophengott“ zu innerlicheren Tönen, besonders zum Wirken Gottes im Regelmässigen eine kritische Sache war; dass dennoch auf diese Weise sich der Schöpfungsglaube dem israelitischen Glauben assimilieren konnte; dass von hier aus Eschatologie und Ewigkeitsglaube innerlich möglich sind; dass das Abstands- und Verbundenheitsbewusstsein dem Volk wie dem Einzelnen in gleicher Weise gilt; dass die Propheten auch gerade im Blick auf dieses Doppelte vertiefend und befruchtend wirken (der Begriff der Heiligkeit!); dass endlich aus der Tatsache des mächtigen Gottes, der seinem Volk nahe ist, die israelitische Ethik, insbesondere auch die Vergeltungslehre herauswächst. Besonders fein ist, wie auf solche Weise gezeigt wird, dass die israelitische Religion die magischen, mythischen, auch die sinnlichen Stoffe, dank der ihr innewohnenden Kraft und ihres besonderen Charakters, abstösst. Auch dass die kultische Frömmigkeit den ihr gebührenden Ort erhält, soll nicht unerwähnt bleiben.

Einzelfragen sollen hier nicht erörtert werden. Nur zum Ganzen hätte ich eine Bemerkung. So richtig, besonders im Blick

auf die vorher angegebene Themafassung, der Versuch ist, das religiöse Leben des Israeliten von den beiden Polen der Abstossung und der Anziehung her aufzurollen, so hat man doch den Eindruck, als ob das eigentlich nur formale Dinge seien, die sich zudem ja in allen Religionen in gleicher Weise finden. Ich würde denken, dass das spezifisch Israelitische schärfer zum Ausdruck gekommen wäre, wenn das Wort „Gerechtigkeit“, das über Gebühr zurücktritt, mehr zum Brennpunkt gemacht worden wäre. Der gerechte Gott, mit den beiden Ausstrahlungen, auf der einen Seite zu den Feinden und dann den Gottlosen, auf der anderen Seite zu dem Volk und dann den Guten, scheint mir eher das eigentlich Israelitische darzustellen als die Formulierung „Jahwe der Mächtige und der Treue“. Von hier aus würden Gesetz und Propheten, die Frömmigkeit der Psalmen und des Buches Hiob, die Eschatologie und die Patriarchenerzählungen in die ihnen eigene Beleuchtung treten; von hier aus erschiene die israelitische Ethik, die bei H. ein wenig anhangsweise auftritt,—obwohl sie schon rein räumlich einen sehr grossen Platz im A.T. einnimmt,—als dem Ganzen klar eingegliedert: Recht und Gerechtigkeit ist die Summe dieser Ethik. Auf diese Weise hätte der Vergeltungsglaube nicht lediglich aus der „Furcht vor dem heiligen Gott“ herauskonstruiert zu werden brauchen; auf diese Weise hätte das Kapitel „die Armen in der israelitischen Religion“, das jetzt nur ethisch verwendet wird, auch in seiner hohen religiösen Bedeutung berücksichtigt werden können; ergibt sich doch gerade von hier aus die so wichtige Herausarbeitung des „Gnadenbegriffs“. Ich bin gewiss, dass die der alttestamentlichen Religion zugrunde liegenden „inneren Schwingungen“ auf solche Weise sich charakteristischer und präziser hätten aufweisen lassen als es jetzt bei H. geschieht. Diese Bemerkung soll aber den Dank nicht mindern, den die Wissenschaft und alle, die am A.T. und seinen Problemen Anteil nehmen, dem Verfasser für seine gediegene und sowohl grundsätzlich wie in sich bedeutsame Arbeit schulden.

H. W. HERTZBERG

Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft, 4. Jahr, Geisteswissenschaftliche Klasse Heft 4. *Das Räucheropfer im Alten Testament*; Eine archäologische Untersuchung von Max Löhr 1927, Max Niemeyer Verlag, Halle (Saale).

This is a valuable monograph bringing together a quantity of material the use of some of which is quite new.

Perhaps the most important of the new material is the discussion of the use of incense in the secular life of the people (166). This is a matter which the current archaeologies entirely omit.

The first division of the discussion (pp. 155-163) is general in its nature and is concerned with the materials of the incense offering and their use. The practice of Egypt, Babylonia and the classical peoples is taken into account in addition to that of Israel.

The second division (pp. 164-189) is concerned with the incense offering in the Old Testament. This brings us to the main purpose of the book which is to refute the dominant hypothesis that the use of incense only dates from the period of Jeremiah. Here we miss a reference to the fact that at Gezer a jar of incense was found in a house dating about 1000 B.C. This is surely in itself a sufficient refutation of a view that never had any other basis than an unwarrantable misunderstanding of a prophetic passage.

The book concludes with two short divisions dealing respectively with the altar of incense in the post-Biblical tradition and the purpose of the incense offering (pp. 189-191).

Four plates of excellent illustrations add greatly to its value.

As a refutation of the current view the work is wholly successful. In many of its details it will perhaps fail to carry general conviction, but it unquestionably constitutes a definite advance on the path that leads away from the untenable theories that have dominated O.T. scholarship for the past fifty years.

HAROLD M. WIENER

RECENT BOOKS ON ARABIC COLLOQUIAL

Colloquial Arabic. By De LACY O'LEARY (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.)

A Grammar of the Colloquial Arabic of Syria and Palestine. By G. R. DRIVER (Probsthain & Co.)

Professor O'Leary's 'Colloquial Arabic' forms one of a series of books on the colloquial of various languages from French to Chinese. It was produced "expressly for the use of those who desire to acquire a rapid and sound knowledge of colloquial Arabic as used in Egypt, Syria (including Palestine), Iraq (Mesopotamia) and North Africa." And the student in view is resident in England and may or may not have a teacher. It is clear at once how formidable a task has been undertaken by the author. The book bears all the marks to be expected from such an origin. The student's progress may be rapid, for the subject matter is well set out, but it could scarcely be called sound. The fault lies partly in the system. Is it really worth while attempting to learn colloquial Arabic outside an Arabic-speaking country? And can one combine the dialects from North Africa to Iraq? Certainly Professor O'Leary's book has done nothing to convince us on either point. But there are other faults in the book which can only be laid at the door of the author. The instruction on pronunciation is thoroughly unscientific. The velarised consonants *ṭ ḍ ṣ* he describes as being more emphatic than their correlatives *t d s* and thrust a little further back into the throat and that is all. Stranger still, he says the 'ain is the same as the *hamza* but made emphatic so as to seem like a catch in the throat (p. 12). Other statements remarkable for their looseness or inaccuracy are "sentences which contain verbs are called

'verbal sentences'" (p. 21); the feminine form of the numerals from 3 to 10 is used before a word beginning with a consonant, the masculine before one beginning with a vowel, thus *Khamse buyut* = "five house," *khamsa aiyam* = "five days" (p. 72); *dera'* = *span* (p. 79). The vocabulary given throughout is mainly Egyptian; where words from other dialects are used the source is generally indicated. All sentences in Arabic have an English translation alongside. No independent exercises are given.

Mr G. R. Driver served in Palestine and Syria with the Egyptian Expeditionary Force, and it was then that the groundwork of his *Colloquial Grammar* was laid. The dialectical forms were added afterwards. It is not a book to be put into the hands of a beginner for the variations in the different dialects would only confuse him. It is rather a scholarly compilation of the more important forms of colloquial speech from Beersheba to Aleppo put into the International Phonetic Script. In the Preface the author expresses the hope that in addition to its practical use it may "serve to indicate what lines the future study of modern Arabic in those countries must follow and what problems still call for special investigation." Certainly during the last eight years, since the abolition of Turkish as the language of instruction in the schools and its replacement by Arabic, the tendency has been for the colloquial of educated persons to approximate more to the written language. And this tendency is to be found even among the women, who take a certain pride in learning from their sons.

It is both remarkable and regrettable that in a work, which employs the last *iota* of a phonetic script in its transcription, such laxity should be permitted in indicating the sounds of the Arabic letters. For example of ت, د, and ج we are told that they are "like the English" t, d, and j. But ask any Arabic-speaking person (not a good English scholar) to say the sentence "Will you come to tea to-day" and marked difference will be discernible.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

THE TEXT OF I SAMUEL II 33.

In our present Hebrew this verse will not construe : and the current emendations fail to restore a good sense. The Septuagintal material, however, enables us to see what is wrong.

After **וַיִּשׂ** insert **אִשׁר** with bdopqztz c₂ e₂.¹ The loss of this necessary word seems to have led to the verbs which follow being turned into infinitives.

For **לְכַלּוֹת אֶת עֵינֶיךָ** ve₂ have ποιήσω ἐγλείπειν ; boc₂ ποιήσω ἐγλείπειν ; the Old Latin et faciam ut deficiat ; dꝛqztz ἐγλείπειν ποιήσω. All these point to **אִמְכַּרָה אֶת עֵינָי** as the true text.

For **וְלֹאֲדַיִב אֶת נַפְשְׁךָ** the LXX has καὶ καταρρεῖν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ. S. R. Driver on the basis of the MT conjectured להדיב (cf. Lev xxvi 16). This suggests והדיבותי אֶת נַפְשִׁי as original.

HAROLD M. WIENER

THE TEXT OF II SAMUEL XXI 15-16

All the LXX authorities, except B (ἐπορεύθη) and two cursives which show intra-Greek corruption, read καὶ ἐξελύθη Δαυεὶδ in 15. B then continues καὶ Ἰεσβὶ but for the latter word M (txt) N agin have δαδου : b₂ δαδουκ : v δαδα : 246 δαδου : M (mg) boc₂ e₂ and the Syriac of Jacob of Edessa δαδου ὁ (om. M (mg) b) ὑὸς Ἰωάς. At the end of xxi 11 BA and other authorities have preserved a clause that was obelised by Origen, καὶ ἐξελύθησαν καὶ κατέλαβεν αὐτούς

¹ I use the notation of Brooke, McLean and Thackeray : The Old Testament in Greek, vol. II pt. 1 1927.

Δάν υἱὸς Ἰωᾶ ἐκ τῶν ἀποκόγων τῶν γιγάντων. There are variations of reading which need not be cited. This is obviously a variant of 15-16. It seems to have been inserted in the margin, taken into the text at the wrong place and accommodated to its new context. It suggests that וישבו is a corruption of וישינוח which was once followed by the name of the giant now represented by Δαδου etc. Then came בנב אשר בילדי בן יואש מילדי giving in corruption MT. בנב אשר בילדי. Thus the original was "And David grew weary, 16 and D. son of Joash, of the children of Rapha, reached him."

II xxi 16. חרשה. What is required is something which will show the greatness of the danger that threatened. The sense obviously is that the king when worn out by fatigue was reached by a strong assailant who was armed to the teeth. The required meaning is given by the *κρούων* (club) of the LXX, perhaps a rendering of חוח which could easily be corrupted into the חנורה rendered by Theodotion's *παραζώων*, and from this into the Massoretic reading. The *χρη* which is cited by the larger Cambridge LXX as Aquila's reading is presumably a corruption of *χαιτων*.

HAROLD M. WIENER

NOTES AND COMMENTS

THE TEXT OF I SAMUEL X 27

במחריש LXX ὥς (om bozc₂e₂ Arm. Sah. Eth. Jacob of Edessa) μετὰ μῆνα (+ ἡμερῶν boc₂e₂ Arm. Jacob of Edessa) = כאחרי חרש: so too Vulg. This is clearly right, whether or not we should add ימים with the Lucianic group. The phrase belongs to the beginning of xi 1, not to x.

On Ewald's במחריש see Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, I, 1874, 173 note: "Jeder Hebraist weiss dass die Form במחריש 'nach einem Monat' ein grammatisches Monstrum ist."

HAROLD M. WIENER

ANIMALS IN PALESTINIAN FOLKLORE¹

STEPHAN H. STEPHAN

(JERUSALEM).

- 514 *amin miṭl il-kalb* (L). As faithful as a dog.
- 515 *ājrab miṭl il-kalb*. Scabby, mangy like a dog.
- 516 *iḥṣil miṭl il-kalb*. Fie, for shame, like a dog!
- 517 *iẓa ḥazēt il-kalb biṣkut*. If you drive away a dog he will keep silent.²
- 518 *il-kalb byākul u byd'y bi-l-ḥér*. The dog eats and asks (God's) blessing (upon you).³
- 519 *il-kalb bytḥāsar ma' ṣaḥbo*. When accompanying his master the dog will swagger.⁴
- 520 *klābna sūd inyābhum biḍ*. Our dogs are black but have white teeth.⁵
- 521 *kūn miṭl is sāby' lā niṭl il-kalb*. Be (courageous) like a lion and not (cowardly) like a dog.⁶
- 522 *kālb fālyt wāla 'āšara marbūtin*. One dog loose is better than ten chained.
- 523 *kalb ma'āk wāla 'āšara 'alék*. A dog with you is better than

¹ Continued from Vol. V, p. 155. For the meaning of the letters C.B.L. after a proverb see Vol. V, p. 93.

² Root ḥzy. Advice to treat a man as he deserves. Cf. the classical: *wa in ānta akrāmta -l-la'ima tamarrada* . . . and if you honour the mean man, he will wax insolent.

³ Cf. 442. The dog shows gratitude: do not let it shame you.

⁴ Because then he is safe. Cf. 528

⁵ Although despicable they serve their purpose.

⁶ A ditty which was sung during the Russo-Japanese war:-

<i>ya yabāni, ya-bni-l-kālb</i>	<i>min qāllak tinzil 'a-l-ḥārb?</i>
<i>lāmmān ṣuṣṭ il-maskōbi</i>	<i>ṣurt il'āwwi ṣāyy il-kālb</i> ... or vice versa.
"O Japanese, you son of dog,	Who advised you to wage war?"
When you saw the Russian	You started to howl like a dog."

- ten against you.
- 524 *kālb el-ḥāra by'ābil yd-dyūf bi-l-'awy.* The street-dog will receive the guests with barking (but not so the house-dog, who is more courteous).
- 525 *kalb iṣ-ṣalōn bylāḥwis id-déf.* The dog of the parlour (lit. salon) will lick the guests.
- 526 *mītl il-kālb byšāmšym u hū māsi (L).* Like the dog who sniffs as he walks.¹
- 527 *il-kālb byšymm ribet šāḥbo.* The dog follows the scent of his master.
- 528 *il-kālb byšāṭar myn yb'id la-b'id.* The dog will only brag at a distance.²
- 529 *mītl il-kālb byḥybb itmašmyš l-y'dām.* You like to suck the bones like a dog (for the marrow).
- 530 *ṭā'my kālb wāla ṭ-ṭā'my ḥmār.* To feed a dog is better than to feed a donkey.³
- 531 *ilak dānab mītl dānab il-kālb.* You have a tail like a dog's tail.⁴
- 532 *kālb bārry wāla kālb jiwwy.* A wild dog is better than a tame one. A stranger is better than a bothersome acquaintance.
- 533 *kālb ybladna wāla kālb garib.* A local dog is better than a stranger dog.
- 534 *šāḥyb kālb amīn wāla insān la'im.* Be the friend of a faithful dog and not of a vile man.
- 535 *il-kalb mā byšāṭar illa 'alla aḥūb.* The dog only shows his tricks (intelligence) against his brother (so as to cheat him, or the like).⁵
- 536 *ḥādu-l-klāb mītl ḥādu l-y'ṭaṭ.* The shoeing of dogs is (as futile) as shoeing cats.
- 537 *rūḥ dāwwyr 'āla kālb w-yḥdih.* Go look for a dog and shoe him (if you have nothing better to do).
- 538 *lā'yb kālb wāla tlā'yb yḥṣān.* Play with a dog and not with a horse.

¹ Illustrating too inquisitive behaviour

² Cf. the Classical: *la yadūrru-s-sahāb nibāḥu-l-kilāb.* The barking of the dogs does not harm the clouds.

³ Cf. 442 and 518: we feed you yet you kick.

⁴ You are incorrigible. Cf. 429 to which it seems to refer.

⁵ Against "Dog won't eat dog."

- 539 *hāra klāb!* Dog's dung!—something utterly despised (slang).
 540 *la-tyx il-kalb!* To the dog's anus! (slang). Said of something wholly worthless.
 541 *ylsān il-kālb.* Dog's tongue: name of a sort of linen sheet.
 542 *fāsu kālb,* plant (*Anthemis Cotula*, L).
 543 *mysmys yklāby* (L), the most common sort of apricot.¹
 544 *lāhm yklāb by-mlāḥīyye.* Dogs, meat with Jew's mellow (*Corchorus olitorius*). Said jokingly of a bad meal which one expects to have.
 545 *kalb ajrab,* a mangy dog; *kalb maslūb,* a dog which has lost its hair by some accident, lit. the skinned dog. *kalb maṣrūʿ,* a hydrophobic dog. Three sorts of illness which most provoke scorn.²
 546 *ymm (ūmm) sabb' ybzāz.* One (fem.) with seven udders: bitch. Ironically said of low persons (slang).³
 547 *kōkyš, kōkaš,*⁴ is the dog's name in the language of children, *wyšt!!* is the word used to drive a dog away!
 548 *kālb ybyn kālb,* dog, son of a dog. a) curse; b) denotes a very wicked, mean, cunning person. Sometimes also a clever one, *ybyn kālb ymšāffa* a "refined" dog's son. To be up to every dodge or trick, to be very cunning or artful.
 549 *kalb yn-nāuar,* the gypsies' dog; *kalb il-ʿārab,* the beduin's dogs; *kālb el-ḥāra,* the stray street dog. These are the three lowest classes of dogs. They stand for cowardice, meanness and dirtiness.
 550 *yā-bn-ylli-hā!* (pronounced: *illēha*) *w-il-ymqatṭašin dīnēha!* You son of so-and-so, and of her whose ears have been cut (slang). A curse, although often used jokingly. Used at the

¹ a) Because it is met with in abundance like the street dogs (?); b) because dog's meat is believed to taste sour; c) in the last quarter of the nineteenth century the apricot groves were said to extend from "the Gate of the City" (i.e. St. Stephen's Gate) to the *Hōq* (Apostles' Well on the road to Jericho) and *El-ʿIsawiye*. These orchards were, however, destroyed by the locusts, which visit the country regularly at intervals of about thirteen years.

² a) Cf. the Turkish proverb: *uyüz köpeyin yedi komşuya mazarratı var* (A mangy dog harms seven neighbours).

³ We sometimes hear a youth being told to marry an "*imm sabb' ybzāz.*"

⁴ South of Jerusalem; in the north *kīškīš* is used.

beginning of a threat. Term of contempt.¹

551 *kalybtén, kallabe*. Pincers.

552 *kalb islā'i (slā'y)*, greyhound.²

553 *jāru, tōgan, šammūr, yklēb, farhūd*, etc. Proper names of persons. *tōgan, (toqān): šammūry, 'āu, 'āuwa, sylyg, abu-l-kalbat*. Family names.

ADDENDA TO MAMMALIA

554 *ys-sāby' malyk il haywanāt*. The lion is the king of beasts.

555 *'āsy'r saby' wāla t'āsy'r bāgy'l*. Keep the companionship of a lion and not that of a dog.

556 *'āsy'r ys-sbā' wāla t'āsy'r yd-dbā'*. Keep the companionship of lions and not that of hyenas. Cleave to the noble and avoid the mean.³

¹ a) Young dogs are given very early their own cut ears to eat. The common belief is that this is a way to make them fierce and watchful. This practice is also known in Syria and Mesopotamia. b) The *ha* after the pronoun *illi* would denote originally that the speaker is about to utter a violent curse but that he prefers to refrain.

² Corruption of the arabicised form of Seleucus, after whom they are named, since he is said to have introduced them into Syria. Cf. the following verse:

مادري غزال والافرخ سلق	يا ظريف الطول من الصبح مرق
والعنق زايد عن نخل بلادنا	لبست الكردان من تحت الحلق
<i>ya zarīf il-tūli mni-š-šūbhi māraq</i>	<i>mādrī ḡazāl willa fārḥi salaq (slāgi)</i>
<i>lībsit il-kardān min tāht il-ḥalaq</i>	<i>w-il-'ūnuq zāyed 'an nāḥl -iblādēna</i>

The beautiful of stature passed by early in the morn;
I know not if she be a gazelle or a young greyhound;
She wore a necklace beneath the ear-rings,
And her neck excelled our country's palm trees ...

³ *Lion* is used here for a man of noble birth, *mule* being equivalent to "bastard." Orientals admire an ancient pedigree and small children among the Arab tribes are taught the names of their ancestors for seven generations. Cf.

wāqī-ma wygy' is-sāby' qāllō -n-nydyl: 'āma!

qāllō: "illi byīshad bi-ḡ-zūr alla yibīlīh b-kās il-'āma.

When the lion (sc. noble man) fell the villain said to him: "Blindness."

He answered him: "May Allah afflict him who gives false evidence, with the cup of blindness" (Luke 22, 42).

Or: *illi byīstāh il bāb u ma bygdārš 'ala sāddo*

yistāhyl is-sābb wa-lāw kan il-āsad jiddo

He who opens a door, and fails to close it, deserves insult, even if the lion is his grandfather.

- 557 *nām jāmb ys-saby' wāla ty'rab yā-dāby'*. Sleep beside the lion and do not approach the hyena. Trust only the noble.
- 558 *hyssō zāy zā'ir ys-sāby'*. His voice is like the roaring of the lion.
- 559 *'ālbo 'āuy mītl 'ālb ys-sāby'*. His heart is as bold as that of the lion.
- 560 *raḍ'an ḥalīb ysbā'y* (L). He has sucked lion's milk. A reckless, courageous man.
- 561 *ybn il-lābwe*, the "son of a lioness"—a euphemism for *ibn il-kālbe*, son of a bitch. The expression seems to be of Egyptian origin.
- 562 *'alēh rās mītl rās yl-bāḡyl*. (L) He has a head like that of a mule. Said of a stubborn person. Cf. Psalm 32⁹.
- 563 *lā zō' wāla tyny zāy bāḡl ys-šmūs*. He is without tact or manners—like a stubborn mule. Said of an impolite person.
- 564 *birfus (byūrfus) zāy il-bāḡyl* (L). He kicks like the mule. Said of an unaccountable person.
- 565 *mītl il fāras byt'āyyir il-bāḡle bi-l-ḥabyt*. Like the mare who reproaches the she-mule for her rope (though in this they are both alike).
- 566 *ābu ḥa-l-bāḡle tōr*. The father of this mule is an ox; to describe the obstinacy of the mule, although only "ex equo et asino fit himus."¹
- 567 *ḥāllak tyfham ya tēs!* It is high time that you understood, O he-goat (what we say to you, or the like). *Yḥna mn'ālym ytiūs?!* Are we teaching he-goats? Are we teaching hopeless fools? Despairing exclamations.
- 568 *yn šūft (wajātt) ātyās mynnak ḥū'tul ḥālak!* If you happen to meet (find, see) someone more stupid than yourself then you may commit suicide, (but you won't, for you are the biggest fool).
- 569 *mītl yt-tyūs: dāyman marzā'*. Like the fools he has always his sustenance. Fools are always lucky.
- 570 *nātt yt-tēs 'a-l-ānze. qālātle: "Mālak?" qāllḥa: "bāl'ab."*

¹ Such an occasional resemblance may lead people to believe firmly in this assumption, as well as in another according to which village or street dogs with well-formed, short ears are a cross between a bitch and a jackal.

- The he-goat jumped on the she-goat. She said: "What ails you? What do you want?" He said: "I'm merely playing." Don't try to hide your intentions: as they are too well known.
- 571 *byzhar ynnak ystarét yt-tayāse b-ras malha*. You seem to have bought stupidity at the original price (or at cost price). To a fool.
- 572 *inte ybyn 'amm el-fallāḥ by-t-tayāse*. You are the cousin of the peasant as far as stupidity is concerned.¹
- 573 *qrúnak ybsu mittle yqrun it-tiis*. Your horns have become hard like those of the he-goats. What a fool!²
- 574 *tawá' mytl ys-sāhl il-majrūr 'a-l-māslāḥ* (L). He is submissive, willingly obedient, like the kid which is drawn to the slaughtering house.³
- 575 *šāf yl-'anze u kól myn ḥalibha* (L). Look at the goat and drink from her milk. a) Try the thing, as it does not involve you in any risks; b) here you are, don't ask unnecessary questions.
- 576 *ḥammalūḥ 'anze dārat : ḥammalūḥ l-ūbra -nšrat*. Cf. 42, variant.
- 577 *niyyal illi ylo marbaḍ 'anz fi-l-jabal* (L). Lucky is he who has a pasture land for goats in the mountains. Variant: *niyyal illi ilo marqad 'anze fi jabal Lubnān*. Happy is he who has a pasture-land for a goat in Mount Lebanon. Mount Lebanon was a comparatively "happy" land under the Turkish régime.
- 578 *mā ḍall 'al-maḍauid gér hyrris il-baqar*. None remained at the manger but the old cows (or oxen).
- 579 *šāf il-ba'ara u ḥallik myn ḥalibha* (L). Look at the cow and don't ask about (the quality of) her milk.⁴
- 580 *mā byūḥrot l-yblad illa y'jalha* (B 530) (L). None but the land's own calves (will or can) plough it. As the calves live the whole summer in the field, they are in due course taken and put together with an ox to learn to plough. The one

¹ Cf. the saying: *yḥrdit yom wala tayds'yt sāne*: better to plough a whole day than to be stupid for a year.

² You are no longer a child, so be sensible.

³ A simile used in this connexion: *bajibo zāyy sāl(y)l*, I shall get him like a kid; or *uhūnne shūle rāyeh itjibhun la-ḥālak !?* Are they (i.e. the robbers) kids, that you go to gather them alone? Remark to a police tracking robbers.

⁴ Cf. 575

concerned most in the case will 'solve it. A native will do the work better than a foreigner.¹

- 581 *yttalla' fi utš yl-ba'ara 'abyl ma tyhlybha!* Look at the cow's face before you start to milk her. Investigate before you do something definite.²
- 582 *yibzi-l-'en! ybzazha myll ybzaz il-ba'ara* (L). Confound the (evil) eye! Her breasts are like the udders of a cow. Said of a woman with a fully developed bust.³
- 583 *yṯ-ṯnl 'a-s-sajara u-ys-sūmud 'a-l-ba'ana* (also plural form). As to height trees are high, as to robustness cows are fully developed. Said to a vainglorious person.
- 584 *yrjal myll it-tirān būhurtu (byūhurtu) faddān.* Men as strong as oxen who can plough a faddān. Men by whom you may rightly expect work to be performed.⁴
- 585 *ja'altni ba'ara ḥallābe?* You make me into a milking cow! ? To a tactless person who continually asks favours.
- 586 *mahlūb, mā ḡall fik barake.* You are already milked, no grace, no blessing has been left in you. To a man who is not ready to help others.
- 587 *abūk ṯor u ūmmak baqara u mā ḡall fik illa-l-jambaḡa.* Your father is an ox and your mother is a cow, and there is in you the naught save pride. As your low origin is well known you ought to make good for that by showing a good character, instead of being puffed up with pride.⁵

¹ Cf. 530. ² Cf. 56.

³ Cf. the saying: *wiṣṣa wārde u ṯiḡha fārde*: "Her face is (like) a rose, and her thighs are half a beast's load. The "unspoiled" Eastern taste likes full, fat figures. Only of late I heard a *fellāh* living in town exclaim admiringly of a fat girl: ... *imbāḡḡre!* ... she is fat as a well fed cow!. *yibzi-l-'en!* (May the evil lye be repelled sc. so as not to hurt her) is used as a polite phrase and in the hope that nothing may hurt the health or body of the person meant. A casual remark on a woman with a well developed bust: *yifṯah ḥarīs-ha imbāḡḡre!* May God dishonour her ear-wig (instead of women: *ḥarīm*), she is fat as a cow.

⁴ A single day's work of ploughing done by a pair of oxen.

⁵ *ḡā'bara*: bluff, pretence, imposture, would better suit the rhyme and sense. The usual phrase: *mnū'raf aṣṣlak u faṣṣlak!* we know well your origin and your weaning. Cf. 589 and footnote. Cf. Ez. 16⁹ and the following verse.

- 588 *hanane 'a-ulādha mitl il-ba'ara*. Compassionate towards her children like the cow.¹
- 589, *ḥalibak ba'ari* (L). The milk which you sucked is cow milk. To a man of difficult character.²
- 590 *indaba' zayy it-tōr* He fell clumsily to the ground like the ox.³
- 591 *'ēno ybtī'dah nār mitl 'ēn yī-tōr*. His eye strikes fire like that of the ox. This is a sign that a person is in high dudgeon.
- 592 *yn ḥālat baqratat la tydbahha* (L) (B 191). If your cow does not calve (cc. for one year) don't kill her. Don't get excited at a mishap. Have patience.
- 593 *yn saba'ak jārak 'a-r-rabi' ūsub'o 'a-ṣ-ṣa'i'* (L) (C). If your neighbour drives his cows before you to the green pastures, then you in your turn be before him in giving them the aftermath. Do not be disheartened but work.
- 594 *in qult "ḥn!" rūdd il-y'jal*. If you say "ḥn!" drive the calves back. Don't skim work but do it thoroughly⁴.

يا ظريف الطول يا المنوجه نمرضي ما يبالك تعالي تفرجي

امك كحيله وابوك الملوچه وانت من خيل العرب الثمنه

ya zarif il-tul ya l-ymgānwaje

immik ikḥēle w-abūk l-ym'ākwaḥi

O nice of stature, oh pampered one

My aim is what you know; come and look;

Your mother is a noble mare (kḥele) and your father is a 'nag

And you are from the valued Arab steed.

ḡaraḍi ma b-bālik; ta'āli tfarraji

w-inti myn ḥēl il-'arab l-ymtānmana.

¹ The cow shows more affection for her young than do other cattle. If it dies her milk stops. People attribute this to her deep sorrow over the loss. They therefore stuff the hide of a calf, and, when milking her, put it in front of her. In this way the flow of milk does not decrease.

² A stronger form: *kinmak muš šab'an myn ḥalib immak (immak)*. You do not seem to have sucked enough milk from your mother. *Int u ḥalibak* ("You and your milk," here: conscience, character) as commonly used (Mesopotamia) implies that the decision as to a question, an action or a reward, is left entirely to the discretion of the person addressed, who is thereby reminded of his noble origin.

³ To kill an ox, its forefeet are bound with a rope, which will be suddenly pulled from behind, causing the beast to fall.

⁴ During harvest cattle are allowed to graze close behind the reapers. It is then only natural that they would soon pass over to the standing corn if not driven back.

- 595 *biddak thi' il-baqara uit'auid tihlibba?* Do you want to sell the cow and then come back to milk her? Do not give yourself reason for regret.
- 596 *'ijil aqar u jahs nisan bikan ynnih* (C). The calf born in March and the donkey's foal born in April become good. The respective mothers can graze to their heart's desire in spring and thus have enough milk for them.
- 597 *tör u baqara vidbäbyn billi säyiqhin!* An ox with a cow, may a calamity overtake them along with their driver! Expression of contempt and indifference towards others (slang).
- 598 *illi fi rāso hawa* (variant: *illi mā bifham bi-l-wama*) *il-ḥaki ma'o ḥsāra bysbah la-tör il-baqar yubrut fi-l-barriya.*" Rhyme. He who has love affairs in his head (variant: he who does not understand by signs), talking is useless with him. For he resembles the ox which ploughs in the field (lit. desert).
- 599 *illi biḍall 'al-miduad mā birfa' rāso ġer 'a-ha-l-miduad* (cf. 578).¹ Who remains at the manger only lifts his head above it. In a limited milieu the mind grows limited.
- 600 *Kurbaj dānab tör.* Ox-tail whip. The best kind of whip.
- 601 *yḏ-ḏälame (ir-rijjal) rākyb ij-jāmal.* The man is riding (mounting) the camel. His is inebriated, drunk.²
- 602 *rākib ij-jāmal u labys ta't el-ḥāfa.* Riding on a camel and wearing the magic hood (which makes its bearer invisible). Expressive of impossibility.
- 603 *labbək, jāmalak bēn ijrək!* Your wish is obeyed, your camel is at your disposal (lit. is under you, or 'in your presence' with the form *bēn idək*, or 'before you') "I am at your service."³
- 604 *habil 'a'lo ḥaffastēn 'a-jāmal.* (variant . . . *jöztēn . . .*) He is silly; his brains are (as much as) two pumice stones on a camel (variant: . . . two walnuts . . .). He is hopelessly stupid.
- 605 *'a'lo aḥaff min ristēr 'a-jamal.* His brains are lighter than two feathers on a camel.⁴
- 606 *iḏa-btalēt itsattar mill ij-jmāl.* If some misfortune befalls you,

¹ Cf. 578.

² In either case he cannot altogether control his movements.

³ Variant: *bäyl'alək, jāmalak bēn ijrək.* Here you are, your camel is at your disposal, at hand.

⁴ *'a'yl ḥaff*, silliness, stupidity.

conceal yourself like the camels.

- 607 *iza 'isy't ytsattar mitl ij-jmal*. If you fall in love, conceal yourself like the camels.¹
- 608 *is-sayib lamma yiddalla' mitl ij-jamal l-imhalwa'* (rhyme). If the old man dallies it is like the released camel. Out of place and out of season. Old age is no excuse for foolishness.
- 609 *hayer u zabado nazyl mitl ij-jamal*. He is raging and threatening (lit. He is bellowing) and his foam is dripping like a camel. Of a very angry person.²
- 610 a) *ij-jamal markab il-barr*. The camel is the ship of the desert.
b) *byzz ij-jamal*, "camels udder," is the name of small black indiarubber balls, which are rather heavy in comparison with their size.
- 611 *'alu la-j-jamal: "urkod!" 'allhun: "d'if!"* They said to the camel, "Run!" He answered, "I'm weak!" Said to one who makes paltry excuses.³
- 612 *h'ayd mitl ij-jamal*. Bearing rancour like the camel.⁴
- 613 *rakib ij-jamal bil-'ard*. He is riding the camel crosswise. Presumably derived from the proverb: *hainil is-sillam bi-l-'ard*, carrying the ladder crosswise. Said of a helpless, clumsy person.⁵
- 614 *mat ij-jamal; nit 'assaf 'ar-rah!*? The camel died. Shall we regret (the loss of) the (pack) saddle? We did not care when we had a real loss, how should we get excited about a lesser thing?

¹ Originally classical and attributed to the Prophet: *ida bulitum fastatiru!* If you are afflicted (know how to) conceal it. The camel is supposed not to show its anger; nor does it show any joy in life, but is altogether sober and restrained.

² Camels usually show sexual excitement in February when the mouth of the male foams with saliva.

³ Cf. the Turkish proverb: *deveye soruştular: inşimi yuquşumu seversin? duş başymamy geçdi? demis* (They asked the camel: Which way do you like better: going up the hill or going down? It answered: Did I dislike the straight road?)

⁴ The following incident is said to have happened some years ago in Hebron. A peasant, whilst loading his camel, angrily cursed it for being discontented. The camel did not show any sign of taking the curse to heart, but during the night it got loose, attacked its master and nearly killed him by throwing itself on the sleeping man. The story of the hurt feeling of camels at having their caravan led by a donkey is told in J. E. Hanauer's *Folklore of the Holy Land*, London, 1907, p. 244.

⁵ Turkish parallel: *deveyi damâ çykarir*: He brings the camel on or to the roof.

- 615 *fi aḍar biḥāmmyḍ il-lāban u bīrābby' ij-jāmal u bynsaf yr-rā'i bāla nār* (weather rule). In March the milk gets sour (i.e. one can prepare sour milk already) and the (she) camel brings forth (variant: the camel gets fattened) and the shepherd gets (his wet clothes) dry, without fire. This indicates the spring and the close of the winter season.
- 616 *zāy illi bydāuwyr 'a jāmal ḥalto; in rāuwah ḡanna, w-ym-ma rāuwābys ḡanna*. Like him who goes in search of his maternal aunt's camel. If he returns home (with it) he sings, and if he does not return home (with it) he sings too. Said to a person who does not take any interest in a thing, or does not take his duty seriously.
- 617 *ḡālḡ il-'ūmur ilak: aḥḍak il-banāt, rūkbak il-mysyhnāt, māsyak 'a-n-nabāt*. Long life is yours by your taking girls (in marriage), riding on bred mares and walking (barefooted) on grass. This is a common belief.
- 618 *mytl il-ḥel yl-baṭrāne* (variant: *baṭṭāle*) (L). Like the pert, hot horses (variant: the idle horses). Said of persons who misbehave when out of sight. Also. "He is enjoying life."¹
- 619 a) *byrḡud mitl ir-rāwan*. He runs like an ambler (horse), i.e. swiftly. b) *il ḥel 'izḡ*. Horses are power, nobility.²
- 620 *baṭrān mitl dawāb id-der*. Pert like the convent animals which lead an easier life than others.
- 621 *l-yḡṡan bikidd il-ārḡ bi-l-'ārḡ*. The horse exerts itself assiduously (in running even) at night (variant: across the ground).
- 622 *lāḡmo 'āst mitl lāḡm li-yḡṡān*. His flesh is as tough as horse flesh. Said of a hardworking man.³

¹ In spring, draught animals, especially horses, may be lead to pasture for about a fortnight.

² *rāwān*, trotter, also used of an active person or of one easily excited. This action of the horse is highly favoured and they are taught this pace very early. A lead-ring of one inch diameter and a third of an inch thick is fastened by a strap to each fetlock. When the horse walks, a peculiar manner of treading will soon develop. If it gets accustomed to these four rings, four others will be added, until in the course of less than a year twenty-four rings are fastened to the legs of the ambler. When it has acquired the pace, the rings are dispensed with. An ambler will keep this acquired pace always. This trot is suited to the hilly country, where galloping is not advisable.

³ Horse meat is not usually considered edible.

- 623 *byakul u bynūt! mityl hēl yz-zūt! (L)*. He eats and jumps like the gypsies' horses. He leads an idle life.¹
- 924 *il-bē' banāt il-ḥuṣun*. Noble mares come from noble horses.²
- 625 *taṭaragū l-ḥuṣun 'ala gārd (=tā'āb) sāyis (Bagdad)*. The horses have quarrelled about the trouble of the groom. Although this is not their concern.
- 626 *wēn il-hāwa? fi dhūr (or dābr) il-hēl!* Where is the fresh air, freedom? On the back of the horses.³
- 627 *zāyū l-ygdīs bxākūl vs'ir u by'anfyṣ (L)*. Like the nag: he eats barley and kicks. Of someone who showed himself unworthy of a kindness.
- 628 *Il-fāras illi bānzal 'anba ḥally ij-jān (l-y'rūd) tirkābba*. Let the jinn ride the mare from which I have dismounted (for I care no longer for her).⁴
- 629 *it'atalu l-īmkāreyye, ajat ymniḥa la-r-rukkāb*. The drivers of the animals quarrelled, and those who hired them profited.
- 630 *kūtrit it-talim bi'allim il-ḥamīr (L)*. Continued teaching teaches even the donkeys.⁵
- 631 *ḥōraṇ mitl il-ḥamīr (L)*. He stopped of a sudden (or became restive) like the donkeys.
- 632 *rāso yābys mitl rās l-yḥmār (L)*. His head is hard as a donkey's.

¹ This is so far true as gypsies usually stay for several days in one and the same place. During this stay their animals, which are as a rule meagre and lean, are driven to graze. *Zuṭ!* is the name by which the gypsies call themselves; but we call them *nāwar* (sing. *nūrī*) which may be connected with the verb *nār, tanāwar* (to take flight). Another name, *jingana*, used here but rarely, is the Turkish form used in Northern Syria. All three names are applied to a very mean, low person. A synonym *qurbāt* (Aleppo) seems to denote the lowest grade of the townspeople. They refuse to be considered as *jingana*, as the following shows: "*intu jingana willa qurbāt?*" "*la, il-ḥānd l-illab niḥna qurbāt!*" (Are you gypsies or *qurbāt*? Answer: Thank God, we are *qurbāt*!) This is quoted there ironically.

² *hēl* for mare, though the ordinary plural, is substituted for *ḥuṣun (ūḥuṣne)* pl. of *ḥṣān*, the correct form.

³ In nearly every certificate of a horse's pedigree one meets the expression *qubūrubiinna izzun wa buṭūnibiinna kānzun*, Power and nobility are on their back and a treasure is in their belly. Cf. 173.

⁴ a) If animals are mad the disease will be attributed to possession by evil spirits, as in the case of rabid dogs. b) The expression: *rākbo l-'yrd* (the devil is riding him) denotes temporary ill temper.

⁵ Cf. 188.

- 633 *rākyb 'ala kurr w-imdāndyl ijrēh*. He is riding on a small donkey and letting his legs hang down. Of an unconcerned person who is selfish and careless.
- 634 *zāy l-yhmār : ma bymsi illa bi-n-nābyz* (L). Like the donkey: he does not move unless he is pricked.
- 635 *zayy l-yhmār ma byfham illa-lli b-rāso*. Like the donkey who does not understand anything but what is in his own mind. Of a conceited, narrow minded-person.
- 636 *l-yhmār bytqāttāš mārā*. A donkey gets its tail cut once only. It is only a fool who does not learn from experience. *ma byt-gāttāš gātystēn ger l-yhmār*.¹
- 637 *bādāl ma tqūl la-l-yhmār zāfar!* (*y'qta'ak!*) *qūl-lo madd ys'tr!* Instead of saying to the donkey 'Dirty beast!' (or May God kill you!) say rather, 'A madd of barley!'²
- 638 *fī rās l-yhmār šoṭ ḥālaf l-yhmār ger yiz'aqo*. The donkey has got a tune in his head. He swore to bray it forth.³
- 639 *mā bytlaqī-l-ja'faša illa 'a-l-ḥamīr l-ym'al'ata*. You find bad language and pride only with the filthy donkey (or: the donkey which has elephantiasis).
- 640 *mītl ḥamīr yl-ḥajjāra : jawā'a baṭāra*. Like the donkeys of the stonecutters: hungry and pert.⁴
- 641 *lau yoklu-l-ḥamīr jinzbil ger il-ḥamīr ydāllu ḥamīr*. The donkey will always be a donkey even if it eats ginger.
- 642 *ma bytlaqī -l-fāšš il-qāwi illa 'ind l-yhmār l-vmqārryq*. You find bad wind only with a donkey which is unfit for work (lit. which has a rupture).⁵

¹ An alleged "ḥadīṭ," which does not appear in the *Arba'un an-nuwayy* says: *la yūldaḡu mū' minun myn jūhryn marratain* (a believer does not get bitten or stung twice from the same hole). *qātaš, gātaš*, to cut. Among the beduin there exists the practice of cutting with a sword the tail of any donkey which enters the corn-field, if the families of the respective owners are at feud. But this inhuman practice is dying out.

² A *madd* is a grain measure and differs widely in various parts of the country. In the north of Jerusalem it is equal to four *ṭabbāt* (sing. *ṭabbe*), one *ṭabbe* being nine *rāṭls*—28.80 Kilos.

³ Cf. 635. Said of a person, who insists upon carrying out his own ideas.

⁴ Stonecutters' donkeys usually remain idle while stones are prepared and loaded: and they take advantage of the absence of supervision.

⁵ Cf. 639.

- 643 *lā min illi amanu wāla min illi kāfaru : min illi dāssaru l-yḥ-māra w-inhāzamu.* (He is) neither of the believers nor of the unbelievers, but of those who left the she-donkey and ran away. Said of the fainthearted.¹
- 644 *myqtāye u qatāmha jāhš.* There was a cucumber-field destroyed by a donkey.
- 645 *ṣay ḥamir yt-tarrāse : b-ir-rōḥa mḥammal u by-j-jēne markūb.* "Like the hired donkey: it is laden here, and it is ridden there." Of a very busy person, disrespectfully. Also of a person who likes to be under the yoke.²
- 646 *illi ma qyry u ma dāras siddu ben' ly-ḥmār u-il-fāras* (Bagdād). "Him, who has neither learned nor studied, bind between the donkey and the mare." A stronger Arabic version of "Knowledge is power."
- 647 *lāban ya tēs* (variant: *tōr*) *yfham ya ḥmār!!* Its milk, O he-goat! (variant: ox). Understand, O donkey! Said of a very simple thing to a simpleton, to make it clear to him.
- 648 *bāra māt l-yḥmār. wēn?* The donkey died outside. Where? This sentence is so pronounced as to sound to the person questioned: *bārramāt ly-ḥmār wēn?* Where are the "feathers" of the donkey? Jokingly asked of a simpleton (Arṭās).
- 649 *yn'addymlak il-'alī' by'addymyna -l-labiṭ* (L). We offer you the fodder and you kick us! Said to an ungrateful person.³
- 650 *qāl : ya ḥmār āhlak byndahūlak. qāl : āḥ ya ḍābri, yā hu 'a-ḥaṭab yā hu 'a-māyy.* He said: O donkey, your people are calling you. He answered: Alas, my back! (I know what for); it is either (to carry) wood or water.⁴
- 651 *sūq yḥmārak by-ḥlālak ḥāml il-qūffe ḥera lak!* Drive the donkey with your stick. But the carrying of the basket would be better for you (because the donkey cannot do it, being overworked).

¹ There seems to be a story underlying this saying, but I could not trace it.

² The root *trs* is not used in this sense in Palestine; it has the meaning "to fill" in the Bagdād dialect. Variant: *bi-r-rōḥa imḥammal u bi-j-jēne imḥammal*: It is laden here and laden there.

³ Or to one who does not know his real friends.

⁴ A variant of 241.

- 652 *zällagnalo dàḥal bi-ḥmáro* (or *hú w-iḥmáro*). We agreed tacitly; but he entered with his donkey! (He abused the favour).¹
- 653 *lámman ḥála' rábbna-l-ikrád bákat il-ḥamir* (Aleppo). When God created the Kurds the donkeys wept (because of competition, for Kurdish porters are known for their strength and meek simplicity).²
- 654 *rakkábtak ḥmár à'raj bimsi fik u by!tà'waj* (rhyme). I let you ride on a lame donkey, who goes along with you and writhes (with pain). Nursery rhyme.
- 655 *úrbut il-aşyl 'ind l-iḥmár yá bi'álmo -s-sahiq yá by'álmo n-nahiq*. Harness the noble horse with the donkey, who will teach him either the first or the last notes of the donkey-bray.³
- 656 *lyḥmár baṭrán min mâr'a -l-ḥiḥām*. The donkey becomes pert from grazing on the pasture of the rabbi (whereas there is no occasion for it to get "hot").⁴
- 657 *hünne-l-fahâyin w-iḥna-l-bahâyem!* They (the animals) are the intelligent, and we (men) are the beasts.⁵
- 658 *ḥmár süg(o)l* (L), "donkey of burden." Said about, but not to, a hardworking person.
- 659 *ábu-l-iḥşén law yislam min il-'awániyye kan tāḥ is- süq w-iṣáurwaq*. If the fox was safe from spies he would have gone to the market and carried on a trade.
- 660 *min şár ná'je áklato-d-dyáb*. He who becomes an ewe will be devoured by the wolves.
- 661 *küll ná'je tí'állaq min krá'ba* (Bagdad). Every ewe will be hanged by her feet. Everyone has his weak spot. Every one is responsible for himself. To-morrow it will also be your

¹ *zállaq*, to push, lit. squeeze oneself, to the wall to make room for another.

² According to a story told in Aleppo the donkey refused tis fodder when God offered to change it into a Kurd.

³ Variant: , , , , either "braying" or "pairing". Cf. the two Turkish variants: *eşseyi eşseyin yanına bağlama ya huyundân ya tuyundân*: Do not harness a donkey with another donkey: either (he will be corrupted) by its bad character or (contract a disease) from its hair or hide. *aşy aşyn yanına, ili itşyn yanına: ya huyundan ya huşundan*: The horse to the horse, the dog to the dog; either a good or a bad character (will be acquired).

⁴ *muṭrán*: bishop, the rhyme better than *ḥiḥām*

⁵ Said to illustrate the stupidity of man, shown in such conditions as drunkenness.

turn.¹

- 662 a) *biktib yd-dübb la-l-iḥmār “āḥi-l-‘azīz!”* The bear writes to the donkey: Dear brother! Said of two equally clumsy fellows. b) *y’il zāyy id-dübb*. Burdensome, dull, tedious, clumsy as a bear.
- 663 *kurdīyun dubbīyun wa-lāu kāna waliyan* (Aleppo). A Kurd is clumsy like a bear, be he even a *wali* (saint).
- 664 *sūfak u ḥarūfak, māli ‘ēn ytsūfak*. (I want neither) your sheep nor your wool; my eye can not see you!²
- 665 a) *zāyi illi bīwāṣṣi id-dib ‘a-l-ḡanam* (L). Like him who puts the wolf in charge of the sheep. b) *ya dib dir bālak ‘a-l-ḡanam!* O wolf, take care of the sheep! Moral of a story.
- 666 *yā-daby‘ bi-n-nhar kalb u bi-l-lél saby‘*. The hyena is a dog by day but a lion by night.
- 667 *flān mal‘ān, bydba‘ il-wahād daby‘*. NN. is cunning; he vexes, fascinates a person (like a hyena).
- 668 *šbat el-labbat byūḥnuq il-‘ijyl fi-r-bat*. The unruly February strangles the calf on the halter (or in the stable).
- 669 *šbat il-labbat biqtum il-bāqar fi-r-rbat*. The unruly February kills the cows on (with) the halter. (Better: the cowshed). Denoting the cold in that month.
- 670 *qāl: “ya ḡazāle ḡada -r-raḥil.” qāl: tōtaḥat danḥatha*. He said: “O gazelle, the departure takes place to-morrow.” Then she wagged her tail (consenting).
- 671 *ytfarrajt ‘a-l-ḡazāle illi bīḥḥan sūmsom??* Have you seen the gazelle which grinds sesame? Used to a boy to distract him from a certain subject.³
- 672 *ha-l-mara ḡuzlāniyye = nahīfe, ra‘ī’a*. This woman is like a gazelle: slim of stature, tender of features.
- 673 *‘ind il-ḡāl da‘we. qāl: anjaq yisba‘ hū u ḥabaibo*. There is a dinner party at the ghoul’s. One said: Scarcely will he and his beloved be satisfied with eating.
- 674 *il-yḥvār āuwalo ta-s-šalaṭin u āḥro la-j-jārādīn*. The cucumber in its early state is fit for sultans, and at its end it is only

¹ Local variant: *kull ‘anze btyl‘ālla myu ijrēha*, Every goat is hanged by its feet.

² Whatever you possess, go away!

³ In the special mill *badd*, used for this purpose, a camel or mule is used to turn the single stone, which is set up vertically.

fit for rats.

- 675 *ha-l-lôn imrâqmas mitl lôn il-firân.* This stuff's colour is drab, dun, like that of mice.
- 676 *firânkum mâhtumîn.* Your mice are stamped, have a special mark.
- 677 *qâl: harrâbt iz-ẓét 'a-ṣḥābo. qal: quṣur fik dél yà-ẓ'ar!* He said: "You have spoiled the oil for its owners!" He answered: "Your tail is short, O dwarf." (Otherwise you would have done the same.)¹
- 678 *illi bôḥîd jôz iq-darâyir biḥutt qird u sa'dân fi bête.* He who marries a pair of fellow-wives puts in his house a devil and a monkey.
- 679 *ibîṣki -l-'ird la immo?* Would you complain of an ape to its mother?
- 680 *waṣṣi-l-'ird 'a-t-ḥîne!* Appoint the ape as trustee of the *ḥîne!* He will surely eat it up.²
- 681 *aḥadna min ha-l-hyẓme 'ūd, w-il-bā'i yistâlûh (tiḥinlo) l-'rûd!* From this bundle we have taken a single stick. Let the devils care for the rest!³
- 682 *it'azẓab 'azâb l-'rûd (L).* He suffered the pains of devils (apes).⁴
- 683 a) *Int ma'ak manaḥîr quṭt kull ṣi bitṣimmo?* Have you the nose of a cat? You smell everything! b) *kif arḍak?* "Zay baṭn il-quṭṭ" (C). How is your land? "Like the cat's belly" (smooth).
- 684 *râsak ẓayy rās el-kalb illi ṣab'ân ḥames.* You have got a head like the dog which has sucked its fill. To a headstrong obstinate person.
- 685 *kalb iṣ-ṣêd biṭal'ûb mahḥum biyrûḥ biḥra* (slang). The hound is taken along to the chase: he goes and eases himself.

¹ Variant: *min quṣur delak ya-ẓ'ar!* It is owing to the shortness of your tail O dwarf! Sour grapes! *il-fâr il-aẓ'ar*, *Nicrotus Syriacus* Brandt, *avricola*.

² (y) *t-ḥîne* are the dregs of sesame oil, of a peculiar taste and of a brownish colour, used for salads with legumes throughout the Near East. The Turks eat them sometimes with treacle, *dîbs*, and the Armenians bake some sorts of cakes with them.

³ We have only married one of the family; we have no concern with the rest. Or: He is the only worthy member of the entire family.

⁴ The devil is often thought of as in a semi-human form, with tail, horns, claws and a hairy body; but this idea seems to have arisen from European influence.

- 686 *ħarrik danabak ya iblis!* Wag your tail, O devil! Said by boys to the loser in a fight to provoke him to continue the fight.
- 687 *'ađđni il-kalb. dāštūrak a'uddo.* The dog has bitten me. With your leave I'll beat him. Said to a self-conceited person.
- 688 a) *trfa' ijrak!* Lift thy leg! To a person urinating publicly, reproachingly; Don't behave like a dog! b) *rafā' ijrēh.* He stretched out his legs: i.e. He died (a contemptuous reference).
- 689 *lawannu-š-siħde fiha ħēr ma ħiswās y'ya' li-klab* (more correctly: *wa lau inna-š-siħde. . .*). And (suppose) that there is any good in begging, yet it is not worth the barking of the dogs.¹
- 690 a) *in amħalat šaħħ il-kalb 'al-asad w-in aħsaḃat bađ il-ħamām 'a-l-watad* (rhyme). In time of dearth the dog urinates at the lion and in time of abundance the dove will lay eggs on a peg. b) *kull kalb aħsan min šammūr.* Any dog is better than a black one.
- 691 *miš kull šammūr bikún kalb.* Not every black dog is a real dog.
- 692 *yihram 'alayya terbāyt l-iklab!* Be it henceforth forbidden me to cherish dogs! Said by a benefactor about an ungrateful person.²
- 693 *il-kalb lin ja' ħarrab.* The dog when hungry does damage.³
- 694 *(iyħiddak ya izār 'addēs innak ġarrār) bišuf il-'ubbe beđa biħsibha mažār!* (rhyme). (May God overthrow you, O ample veil): You see a vaulted building and take it for a shrine. For the continuation see 477.⁴
- 695 *mił il-kalbe -l-ħinše* Like a biting, fierce bitch.
- 696 *id-dār bala bāb ma'wa la-li-klab.* A house without a door is a refuge for dogs.
- 697 *illi bi'tāz il-kalb bisammih: "ya 'amm!"* He who needs the dog calls him: "O uncle."⁵
- 698 *zayy l-iřtiše ma biħarrakys.* (He is) like the corpse: he does not move. Variant: *zayy-il qatil:* like the corpse. . .

¹ Begging in the villages from house to house is not an easy task for the beggar, since the fierce dogs always attack him.

² Cf. the classical: *lā taqna min kálbi sū'in jārwa!* Do not keep a whelp of a bad dog! *Yihram 'alāyy(a)* could be rendered I should consider myself henceforth as committing something unlawful (sinful: *ħarām*), if

³ Cf. the classical *ħarab* to become a robber.

⁴ Clothes are deceptive.

⁵ 'am: father-in-law (cf. *mart-il-'amm*: mother-in-law).

- 699 *ya talb id-dibs min iṣ in-nims kafak sàrr il-ʿàsal* (B 619). O thou who lookest for syrup from the weasel's anus, protect thyself against the evil of the honey (i.e. the bees). Do not expect any good of a miser.
- 700 Family names:— *nims, nis, nasnās (nisnās), nimir, nimri, nammār, nammūra, ḡāl, ḡūle, fāhd, fhéd, wāhs, ḥaffās, abu fāra*. Personal names (masc.):— *nimir, fāhd, fhéd*; (fem.) *nimre*.

II. AVES

- il-ʿasfūr, it-tēr, il-fārḥ*. The small bird (sparrow), the bird, the young bird.
- 701 *it-tēr bisābbih rābbo* (L). The bird praises its Lord.¹
- 702 a) *ḥalaṣ brišo u ʿaramišo* (L). It is totally consumed. He is safe out of danger. b) *ḥūdo brišo u ʿaramišo*. Take the whole of it. c) *fāt (y)brišo u ʿaramišo*. It entered entirely, all of it. *rīš u ʿaramīš*, only for the rhyme; (*ʿarmīš*, singular of *ʿaramīš*, is a stripped grape cluster).
- 703 *il-ʿasfūr bitfalla u iṣ-ṣayyād bitʿalla*. The bird is cleaning its feathers and the hunter is burning with anxiety.²
- 704 *ʿasfūra ḥarrabat maṭmāra*. A little bird (f.) destroyed a granary.³
- 705 *mā bū ʿa bi-l-faḥḥ illa kūll hydri*. Only the cautious bird falls in the snare.
- 706 *id-dinya šōb bliḥriʿ danbat il-ʿasfūr*. It is very hot: it scorches the bird's tail.
- 707 *ḥissa birmi -t-tēr* (L). Her voice brings down the bird. Of a woman with a fine voice.⁴
- 708 *ʿasfūr ʿalbi bijaʿni (bujaʿni)* (L). The bird of my heart (stomach) pains me. I am troubled.

¹ A suggestion to praise God.

² You see my anxiety to get the thing done, and you do not care.

³ Granaries (in the plain) are often dug into the ground, two yards in diameter and three or four yards in depth. A thick lining (about two hands' breadth) of chopped straw is prepared between the earth and the grain to protect the grain. On top of the covered granary a small heap of stones or a piece of a branch or the like serves as a secret or special mark for the site. A bird, whilst picking some grains around it, might destroy the sign. Used of a loss caused by children. Also to indicate a bad omen: all hopes have been destroyed by this sign.

⁴ Also of an attractive girl; cf. the stanza:—

banāt il-ʿamm fihyu kull waḥdāy tirmi -t-tēr min tāsiʿ sāmā-ba

Everyone of my girl cousins will bring down a bird even from the ninth heaven (though there are only seven heavens).

- 709 *ihna minnaid it-tér it-tayer*. We criticize even the flying bird (and would you come and criticize us?).
- 710 *mam'ut zayy il-'asfur il-mablul*. "Hairless" like a scalded bird (sparrow).
- 711 *bishab is-sagle min mun'ar it-tér*. He can draw the thing out of a bird's beak. Said of a capable man.
- 712 a) *mitl it-tér it-tayer* (L). Like the flying bird (free from care).
b) *jar 'a'lo*. His mind flew away. He lost his senses, went raving mad.
- 713 *lo fih hér ma ramah it-tér*. If there was any good in it the bird would not have dropped it.¹
- 714 *in anjah térah ojah hérak*. If the bird faces you your luck also faces you. It is a good augury.
- 715 *hér ya sarrak bén janahak*. O bird! Your bad tidings is usually between your wings. Cf. 821.²
- 716 *'asfur b-idak wala 'asara* (variant: *miyye*) *'ala s-sajara* (L). A bird in the hand is better than ten (or a hundred) on the tree.³
- 717 *'asfur b-idak wala hamame tayre*. Better a sparrow in your hand than a pigeon flying about.
- 718 *hutt hajar 'a-dyalak absamma -t-tir!* Put a stone on your shirt that you fly not away! (Said to a conceited person).⁴
- 719 a) *bijib laban il-'asfur* He can get milk from the birds. Said of a man who can achieve the impossible. b) *talabt laban il-'asfur* (L). You have asked for bird's milk, i.e. something unobtainable.
- 720 *it-tér fi-l-barriye mus hali min il-baliyye* (B 100). Even the bird in the wilderness is not free from affliction.
- 721 *ma hada hali min il-basur hitta -j-jamal u-il-'asfur*. None is free from piles, not even a camel or a bird. We all have our grievances.⁵

¹ Of a person or thing of value.

² Cf. the classical: *latayyara mina-l-amr(i)*. He received a bad omen from it.

³ Variant: *hamame b-il-id* . . . a pigeon in the hand.

⁴ In reference to comparatively recent times when the very baggy trousers were still common. It refers also to the flowing beduin clothing.

⁵ *Basur* (supposed to be caused by an excessive diet of green pepper) here used rather for the sake of the rhyme than as marking a common belief.

- 722 *it-tayr ibn'a' 'ala-škalha* (B), derived from the classical: *yna -t-tuyura 'ala askaliha taqa'*. "Birds of a feather flock together."
- 723 *il-'ab bi-l-ma'suṣ (hyt)ta yjik it-tayyār* (B 102). Play with cut feathers until you can get a bird (itself). Be content with little for the time being.¹
- 724 *tér fi-s-sàma bu'al*: "*subhān imwāffi' l-iškal!*" A bird in the sky is saying: "Glory be to Him, who matches resemblances!" Said of two persons or "friends," who provoke disapproval.²
- 725 *ij-jāhil ma bitmassak 'aṣfūr!* (B 61). The fool (ignoramus) cannot be given a bird to hold.³
- 726 *farfūr dambhum maḡfūr*. The faults of a nestling are to be pardoned. Children are not to be blamed.
- 727 *'aṣfūr ibhētō*. A bird with its string (= two birds with one stone). Or: Both of them, the first and the last, the important and the trivial.
- 728 *(h)i'rēd -il-'iṣṣ*, (nestling)—"the beloved Benjamin."⁴
- 729 *ḡalīb it-tér*. Bird's milk: something non-existent, impossible to obtain.
- 730 *rās il-'aṣfūr*, "sparrows head," small pieces of meat grilled; something small (comparison); a thorny plant: *ilsān il-'aṣfūr* "birds tongue," larkspur (*Delphinium Ajacis*).⁵
- 731 *kinno aṣfūr binik ib-balās u bi'wy fi-l-f' šās*. As if he were a sparrow: he pairs gratis and goes to bed (lit. takes shelter in the nests). Said of an inefficient, lazy husband. Also used of an intruder, a parasite.
- 732 *'yšt u 'aṣ' ašt!* May you live and make a nest! Joking form of thanks. Also: You have your hearts desire at last!
- 733 *téra, 'aṣfūra*. Personal names (f.). *'aṣfūr, 'aṣfūra, farrūj*.

¹ Birds when caught have their wings cut and in villages are given to children to play with.

² A better rhyming variant: *subhān imṣāriq l-i'qāl!* (Also used independently of the preceding part): Praise be to Him who apportions brains! Said in irritation of a stupid person.

³ An ignoramus cannot hold a responsible post.

⁴ Nestling, used of the youngest child.

⁵ The *Isan il-'aṣfūr* is also a children's game. Preferably a sibilant (but sometimes any consonant) is inserted after every syllable, so as to make the words totally unintelligible to others. *yālla ḡūm*: "Hurry up, stand up!" would have to be pronounced: *ya-zāl-la-zā quzū-my-zūm*, or the like. *Ḥanna*: *ḡazānnaḡā*, etc.

Family names.

- 734 *wiṣṣo ʔayy wiṣṣ il-būm* (L). His face is (as ugly) as that of the owl. There is no good to be expected from him.
- 735 *ʔayy il-būm* (L). Like an owl (which is believed to be a bad omen). Of a man who always carries bad tidings or has a gloomy outlook on life.
- 736 *ʔawy' il-būm btāllak 'a-l-ḥarāb!* Agree to go together with the owl and he will show you ruins.¹
- 737 *'al sayyidna slimān la-l-būme: jibtli aḥsan yṯ-tyār! 'amat raḥat (u) jābat bntḥa* (B 449). Our lord Solomon said to the owl: "Fetch me the best of birds!" She rose and went and returned with her daughter. To illustrate maternal preference.
- 738 *ʔay il-būm mā bni'a' illa bi-l-ḥarāb* (L). Like the owl, he only croaks in the ruins (or: to foretell trouble). Variant: *lt-ḡrab*: raven.²
- 739 *ṣafi ʔayy 'en il-būme* (B 374). (Water or the like) is as clear as the eye of the owl (cf. 749).
- 740 *(i)' yāno mtīl (i)' yan il-būm*. His eyes are like those of the owl.³
- 741 *ḥāda mā'wa būm*. This is an owl's nest (lit. mansion).⁴
- 742 *kūll id-dynk ṣaḥat bi'i mam' aṯ id-dānab*. All the cocks crowed expect the one with the plucked tail. Variant: *kūll id-dynk dākdakat mā ḍall ḡēr* (or: *mā bā'i illa mam' aṯ id-dānab*. All the cocks showed themselves to be cocks excepting only that with the plucked tail.⁵
- 743 *ʔay id-dik 'a-l-maḥbale (mixyble)* (L). Like the cock on the dung hill.
- 744 *jarrib iduēk!* Try a young cock.⁶
- 745 *kull dik 'a maḥbalto ṣayyah*. On his own dunghill every cock is a chanticleer.
- 746 *id-dik mā btṣiḥ illa min ḥṣalṯo*. The cock crows only through its throat.⁷

¹ Everyone has his own habits. Variant: *ḡrāb*, raven.

² Of a tiresome person. Also of a man always bringing bad tidings.

³ Big, expressionless.

⁴ Cf. the German "Eulennest," uninhabitable place.

⁵ Try your tricks elsewhere: are you the only clever one?

⁶ Give him a trial though you do not know him.

⁷ There is nothing unusual about it.

- 747 *'alu la-d-dik* : "*'sīḥ*" *'al* : *kull-ḥi fi wa'to mnih'* (B 455). They said to the cock: "Crow!" He answered: "Everything is good in its own time."
- 748 *id-dik il-faṣīḥ min il-bēda bysīḥ* (L) (B 74). The eloquent cock crows the moment it leaves the egg.
- 749 *asfa min 'én id-dik* (L) (cf. 539). As clear as the eye of the cock.
- 750 *min 'ilt ir-rjal sammu d-dik abu ḥasim (abu 'asym)* (L) (B 579). From the scarcity of men they called the cock: "*Abu Ḥāsīm*" (*Abu Qāsīm*).¹
- 751 *mā ḍall 'a-l-ḥamme gér mam' út yd-dānab*. None remained on the dunghill (?) but the cock with the plucked tail.²
- 752 *mātrah ma byt 'ā'i byd!* (L) (B 568). Where you cluck there lay your eggs!
- 753 a) *'id-ij-jāj*. The feast of hens: the Day of Atonement, when the Jews "sacrifice" hens. b) *'ā'bat ij-jāj*. "Ascent of the hens" (i.e. the selling place)—a small lane, leading ultimately to the Zion Gate, *Bāb en Nābī Daboud*, starting from the southern end of the *Suk il'Atṭarin* above the beginning of *'ari' bab-is-Silyseh*.
- 754 *subḥān rāfī ij-jaj 'āla-s-syāj* (B 353). Glory be to Him Who raised the hens on the fence! It is God and not man who has raised man to his high estate. Also ironically.
- 755 *rāso zayy bātn l-yqrūqqa* (B 309). His head is like (i.e. as bald as) the belly of the brood hen.
- 756 *istabēna jāje w-akalnaha brīsha* (B 16). We wanted a hen and ate it up with its feathers.³
- 757 *abu bēda mā bytqamaš* (variant: *byttāqaš* or *bytāqyš*) (B 3). The man with an egg does not "play" for it.⁴

¹ Sometimes only first part quoted. Cf. 168. The version: *abu qāsīm* is improbable since this title was the Prophet's prerogative, according to a *Ḥadīth*: *sāmmu b-ismi-walā tukānnu bi-kūnyati*: You may name after me, but do not give nicknames according to mine.

² I.e. the cock who won the fight (ironically). *ḥamme*, *ḥim*, *ḥun*, *ḥum*, *qin* (the last also classical), hen coop. Variant 825.

³ You did not make proper use of the occasion.

⁴ Do not risk all on a single throw. A favourite game about Easter time, when eggs are plentiful, is for two persons to try alternately to break the egg in each

- 758 *illi biksyir il-bêda bihûtî hâqqba* (B 151). He who breaks the egg pays for it.¹
- 759 *bêda min jaje sôda* (B 268). An egg (or a white thing) from a black hen. An unexpected good deed by a usually useless person.
- 760 *jaje ymsâffke* (or:—*qe*). A meagre (old) hen. A bad bargain.
- 761 *bynâm ma' yj-jâj* (L). He goes to bed with the hens (very early).
- 762 *bâtto zay harabis ij-jâj* (L). His handwriting is like a hen's scratchings on the ground.
- 763 *zay bâbt ij-jâj bi-l-màyy*. Like the hens' paddling in the water. A useless effort.
- 764 a) *ij-jâj* (variant: *il-bisse*) *btôkol 'asâb*. The hen eats up his supper (variant: The cat...). Of a timid person. b) *jaje 'ut 'iyye*, an old hen.²
- 765 *jaje bysrab bytsâbbih (la)râbba* (variant: *ybtîttâlla' la-râbba*). A hen when drinking praises her God (variant: Looks up to her God).³
- 766 *jaje hâfrat 'ala räs-ha 'âfrat (dâfrat)* (B 273). A hen digged and soiled her head with dust (variant: Kicked the earth over her head). Her own fault.
- 767 *näs btôkol jâj u näs ybtû'a' bi-(fi) s-syâj*. Some people eat the hens and others fall at the hedge. Not every one gets his deserts.
- 768 *Bêdyt il-yôm âhsan myn jâjyt bukra*. Carpe diem! An egg to-day is better than a hen tomorrow (lit. To-day's egg, etc.)
- 769 *illi busru' il-bêda busru' ij-jâje*. He who steals the egg will steal the hen (too).
- 770 *byddo yifham ij-jaje min jabha u-il-bêda min bādha* (L). He wants to know who has brought (or "borne") the hen and who has laid the egg.
- 771 *jâj iybid' a-bêdna bêd*. He comes to lay eggs on our eggs. He wants to show himself to be as clever as we are. Or:

others hand, by hitting first with the tops; the top of the one egg being broken, its bottom has to stand the test, and, if also broken, it is lost. The winner then has the advantage of the "upper hand." The play may be varied by agreement.

¹ Bears no relation to the preceding.

² 'asâ, supper, the principal meal of the day.

³ For more food.

To bring owls to Athens.

- 772 *málak 'amm bithám zây ij-jáje illi bidha tbið?* Why are you hovering around like a hen about to lay her egg?
To a nervous, indecisive person.
- 773 *ilha' id-dik u súf wen biwaddik* (L). Follow the cock and see where he is leading you to.¹
- 774 *šúš it-tin biðáll iynin* (C). A chicken hatched out during the fig period keeps on moaning—i.e. is always ill.²
- 775 *šúš tašarin bókol u binin* (C). The chicken hatched out in October or November eats and moans.²
- 776 *"tílil il-ħannün u má biðna, ya 'ebna ya 'azáritna min sáhibna!"*
"The anemones have come out and we have not yet laid eggs; what a shame! How our master will blame us!"
Hens are supposed to say this in spring time, probably to encourage each other in laying eggs.
- 777 *ij-jáje bitù'ru' 'ala tizha beða* (slang). The hen clucks: she has an egg in her anus.³
- 778 *'aðmo r'i' zâyiy 'aðm is-šúš*. His bones are as thin, weak as those of a chicken.
- 779 *тарыье митил лəһмт is-šúš* (variant: *iz-zaglül*). (Meat, or the like) is as tender as the meat of the chicken (or young pigeon).
- 780 *mitl id-dik il-myšhym. il-ymšəħhym*. Like the fat cock.
- 781 *flän dik, flän zayy id-dik* (L). NN. is a cock; NN. is like a cock. Of a proud, quarrelsome person.
- 782 *faryš mitil dik il-'ašide*. Fluttering like the cock over starch-paste (gruel of flour with butter and honey). If not useless at least out of place.
- 783 *dik*, trigger; *kufir id-dik*; *'urf id-dik*, "crest of the cock," a plant (*Celosia cristata*. Also: *Bongardia Chrysogonum*).
- 884 *dik*; *dwek*; *duekät*; *idyäk*; *yduke*; *jäje*; *abu-j-jäj*; *šúš*; *abu šišan*; *färba*. Family names.
- 785 *abu-šišan*; *aby qequš*. Names applied in ridicule.
- 786 *šəhit dik il-ħardáne*. The time when the cock crows first, and the "angry, exasperated" woman is still awake, awaiting the return of the husband.

¹ To the dung hill. Do not believe his beastful words.

² These are not the best seasons for hatching.

³ Of a vainglorious, boisterous person.

787 *maskin* زَآيْ is-*sūš*. Poor, weak like the chicken. (Cf. 774, 775, 778).

ḥamāme, pigeon; *yamām*, wild pigeon, turtle dove; *qumry*, ring dove; *zəḡlāl*, young pigeon.

788 *ʿalbo ʿabyad mitl il-ḥamāme*. His heart is white (innocent) like the pigeon.

789 *ʿasfūr bidak wāla ḥamāme ʿaire*. A sparrow in your hand is better than a flying pigeon.

790 *ʿālat il-ḥamāme*: “*ya sawādi!*” *ʿāl l-iḡrāb*: “*šu haʿul ʾana?*” (B446) The dove said: “How black am I!” Said the raven: “What then should I say?”

791 *ḥamām*; *ḥamāme*; *zəḡlāl*. Family names.

792 *ijr il-ḥamāme* Plant, *Ranunculus argentum*. Also *Paronychia argentia*.

rāff ḥamām A flight of pigeons; *ḥamāme* A child's penis. *l-yḡrāb*, the raven; *qāʿ (y)q* magpie, raven.

793 *ʿālu la-l-yḡrāb*: “*lēs btūsru ʿyš-sabun?*” *ʿāl*: “*il-ʾaza tāby*” (L).¹ They said to the raven, “Why do you steal soap?” He said, “To do harm is my nature.”

794 *zāy l-iḡrāb mā bidʿi illa bi-l-ḥarāb*. Like a raven, he only crows (or curses) to foretell ruin. Also: *mā bidʿi illa bi-l-ḥarāb zāy l-iḡrāb!* He only “foretells” devastation, like the raven.

795 *ta thijj il-qiḡān w-yʿ ʾawyd bāla ʿuṣbān* (B 281). Until the ravens go on pilgrimage and return without turbans! *ta thijj il-qiḡān u tirjā bāla siḡān!* Until the ravens go on pilgrimage and return without legs. That is to say, never.²

796 *dānmanu ḥadāye la-ḡrāb ʿāl*: *il-kull bitṭru*. They made a kite responsible for a raven: but both of them fly.

797 *allah ma buḥūtt ʿa-l-ʾa ʿēr il-istihʾa* (B 129). God only inflicts on the raven what it deserves.

798 *ilḥa l-iḡrāb bidillak ʿa-l-ḥarāb* (B 60). Follow the raven and he will lead you to ruins.

799 a) *āsmar milli-l-iḡrāb*. As black as the raven. b) *āsward mitl*

¹ Cf. *il-ḡrāb il-ṭāyer biʿul*: *rizqi ʿalā-lla*. The flying raven says: My daily portion is supplied by God.

² Or *qāʿ, qʿqān*, magpie.

- igrāb il-bén*. As black as the raven (who foretells) separation (between friends).¹
- 800 *uissak uis igrāb* (i.e. *uis sarr*) (cf. 793). Your face is (foretells) evil, like that of the raven.
- 801 *l-igrāb id-dāfin bu 'ul: naṣibi 'a-là-lla!* A raven who has concealed (his food) says: My portion will be provided by God! Lit. It is for God to provide me (with food).
- 802 *taysir il-qiq 'ind il-alīq ifiq!* Until the raven (?) (Lit. the fickle, the unsteady) will awake at feeding time. I.e. when he becomes watchful at the eleventh hour.²
- 803 *nāhu-l-igrāb 'an is-sir 'a, āllum: "il-āza tāb."* They forbade stealing to the raven. He replied: "Doing harm is natural."
- 804 *šn 'a-bal li-ḡrāb myn sawād il-wiss?* What worry to a raven is a black face? (Lit. blackened character).³
- 805 *zāyyak zāyy li-ḡrāb la wādda wāla jāb*. You are like the raven; he neither carried away nor brought back.⁴
- 806 *ḡrāb nāḥ* (L). Noah's raven (Genesis 8⁷), Said of somebody sent on an errand from which he does not return (or returns very late). *ḡrāb il-bén*, the raven of separation (sometimes also of death). A person who has always bad news to tell.⁵
- 807 *'ālbo āswad miṭl l-igrāb*. His heart is as black as the raven.
- 808 *igrayib; abu ḡrāb; il-qā' q; iz-zāḡ, ibn iz-zāḡa*. Family names.
- 809 *miṭl tr-rāḥ(1)m ma biḥāddi illa 'a-l-faṭāyis*. Like the carrion vulture he only "stays" on carcasses.⁶
- 810 *int zay il-ūmbara riḥ 'ak fi ḥūz 'ak*. You are like the lark, your food is in your "nest"-hole. Also in a bad sense. Also: You cannot live abroad.
- 811 *byihki miṭl id-dūrra*. He speaks (eloquently) like a parrot. *ilsāno ilsān dūrra*. His is a parrot's tongue; talkative.
- 812 *bifhāms šu byihki zāyy il-bāḡa* (L). He does not understand what he speaks, like the parrot.
- 813 *ijrēha miṭl ijrēn il-lāḡlag* (or *abu sā'd*). Her legs are like those

¹ Cf. *ḡabar āswad*, bad news.

² Of a careless person who does not seize the opportunity.

³ *sawād il-wiss*, to defame. He has no wish to seem better than he is.

⁴ In Noah's Ark, to which he did not return at all.

⁵ But *ḡrāb nāḥi*, "Noachic crow," *ḡrāb il-bén*: bird of bad omen.

⁶ The biggest bird of Palestine.

of the stork. Of a tall girl with slim legs.

- 814 *abu sä d : tül(t) is-sàne bàla hāsane.* The stork: the whole year round without a good deed.¹
- 815 *byimši mitl il-karkazān.* He walks like a wagtail.²
- 816 *māsīe u bitmāhtar mitl dik il-hābās (L).* She walks and waddles like a turkey.
- 817 *māsīe u sāife hālha zāy dik il-hābās.* She walks and sees herself (as impressive) as the turkey.
- 818 *byimši u bit'ambar mitl it-ta-ās (L).* He walks with a proud air (?) like the peacock.
- 819 *mitl fāsi-n-nsar bi-j-jāu (L) (slang).* Like the noiseless wind (flatulence) of the eagles in the sky.³
- 820 *bilba' la-s-šāba marjuḥa u l-abu brēs (variant: la-j-jāmal) 'ub'āb (B 259) (L).* It would suit the kite to have a sea-saw and the lizard (variant: camel) to have a wooden clog. Something out of place and inappropriate.
- 821 *midd hāblak ya ḥamīs w-is-sāne-j-āj w-āna 'arīs.* Draw your rope, o month of ḥamīs! Next year I shall be a bridegroom. Said by children when they see the flying storks passing to the Jordan valley.⁴
- 822 *kull 'asfūr ḥidī' bā'a bi-l-fāḥḥ.* Every clever bird falls into the trap. Even the best may fail.
- 823 *waddini barwaddik tayṣiḥ id-dik.* You bring me and I'll bring you till the cock crows. I.e. there is no end to the senseless action.⁵
- 824 *mīn kān id-dik dalilo kān il-'ynn ma'wāh (L).* He whose leader is the cock will have the hen-coop as his shelter.⁶
- 825 *nīk ḥātta tyb'a dik (slang).* Fulfil your marital duties so that you may remain a cock. Assert your manhood.
- 826 *wā't ākl ij-jāj ma bīftikru fīy, wā't sēl it-trāb: "ḥat idak!"* When you eat hen flesh you never think of me; but when you carry earth (it is) "Lend us a hand!"

¹ Said by children. Cf. the Turkish: *leyleg umry laqlaq ile geçer.* The life of the stork is whiled away with clatter and rattle.

² Water wag-tail (?). ³ Of a useless thing,

⁴ *ḥamīs* (lit. the fifth month) is the popular name of a period falling during April-May.

⁵ Said also jokingly to an overpolite person, seeing his guest off.

⁶ *ma'-wa*, only classical.

- 827 *ybtūgruq*. You cluck! Of a noisy useless fellow, who talks much. *rah iḥbiḍ*. You are about to lay an egg! To someone who is unwilling when called upon to perform manual work. *mašy 'ala bēḍ*. You are walking on eggs! To an over careful person with slow, pedantic manners.
- 828 *in-nūqta fi nisān btiswā -l-iqrūqqa w-iṣ-ṣisān, w-issikke w-il-faddan*
A rain drop in April is worth the brood hen and the chicken and the plough as well as the yoke of oxen.¹
- 829 *ḍir bālak, la yūfakkas il-bēḍ tāhtak!* Take care not to break the eggs under your feet! Said to a slow, lazy, over careful walker when sent on an urgent errand.
- 830 *ḥay ij-jāje btifrah la-yom il-garāble*. Like the hen who rejoices (at the thought) of the day of sifting (the corn).²
- 831 *ḥay ij-jāje illi btubkūms 'ala bēḍha*. Like the hen, who has no power to withhold her eggs. Of an unimportant person, or a hen-pecked husband.
- 832 *āja-ḥ-ḥarḥūr kifl id-dabbūr tīl u tnenithun ṭayrin*. The starling came to guarantee the hornet, but both could fly away.
- 833 Variant: *sakēna -d-dabbūr la-ḥ-ḥarḥūr* (or the contrary)... We complained about the hornet to the starling, but both could fly away.
- 834 *sānt iḥ-ḥarḥūr ūhrut il-būr*. In the year when the starling (appears in large numbers) plough even the waste land (for it will be a fertile season).
- 835 *sānt il-gāta* (or *gata*) *bī il-gāta w-istri la-immak wāṭa*. In the year of the sand-grouse sell the blanket, and buy a pair of shoes for your mother.³
- 836 *lāḥmak āzra' mitl laḥm il-ḥamām is-stēti*. Your flesh is blue (not edible) like that of the yellow turtle-dove (that inhabits the mosque-roofs).⁴
- 837 *rami 'ādmo āzra'*. He is a Greek, his bones are blue. This simile is taken from the bones of the birds. *yṭ-tēr bt-t-ṭēr binṣād*. A bird is caught with the help of another bird.
- 838 *mašallah! flāne mitl il-bāṭta*. Mašalla, (lit. What God willed),

¹ The latter rain is indispensable to a good crop.

² Of a gluttonous person. ³ *wāṭa* means ground as well as shoes.

⁴ Some people believe firmly that these birds fast during the whole of Ramadan; others say only for the first three days, and then only in Mecca.

- (expression of astonishment, appreciation) NN. (f.) is like a duck!
- 839 *il-baṭṭa* means the 'duck' as well as the calf of the leg. Also a small pocket-flask or the like, for serving or carrying intoxicating drink.
- 840 *farḥ il-baṭṭa sabbāḥ*. The duckling is a swimmer.
- 841 *bint il-waẓze 'auwāme*. The gosling (f) is a swimmer (or, can float).
- 842 *bint il-'auwāme 'auwāme*. The daughter of a swimmer is a swimmer too.
- 843 *bint il-ḥawwāda ḥawwāda*. The daughter of a wading (animal or bird) is also a wader.
- 844 *naṭa' il-bulbul*. The nightingale has spoken (at last)! Ironically, commenting on a long expected answer.
- 845 *ḥuṭṭ il-bulbul fi 'afaṣ dahab, bṣiḥ u by'al (bu'al): "ya waṭāni!"* Put the nightingale in a golden cage; he will still cry, saying: "O my country!"¹
- 846 *'umrak suft 'aṣfūr biẓaḥim baṣi'?* Did you ever see a sparrow compete with a sparrow-hawk?²
- 847 a) *il-ḥudhud ṭēr il-malik slimān*. The hoopoe is the bird of King Solomon. b) *ṭarat yṭ-ṭyar bi-arzā'ha*. The birds flew away with their (predestined) portions.
- 848 *faj' ān ẓayy il-baja'*. Gluttonous like the pelican.
- 849 *qimu bayadīrkum aja ṣ-ṣfāri*. Remove your (crops from the) threshing floors, since ;he ṣṣfāri bird has arrived. This marks the beginning of the rainy reason.³
- 850 *aḍār, abu-ẓ-ẓalāẓil w-il-amṭār, marra ṣmēse, marra nār, marra mqaqa la-ṣ-ṣunnar*. March, the father of calamities (not earth-

¹ Cf. the Turkish version: *Bülbül altın kafese qoymuşlar, "āh vatan!" deyip çağırmyş*. They put the nightingale in a golden cage. "O, my country!" it warbled, cried. The following stanza is from "l-mejana":

"*aṣfūr ya bu-l-hynna ib'at salāmena 'ifna-l-wāṭān, 'ijnā-l-waṭān wi-blādena..!*" O Robin, send home our wishes, our salutations We have forsaken our country, we have forsaken our fatherland and our country.

² Cf. the Turkish proverb: *şyānā syrke idirmiş, kediyē qarşu qoymuşlar*. They gave the mouse vinegar to drink and (while thus drunk with vinegar) set him against the cat.

³ *ṣufāriyye and ṣafāriye*, Oriole, a bird with yellow feather (Hava). But it is equally probable that the autumn rain, *safari*, is meant.

- quakes) and heavy rains: now a little sunshine, then a hot burning fire, and then the clucking of the grouse.
- 851 *'alib wiṣṣ mitl wiṣṣ il-bum*. He makes a grimace like the face of the owl.
- 852 *mahābbtak mahābt il-būme la-ibnha*. Your love is (as blind) as that of the owl for her son.
- 853 *alu la-l-bume: hatilna aḥsan iṣi fi-l-'ālam. jābatlhum ib(i)nha*. They said to the owl: "Get us the best thing in the world." She brought them her son.¹
- 854 *abu ṣagr; ṣagr; qumbur; abu-l-hudhud; qaṭaune; il-ḡata; is-summan; il-bajal; is-snūnu; uqāb; zarzūr; zuḡbe; du'eri; zarzar; warwar; yjwejāt; babḡa; šūha; ḥassūn; bāz; sunnār; firri; abu ṭēr; suwādi; il-ḥazan; šahin; šahrār; family names.*

III. REPTILIA.

- 855 *mādde ras-ha zayyil-'ur'a'a*. She is straining her head like a tortoise.²
- 856 *balid u-it'il zay il-'ur'a'a*. Tedious and dull like the tortoise.
- 857 *is-sahlīyye*, lizard (also: bief for the dead in villages); *raḡḡā it il-ḥayye*, a large species of lizard (lit. suckler of the snake);³ *il-warān*, the largest species of lizard found in the coastal region; *abu brēs*, lit: father of leprosy.
- 858 *zara' tik 'amḥa itlī ti zawāne, ḥassabtik abu brēs ṭalf min il-ḥazane*. I planted you as wheat grain but you grew up as a tare; so I took you for a gecko coming out of the wardrobe.⁴
- 859 *ḥil'itha mitl ḥil'it il-ḥirbāy(e)*. Her face is (as ugly) as the face of the chameleon.
- 860 *flan ṭab'o mitlauwīn zayy il-ḥirbāye: kull sā'a (i)blōn or šikil (L)*. The nature of NN. is as unsteady as that (colour of

¹ Why not her daughter? Because the line of succession is through the son.

² The tortoise is a transformed human being. It is believed to have kept the power of understanding human speech, and when interested in a conversation is supposed to listen attentively by stretching her head.

³ *raḡḡā'it il-ḥayye*, or *raḡḡā'it il-ḥayāya*, is by some supposed to give suck to young snakes. This belief may be due to its appearance which at a superficial glance slightly resembles that of a snake, with its brownish, bright colour.

⁴ An extreme type of ugliness with its large mouth, constantly open to snap up insects.

- the) chameleon: every while different in colour (or in form).¹
- 861 *mitl il-ħirbāye ma btirik 'ad illa btimsik it-tani*. Like the chameleon she does not let a stalk go before grasping another. Of a foreseeing person.
- 862 *il-ħirbāye btid' i 'alék in darabtha*. The chameleon curses you when you beat her. Such is a common belief.²
- 863 *jildo mtamsih* (L). His skin has become as insensible as that of the crocodile.³
- 864 *flan bisósih rāso mitl il-ħardón*. NN. is for ever nodding his head like a lizard.
- 865 a) *il-ħardón bijawwiz ibno* (L). The lizard is having his son married. b) *il-ħardón bilā' ib binto* (C). The lizard is playing with his daughter. Both sentences said to denote the heat of a summer day.
- 866 *il-ħayye*, the snake; *il-'arbid*, male viper, red serpent; *ħaniš* (young) viper, serpent. *ħayye by'rūn*, horned snake, *il-ħayye mā bitsir ħayye* (L). The serpent does not become a sister.⁴

¹ Boys when catching a chameleon cover it with a *ħarbūs*, handkerchief, or the like, reciting this verse: *ya ħirbāya, bint uħti ištah-li bāhti! abyad willu āsmar (āħmar, āħqar) willa min qā' i-d-distī. . . ?* O chameleon, my niece, find me out my good fortune. Is it white or brown (green, red, etc.) or is it pitchblack? From the colour which the chameleon when uncovered has taken from its surroundings, the children will infer their future fortune.

² A harmless superstition serving to safeguard the life of this useful reptile, which lives by destroying insects.

³ Crocodiles were until the middle of the last century met with in the river Kishon (*nābr il-muqāttā'*).

⁴ During the month May-June, when the pomegranate blossoms, snakes are believed to be ill at ease. The odourless red blossom is believed to exhale a peculiar faint smell which inebriates snakes, so that if you find one in the garden you need not kill it; a simple touch with a pomegranate branch will render it submissive. Every man deems it his duty to kill a snake. But if it is too big he will run away from it. In Upper Mesopotamia the writer kept a "terrarium" at one of the out-stations of the Bagdad Railway. Small lizards were caught by pouring water into their holes; thus driven out, they were easily seized. There was once a fight between two snakes for a *ħardón* lasting about six hours and in the end one snake had swallowed the other, only one inch of the tail appearing. Both were over a yard long. The snake is still honoured by the Yezidis, the "devil worshippers" of *Jabal Sinjār* in Upper Mesopotamia. For them the snake biting her tail is the symbol of eternity. It is the incarnation of one of their holy angels. Cf. 897. The skeleton of the snake (the carcase is put in live lime and buried for forty days)

- 867 *ī yāno mitl ī yan il-ḥayye* (L). His are snake-eyes.
- 868 *il-ḥayye ḥayā*. The serpent stands for life (esp. in dreams).
- 869 a) *taḥṭāni mitl ḥayyit yt-tibn* (L). He is secretive like a serpent in the chopped straw. b) *maʿ an ḥayy il-ḥayye*. Astute like the snake.
- 870 *yn kānat il-ḥayye bṭintāʾ fi-l-ʾubb ʾumro -l-ʾadu ma bisir muḥibb*. If a serpent could be kept on the breast (or in the arm pit) then an enemy would be converted into a loving friend.
- 871 *ḥayy ḥayt it-tibn : bilsāʾ or buʾ ʾus or buʾ rus u biḥḥabba*. (He is) like the snake in the chopped straw : he “stings” (or “pricks” or “pinches”) and then hides himself.
- 872 a) *bī is ir-rās u-id-danab u bumūt il-waṣṭ kamad*. Shall head and tail be living while the middle is dying of grief! b) *in ḥaqaṭūh brāso byūgruṣ w-in ḥaqaṭūh bdānabo byūmluṣ* (B195). If they catch him by the head he “stings” and if they catch him by the tail he escapes.¹
- 873 *il-ḥayye wāʾfe ʾāla danbātha*. The snake is standing on her tail ! Popularly supposed to denote extreme heat.
- 874 *ilsānha mitl ilsān il-ḥayye* (L). Her tongue is like that of the snake. *ilsān il-ḥayye* is a plant and a species of stuff *buṣṣel il-ḥayye : Scilla autumnalis*. *bandórt il-ḥayye : Solanum nigrum*.
- 875 *il-ḥāwi ma būmzūt min il-ḥayye*. Even the snake charmer does not escape them.²

serves as a magic rosary.

Some sorts of snakes live in communities numbering as many as thirty. Both in Arabic as well as in Turkish, long drawn out affairs are compared to “snake stories” *quṣaṣ il-ḥayaya (yılan hykâyesi)*, something endless. Snake and scorpion are known in classical Arabic as “the two black ones” (*al-aswadān*). A snake is supposed to wait in ambush at the place where its mate has been killed in order to avenge the death.

¹ a) An appeal for help to relatives. b) Of one who keeps undesirable people at arm’s length ; or evades responsibility.

² *Sayyidna is-šēḥ Aḥmad ir-Rifāʾi*, the founder of the Derwish order, was given by God unlimited influence over snakes of every kind. He has passed on this power to his true followers, who are believed to be able to heal snake bites. While some of them distinguish the poisonous from the harmless and treat them differently, the vast majority of dervishes are as ignorant as others about snake poisoning. Sometimes non-poisonous snakes are kept in a leather bag and shewn to the credulous peasantry. The writer heard of a case where a *rifaʾi* derwish, through inability to distinguish poisonous snake from non-poisonous, died as a result of his

- 876 *sabāḥ il-ḥayye ḥér.* (To meet) a snake in the morning is a good omen.
- 877 *ilsánha bitlīf il-ḥayye min wāk(y)rha.* Her tongue (is so persuasive as to) draw the snake out of her hole.
- 878 *il-kilme l-inniḥa bitlīf il-ḥayye min wāk(v)rha.* The kind word draws the snake out of her hole.
- 879 *īšī àn'am min il-ḥarīr u àḥraš min īs-sidr? il-ḥayye.* (What) thing is smoother than silk and yet rougher than the lotus tree? (*Zizyphus spina Christi*). Riddle about the snake.¹
- 880 *'ind il-àqrab la tiqrab, 'ind ill-ḥayye frūs u nám!* Do not go near the scorpion but, near the snake, you may spread out your bed and sleep. A common belief is that the snake does not attack people unless molested.²
- 881 *bá'd ma -n'araṣu ḥtārasu.* After they have been stung they guarded themselves.
- 882 *kull maḥrūs ma'rūs.* Whatever is guarded will be stung. Against pedantic precaution, in favour of fatalism.
- 883 *il-maqrūs (má qūs) biḥāf min jārri il-ḥābl* (B 171). A person bitten (by the snake) is afraid of the drawing of a rope.
- 884 *il-ḡani lin akal il-ḥayye 'ālu: "min ḥikynto." w-il-fa'ir lin akal il-ḥayye 'ālu: "min jū'o."* If the rich man eats a snake, they say: "It is of his wisdom." And if the poor eats a snake, they say: "He is driven by hunger."
- 885 *abu-l-ḥayyāt; qarāqī.* Family names.

IV. AMPHIBIA

- 886 *'ālu la-dḏufḏā'a ihki! 'ālat: baḡdars(i), tummi malān mayy.* They said to the frog: "Talk!" She said: "I cannot, for my mouth is full of water." I should have complained, but I could not. The classical original is:

qālātī-d-ḏafḏā' u qaulan fassarathu-l-ḥukamā-u

snake-charming attempt. Tamed snakes may live for months without food. Very often the venomous teeth are extracted. The case is reported of a clever snake-charmer who did not extract the poisonous teeth but first gave the snake a piece of wool or cloth to bite on before he exhibited his powers. (This I heard in Mosul).

¹ Rougher, lit. more scratchy, referring to the nervous shock usually experienced at first sight of a snake.

² Scorpions are used in some parts of Egypt as an antidote against their stings. They are caught and preserved in olive oil and some of this is applied to the stung place, which, it is believed, will then heal instantly.

fi fami mā-un wa hal yan- tuqu man fi fihi mā-u?

The frog said a saying: (which the wise man have explained)
 "I have my mouth filled with water: And can he speak who
 has water in his mouth?"

- 887 *mitl yd-ḍufḍā' a la kasm wala rasm.* (Ugly) like a frog, with-
 out form or countenance.
- 888 *karṣak malān ḍafāḍi'.* Your belly is full of frogs. Said to a
 fat man. *abu ḍafḍā' a*; *Ba' ūt*; family names; *ba' ūt*=unde-
 veloped frog.

V. PISCES

- 889 Some names of fishes known in Haifa: *'aṣṣūr*=sparrow;
gazzāl=gazelle; *'umbur*=lark; *jamal*=camel; *wab(y)ṣ*=wild
 beast; *zarzūr*=starling. All are also family names. Family
 names derived from names of fishes known in Jaffa: *būri*;
labbāt. Other names: *abu munqar* (Gaza); *muṣṭ*; *abu kalb*;
marmūr (Tiberias). Sundry names (not family names): *samak*
māsa; *sardine*; *kalb-el-baḥr*; *burṣ*;
- 890 *is-samake ma btintin illa min rasha.* The fish only (begins to)
 stink from the head.¹
- 891 *in nām is-samak bi-l-baḥr ana nimt.* If the fishes in the sea
 slept, I slept too. Said to describe a sleepless night.²
- 892 *min (or ḥada) biṣtri samak bi-l-baḥr?* Does anybody buy fishes
 in the sea?
- 893 *nāṣṭh mitl is-samak-l-būri.* He is fat like the carp.
- 894 *inkasar bā'i w-idrā'i w-il-ḥamd li-llā-lli nkasar rās l-iṣṣiḥal*
 My arm and forearm are broken but, thanks be to God, the head
 of the salty fish is broken too. (After having made a great
 attempt to overcome a difficulty. Said jokingly).
- 895 a) *flan balaḡ il-aṣṭāk 'a-ḍhūr il-asmāk!* (B 428). NN. has
 reached the sky on the back of the fish. Ironically. b) *farḥ*
samak, one fish (lit. the young of a fish); *smēke*, *smakiyye*,
 places; *tum samake*, Snapdragon (*Antirrhinum majus*). *ḥalib is-*
samak, "fish milk."

¹ You have to start from the top and not from the bottom, if you would reform
 administrative abuses.

² Fish are believed to do without sleep.

B. INSECTA

- 896 *il-ḥunfse sāfat bintha 'a-l-ḥēt ḥassabatha lulue b-ḥēt* (rhyme). The scarabee saw her daughter on the wall and took her for a pearl on a string.
- 897 *il-ḥunfse sāfat bintha 'a-l-ḥ'ēt 'ālat ismallah 'alēki, lulue maldūme b-ḥēt* (rhyme) (B 98 similar). The scarabee saw her daughter on the wall and said: "May the name of God be on you; pearl choicely set on a string!"
- 898 Variant: (C) *il-ḥunfse sāfat bintha 'al-ḥēt, 'ālat: uḥḥi! lultēn b-ḥēt* or *mitlik mā rēt. 'al 'ammha: ana 'amm ij-ju' rān ahl-il-ḥunw-w-ij-jamāl!* (Rhyme). The scarabee saw her daughter on the wall; she exclaimed: "Ah! two pearls strung on a string!" (Or: I never saw anything like you!). Quoth her uncle: "I am the uncle of the black beetles, endowed with grace and beauty."¹
- 899 *ḥayy il-ḥunfse mā 'ajabbās ḥad* (or *ṭsi*) *ḡēr ibynha*. Like the scarabee, nobody pleased her but her son.
- 900 a) *lābad ḥay il-ḥunufse*. He kept quiet like the scarabee. b) *māhada ṭhanfas*. None dared to make as much noise as a scarabee.²
- 901 *rūkub il-ḥanāfis wāla-l-māsi 'at-tanāfis*. Riding on a scarabee is better than walking even on costly carpets.
- 902 a) *ḥabāḥbe* (also family name), *ḡau il-ḡale* (lit. light of the ḡūle), *srāj il-'adra*, Virgin's lamp; *srāj il-lēl*, night lamp; different names of the fire-fly, glow-worm. b) *ḥayy ḥarrā 'yt nafsha (y)btūḡwi' an-nās u bitnām 'al-'itme*. Like her who burns herself (glow-worm) she gives light for the people and herself sleeps in the dark. Praise for an unselfish person.
- 903 *ḥayy id-ḡabbūr fiṣ min ṭīzo 'asal* (slang). Like the hornet which yields no honey.
- 904 *la 'asalik wala tu'u 'ṣini* (B 499). Neither your honey nor your sting (lit. nor need you sting me).
- 905 a) *hadd il-'asfar 'a-d-dabbūr 'allo: ṣn, biddak ṭlḥas mīnmi, illi ana balḥas il-bulād!*? The sparrow threw himself on the

¹ "Buprestes, blackbeetle" (Hava). The scarabee is used to illustrate humble circumstances.

² The beetle will stand still, motionless, or even feign death when touched. *labad*: to stick to the ground, "to squat on the ground" (Hava); to keep motionless.

- hornet. He said to him : "What ! Are you coming to lick me, who licks even the steel !" The correct form of this seems to be the following: b) *dabbūr ḡann 'ala ḡajar masànn. 'àlo : sà biddak? 'al : àlḡasak. 'àl : àna bàlḡas il-bulàd !* A hornet buzzed on a whetstone. It asked him : "What do you want?" He said : "To lick you up." It said : "(But) I myself lick the steel." c) *ḡabbūr ḡann 'ala fils jāḡs. 'àllo; es tūtlub? 'àllo 'àsal. 'àllo : 'àḡaṡṡ mā dan ya dāndan !* A hornet buzzed on the excreta of a donkey. He asked him : "What are you after?" He told him : "Honey!" The donkey said : "You are aiming (to find) a mine, O buzzer!" (Or, You have come to a mine).
- 906 *mitl id-ḡabbūr, la bitlḡàs wàla bitlḡāḡḡs.* Like the hornet : you neither lick nor let others lick. A dog in the manger. Only the first part is usually quoted.
- 907 *mitl id-ḡabbūr ma bitḡūḡḡḡs 'a-id -majrāḡ (slang).* You are like the hornet : you do not urinate on the hand of the wounded. (Variant : *iḡbā' ; finger*).¹
- 908 *bidir dibro la-wàḡer id-ḡababir u bu 'ul : ḡādī-t-ta 'adīr !* He turns his back to the nest of the hornets and exclaims : "Such is fate" (or : This is my fate). *abu n-nāḡle, abu ḡabāne*, family names. *nāḡḡalīn*, place name.
- 909 *ḡafīf-mitl-il-bassūra.* He is light like the butterfly. *Bassār, Bassūra*, family names.
- 910 *mitl il-farāḡe bitḡri' ḡālḡa (L).* Like the butterfly she will burn herself at the light.²
- 911 *il-bassūra bitḡassir bi-l-ḡér.* A butterfly (flying round the light) brings good tidings.³
- 912 *dadet il-ḡarīr, silk worm ; dadet il-ir-rabī', caterpillar (lit. spring worm), ḡabūrḡus, the small caterpillar (appearing after the first green*

¹ The two parts of this saying do not seem to match. Small wounds of the fingers (scratches, etc.) are sometimes treated with urine, to which some healing power is assigned. Needless to say that only the lowest class has this idea. The meaning seems to be : You do not help anyone in the least nor would you let anybody profit by what you are throwing away as useless.

² An obliging yet inconsiderate person.

³ It is believed to bring joyful news, therefore it is never killed when flying around the light.

growths). *dnde*, worm, with the same meaning as in Psalm 22⁷.

- 913 *ba-š-ši ākalo -l-^c ytt* or *imi' āl' it* (L). The moths have eaten it up.
- 914 *sām, šām u fātar' āla dubbane* (variant: *bāšale [imšānnine]*). He kept his long fast and then broke it to eat (or by eating) a fly. Variant: a (stinking) onion.
- 915 *fātth tūmmo la-d-dubbān* (L). He keeps his mouth open for the flies.¹
- 916 *id-dubbān bya' raf bet il-labban* (B 76). The flies know the house of the milk man.²
- 917 *id-dubbāne mys nisse(=nyjse)* "bas bitsakkir (*bitgli*) il-manāfis. The fly is not (ritually) unclean, yet it spoils the appetite.
- 918 *išš 'add id-dubbāne ilo mustāh u ḥazāne (il-'amḥa)*. Something of the size of a fly has a key and a cupboard (a grain of wheat).
- 919 *zayy id-dubbān 'a-l-ḥara* (slang). Like the flies on the excreta.
- 920 *allah ya' rik zay ma ā ta-d-dubbāne: janāh la-t-tir u ḥiz 'aryane*. May God give you as he has given to the fly: a wing to fly with and naked rectum (rhyme). Usually the first part only is cited, and if the person addressed asks, What? the second part follows.
- 921 *ya rétni bür(u)gše ḥatta asma' il-wašwāše*. O, if I were only a gnat to hear the whispering!
- 922 a) *zayy il-bargūt 'ayis min damm in-nās* (B 330). Like the flea, living on the blood of men (the people). b) *'add il-bargūt* (L), as small as a flea. *Bargūt kbir*, Turkish silver coin in Syria, equivalent to two *bargūt zḡir*, or one Piastre Turkish.
- 923 *mitl il-bargūt fi-l-laban: asmar fi bayād*. Like the flea in the (sour) milk: black in white.
- 924 *bḥši baragūt* (L) (slang). He castrates fleas; he has nothing to do.³
- 925 *illi malo sugl yistḡyl fih, yišlah tōbo wi-yfallih* (rhyme). He who has no work to occupy him, let him take off his gar-

¹ Reproving idleness.

² Also: Do not disappoint an applicant.

³ A variant: *biqāššir bašal*; he is peeling onions.

- ment and clear himself of lice and fleas.¹
- 926 *badl šanak u šinšanak šil il-qaml min irdanak!* Instead of your display of dignity and fine names remove the lice from your cuffs.²
- 927 *il-mal bijurr mal u-il-`aml sibān* (B 549). Wealth attracts wealth and lice attract lice-eggs.
- 928 *kull šī biḥammāl illa -t-ta` w-yn-na` , w-yl- bā`* (L). Anything is bearable except incessant nagging and bugs.
- 929 *dāmmo t`il miil dāmm il-ba`* (B 310). Variant: *ḥafif...* His blood is "heavy" like that of bugs (or, ironically, "light" instead of "heavy." Of an insupportable, tactless person.
- 930 *išī `addo `add il-kāff bu`tul miyye u-ālf (il-mušt)*. Riddle. Something the size of the hand which kills a hundred and a thousand? (The comb which destroys lice).³
- 931 *abu namūs ; abu barġūt ; barġūt ; barġūti ; baraġūti ; barāġte ; il-qāmle ; abu -l-qāml ; id-dubbāne ; id-dubbān*. All family names.
- 932 *šofto (wiššo ; sihynto) bitjib ij-jarād*. The (very) sight of him (or, his face, his appearance) attracts the locusts. Locusts used metaphorically of God's anger.
- 933 *miil il-jarād (imgaḥti `en is-sāms)*. Like the locusts (which cover the eye of the sun).
- 934 *zāyy il-jarād (byōkol u byḥra)*. Slang. (B 331). Like the locusts he excretes as he eats.
- 935 *sant-ij-jarād*. The year of the locusts (when they devastated the land, as i.e. in 1915).
- 936 *jarāde `arāde*. A locust is (like) a bloodsucker.
- 937 a) *bāriḍ zāyy ij-jarād `a-n-nāda* (B 222). He is dull and slow like the locusts at the time of dew. b) *l-bu jarāde⁴ ; jarāde ; šaršūr ; zīz ; family names*.
- 938 a) *faras mar jiryis*, grasshopper (lit. St. George's horse); *faras il-malāike*, grasshopper (lit. Angels' horse). b) *šaršūr u hadda `ala ḥarye* (381) (slang). A cockroach (beetle) has

¹ The Beduin of Beersheba detest the flea but like the louse and ask God not to remove it from them, which would be a sign that they were "nangy," *ajrab*.

² Let cleanliness go before pride.

³ Combs are either of wood or horn. The first have one, the second two rows. They are the size of the palm of the hand.

⁴ A small tribe on the railway line, eight hours ride south of Urfa.

- stopped at a heap of excreta.¹
- 939 *il-f nāde 'arāde*. Withstanding the truth is (like) a blood-sucker (?), unbearable, insupportable.
- 940 *zāyy il-'arāde fi-t-tīz* (slang). Like the bloodsucker in the rectum.²
- 941 a) *iš-šalta' ōn abu ma'aṣṣ*, the crab; *il-arb' intiyye*, centipede (lit. the one with forty legs).³ *'āqrabe* (scorpion), place name. b) *il-hāma himme u bint il-hāma 'āqrabe msimme* (B 63). The mother-in-law is death (not hot fever!) and her daughter is a poisonous scorpion.
- 942 *aḍya' min kūss il'a'rabe* (slang). Narrower, straiter than the scorpion's (f.) vulva. (Of a place).
- 943 *āhḷak la ti'rābhon byu'ūddak* (or *bū'urṣak*) *'a'rābhon*. Your relatives—do not approach them: their scorpion will bite (or sting) you.⁴
- 944 *dūd iṣ-šīta*, rain worm; *'aṣāt harūn*, "Aaron's staff," a black crusty worm; *dūdyt il-'āry'*, ascaride, thread worm. *ymdāu-wyd* = wormy.
- 945 *dūdo min 'ūdo*. His worms are from his wood.⁵
- 946 *ḥāṣab imsāuwis*, wormy wood.
- 947 *dūd ij-jībūn minno u fiḥ*. The worms on the cheese are of it and in it (are part and parcel of it).⁶
- 948 *dūde btinḥazo*. A worm is stinging him (so that he is impatient to do or have something).
- 949 *kull fale ('amḥa) imsause bijilha kayyāl a'war*. Every wormy bean (or wheat-grain) will have a one-eyed measurer (so that

¹ *ḥṣān mar jiryēs*: the horse, which he rides; *fāras mar jiryēs*: insect mare of St. George. Mares are kept in preference to stallions. A rider may be called after the colour of his horse: *ya bu-ḡ-ḡārga, ḥayyāl iḡ-ḡārga*, O owner of the white mare. b) Contemptuous remark about someone and his bosom friend.

² Either he cannot get rid of it by himself, as in the case of an animal with a tick, or his bad manners are as much disliked as ticks. Cows and camels are especially worried by these ticks, which are sometimes the size of a large bean.

³ The number forty is a part of this animal's name in Turkish: *qyrq ayāq*; Persian: *čihil pāy*; and Kurdish: *čal pā*.

⁴ Cf. the proverb, *al-aqārib 'aqārib*, 'Relatives are scorpions,' probably connected with the classical verse: *aqāribun ka-l-'aqāribi fi aqāba . . . falā tārkun li-'ammīn aw li-ḥāli*, . . . Relatives (are) like scorpions in doing harm, Therefore do not trust either paternal or maternal uncle.

⁵ and ⁶ Do not look for the evil outside; it lies in their innermost nature.

- a defect on one side may be overlooked).
- 950 a) *dämmo àt'al mtn dämm. il-'ala'*. He is more unbearable than the leaches (lit. His blood is heavier than. . .). Of someone who is a nuisance. b) *zàyy il 'ala'*. Like the leeches.

ADDENDA II.

- 951 *'umr il-hàyye ma btinhàtt fi-l-'ubb*. Never can a snake be put in the arm pit.
- 952 *bàdal ma t'ul la-j-jàje: "kīs!" uḍrubha u-iksīr ijrha (ijra)*. Instead of saying "kīs!" to the hen beat it and break its leg.¹
- 953 *il-hanāfis by-t-tanāfis w-il-bégawāt bàla gāta* The scarabees are in the costly carpets and gentlefolk are without a blanket (cover). A plaint at adverse times or against the nouveau riche.
- 954 *ij-jāj ma btihdis illa fi-l-gārbale*. Hens dream only of sifting.
- 955 *ràsan il-bāgyl taht id l-inkāri*. The halter of the mule is under the hand of the muleteer.²
- 956 *id-dārb bī allim id-dūbb yūr 'us*. Beating teaches the bear to dance.³
- 957 *il-'anze fāzrat karšha ma ḍarraṭ illa nafsa*. The she-goat burst open her paunch, but only hurt herself.
- 958 *fān buruḡše 'ala ka'b jummēze*. NN. is a gnat on the stump of a sycamore tree.
- 959 *alat il-'anze u hi sārha: "ya ma-ḥla lélt imbarḥa"!* The she-goat said, whilst pasturing freely: "O how sweet was last night!" Times are not what they were.
- 960 *kūll ij-jmāl btif ārak min dūn jamālna barak(=baryk)*. All camels fight except our camel which is kneeling, or lying down.
- 961 *ḥada šāf ij-jamal -willa-ij-jammāl?* Did anyone see the camel or its driver? About a pointless question which has an obvious answer.
- 962 *mā fi bi-l-hāyyaṭ šalḥat*. Among snakes there are no good ones.

¹ "kīs" is the sound with which hens are driven away, it is and is the summons to come for food. Punish instead of merely threatening.

² I can still keep you in check.

³ This is in favour of beating. It is believed that the stick originated in Paradise.

- 963 *il-māsi tēr u-il-`ā`yd ḥajar*. He who walks is a bird, and he who sits is a stone. Work always!
- 964 *min šār na`je akalo -d-dib*. If one becomes an ewe, the wolf devours him.
- 965 *ḥadi aṭwal daṣ`a myn taman il-`ijil*. This is but the first instalment of the calf price.¹
- 966 “*bu`y`yṭ willa ramāk ij-jamal?*” *`al*: “*bu`y`yṭ `ala kull ḥal*”. “Did you fall or did the camel throw you?” He said: “I have fallen at any rate.”
- 967 *myš kull `ašfūr byttakal lāḥmo*. Not every bird’s flesh is edible. You cannot treat me like that.
- 968 a) *zāy hirs l-iklāb*: *la biḥammir wala bināmmir*. Like the old, broken down dog: he neither snarls nor frowns. b) *lā biḥišš wala bikišš*. He neither drives away (insects or hens) nor looks stern.²
- 969 *lā ṭorak mitwāddir wala `ammak mithalliflak*. Your ox is not in danger (or gone astray) nor is your stepfather under oath to quarrel with you.³
- 970 *il-mādani miṭl ij-jāje*: *it-`amo sāne bišib ak léle*. A town dweller is like the hen: feed him for a year and he will suffice you only for a night.⁴
- 971 *kōl rās ḥayye wala tākol rās betinjāne niyye*. Better to eat the head of a snake than the head of an egg-plant.⁵
- 972 *ya raiḥa ḥardāne bitrāḥi `amle btirja`i sibāne* (B 333). O you who leave in anger! you go like a louse and return like the egg of a louse.
- 973 *yḥna m`a`in fi mit `āfaš*. We have clucked in one hundred cages (so we ought to know how matters stand).
- 974 *bilōlḥu b-danābḥon*. They wag their tails, they have no backbone.
- 975 *miṭl il-ḥangliḡ kifma msikto bunloš*. Like the eel, no matter how you hold him he slips (from your grip).

¹ Apparently the moral of a story.

² Of a person who shows neither interest nor energy.

³ So you have nothing to justify your complaint.

⁴ The Beduin provide the needs of town-dwellers though the latter despise them.

⁵ This is an exaggerated warning. Egg-plant: *bedinjan* or *bed ij-jan* (testicles of the genii), Turkish *patlijan*, after which the Russian word seems to have been formed.

- 976 *mibṭār ṣayy ij-jāje -l-`anya*. He is dazzled, perplexed like a blind hen.
- 977 *yd-dubbāne ma ḥtu `ulṣi bass ibti`lib il-manāfis*. The fly does not kill: she only destroys the appetite (cf. 917).
- 978 *hāt il-yom ṣūf u bukra ḥōd ḥarūf*. Bring wool to-day and get a sheep tomorrow.
- 979 *il-baḡil biqūl : lo ṭawā ni ḍirṣi ma ḥallet il-tibn yīmsi* (rhyme). The mule says: "If only my molar tooth would agree with me I would not leave the chopped straw till the evening!
- 980 *il-kalb biqūl : allā yiqṭa' ulād ahli, dabbe dabbe kasaru ḡabri*. The dog says: "May God cut off the children of my owners (lit. people)! With their constant buffeting they have broken my back!"¹
- 981 *ymzāḥarīt il-ḥamīr min bāḥt l-imkāṭyye*. The stubbornness of the donkey is good luck to the drivers.²
- 982 *aḍraṭ min ij-jamal : buṣrud u-il-faras marbūṭa*. Worse than the camel which runs away whilst (or since) the mare is bound, i.e. ready at hand.³
- 983 *ḥajar ḥajarjar, ḥijāra? la; tymṣi `a-l-arbā', ḥymāra? la. tybid tiqāqi, ṣynnāra? la. il-qurqa'a*. Rhymed riddle. It is a hardened (?) stone, but not a stone; it walks on four (legs), but it is not a she-donkey; it lays eggs and clucks, but is not a grouse. Tortoise.
- 984 *la laḥimtak btittakal wala jildak bitsakkaf*. Your flesh cannot

¹ One need only watch children playing with puppies and dogs to realize the force of this saying.

² So they must not harass the animals to make them go faster.

³ The camel's pace is usually three to four kilometres an hour, or about half that of a ridden horse. For the sense of *aḍraṭ* cf. the semiclassical verse: *kilā -l-aḥawāini miḍrāṭun walākin ṣabābuddini aḍraṭu min aḥibi*. Both brothers are foul, but Shahabuddin is the worse. Root *ḍrt* = to break wind, a severe breach of etiquette amongst villagers and beduin. The story is told of a youth who once committed the breach and was compelled to leave his home out of shame. After many years, in his old age, he returned to his native place. Resting at the well he overheard the conversation of two boys who were trying to fix the date of a certain event. At last one of them fixed the time as being just before such-a-one (mentioning the hearer) broke wind. Whereupon the old man turned his back on the village and was never heard of again.

be eaten nor can your skin be tanned.¹

985 *iš-šabb bala sigāra xayy l-ihmār fi-l-hāra.* A young man without a cigarette is like a donkey in the street.

986 *il-insān aḏ' af min in-nāmle u hā'ua min ij-jāmal.* Man is weaker than the ant and stronger than the camel.

987 *ṭāl dinēha, 'āj qarnēha, 'anze, alla la yihdik 'alēha!* Long are her ears, crooked are her horns, a she-goat! may God not lead you to (guess) it. Riddle.²

988 *asmar būrni qā' id bi-l-qūrne bilauwik bi-hnako, ya sa' yd min ḏaḡo.* He is of brown, earthenware colour, sitting in the corner; he is chewing with his jaws; happy is he who tastes of him. (Answer: a kid).³

989 *ḥabl ij-jamal ma biṭāl baṭnak!* The rope of the camel will not go round your belly.⁴

990 *ijr id-dik butjurr id-dik.* The foot of the cock will also draw the cock.⁵

991 *akl id-du''a u-in-nōm fi-l-azī''a wala jāje mḥammara ba'idha maša''a.* To eat salt (and bread) and to sleep in the lanes is better than to eat roasted hen and have trouble afterwards.⁶

992 *ḏayir bi-fattiš xayy il-ḥamām il-'ussā'.* He is roaming about searching like the loving pigeon.

993 *ij-jirān fi bā'ḏha su dabḥal il-frān?* The neighbours (are quarrelling) with each other: what business have the mice to interfere!

994 *bishab il-wirwtr 'a-l-bargūt.* He will threaten a flea with a pistol.

995 *namūse bātāt 'a-sājara. šabbahāt 'alātilha: "ybhātrik" 'alātilha: "w-ynti kūnti 'āla ayy wāra'a?"* A gnat spent the night on a tree. She woke up in the morning and said: "Good-bye!" The tree said: "And on which leave have you been?"

996 *bātāt namūse 'a-jummēze 'alat: "yšabbḥik alla bi-l-ḥēr" 'alat: "min*

¹ You are good for nothing, so why this pride!

² From Beitjala. ³ From Beitjala.

⁴ The rope of the camel is long enough to be wound around the load several times.

⁵ Take hold of a part and you will soon have the whole in your hand.

⁶ *duḡa*, also pounded thyme, which is mixed with *summāq* (fruit of Sumach tree) and sesame, forming a popular condiment among the poorer classes.

- diri fiki 'abl ?*" A gnat spent the night on a sycamore tree. She said: "May God give you a good morning!" The tree said: "Who knew anything about you before!"
- 997 *bitsämmas za'yy il-hardön*. He basks in the sun like a lizard.
- 998 *'éno miil tyz iz-za'glul* (slang). His eye is like the rectum of a young pigeon. Said of a person with bad or inflamed eyes.
- 999 *haya-l-'ämle bi-räs il-à'ra'*. The shame of a louse on the head of a scaldheaded person. Said jokingly to a shy person to provoke him to assert himself.
- 1000 *bu'üm za'yy kalb il-mayy*. He swims like a beaver.¹
- 1001 *iši aswad min sawad il-lél abyad min halib yt-tér, la séf wala sikkén wala más wala iši biqta' fih abadan*. Something blacker than the darkness of the night, whiter than the milk of the bird: it is neither a sword nor a knife nor a razor, nor anything at all that cuts.²
- 1002 *sankati bi-lmä atr il-mä ma fiha, subhän rabbyn halaqha stkl il-ħasak ma fiha. il-lsan*. (Classical). My fish is in the water, yet no water seems to be on "her"; praise be to God who created "her," (for) no fish-bone whatever is in "her." The tongue.
- 1003 a) *saħħat bagle 'amat zyble*. A she-mule urinated and a piece of manure floated on its water.³ b) *tor 'alla'ü gymi 'aléh. qal hytta ytally' iši iyrušših 'aléh*. They hung an ox and he fainted. (They left it) till it should drop something with which they might sprinkle it (to revive it). (Slang).⁴
- 1004 *qälu la-baqar id-diwän: in müttu bikaffnaku b-ħarir. qälu stahéna nräh bi-jlädna*. They told the cows of the emir's (or some other's) guesthouse: "When you die, you will be given silken shrouds." They said: "We prefer to continue in our hide."⁵
- 1005 *mätat il-my'za u qäm il-ba'yr yijtarr* (B 533). The goat died and the dung rose to ruminate. About people of low origin who think much of themselves.

¹ 'am: float.

² Riddle with no answer.

³ Animals are bedded on dry manure. Used of some act of nepotism.

⁴ Thus they would give him time to urinate.

⁵ We prefer our present humble position to a doubtful future. Variant: *dja sahyb it-tör qällo: bidä akäfnak, qällo: bass ħallini b-jlädi l* The owner came and told the ox: I shall wrap you in shrouds. It answered: You had better leave me in my hide.

- 1006 *lo šāf ij-jamal šanamo kan kadamo (qatamo)*. If the camel had seen his hump he would have bitten it off.
- 1007 *jamal ib-ḥabbo 'āl wēn il-ḥabbe*. A camel (laden) with grain asks, "Where is the grain of corn?" Blind to the obvious.
- 1008 *mitl qarāde fi dybyr jamal*. Like a bloodsucker in the rectum of a camel.¹
- 1009 *rāḥat 'a-jamal u ryf it 'a'-ūtta. āl : mā la-ha-š-šēle illa ha-l-ḥātta*. She went (proudly) on a camel and returned (humble) on a cat; well, such haughtiness has only such humiliation.
- 1010 *'ālu la-j-jāmal ḡammir ! 'āl la šfāfi malmāme wāla idāyye mafrūde*. They told the camel: "Play upon the reed pipe!" He answered: "My lips do not close tight nor are my hands divided."²
- 1011 *il-ḥēl ā raf bi-fursānba*. Mares know their riders best (classical).
- 1012 *ḡālaq l-iḥmār min sāhuet l-imkāri*. The slipping of the donkey is from the carelessness of the driver.³
- 1013 *tūl mā' is yikfīni rā'i ḥāsīs*. I have no stature: I am content with grazing. I am satisfied with my lot.
- 1014 *il-kalām ilik ya jāra illā-nti ḥmāra*. The talk is for you, O neighbour (f.) only you are a she-ass (too stupid to understand it).
- 1015 *bā'd ij-jā' w-il-'ille bi'ilak ḥmār u bāḡle*. After hunger and scarcity there is still left to you a donkey and a mule.
- 1016 *bihāmbim la-š-š'ir in sāfo*. He would neigh (lit. snarl) for the barley if he saw it.⁴
- 1017 *ḥādī mitl in-nā'je*. Calm like a ewe.
- 1018 *lū'me b-dū''a wāla ḥarūf b-ḡū''a*. A piece (of bread) with salt is better than a sheep with wine.
- 1019 *lū'me tāḥt ḥēta wāla ḥarūf ib-'ēta*. A piece (of bread eaten) beneath a wall is better than a sheep with tumult.

¹ Taking them off during the pilgrimage in Mecca is not considered illicit.

² Also: *bāl ij-jamal ḥal u bāl -ij-jammāl ḥāl*. The camel is in one frame of mind and the driver is in another.

³ The *mkāri* is supposed to lead the donkey "with his eye," exclaiming at every real or imaginary obstacle: *ya āllah, ya sātir*, imploring God's presence, help and safe-guard; to the passers by: *ḥō'a (ū'a)* (be on your guard, take care), *rāsak, dāḥrak, wiššak, 'ēnak* (take care of) your head, your back, your face, your eye! To the animal itself he calls: *ḥī!* (driving sound), *(h)ihli* or *ihli*, take the open road, *wāḥḥid*, go by yourself, *bārri*, go sideways, and *ḥiš!* stop!

⁴ Of a man not considered *aḡil*, (of noble family) because of his mean character.

- 1020 *'ālu la-d-dūbb ṭarriḡ 'al: bidda ḥiffit ayādi.* They said to the bear: "Embroider!" He said: "It needs lightness of the hands."
- 1021 *ya gazālt il-a' mār wēn kūnti fi-n-nbār?* O moon-like gazelle(?) where have you been during the day.¹
- 1022 *gābat is-sbā' u lī bat id-ḡbā'.* The lions were absent and the hyenas amused themselves.
- 1023 *iṭṭalla' il-'ird bi-l-kanīf 'al: ha-l-imrāy la-ha-l-wiṣṣ iz-ḡarīf.* The monkey looked at the sewer and said: This is the mirror for so charming a face!
- 1024 *fāṣadu 'ird ḡarat 'al fib damm ḡāyed.* They bled a monkey and it broke wind. One said: "He has surplus blood."²
- 1025 *jōr il-'uṭṭ wāla 'ādil il-fār.* Rather the tyranny of a cat than the justice of a mouse.³
- 1026 *riḡ' l-iklab 'a-l-majanin.* The sustenance of dogs comes from the foolish.
- 1027 *il-kalb l-āsḡad abū -l-ābyad (L).* The black dog is brother of the white. All are equally bad.
- 1028 *ir'iyet l-iklab wāla r'iyet l-ulād (L).* Rather the care of dogs than the care of children.⁴
- 1029 *mitl il-kalbe l-imdaure (id-dāyre) (L).* Like the roaming bitch.⁵
- 1030 *bā'a la-l-kālb sārj u ḡāṣye u ḡulmān u ḡāṣye.* Now the dog had a saddle and guests (followers) and servants as well as a retinue.⁶
- 1031 *'ālu la-l-iklab uḡhurtu! 'ālu ma fiṣ 'āde.* They said to the dogs:

¹ You have lost your opportunity.

² Bleeding is a common remedy against all manner of illness, besides 'wind cups,' leeches and ironing. To break wind in this case is due to the anxiety experienced rather than to flatulence. Similar actions involuntarily performed out of fear are illustrated by the expressions: *min ḡōfo ṣubḡ taḡto* (in his fear he urinated, or excreted in his clothes), *ḡaryān ḡōf* (out of fear he is easing himself), and a proverb drawn from the habits of the cat: *byhra u byuṭmur* (he eases himself and covers it). The proverb illustrates how results may be assigned to a wrong cause.

³ Habitual tyranny is more willingly suffered than justice which falls short of expectation.

⁴ The care of children is looked upon as a despicable duty. Thus until very recently, the Sharia Courts would not accept the evidence of a minor, a woman or a "teacher of boys."

⁵ Of a housewife who gossips all day away from her home.

⁶ Of a man of obscure descent, who has attained a high social standing.

- “Plough!” They answered: “There is no (such) custom.”¹
- 1032 *zāyy il-kālb illi buḡurr ‘alēh in-ntjm.* Like the dog on whom a shooting star has fallen.
- 1033 *wahs bikiss u bu ‘od fi-l-wiss.* A beast with frowning face; yet he sits in front.²
- 1034 *kull mit ‘asfur ma biju ḥadāye.* A whole hundred sparrows are not worth a kite.
- 1035 *ṭar ṭarak w-aḥad ḡerak.* Your bird flew away and has taken someone else.
- 1036 *kullma ṭar ‘assu janāho.* Whenever he flies his wings are cut.³
- 1037 *lo kan il-būm ḡer ma fat is-ṣayyād.* If the owl were good the hunter would not have overlooked it.

¹ Cf. 1010 and 1020.

² Used of a bad man assuming an important post.

³ Of successive misfortunes. Young birds, grouse, ravens and the like when caught have their wings trimmed occasionally to prevent them from flying.

THE TEXT OF I SAMUEL XIV 15a

There is an addition in the LXX which is instructive for the history of the text. After הַמָּה an old Latin fragment appears to preserve the true reading, *et noluerunt pugnare* = וַיִּמְאַנוּ לְהִלָּחֵם. This is clearly part of the original Hebrew. The last word is represented in some of our Greek authorities; but others have *ποιεῖν* = לַחֵם (cf. xxii 8, xxiii 21 LXX and cf. ܡܠܟܐ). This by a further Greek corruption gave rise to *ποιεῖν*. The division of the authorities is as follows:—

<i>ποιεῖν</i>	By a ₂
<i>πονεῖν</i>	AMN abhinov ₂ c ₂ e ₂ Arm. Sah. Lat ^v ¹
<i>πολεμεῖν</i>	rell. Eth Lat ^v ² Syriac of Jacob of Edessa.

The initial *et* is preserved by bdefmo-twc₂ e₂ Jacob of Edessa. Thus in this instance the earliest Hebrew reading has not been preserved by a single Greek uncial.

HAROLD M. WIENER

A JEWISH HYPOGEUM NEAR JERUSALEM

E. L. SUKENIK

(JERUSALEM)

The hypogeum described in the following pages was discovered in the summer of 1926. It is situated on the property of Mr. Sarkis Behesmilian, about a hundred metres west of the Lepers' House in the Greek Colony, immediately to the north of the Sports Club. The cave was struck by labourers working in Mr. Behesmilian's garden. When the Government was informed of this discovery, Dr. L. A. Mayer, Inspector of Antiquities, was charged with the task of clearing the cave and removing the ossuaries to the Palestine Museum, where they are now kept.

The writer wishes to express his thanks to Mr. E. T. Richmond, F.R.I.B.A., Director of Antiquities, for his kind permission to publish this account, and to Dr. Mayer for the use of some of his notes made when clearing the cave and some rubbings of the graffiti on the ossuaries. Mr. N. Reiss rendered assistance by taking the measurements and preparing the drawings.

Description of the cave

The cave is approached through a court, 3.75 m. wide, cut out of the rock. It is not possible to determine the length of the court, since at the time the cave was discovered excavations were not made in this direction, and the owner of the property has now built a wall 3.18 m from the façade of the tomb. At the eastern end of the court there is a low bench also cut out of the rock.

The entrance to the cave is almost in the very centre of the northern side of the court (about 34° east of north). A double

oblong frame is cut around the entrance, giving it the appearance of a portal (Pl. I, 5). The outer frame is 1.38 m. high and from 0.98 to 1.00 m. wide. The inner frame is 0.75 m. high and 0.64 m. wide. Near the entrance there still lies the stone that was intended to close it (Pl. I, 6). One side of the stone was cut to fit the opening. Around the edges of the outer side there is a narrow, better dressed margin, a few centimetres wide, dressed with a comb-pick. Inside the margin the stone is also dressed but with rougher strokes of the stone-cutter's tool. Stones similarly dressed are found in caves of the same period employed for sepulchral purposes.

The height of the entrance is 0.58 m., its width 0.47 and its thickness 0.50 m. It leads to the upper chamber, cut out of the rock. The chamber is 2.40 m. long, about 2.35 m. wide, and 1.16 to 1.32 m. high. As may be seen from the plan (Pl. I, 1), it is not quite rectangular. The floor of the room is about 10 cm. lower than the floor of the entrance. Close to the entrance there was cut a rectangular shaft (described below), so as to leave a bench, 85 to 90 cm. wide, round the three remaining sides of the room. In the west wall, opposite the entrance, there is an arcosolium 40 cm. deep (Pl. I, 3). A much narrower arcosolium appears in the southern wall. In the northern wall there is a niche 0.82 m. high, 0.47 m. wide, and 66 cm. deep, evidently used as a repository for the bones of the deceased until they could be placed in an ossuary. Such a niche was found recently during the clearance of the Nicanor tomb in the Hebrew University grounds. This latter niche was still sealed with a stone slab and contained human bones.

The rectangular shaft already mentioned is 1.67 m. long, 0.70 m. wide, and 1.06 m. deep. At each end of the shaft, in the cutting-out process, there were left ledges on which, it seems, stone slabs were placed to cover it and thus to facilitate entrance to the cave. At the western end of the shaft this ledge extends clear across it; while at the eastern side, that is at the entrance of the cave, there are two narrow ledges, one at each end. A hollow in the bottom of the shaft, near the entrance to the cave, was evidently filled up with stones in order to level the floor. Some of these stones were found in the lower chamber.

From this shaft an entrance, 60 cm. high, 50 cm. wide, and 30 cm. deep, led to a chamber hollowed out underneath the court.

On the eastern wall of this chamber there is a niche, 68 cm. high, about 60 cm. wide, and 42 cm. deep. The lower parts of the northern and southern walls of the chamber are curved (Pl. 1, 4). This would indicate that this chamber was originally vaulted, the upper portions having been cut away later, in order to make the room higher. At the eastern wall a segment of the vault still remains.

The form of this chamber makes one believe that the cave was formerly a vaulted tomb typical of the Canaanite and early Jewish periods, and was re-used later as a Jewish family vault during the last century of the Second Temple.

Plate 2, 1 is an attempt to reconstruct the original form of the cave. The present entrance was used also as an entrance in the earlier period. The vertical shaft was in the first case narrower, but was used also to connect the outer entrance to the sepulchral room proper. It is difficult to determine if any part of the room above already existed. But neither the court nor the façade at the entrance was in existence in the earlier period.

Description of the contents of the cave

On the benches of the upper chamber there were found the bones of three bodies. In the lower chamber there were found twelve ossuaries: seven close to one another in the northern part of the chamber; two crosswise with respect to the door (one without inscription, and that numbered 9); two lengthwise (numbers 4 and 1), and three crosswise (numbers 5 and 6, and one without inscription). The other five were scattered in the southern part of the room. It may here be said that it is almost impossible to determine the relative chronology of the deceased from the position of the ossuaries. Even when undisturbed ossuaries have been discovered one on the top of the other, I found evidence that they had been moved about irrespective of the time of burial, in order to fit all the ossuaries into the given space. It is even more difficult to draw any conclusions in this instance, because the ossuaries were probably moved about soon after the cave was discovered.

The following is a description of the more interesting ossuaries that were found.

1. An ossuary without any decoration. Height 36 cm.; length 62 cm., and width 27 cm. The upper edge of the ends is cut out

name is not given. The term "widow" shows that she died after her husband. She was the second wife of Dositheus and may have married him after the death of his first wife, the mother of the family. After the death of her husband she was probably called "the widow." The preposition ל, "for," should be noted. I deduce that it was inserted because, at the time when the inscription was made, the bones of the widow were not deposited in the ossuary. It seems that her bones were not deposited at all in this ossuary because, according to a report made by Dr. Peller, the bones collected in this ossuary belong to only one body.

The bones of the mother of the family were collected into ossuary 2.

2. An ossuary without any decoration, with a rounded lid and four legs. Height 36 cm.; length 49 cm.; width 26 cm; height of lid, 11 cm. At both ends are grooves by which to raise the lid. On the lid is scratched the inscription (23 cm. long, height of letters about 2 cm):

שלמציין אמנה (Pl. 3, 1)
Shelmaṣiyôn our mother

On one of the sides is cut:

אמ(א) שלמציין (Pl. 3, 2)
Mother Shelmaṣiyôn

On the first inscription the spelling of the name is defective, and on the second the final letter (א) of the first word is not completed. The same word אמא,¹ but without any name attached, was discovered on one of the ossuaries from the Kedron Valley mentioned above. On another ossuary is found the corresponding Greek inscription μητέρα.² The name שלמציין was very often given to women in the last two centuries of the Second Temple. It is well known that this was the Hebrew name of Queen Alexandra, wife of Alexander Jannaeus. It may be observed in this connexion that the first occurrence of the name is on a Jewish-Aramaic

¹ On the vocalization of אמא cf. Klausner, לשוננו, edited by ועד חלשון העברית vol. I, pp. 27-32, who defends the form אמא instead of אמָא.

² Cf. Klein, *Jüdisch-pal. Corpus Inscr.*, no. 52.

papyrus dating from the beginning of the Hellenistic period.¹

3. An ossuary without decoration, with flat lid. Height 36.5 cm.; length 69 cm.; width 25 cm.

On the lid and one of the sides is cut (Pl. 3, 3) the name

מתתיה
Mattathias

(18 cm. length of inscription, height of letters about 3.5 cm.).

This is the first instance of the full form of this name on Jewish ossuaries.

4. An ossuary without decoration, with a flat lid, and with four short legs. Height 34 cm.; length at top 73.5 cm.; length at bottom 70 cm.; width 27 cm. On the lid is lightly scratched:

אחת מתיה וזכרה (Pl. 3, 4)
The wife of Mattiah and his (her) son

The Aramaic construct form *מתת* is used on the ossuaries interchangeably with the Hebrew construct *משה*. There can be no doubt that the woman mentioned here is the wife of the Mattathias whose name appears on ossuary 3. The abbreviated form of the name offers no obstacle to this conclusion, since it was much more commonly used at this time than the full form of the name.²

The second Talmudic form, *Mattai*, is found on an ossuary from Malḥah³: *מתאי* (בן) *ישוע* *ישוע* *Yeshū'* son of *Mattai*, i. e. Jesus son of Matthew. The Greek equivalent of both forms is found on an ossuary discovered on the Mount of Olives,⁴ on the lid of which is inscribed *Ματταίου* while on the side is written *Μαθίου τῷ Καστοῦ*. The New Testament spelling is *Μαθθαῖος*, *Ματθαῖος*, as well as *Μαθθίας*, *Μαθίας*. The form *Matyah* or *Mattiyah* is a haplogical contraction of *Mattatyah* (more correct than *Mattityah*).

¹ Published first by Cowley, *Proceedings of the Soc. of Bibl. Archaeology*, 1907, p. 260. See also Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the 5th Century B.C.*, p. 192.

² In the Talmudic literature we find the two following abbreviated forms (hypocoristica) in different spellings: *מתת* and *מתת* and *מתת*.

³ See Clermont-Ganneau, *Mission en Palestine et en Phénicie entreprise en 1881. Cinquième rapport (extrait des Arch. des miss. scient. et litt., 3me serie 11)*. No. 26.

⁴ Cl.-Ganneau (l.c.); Thomsen, *Die lateinischen und griechischen Inschriften der Stadt Jerusalem*, no. 197, c,d.

The names of the wife and son are given in the second inscription on the same ossuary, scratched lightly on one side :

שלם ומתיה ברה (Pl. 4, 1)
Shalom and Matyah her son

The name of the wife, written here defectively, is found on other ossuaries together with the Greek equivalent Σαλωμη. From this inscription we see that the son was also called מתיה. It is possible that the son was born posthumously, but the conclusion is not absolutely necessary, since there are several instances recorded where sons were called by their fathers' names in the lifetime of the latter.¹

Since the name Dositheus has exactly the same meaning as Mattathias ("gift of God"), we have here a case in which the names of father, son and grandson are similar in meaning.

5. An ossuary decorated on one side with a three-pointed rosette inscribed in a double circle, and with architectural mouldings at the top and legs; the lid is triangular. Height of the ossuary 40 cm.; length 64 cm.; width 35 cm. Height of lid 21 cm. and length 55 cm. On the lid and one of the ends is repeated the inscription (16.5 cm. long; height of letters 1.5 cm.):

אנתה אלעזר (Pl. 4, 2)
The wife of Ele'azar [Lazarus]

6. An ossuary without decoration, with a flat lid. Height 38 cm.; length 70 cm., and width 30 cm.

On the lid and on one of the ends is written (length of inscription 23 cm.; height of letters 2.5 cm.):

בני אלעזר (Pl. 4, 3)
Children of Ele'azar

7. An ossuary decorated on one side with two six-pointed rosettes inscribed in a single circle. The space between them is filled with a pattern of small squares formed by rows of intersecting lines. Around the edges of this side runs a frame-work of zigzag lines.

¹ An exactly parallel case occurs in the family of Josephus where father and (full) brother were both called Mathias; see *Vita*, 2.

The lid is rounded and has grooves for raising at both ends. Height of ossuary 31 cm.; length 54 cm.; width 25 cm. Height of lid 12 cm. In the upper right hand corner of the decorated side, between the rosette and the framework, is scratched:

בני חנן

(Pl. 4, 4)

Children of Hanan

At first sight one might be tempted to read בן יחנן "Son of Yôhanan," because the *yod* is relatively far from the two preceding letters, but on more careful examination it may be seen that the writer was careful to make each letter begin at the end of the preceding letter. Against the reading בן יחנן is the almost fatal objection that the other inscriptions on these ossuaries are all Aramaic, so that we shall at least expect בר יחנן. The old Hebrew hypocoristicon Ḥanan, formed from Yôhanan or Ḥananyah, is here found for the first time in ossuary epigraphy, but it was common at the end of the Second Temple, as we see from the Greek forms Ἄννας and Ἀνανῆς in the New Testament and Josephus. The name occurs frequently also in the Talmudic literature.

8. An ossuary without decoration, with a flat lid. Height 33.5 cm.; length about 62 cm.; width 26 cm. At one end of the ossuary we find the same device for fastening the lid with a bolt that has been described in no. 1 above. On one of the sides is carved deeply (length of inscription 15 cm.; height of letters 2.3 cm.):

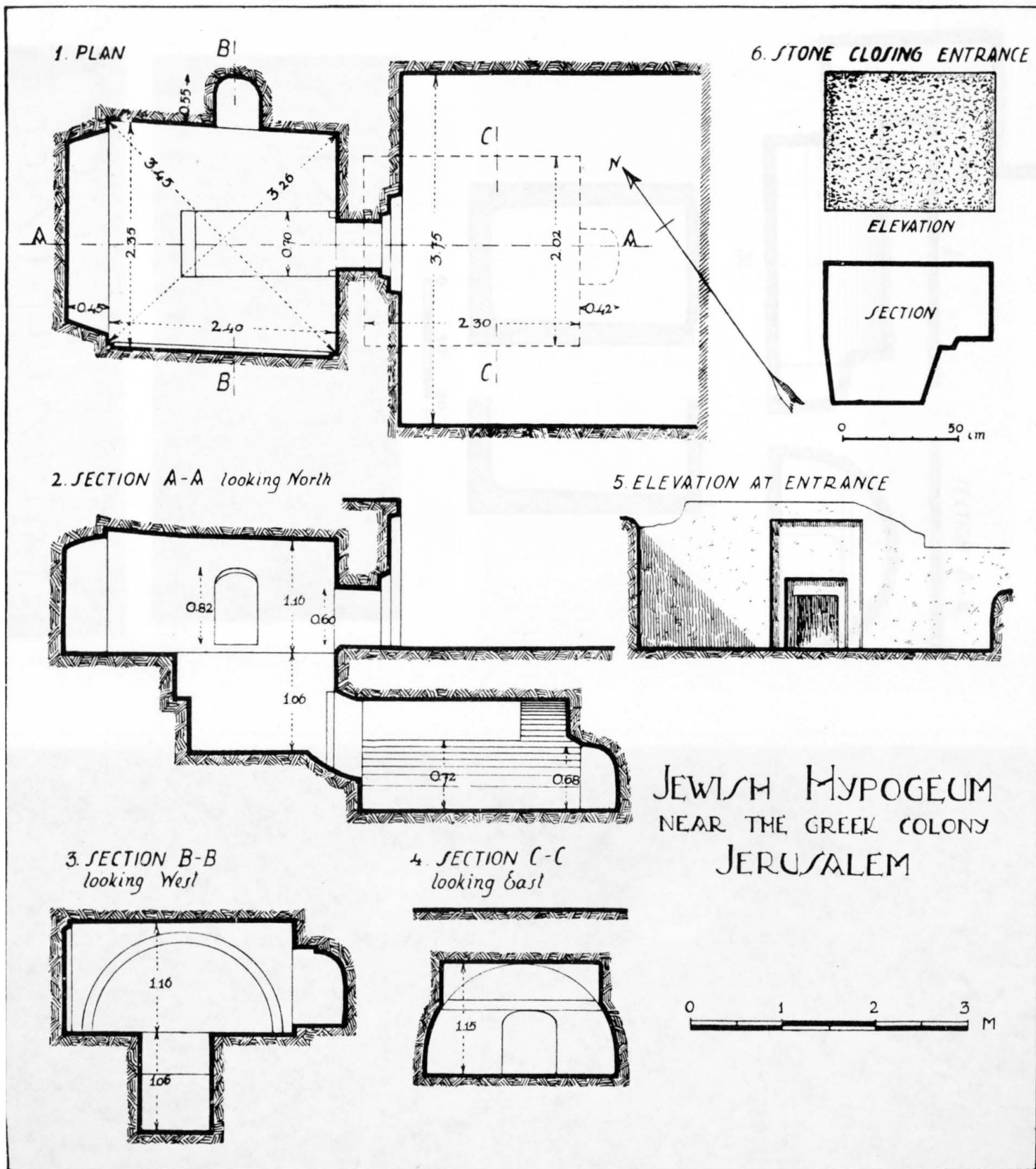
דוסתם

(Pl. 5, 1)

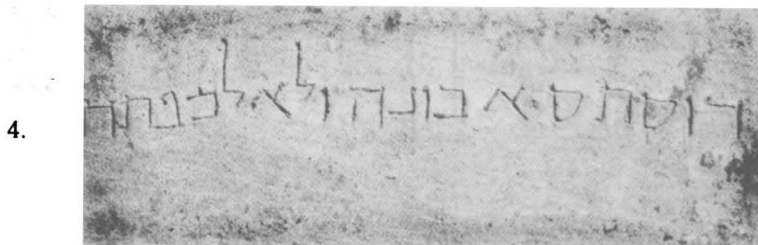
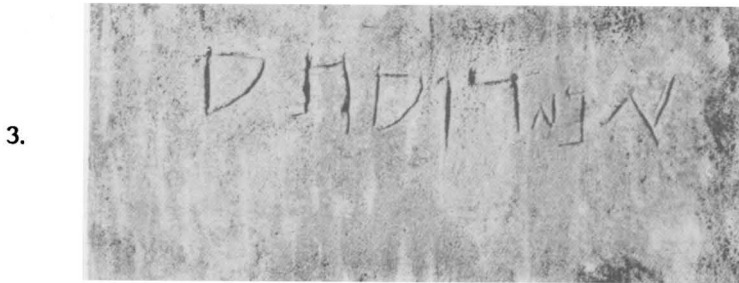
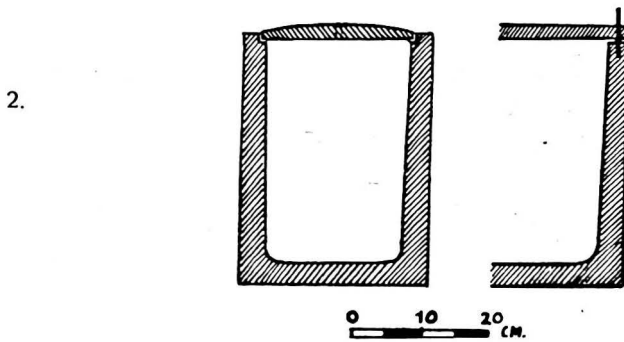
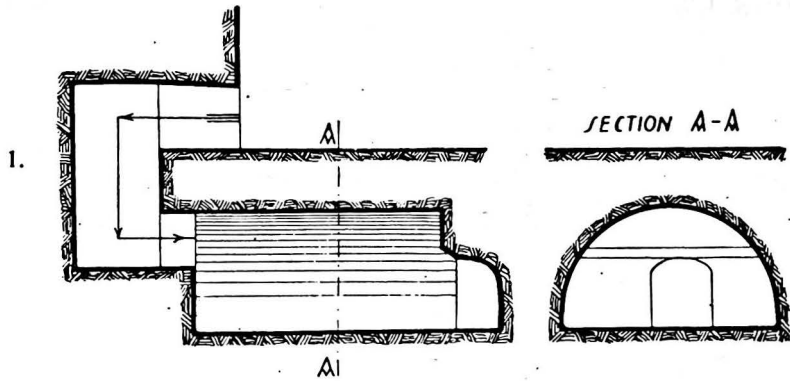
as in no. 1 above. It is difficult to understand the relation of this Dositheus to the head of the family (no. 1). It is not clear whether he was son or grandson.

9. An ossuary decorated with two six-pointed rosettes inscribed in double circles. Between them is a fluted column on a platform of three steps. Above the column is a sketchy representation of an architrave flanked by two spiral volutes. In each of the upper corners is a small circle with a concentric circle within it. Round the edge of the ossuary runs a wavy line between parallel straight lines. The lid is flat and there are four small legs. Height 28 cm.; length 55 cm.; width 21 cm.

On one of the ends are scratched the two letters סט (Pl. 5, 5).



J.P.O.S. VIII.



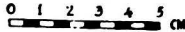
1.



114*

2.

אלהינו לכתוב
אלהינו



3.



4.

אלהינו וברוך





1.

עלל
וכתב ר

2.



3.



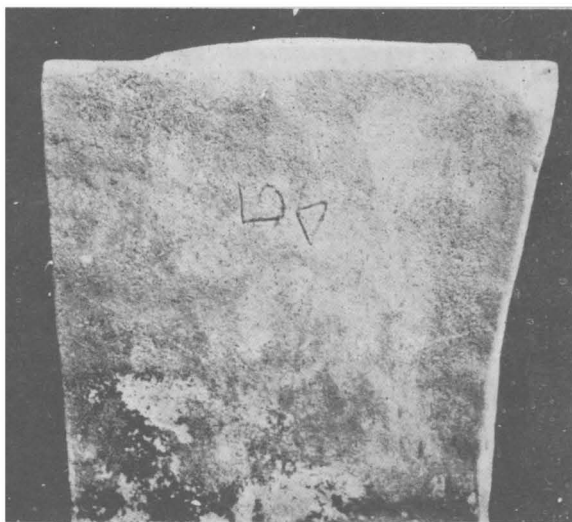
4.



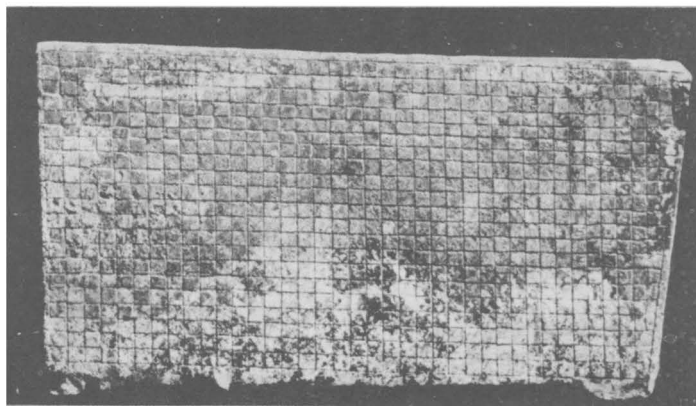
1.



2.



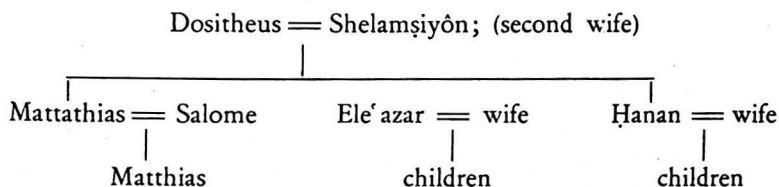
3.



The first letter is repeated on the corresponding end of the lid. The same two letters are found on other ossuaries discovered recently. It can be presumed that these letters are an abbreviation of the Aramaic word כּטַר, "side" or "edge," and intended to indicate the correct position of the lid.

10. An ossuary with a flat lid and four small legs. Height 32 cm. ; length 60cm. ; width 28.5 cm. On one of the sides is curved a mosaic pattern (Pl. 5, 3).

The genealogy of the family may be reconstructed as follows:



The relation of the second Dositheus to the first is unknown.

It appears that no other objects apart from ossuaries and bones were found in this tomb—not even potsherds. From the analogy of other similar tombs in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem we may safely assign its date to the last century of the Second Temple.

LES TABLETTES BABYLONIENNES DE NERAB

R. P. DHORME

(JERUSALEM)

Nerab est un petit village situé à environ 7 km. au S.E. d'Alep. Le tell, sur le flanc duquel s'élèvent les maisons en forme de coquilles d'œuf où gîte la population actuelle, ne se dresse que de 10 à 11 mètres au dessus de la plaine. Il recouvre l'emplacement d'une cité mentionnée dans les textes assyriens sous les noms de *Niribi* et *Nirabu*.¹ L'attention sur ce site a été attirée, en 1891, par la découverte de deux stèles araméennes, célèbres maintenant sous le nom de stèles de Nerab. Clermont-Ganneau, en publiant et déchiffrant ces précieux monuments, avait permis aux historiens de constater qu'il avait existé, durant la période dite néo-babylonienne (VII^{me}—VI^{me} siècles av. J.C.), un sanctuaire du dieu-lune et de sa famille à Nerab, que ce sanctuaire était desservi par des prêtres babyloniens et que les stèles n'étaient que les épitaphes de ces prêtres.² Il va sans dire que les indigènes, excités par l'appât de découvertes lucratives, ont singulièrement bouleversé la partie du tell vierge de constructions, jusqu'au jour où l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres demanda à l'Ecole Archéologique Française de Jérusalem d'y entreprendre, avec le concours financier de cette Académie, des fouilles méthodiques. Deux campagnes, l'une en automne 1926, sous la conduite des PP. Carrière et Barrois, l'autre en automne 1927, sous la conduite des PP. Abel et Barrois, ont mis à jour tout ce que pouvait contenir d'intéressant l'ancienne nécropole de la ville, qui se trouvait du côté sud-sud-est du tell, où les maisons des habitants

¹ FORRER, *Die Provinzeinteilung* . . . , pp. 56 et 121.

² *Etudes d'archéologie orientale*, II, p. 182 ss.

ne se sont pas encore fixées.¹ Parmi les trouvailles exhumées de l'une des tombes, à un niveau de 7m 23, les premiers fouilleurs enregistraient vingt-cinq tablettes en argile crue auxquelles s'ajoutèrent deux tablettes du même type retrouvées durant la seconde campagne. Ces vingt-sept tablettes sont les premières qui aient été découvertes en Syrie. Elle appartiennent à l'époque néo-babylonienne et achéménide, la plus ancienne étant datée de l'an 1 de Nabuchodonosor II, (604-562 av. J.C.), la plus récente du temps de Darius (521-485 av. J.C.). Elles sont toutes rédigées en babylonien, mais quelques-unes portent des épigraphes araméennes qui présentent l'intérêt de nous fournir la transcription en araméen de tel ou tel nom écrit en babylonien sur la tablette. Les textes sont des documents de comptabilité privée, prêts d'argent ou d'orge, arrangements concernant un esclave, contrat de mariage, etc. Leur rédaction ressemble singulièrement à celle des nombreux textes de la même époque dont des fouilles en Babylonie ont enrichi les collections des grands musées d'Europe et d'Amérique. Les orientalistes y peuvent néanmoins y trouver quelques renseignements nouveaux et intéressants.

Le nom de Nerab y figure, à plusieurs reprises, sous sa forme babylonienne : *Ni-ri-bi* et *Ni-ri-ib*. Cette orthographe nous permet de remonter à la forme primitive *nérib* ou plutôt *néreb* qui nous donne un mot purement babylonien *néribu* «entrée, accès, porte». L'une des tablettes porte la souscription géographique suivante : *álu sa (amélu) Ni-ri-ba-a-a sa ina nuš-bi nâri sa (ilu) Bêl-abû-ušur* «ville des gens de Nêreb qui est sur le canal de Bêl-abû-ušur». Ce canal est mentionné dans un texte publié autrefois par Clay². Comme autres noms de villes signalons celui de Hamath *ḥm* écrit à la façon babylonienne *Am-mat* et celui de Hit (écrit *I-tum*) que les textes cunéiformes rendent généralement par *id*, *it* (idéogramme de *nâru* «fleuve, canal»), mais qu'on trouve orthographié *i-it* et *i-tu* dans une liste géographique éditée par Schrœder³. Le nom d'Alep n'est pas mentionné, mais on rencontre une ville appelée *bit-din—(ilu) Adad*

¹ Voir les comptes-rendus de la campagne de 1926 dans *Syria*, 1927, p. 1926 ss. et *Revue Biblique*, 1927, p. 257 ss. La campagne de 1927 sera décrite dans les mêmes périodiques.

² *Business documents of Murashu sons . . .* (UMBS, II, 1), n^o. 104, 3, 6.

³ *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschied. Inhalts*, n^o. 183, 23 d.

«maison de jugement du dieu Hadad» et l'on sait que ce dieu Hadad était le patron d'Alep. Il est possible que nous ayons ici une ville sœur ou voisine de la grande métropole syrienne.

Les stèles de Nerab avaient montré la vogue dont jouissait en cet endroit le dieu-lune, appelé en araméen שחר, avec sa déesse parèdre, Nin-gal, appelée נבל en araméen, et son fils Nusku, appelé נשך. Un très grand nombre des noms propres qui figurent dans nos tablettes sont composés avec l'élément divin Nusku. L'un de ces noms, très fréquemment mentionné, est *Nusku-killanni* «Nusku, soutiens-moi». Sa transcription araméenne est נושכלני qui montre que l'orthographe complète de Nusku était נושך.

L'un des textes nous a été transmis en double exemplaire avec quelques variantes. On y rencontre le nom de (*ilu*) Šeri-idri «le dieu Šeri est mon aide (עצרי)». Or, dans l'un des exemplaires l'élément divin est écrit (*ilu*) Sin «(dieu) Sin» (la lune), suivi du déterminatif phonétique *ir*. Il me semble qu'il faut lire, en ce cas, (*ilu*) Šer et reconnaître dans Šer-Šeri une transcription de l'araméen שחר, nom du dieu-lune sur les stèles de Nerab. Un phénomène analogue se rencontre dans les textes de Boghaz-keui, où le nom propre Šar-ru- (*ilu*) Erah «le dieu Erah (la lune, ירה) est roi» est écrit Šar-ru- (*ilu*) SIN-ah,¹ le signe *ah* servant d'indicateur phonétique pour la lecture du nom du dieu-lune.

Je n'ai donné ci-dessus qu'un bref aperçu des traits intéressants des tablettes de Nerab. Ces textes paraîtront en fac-similés, avec transcription, traduction, liste des noms propres, dans la *Revue d'Assyriologie*. Chacun pourra ainsi les consulter à loisir et en extraire tout ce qui, de près ou de loin, se rattache à l'histoire des relations entre la Babylonie et le pays d'Aram.

Notes and Comments by Harold M. Wiener
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¹ Fournet, *Ét. Bogh.* Texte in Umschrift, no 24, III, 3; V, 16

PLANT-LORE IN PALESTINIAN SUPERSTITION

T. CANAAN

(JERUSALEM)

Plant-lore has played a great part in popular belief especially among the more primitive races. Among the inhabitants of the Holy Land this influence has been and is still very marked: it is apparent in every phase of the life of both peasants and town-dwellers. It is encountered in the everyday life of the family and in the interpretation of dreams, in popular medicine, superstition, folk-religion and the traditions governing agricultural work. A study of this subject affords many illustrative parallels to biblical passages.

The Palestinian is primarily an agriculturist and his daily work brings him into constant touch with nature, in which and by which he lives.¹ The heavenly bodies, mountains and caves are to him animated, but animals and plants are actual personified beings, which live and talk. Often they are endowed with supernatural powers. In them he reads his own good or bad luck. At times they cause him anxiety and irritation, at other times they console and encourage him.

Many plants derive their name either from one of their external features — form, colour or smell — or from a superstitious belief or a comparison derived from animal life. The following list illustrates this:

ARABIC NAME	TRANSLATION	BOTANIC NAME	EXPLANATION ² OF THE ARABIC NAME
<i>ḥannūm el-biss</i>	Cat's flowers	Adonis autumnalis L	The blossoms are compared to the eyes of the cat

¹ CANAAN, *Der Kalender des palästinensischen Fellachen*, ZDPV, vol. 36, p. 267.

² In most cases the explanations are philologically incorrect.

<i>nats</i>	To weed	<i>Poterum spinosum</i>	From the verb <i>na-taša</i> to pull out
<i>ḥarīf</i> ¹	Autumn	<i>Urginea marit.</i>	It blossoms in the autumn
<i>wadaʿ</i>	To bid farewell ²	<i>Colchicum Decaisnei</i> Strev.	It bids farewell to summer ³
<i>méramiyeh</i>	Mary-like	<i>Salvia Trilobia</i>	(see below)
<i>ʿuffāḥ el-mad-jānin</i>	Apples of the insane	<i>Mandragora</i> off.	(see below)
<i>bedindjān</i> , ⁴ <i>bētindjān</i> ,	Demon's eggs, or demon's house	Eggplant	Superstition
<i>ḥullebīb</i> ⁵	Milk-yielding	<i>Euphorbia</i>	A milky fluid exudes on breaking the stalk
<i>sābūnet er-rāʿi</i>	Shepherd's soap.	<i>Cyclamen Latifolium</i> S. and S.	The bulbs were used as soap
<i>lśān et-tōr</i>	Ox-tongue	<i>Myosotis Hispida</i> (Schlecht)	From its shape
<i>qarʿ</i>	Bald-head	Pumpkin	Because of the fruit's smooth shiny surface
<i>ḥāz el-ʿadra</i> ⁶	Virgin's breast	<i>Holychrysum sanguinum</i>	Each blossom is said to resemble a tiny breast
<i>ṣafān</i>	Woollen	<i>Phanzolon rupestrae</i>	The fibres resemble wool

¹ HAVA, *Arabic English Dictionary* (throughout this article referred to as "H"); BELOT, (*Dictionnaire-Arabe-Français*, "B"), KASSAB and HAMMAM (*al-kunūz el-ubriziyah*, "KH"), EL-BUSTANI (*muḥit*, "MB"), do not give this meaning; WAHRMUND (*Handbuch der neu-arabischen und deutschen Sprache*, "W") explains it as 'Egyptian ivy.'

² DALMAN, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, p. 98, gives another, less probable explanation.

³ CANAAN, *Kalender*, ZDPV, vol. 36, p. 300. In H, B, KH, W and MB unknown as plant name.

⁴ Pronounced also *bētindjān*, *bedindjān*. From the Persian *bāḡindjān* or *bādindjān* which also means "demon's eggs (testicles)."

⁵ Classical Arabic *ḥulbah* (B, H).

⁶ Not known in H, B, W, KH, and MB.

' <i>awarwar</i>	To become blind	Verbescum Tripolitanum	The pollen consists of small thorns which cause inflammation of the eyes
' <i>isbet el-qur-qá'ah</i>	Tortoise herb	Brisa maxima	The tiny calix resembles a tortoise shell.

The names of many plants or parts of plants are often used as personal or family names. Some of these names, especially those of families, were originally nicknames. In the following list f. = feminine, m. = masculine, * = family name.¹

ghšún f. — branches; *ghušn* * — branch; *hannún* m. — flowers; *hannúneh* f. * — flower; *zahrah* f. (rarely *) — blossom; *zhár* f. — blossoms; *zahrán* * — blossoming; *hadrá* f. — green; *tamarah* f. — date;² *nuwárah* f. — blossom; *yasmin* f. *yasminéh* * — jasmine; *uardeh* f. — rose; *sarueh* f. — cypress; *riháneh* f. — basil herb; *tuffáhah* f. (rarely *) — apple; *handal* * — coloquint; '*adas* * — lentils; *zétúneh* f. — olive; *zétún* * — olives; *filfil* m. * — pepper; *nábleh* m. * — palm tree; *dálieh* f. — vine; *na' ná'ah* f. — peppermint; *bámieh* * — hibiscus esculentum; *šabrah* * — prickly pear; *tuémeh* * — garlic; *kúsá* * — marrow; *qar'ah* * — pumpkin; *méseh* f. — celtis australis; *hasíseh* f. — grass; *filleh* f. — nycanthen zambac.³

Many names of villages, valleys, mountains and ruins are derived from plant names. In some cases these names may offer a clue or give some details about the past local history of the localities. Thus we find the following place-names:

NAME	EXPLANATION	LOCATION
<i>dér el-balah</i>	The date monastery (house)	Near <i>Hán Yanis</i>
<i>et-tíneh</i>	The fig tree	To the south of <i>wádi eš-Sarár</i>
<i>qariet el-'inab</i>	The village of grapes.	<i>Abú Ghós</i>
<i>kafr qar'</i>	Pumpkin village	Near Haifa

¹ STEPHAN, *Modern Palestinian Parallels to the Song of Songs*, JPOS, vol. 2, p. 203, has mentioned such names.

² Thamar (date) is the name of three women of the Bible (Gen. 38^a, 11 Sam. 13¹ 14²⁷).

³ *Elon* (oak), Gen. 26²⁴ 36², Jud. 12¹¹.

<i>qal'et en-nabl</i>	The date fortress	In the desert of Sinai
<i>wādī et-tuffāh</i>	The apple valley	<i>Bêt Djâlā</i>
<i>bīr el-waraqab</i>	The well of the leaf	In <i>el-Aqsā</i>
<i>djôret el- innāb</i>	The vale of the jujube	Jerusalem
<i>birbet el-hôh</i>	The ruin of the peach tree	The ancient Etam
<i>qasr el-malfūf</i>	The palace of cabbages	Kerak
<i>djabal ez-zētūn</i>	The Mount of Olives	Near Jerusalem
<i>krēm ez-zān</i>	The little garden of beach trees	Near <i>Bêt Djâlā</i>
<i>nahr ed-daflah</i>	The oleander river	Near <i>Tanṭūrah</i>
<i>wādī es-sésabān</i>	The valley of the quaking grass	Name of Jericho

It is an interesting fact that Jericho is even to-day considered under God's curse (Jos. 6²⁰): *yā tūyih wādī es-sésabān nāzil maksī tāli' ariān* -- O thou that goest down to the valley of the "quaking grass," thou descendest well clothed, but comest up naked!

Many personal and place-names met with in the Bible are derived from names of plants: Jericho was called "the city of palms" (Deut. 34³, Jud. 1¹⁶ 3¹³, 11 Chr. 28¹⁵); Bethany=house of dates¹; Thamar=date (Ezek. 47¹⁹ 48²⁸); Beth Kerem=house of vines (Neh. 3¹⁴ Jer. 6¹); Bethphage=house of figs (Matth. 21¹, Mark 11¹, Luke 19²⁹); Beth-Shittah=house of the acacia tree (Jud. 7²²); Rimmon=Pomegranate (1 Chr. 6⁷⁷, 11 Kg. 6¹⁸, Josh. 15³² 21³⁵); Gath Rimmon (Jos. 21²⁵ 18¹³); Elon Beth Hanan =oak of the house of grace (1 Kg. 4¹¹).

Minute observation of the plants has led the *fellāh* to lay down many rules concerning weather and agriculture.² From the way in which the Maritima ornitgalen (*buṣṣēl*) blossoms, the peasant believes he can foretell whether the winter or summer crops will be good or bad.³ He holds that the blossoming may take place at three distinct periods (called *rablāt* or *brīdj*). If the first period

¹ According to HASTINGS, *Dictionary of the Bible*, it means "the house of grief."

² Proverbs and sayings already, mentioned in my articles, *Der Kalender des palästinensischen Fellachen* (ZDPV, 1916, pp. 266 ff.) and *Folklore of the Seasons* (JPOS, vol. 3, pp. 21 ff.) will not be repeated here.

³ As in biblical times, the Palestinian divides the year into two seasons, summer and winter (Gen. 8²², Ps. 74¹⁷).

is marked by abundant blossoms it is a good omen for the winter crops. Abundant blossoming of the third *rabīṭah* is a sign of a good summer crop. The first week after the first rain is called "the first *rabīṭah*."¹ The second and third fall in the second and third week respectively.²

The *fellāh* never starts work in the field without having first asked God for help and protection.³ He knows, as did his ancestors, that all his labour would be in vain if God did not bless him (Ps. 127¹).⁴ This is vividly expressed in the following: *in kân 'allah rād biḥsibhâ' adj-djamr uin kân 'allah rād bimḥilhâ' an-nabr*—If God wills he lets it (the crop) prosper even on burning coals, and if God wills he smites it with barrenness even (if it is planted) by a river!

One of the many prayers with which the peasant begins his agricultural work is: *yâ rabbnâ iṭ'ammnâ uiṭ'am el-'ammâl uil-baṭṭal uilli nâiyim 'adjanbuh*—Our Lord, give us (sufficient) food (through this seed) and give food to the worker, the non-worker (the aged) and him that lieth on his side (the sick)!⁵

In *Ṭūl Karm* I heard the following rule which is followed in sowing wheat: *dillū (qillū) tisghillū*—Spread (the sown corn) and you will have a prosperous crop.

But with legumes it is different: *ubḍur 'adas iuaṣuis ukirsanneh tnadī ufūl iqāl 'allah lā yirḥam ahū edj-djamā' ah illi biudḥul el-haua bēnhā*—Sow the lentils (so densely) that they may whisper to each other; and the chickpeas (so far from each other) that (in speaking) they have to call (aloud one to the other); and the broad beans say, May God have no mercy on the father of a community through the members of which the breeze passes (i.e. it should be sown densely).

The ground where *quḍḍāb* (*Polygonum equisetiforme*) grows abundantly is believed to be most favourable for sowing lentils. Such lentils are called *nadjūz*, *nazūd*⁵ and *ṭabbih*, expressions denot-

¹ This is the early rain; Deut. 11¹⁴, Ez. 34²⁶.

² CANAAN, *Die Wintersaat*, ZDMG, vol. 71, p. 171; DALMAN, l.c. gives another custom.

³ CANAAN, *Kalender*, ZDPV, vol. 36, p. 269.

⁴ Gen. 27²⁸, Num. 24⁹, Deut. 23¹²⁻¹⁴ 33^{12, 18}.

⁵ Corrupted from *naḍadja*.

the threshing floors, the Orioles (yellow birds) have come.¹

As soon as the fruits of the fields ripen, especially melons, figs and grapes, many a *fellāh* discontinues the regular cooking of meals: *ṭilī el-battīḥ battlū et-ṭabīḥ*—The melons have come (are ripe): cease the cooking of meals. *ṭilī el-'inab uit-tin battlū el-'adjin*—Grapes and figs are ripe: cease the kneading (of bread).

The peasant has great faith in the nutritive and strengthening action of grapes: *edj-djild ladj-djild uil-laḥm lal-laḥm uil-bizr lal-'azm*—The peel is good for the skin, the fruit for the flesh and the stones for the bones. Therefore popular wisdom advises: *fil-qēd kōl el-qēd² uilḥaqūḥ bil-bēd*—In the hot season eat grapes and figs and follow it by copulation. Children procreated at this season are believed to be born strong and healthy.

The following proverb describes the value of the figs at the different periods. *el-tin auwalub nqūd u 'ābrub ufūd*—The first figs are (rare and earn) much money, but the last figs come in heaps (and are thus of little value).

On the other hand we are told: *kōl auwal el-'inab u 'ābir et-tin*—Eat the first grapes and last figs.

The following rules govern the process of drying grapes and figs: *la tiqtā' el-'inab laẓ-ẓbib taymurr eṣ-ṣalīb*—Do not cut the grapes to make raisins until the Feast of the Cross (September 14th, Julian calender) has passed.

iḍra el-masāṭīḥ min er-riḥ—Protect the spread grapes and figs from the (strong) wind.

At this time the cows must be well fed if they are expected to be strong enough for ploughing: *iḥ am fit-tin bitlaqī fit-tin*—Feed (your animals well) at the time of the figs and you will find (them strong) in the time of the mud (ploughing). Of hens we are told: *iḥ am ṣ'ir u 'abbī bēd fil-qafīr*—Feed (them with) barley, and fill big baskets with eggs! Chickens hatched at this period remain weak: *ṣuṣ et-tin biākul ubinīn*—The chicken (hatched) in fig-time eats and mourns (remains sickly). But those hatched in May and June are strong: *ṣuṣ el-mišmiš biākul ubyquīz*—The chicken (hatched) in apricot-time eats and jumps.

¹ Heard in Tul Karm.

² It is pronounced like a ض although it is a ظ.

In planting fig-trees and vines the peasants follow the rule: *suff et-tin saff ughruz el-inab half*—Plant the fig-trees in (straight) lines, and the vines in zigzag fashion.

Ample space must be left for each tree to allow it to develop and yield a good crop: *irfa' ubti anni ubhd himlha minni*—Rid me of my sister(-tree) and have her yielding from me!¹

The olives begin to ripen in September.² In this season the fruits of the fields lose their taste: *hiar tistrini simmni uala tistrini*—The cucumbers of October say, Smell me but do not buy me! *el-hiar auwaluh las-salatin uabruh lal-madjanin (lad-djaradin)*—The first cucumbers are (worth giving) to the kings, but the last ones are (only fit) for mad men (field rats).

Of mallows we hear: *el-hubbézeh auwalha sarbeh u'ahirha darbeh*—The first mallows (cleanse the body) like a purge, but the last are a scourge.

Towards the end of September the olive harvest begins: *lamma isallib es-salib ma tirfa' an zetunak el-qadib*—When the Feast of the Cross³ passes remove not the beating stick from your olive trees.

This saying at the same time describes the bad habit of the Palestinian of beating the berries from the trees with long sticks. The soft branches suffer and the next year's yield is naturally limited. From Deut. 24²¹ we may infer that this habit was also practised in ancient times. *Zet el-mallusi taiyb amma (i)lqatuh bisaiyb*—The oil of the *mallusi* berries (small and black) is good though its gathering is very tiresome (lit. makes one old). *ya zetun el-huwari biqlib zetak maqali*—O *huwari* olives, your oil turns over in the frying-pans (= is excellent). *ya zetun el-haqq alek ba sur zetak min'enek*—O olives, it is your fault that I press your oil out of your eyes!⁴

Even the earth boasts when it yields a good harvest⁵: *el-ard idā atmarat bitqul anā djibt uin amhalat bitqul allah mā a' tas*—The earth says when it yields a good harvest, I produced (all this fruit).

¹ Some people make a tree with closely growing branches say, Take a branch off from me and I will guarantee its yielding.

² CANAAN, ZDPV, 1913, 298; DALMAN, l.c. 59.

³ September 14, old style.

⁴ I heard the two last verses in Artās.

⁵ BAUMANN, *Volksweisheit aus Palästina*, ZDVP, 1916, No 38.

But if it is smitten with dearth it says, God has not given!

Working in the fields, to-day as in Old Testament times, is considered an honourable means of living:¹

el-flahab in mâ aghnat satarat—Agriculture, even if it does not enrich, will yet cover a man (i.e. save him from poverty). *ṣāhib edj-djadr maṣṣār*²—The owner of terraced-land is victorious (happy).

After finishing the harvest the *fellah* thinks with a sense of gratitude on Him who gives everything. He therefore consecrates to some sanctuary the first-fruits and the best of the oil. Thus the first *ṣā*³ of wheat is known by the name of *ṣā' el-Ḥalil* (Abraham's *ṣā'*) and is given to the poor. The 'Idwân bedouin say: *auwal ṣā' qā' lan-nabi Ṣu'eb*—The first *ṣā'* is the fee due to the prophet *Ṣu'eb*. The corn is given to the *qayim* of the sanctuary. Sometimes a sheep is killed as soon as threshing is over. It is called *ḥarāf el-Ḥalil*—Abraham's sheep. Many Mohammedans hang in a *weli* one or more *kaff qamḥ*,⁴ as a sign of their gratitude. The Christians offer to a church in the name of the Virgin a quantity of the newly pressed oil. Only after such an offering has been given may the freshly pressed oil be used or sold. Formerly the inhabitants of Bêt Djâlâ were in the habit of offering the first fruits of their vineyards on the altar of the church.⁵ Even now the first grapes are by many offered in the church⁶ on the Feast of the Transfiguration. They are blessed by the priest⁷ and then distributed among the congregation. It is a great pity that most of these customs are falling out of use. They show clearly the persistence of the custom of first-fruits mentioned in the Bible.⁸

The harvest of the corn and the period spent in the vineyards and the time of gathering the olives, are always occasions of joy.

¹ Gen. 3¹⁷,¹⁹ 9²⁰ 26¹², Job 1⁴, Sir. 7¹⁸.

² A variation is *illî mâ iluh djadr bimât qahr*—The person who has no terraced-land (near the village) dies sorrowfully.

³ A measure for cereals (and salt and olives) differing at different places.

⁴ Also called *muṣṣ qamḥ*.

⁵ From the note-books of my father.

⁶ August 6, old style. Heard in 'Ēn 'Arik.

⁷ The Armenians still offer grapes on the altar on August 15, old style (heard from Mr. St. H. Stéphan).

⁸ Gen. 4^{2ff}, Ex. 23¹⁸ 34²⁰.

Men, women and children are busily occupied. The olive and corn harvests demand heavy work, while watching the vineyards and gathering in the grapes is a cheerful time of recreation. The whole family goes out to the vineyard where they spend from two to three months, living in huts (*qaṣr*) built of branches and rushes (Matth. 21³³; Is. 5²). The substructure is made of loose stone and the hut itself is reconstructed every year.¹ From these high "towers" it is very easy to overlook and guard the whole vineyard.² In the daytime the singing and shouting of women and girls fill the air while they gather or spread figs for drying or attend to some other work.³ Only the first signs of the approaching rain put an end to this primitive and natural outdoor life, and hills and mountains again become lonely and deserted (Is. 16¹⁰). In the afternoon the greater part of the family gathers under a tree (1 Kg. 4²⁵, Mic. 4¹) chatting, sewing and embroidering. As in olden times (Zeph. 3¹⁰) guests are received and attended to under trees. Donkeys and mules are still fastened to a vine or a fig-tree (Gen. 49¹¹). The following stanza, describing this outdoor life, voices the thought that many friends are such only so long as they derive some gain: *yôm 'inbak utinak kull en-nās (i)mḥibbinak, ḥalaṣ 'inbak utinak kull en-nās 'adauwīnak*—During the days of your grapes and figs all people love you; but when your grapes and figs are over then all people become your enemies.⁴

Children spend the whole day in the fresh air playing bare-footed and with head uncovered.⁵ In the evening the male members of the family return from their daily work and spend the night in the vineyard. The joyous songs and exuberant health are ample proof of the happiness of the people in this simple life.⁶

But conditions are very different during the olive harvest

¹ Therefore they are spoken of in the Bible as the symbol of transitoriness, Job 27¹⁸.

² At times there is a bower covered with vines close to the *qaṣr*.

³ Grapes cooked with sugar give a fruit juice (called *dibs*) which was already known in the Old Testament; Gen. 43¹¹, Ez. 27¹.

⁴ SOGIN, *Arabische Sprichwörter und Redensarten*, Tübingen, 1878, 207, gives another verse with the same meaning.

⁵ See also KLEIN, *Mitteilungen über Leben und Sitten der Fellachen*, ZDPV, IV, 79 ff.; BALDENSBERGER, *The Immovable East*, PEFQS, 1908, 29f.

⁶ DALMAN, *Palästinischen Diwan*, gives some songs sung on such occasions.

when the work is extremely laborious. Nevertheless the workers sing happily even at this time (Is. 9³): *fī 'aiyām el-ḥaṣāyid binghanni qaṣāyid*— In the days of harvesting we sing songs.¹

It is interesting to note that the *fellāḥin* sing and make merry not only during family and general festivals, but also during all hard work: building, vaulting, carrying heavy loads, harvesting, and the like.² Dancing, clapping of hands and playing of musical instruments are of course not included, since they would hinder work. Some songs which may be heard on the threshing floor during the gathering of olives have been noted by DALMAN (*Palästinischer Diwan*, pp. 4-22, 25-29).

The *fellāḥ* spends day and night on the threshing floor (Ruth 3) until all the work is done. After harvesting a piece of ground or gathering the olives from certain trees, everybody is allowed to gather the remaining ears or fruits. Widows, orphans and poor are given the preference. This is again a survival of a Biblical custom (Dt. 24²¹, Ruth 2). A proverb says: *mā saqṭah illa uarāḥā laqṭah*³—Behind each falling ear there is a gathering woman.

Such gatherers are called *ba' 'arāt*⁴ or *ṣaiyāfāt*. The first word used to be used expressly for gleaners of grain and the latter for persons gleaning olives. To-day the two expressions are confused and *ṣaiyāfāt* is the more frequently used. Often these gleaners become aggressive, especially in the coastal plains where they are very numerous. They try to steal from the heaped-up grain. The rich landowners engage a *nāṭūr*, watchman, who often has to use force against the gleaners as in biblical times (Ruth 2⁵; ⁵).⁵ The gleaners are kept busy since the reapers may not return to gather any ear which has escaped their notice or which they have since dropped for this, it is believed, would be to take away the blessing of the harvest (Lev. 19⁵⁻⁹).⁶ A proverb compares the gleaners with the reapers in the words: *el-laqqāt aḥsan min el-ḥaṣṣād*—The (lot of the) gleaners is better than that of the harvesters.

¹ Heard in Tūl Karm.

² See LINDER, *Ein Sommerritt im Lande Ephraim*, PJB, XII, 104.

³ BAUMANN, ZDPV, 1916, 540.

⁴ From *ba'rah*, camel's or goat's dung; *ba' 'arāt* means originally collectors (females) of dung; *laqqātāt* is a less used expression.

⁵ In biblical times one was allowed to gather grapes left over, Deut. 24²².

⁶ BALDENSBERGER, PEFQS, 1917, 19.

When the reapers rest to take their meal the owner of the field or his representative calls them back with the words: *illi akaltu minnuh qumú 'aléh*—Attack (go back to work in) the thing from which you have eaten (i.e. go to work in the cornfield from whose fruits you have had your bread).

The bedouin¹ leave the last part of the field unreaped. The poor and the laboureres reap it for themselves. Such a gift is called *djóra' ah*.² The *felláhin* roast the last sheaves of corn and celebrate the end of the harvest by eating this so-called *qaliyeh*.³ There still exists in some places the original but very old Semitic custom of burying the last sheaf in the same place where it had been reaped, while the Mohammedan creed is recited.⁴ This offering to the unseen powers living in the field is made in the hope that the supernatural beings, whose whole property has been taken away, will be appeased by the offering of a part and grant a prosperous crop in the following year.⁵

We have to consider the influence which fruits and vegetables are supposed to exercise on the human body and spirit. Like the Hebrews of ancient times the present-day Palestinian believes that the partaking of certain vegetables causes certain moods and states of mind.⁶ While meat is believed to excite the human body and to incite the animal passions,⁷ it is taught that a vegetable diet has no such effect,⁸ while sadness and melancholy may even be caused by it (Dt. 16⁹).⁹ Therefore dervishes undergoing the prescribed preparations for a holy or magic rite eat only vegetables and fruits.¹⁰ The following expressions and proverbs bear on the subject: *ez-zbib*

¹ El-'Idwán tribe.

² Unknown to H, B, W, KH and MB.

³ From *qald*, to roast.

⁴ DALMAN, *Der palästinische Islam*, PJB, XIII, 18.

⁵ Heard from M. Nadjjár. This custom is dying out.

⁶ The greater part of the verses belonging to this part have been collected from Turmus 'Aiyá.

⁷ According to Gen. 1⁸⁰ all animals were once herbivorous and will again return to this stage (according to Is. 11⁷).

⁸ Gen. 30¹⁴, Cant. 7¹⁴.

⁹ Cf. LUNDGREEN, *Die Benutzung der Pflanzenwelt in der alttest. Religion*, p. 142 f.

¹⁰ Members of the Eastern Churches observe some days in Lent very strictly, their food being only herbs.

mā bibat fī djōf insān illā ašlahūh—Currants do not stay overnight in the stomach of a man without making it better (healthy). *et-tin mā bibat fī djōf insān illā afsadūh*—Figs do not stay overnight in the stomach of a man without corrupting (spoiling) it.¹ *el-ḥiār² biṭfi 'an el-qalb en-nār*—Cucumbers extinguish the fire (the thirst) of the stomach.³ *al-baṭṭiḥ bākul minnuh bathallā minnuh batnaqraš minnuh ubaṭ am ḥṣanī minnuh*—I have from the melons my food, my sweet-dish, my crackle-food and the food of my horse. *akl el-mišmiš midhiš*—The eating of apricots causes perplexity (as it causes intestinal putrefaction). *akl edj-djōz birabbi il-makārem fidj-djōz*—Eating of nuts brings up the husband to virtues (=strengthens his sexual powers). *illi biākul fidjil bišābih el-'idjil*—He who eats radishes is like a calf!⁴ *illi biākul ful bišīr rasuh aquā min el-'alal⁵*—He who eats broad beans becomes stronger-headed than an ox. *taḥt ed-dōm biḥlaww en-nōm*—Sleep is sweet under the zzyphus tree. *šurb ed-duḥḥan biṣil en-niṣyān*—Smoking drives away forgetfulness. *in kiṭrat ḥmūmak 'abbi ḡhalyunak*—If your worries increase fill up your pipe (and smoke). *min akal arb' in yōm ful⁶ istatias*—He who eats broad beans (continually) for forty days becomes like a 'he-goat.⁷ Beans are supposed to have a very rich nutritive value and thus may excite the sexual organs. *šū atḍakkar mink yā safardjal kull 'aḍḍah ibḡhaṣṣah*—What (good) shall I remember of you, O quince! (as) every bite was followed by a choke. *el-fidjil mā iluh šarāb uil-ḡaiwān mā iluh djawāb*—From radishes no lemonade can be made and there is no answer from an animal. Nothing good can be expected to come from a bad person. *et-tuffāḡah mā blišbi' bass biṭiq' id el-manāfis*—The apple will not satisfy the hunger but it sets aright (stimulates) the appetite.

Plants are often used to illustrate family relationships and they serve to give advice in a figurative way in the choice of a bride. The following are only a few examples of this kind of

¹ The same is said of dates.

² To judge from Is. 1^o cucumbers were extensively cultivated.

³ *qalb* is wrongly used in the vernacular for stomach.

⁴ As explanation of this proverb is given by *el-fidjil rih*=radishes (cause) winds (flatulence).

⁵ Not found in H, B, W, KH, MB.

⁶ *Ful* are called in some places *abū 'ammūr* (heard from Mr. O. Barghūtī).

⁷ The he-goat is the symbol of stupidity.

proverb :

ṣaḥn el-miṣmiṣ lā tikmiṣ dauwīr 'al-lōḡiyeh
ḡēn el-banāt lā tōḡiḡ dauwīr 'al-aṣṡiyeh

Touch not the apricot pudding but seek rather the almond pudding! Take not beautiful girls but seek rather one that is well bred! The figurative sense of this verse is subtle: Although apricots are more beautiful than almond fruits yet they owe their existence to the almond tree on which they are, as a rule, grafted. The almond pudding is more delicious than one made of apricots. *in (i)r'ēt ir-'a en-nuwār uil-mar'i lā tar'a fih*—If you browse, browse on the blossoms (i.e. choose the unspoilt portions) and touch not what has already been browsed upon (i.e. choose only the choicest girl as a wife and never approach one who has been already betrothed or a widow). *Zawān baladak walal-qamḥ eṣ-ṣalibī*¹—Take the tares of your village (country)! (They are) better than the best wheat (of a foreign country). The girls of your own kindred are to be preferred to the best educated and most beautiful strangers. *ir'āh min rabī baladak ulaww innuh qaḥwān*²—Browse the green pasture of your village even if it is nothing but camomile! *kull faleh im-sawweh bidjilḥa kaiyāl a'war*³—Even to a worm-eaten broad bean comes some blind grain-measurer. Every girl, even if she is ugly, will find a husband sooner or later. *ṣām uṣām uaṣṡar 'ālā baṣaleh imṣannineh*⁴—He fasted and fasted and at the last broke his fasting on a stinking onion. He remained a long time as a bachelor and at last married a girl of inferior family.

If against the will of the prospective parents-in-law a man chooses the younger and prettier of two daughters, when they wanted to give away the elder and less pretty, the bridegroom says: *badalnā es-saḡleh bin-naḡleh*⁵—We have changed the kid for the palm tree. But if they behave in the same way to the bridegroom one hears: *ua'adinnā bil-wardeh ua'innā ed-dafleh*—They promised (to give)

¹ SINGER, *Arabic Proverbs*, 70; J. R. JEWETT, *Arabic Proverbs*, etc. JAOS, XV, No 171; EINSLER, *Mosaiik*, 55 and 56; BAUER, *Volksleben*, etc. 54; SOCIN, *Arabische Sprichwörter*, 498 (variation).

² BAUMANN, ZDPV, 1926; 12; DALMAN, *Arbeit*, 35. It also means remain in your country and work faithfully.

³ Le Comte LANDBERG, *Proverbs and Dictions*, 6, gives a variation.

⁴ BAUMANN, l.c. 375; J. L. BURKHARDT, *Arabic Proverbs*, 366 (a variation).

⁵ STEPHAN, JPOS, V, p. 97, 26 gives a variation.

us the rose but they gave us the oleander.

ḥubb eš-šīhr fiš-šībriḥ *miṭl el-maiy 'al-ballaṭ*
ḥubb el-ḥama lal-kinneh *miṭl el-maiy 'al-makkūk*

The love of the son-in-law to his mother-in-law is (as sweet) as (drinking) water on (baked) acorns. The love of the mother-in-law to her daughter-in-law is (as repugnant) as (drinking) water on green carob fruits. Baked acorns have a sweetish taste, while unripe carobs have an acid, unpleasant taste.

The Palestinian likes to compare the different parts of the human body, as well as moral qualities, to plants and parts of plants. His keen sense of exact observation as well as his primitive mode of thinking are clearly mirrored in such sayings.

The following expressions are used for both sexes:¹

idēḥ miṭl en-na'na'—His hands are (as soft) as peppermint.
idēḥ miṭl libb el-ḥiār—His hands are (as delicate) as the marrow of the cucumber.² The same idea is well expressed in the following stanza:

ya Ṭāhir u ya biṭār *u ya daiyatuh libb (i)ḥiār*
lamman hauwad 'as-sāḥab *qamūluḥ šḡār u (i)kḅār*

O Ṭāhir, O physician of cattle!

O thou whose hands are like the marrow of cucumbers!

When he went down to the guest house

Young and old stood up to (reverence) him.

The colours of the eyes:³ *'iūnuḥ ṣaiy el-hindbeh*—His eyes are (as clear and blue) as the chicory. *'iūnuḥ ṣētūniyat*—His eyes are olive-green. The form of the eyes is compared to almonds and daffodils: *el-bint eš-šalabiyeh 'iūnbā löziyeh*⁴—The beautiful girl has almond-like eyes. *ḡhaṭṭi dǰfūnak yā 'iūn er-rundjus*⁵—Cover your eyelids, O daffodil eyes!

The head: *rāsub ṣaiy el-baṭṭiḡab*—His head is (as large and

¹ See also STEPHAN, l.c. I mention only expressions, verses and proverbs not quoted by him.

² *'asābiḥā miṭl qlīm el-ḥiār*, his fingers are as long and dainty as cucumber cut lengthwise. Long fingers are a sign of beauty.

³ Rarely we hear the comparison *'iūnbā miṭl nuwār el-'ilk*, her eyes are as the blossoms of the mastix tree.

⁴ STEPHAN, l.c. 207.

⁵ Only a few lines of folk-songs are quoted for brevity's sake.

round) as a watermelon. *rāsub qādūs*¹—His head is like a stretched-out melon.

A fair complexion (called "white") is much liked, especially when accompanied by red cheeks. The first is compared to jasmine, the latter to roses and apples: *el-wardeh djanb el-filleh aḥmar waḥiād uihdini*—Roses (blossom) near jasmine, red and white, O grant it to me! *ez-zihr fi ḥaddik 'aluān uil-ward uil-fill ez-zaḥi*—The blossoms on thy cheek are plentiful (like) roses and blossoming jasmine. *el-'anbar uil-ward el-aḥmar mudjem'in fōq el-ḥudūd*—Ambergris and red roses are united on your cheeks.

The lips are compared to apples² and red zizyphus fruits; the breasts are likened to a garden with pomegranates,³ plums, pears and grapes: *šidirhā bistāni nizra' fih ḥōḥ urummān ya rabbi*—Her breast is my orchard⁴ and we shall plant in it, O my God, plums and pomegranates.

man yaqtuf yā ḥubbi tuffāḥ el-b(u)dūd

man yadjni yā rabbi rummān en-n(u)ḥād

O My beloved, who is going to pluck the apples of the cheeks?

O My Lord, who is going to gather the pomegranates of the breasts?

Together with a fair skin a hue of brown is admired. It is called "corn-coloured," *qamḥi*.

The teeth: *snānhā zaḳiy el-qāḥuān*—Her teeth are (white and symmetrical) like the camomile flower. The flexibility of the body is compared to a bough: *el-ghuṣn fi qaddik lauw māḥ šiklik yumaḥil auṣāfuh*—The bough resembles your stature with its swaying (to and fro), your form is like its beauteous graces. *el-ghuṣn lauw šafik yizīd i'tidāl*—(Even) the bough will (know how to) improve its (erect and graceful) stature when it shall see you. *ṭaluh ṭal es-sarueh (en-nāḥleh,⁵ el-ḥōrah⁶)*—His stature is as tall as that of the

¹ *qādūs* means elongated melon, elongated hollow brick, the trough of a water wheel or brick bee-hive.

² Cant. 2⁴. It used to happen in marriage ceremonies that apples were passed around to be smelled (DALMAN, PJB, XVII, 72).

³ In Can. 4³ 6⁶ the cheeks are compared to a split in the pomegranate, from which the glittering kernels—red and white—are visible (DALMAN, l.c.).

⁴ In Can. 4¹³ 7¹² the loveliness of the breast is compared to an orchard with different fruits.

⁵ The neck is compared to a palm branch.

⁶ One may hear also the comparison with the beech tree (*zān*).

cypress (palm-tree, poplar). *tuhnuh tuhñ edj-djumméx*—His fatness is the fatness of the sycamore tree. *fulān miṭl ḥasab el-tin*—Such a one is like the wood of the fig tree (thick but hollow).¹

There is a difference in applying the similes of the palm tree² and poplar tree. A tall intelligent man is compared to a palm tree, whereas a poplar tree is the symbol of a big man without intelligence. Palm trees give dates, but poplars yield only wood. *ḥasabuh yābis*—His wood (constitution) is firm (lit. dry=strong).

Of a bald-headed man or one with a very thin growth of beard they say: *rāsuh (daqnuh³) kāsā⁴*—His head (his beard) is as a marrow. Of an old weak man we say: *istauā ez-ẓar⁵*—The corn is ripe (ready to be cut by the angel of death).

A senseless speech is thus described: *ḥakiuh ẓaiy el-ḥurfés⁵ lā fiš walā ‘alés*—His speech is (worthless) like the *Cynara Syriaca*, i.e. it contains nothing and tells nothing. *ḥakiak ẓaiy akl el-ḥuṣrum biḍarris*—Your talk is like eating green, sour grapes, (eating) which sets the teeth on edge.

A mother addresses her son: *yā ḥasīsīt qalbi*—O herbage of my heart (growing in my heart).

Fickle character: *inti ẓaiy waraq el-ḥubbéẓeh*—You are (variable) as the leaves of the mallow (which continually change their direction, following the rays of the sun).

Obstinacy: *‘aqḥah ẓaiy ‘uqdet el-ballūt*—His mind is like the knot of the oak (which can neither be sawn nor broken into pieces by an axe; only the fire can master it). *fulān madaqq ẓbib*—Such a one is (like) the raisin stalk (he tastes sweet but cannot be eaten).

Boasting: *inti ẓaiy el-ḥarua⁶*—You are like the castor-oil plant (whose branches extend outwards, thus depriving neighbouring plants of light and air). *‘adjā min ya‘rafak yā ballūt*—There comes one who knows you, O acorn! (you who are of no use, though you grow on a mighty tree).

Endurance: *illi biuṣbur ‘al-ḥuṣrumbiākul ‘inab⁶*—He who waits

¹ The last two proverbs deal with adiposity and debility.

² Cant. 7¹.

³ The ڍ is pronounced like a ڍ.

⁴ According to H, B, W it means beardless and comes from *ḥausadj*.

⁵ The first part is mentioned by DALMAN, *Arbeit*, 52.

⁶ SOGIN, l.c., 413, and K. L. TALQVIST, *Arabische Sprichwörter und Spiele*, 172, give variations of this proverb.

for the green, sour grapes (to ripen) will eat sweet grapes.

Of an interfering body it is said that "he is like the onion which is to be found in every meal" (*zaiy el-başaleh btudbul fi kull tabbah*). Or *zaiy humşet el-kaiy bidhas haluh fi kull saiyy*—like the pea (used to keep the suppuration) of a cauterization wound; he interferes in everything.¹

Silliness is thus described: *inti dili' zaiy tabih el-qar'*—You are insipid like the cooked pumpkin.

A greedy stingy person is compared to a Cuminum L.,² and is called *abu kammineh*.³ During the formation of the seeds the blossoms of this plant close themselves like the tightly closed hand of an avaricious man.⁴

A cunning character is compared to a serpent hidden in the straw: *zaiy haiyet et-tibn btuqrus min taht lataht*—You are like the snake (hidden) in the straw, which bites unseen.

Hypocrisy: *zaiy habbet el-'adas ma hada bia'raf batenhā min zahirhā*⁵—(You are) like a lentil seed: no one can tell its face from its back!

Uselessness: *miṭl el-başal kull mā kibir kull mā ribiṣ*—Like the onions, the bigger they become the cheaper they are. *zaiy qarn el-ḥarrub lā ben'add walā hinmadagh*⁶—Like the pod (husk) of the carob-fruit, it can be neither bitten nor chewed. *int zaiy qarn el-ḥarrub kull mā ṭal 'umruh isuadd uidjhuh uinhanā zahrub*—You are like the husk of the carob-fruit: the older it gets the more its face becomes black and its back bent. *miṭl habbit el-barakeh kull alf birghif*—(You are) like the nigella seed, each thousand (only) make a loaf. *zaiy nuwār es-safardjal min kull miyeh bti'qid wāhdih*—Like the blossoms of the quinces, of every hundred of them only one grows into fruit.⁷

¹ This explains well the custom of the *humşah*.

² Jothan (Jud. 9¹⁴⁻¹⁵) compares Abimelech, who with the advancing age grows more stingy and worse in character, to a thorn.

³ AL-MEIDANI, *madjma' ul-'amṭal*, p. 232, gives a variation to this.

⁴ Even at a child's birth one may tell whether the child will become generous or stingy. The former is born with an open hand, whereas the latter has it tightly closed. (CANAAN, *The Child in Palestinian Superstition*, JPOS, VII, 164).

⁵ BAUMANN, l.c., No 337; J. R. Jewett, *Arabic Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases*, JAOS, XV, No 151 and L. BAUER (*Arabische Sprichwörter* ZDPV, XXV, No 168).

⁶ BAUMANN, l.c. No 349.

⁷ There is a saying: *mā btisud qişret başaleh*, you are not worth the peel of an onion.

Immutability: *ʔnl ʕumrik yā zʔibeh uʔi ʔizik hal-ʕndeh*—All your life long, O raisin, you had this stalk in your rectum! *ʔnl ʕumrik yā bēdindjāneh uʔizək ʕaryāneh*—All your life long, O egg-plant, your buttocks were naked!

Pride: *ʕumirha šadjarah mā uʔlat larabbha illā uadjā l-hawā uhabbha*¹—Never did a tree attempt to reach its God but a wind came and broke it. We meet with the same idea in Dan. 4¹. *kibir el-bēdindjan uitdandanat djrāsub unisi quffet ezbāleh illi kānat tinkabb ʕarāsub*—The eggplant has grown and its flower bells are jingling, but it has (completely) forgotten the basket of dung which used to be poured over its head! *miʔl el-baḡdūnis šuršub ʕal-ḡarā-ubī āsir el-akābir ʕas-sufar*—Like the parsley, its roots are in the dung, yet it courts high company at table. *kibir el-baḡal uitdawwar unisi zamānuh el-auwal*²—The onions have grown and become round, but they have forgotten their early times³ (when they were insignificant and small).⁴

Every human being may sometimes fail: *mā šadjarah illā inhazzat*—No tree but has been (once) shaken (by the wind). *mā šadjarah illā ḡarrakathā el-ʕariḡ ualā sukkarah illā laḡlaḡhā muʔtāḡ*—No tree but has been (once at least) shaken by the winds, and no lock but has been moved by a key. *kull ʕūd uʔluḡ duḡḡān*⁵—Every stick (when burned) emits smoke. Some add to the above: *ḡaltā ʕūd e-ššalib iluḡ duḡḡān*—Even the wood of the Cross will give forth smoke.

Hereditary character: *el-baḡal mā minnuḡ ʕasal*—No honey can be had from onions. *biākul ʔut ubirdjaʕ ladj-djdūd*⁶—He eats mulberries and returns to his ancestors (i.e. he betrays his origins: from his way of eating these fruits—with his fingers or a pointed stick—one may infer what grade of society he comes from). *immuḡ eʔ-tōm uabūḡ el-baḡal minēn tidjil er-rīḡah ez-zakiyeh*⁷—His mother is garlic and his

¹ CARLO LANDBERG, *Proverbs and Dictions*, No 150, gives a variation.

² A variation is *kibir el-ḡar ʕ uitdawwar unisi qillit ʕam auwal*.

³ These are called *qunnār*.

⁴ Of a cheap thing one says: *arḡaḡ min el-ʕidjil*—cheaper than radishes. A. MIDANI, l.c. p. 334 gives a variation: *arḡaḡ min el-tamr bil-baḡrah*—cheaper than dates in Bosra.

⁵ SOCIN, l.c., No 92.

⁶ BAUMANN, l.c., No 255 and LITTMANN (a. SINGER, *Arab. Proverbs*, Cairo 1913) No 129, give variations.

⁷ BAUMANN, No 497, gives it in the negative form.

father onion; whence shall he get a sweet odour? 'umruh mā biṭla' min en-natš yawāšil¹—From thistles one never gets plough-shafts.² 'ala l-qurmiyeh btunbut el-'rūq (es-sarbūbah)³—The shoots grow on the stump of a tree.⁴

But the rule laid down in these verses has some exceptions: yā mā wardeh ḥallafat sōkeh uyā mā sōkeh ḥallafat wardeh⁵—How often has a rose brought forth a thorn, and how often has a thorn brought forth a rose!

The blessings of a quiet conscience are well expressed in the following words, closely resembling the Biblical text:

ḅākul ḥubzeh u duqqah walā babāt ḥuqqah
ualā bākul laḥmeh smīneh ubākul 'alēhā għbineh⁶

I would rather eat bread with powdered and prepared thyme than sleep in anger; nor would I eat fat meat and follow it by eating deceit and cheating.

Bad company destroys a good character: yā dāḥil bēn el-bašaleh uīt-tōmeh yā ṭālī bir-riḥah eš-šin'ah⁷—O you that enter between the onion and the garlic, behold! you will come out with a bad smell! illi bidji bēn el-bašaleh uqisrithā bidduh yiḥmil šannethā⁸—He who comes between the bulb of an onion and its peel must bear its fetid smell.

Filial love is well expressed in the following saying: mā biḥinn 'alāl-'ūd illā qiširtub⁹—Nothing longs after the stick more than its own bark!

Of a house full of children or provender it is said: el-bēt matlan miṭl er-rummāneh—The house is full like the pomegranate.

¹ CANAAN, ZDMG, vol. 70, p. 169

² Matth. 7¹⁶, Luke 6⁴⁴. Šihāb ed-Din 'Abd el-Wahhāb en-Nueiri, *nihdyatu l-'arab*, p. 11, gives the variation: *innaka lā tadjni min aš-šauki l-'inab*.

³ 'Sarbūbah is not known in B, H, W, KH and MB.

⁴ A variation is 'alā el-'rūq btunbut eš-šadjar—on the roots the trees grow up.

⁵ A variation is yā mā zardeh ḥallafat wardeh. See also BURCHARDT, *Arabic Proverbs*, 763.

⁶ CARLO LANDBERG, l.c., 120, has a variation well known in Palestine.

⁷ LOEHR, 104,9; BURKHARDT, 93; EINSLER, 66; BAUMANN, 617.

⁸ 'ALI AHDAB, *farāid el-la'āl fi madjma' el-amṭāl*, Beirut 1312 A.H. 323 gives one part of this proverb.

⁹ A "nestling" is called 'āḥir el-'anqūd, "the last of the bunch." 'anqūd stands here for the last "egg" of the "bunch" of eggs of a hen. I do not think that ṭālī el-'anqūd has the meaning which STEPHAN (JPOS II, 201) gives it.

Ungrateful children: *mā biqta' es-sadžarah illā far' minha nabat*¹—Nothing cuts down the tree but a branch which grew on it (and was used as the handle for the axe). *rabbetik ya sadjarah la'akul minnik tamarah*—I have brought you up, O tree, to eat fruit from you (but you do not bear any, or you do not give them to me).

Insanity: *et-tal tul en-nableh ail-'aql 'aql sableh*²—The stature is that of the palm-tree, but the brains are those of the lamb. *'aqluh djobzēn' adjamal*³—His brain is like two nuts (loaded) on a camel (they are unseen and move erratically). The different periods of life are beautifully described in the following verses:⁴

ibn 'asarah miṭl el-ḥiārah el-mqaṣṣarah

ibn 'isrin bi' asir el-madžānin

ibn talātin ḫār el-basātin

ibn arb' in min el-kāmlin

At ten years old a man is (tender) as the peeled cucumber;

At twenty years old he consorts with the mad;

At thirty he is like the flowers of the gardens;

At forty he belongs to the perfect (in understanding).

ibn 'asr snin ḫār el-basātin

ibn 'isrin miṭl el-madžānin

ibn talātin abū el-'aql er-razin

At ten years old a man is like the flowers of the gardens;

At twenty he is like the mad folk;

At thirty he is sedate in character and sound in judgement.

lā sadjarah tunbut walā saṭl yirtqi—(The human body is) neither a tree to grow (if hewn down) nor is it a pail (which can be mended if it leaks). *illī biyākul qad ḫibeh mā fiḥ walā mṣibih*⁵—He who eats as (little as) a raisin has no illness. *maṣayib ed-dahr akṭar min nabat el-arḍ*⁶—The misfortunes of time are more numerous than the plants of the earth. *lamma zara' ak iblis kunt 'anā msabbil*—When the devil sowed you I had already grown ears.⁷ *es-sadžarah*

¹ BAUMANN, 33, gives a variation.

² SOCIN, 375; STEPHAN, JPOS, V, p. 97, 27 and JPOS, V, p. 12, 39.

³ Eccles. 7⁸ compares the laughing of a madman to the "crackling of thorns."

⁴ Of someone who is tenacious of life we say *ḥurṣuh qawī*, his root is strong (i.e. it cannot be uprooted easily).

⁵ BAUMANN, 135.

⁶ K. L. TALQVIST, l.c. 170.

⁷ It is used in the sense "I am older and wiser than you."

*illi ma bitimr qat' ha halal*¹—To hew down the tree which bears no fruit is a good (permissible) act.² *hakim bala 'amal miil sadjarah bala tamarah*—A learned man without (productive) work is like a tree without fruit.

When we consider the influence of plants on the religion of the people we find that the peasant has an acute sense of the beauties of trees, herbs and flowers. Their growth, their green foliage, lovely blossoms and refreshing fruits he acknowledges as evidence of a secretly working life-force of supernatural power. He perceives in them the ruling Creator. The Palestinian does not look at the trees simply as plants, but as beings endowed with supernatural powers. The spirits of the upper (and to a lesser degree those of the lower) world, even his local saints, the *awliā*, may live and appear in them. This explains the mysterious fact that sixty per cent. of all Mohammedan shrines are associated with trees.³ This is why they are revered as sacred sites.⁴ The *fellah* hangs pieces of cloth on them and uses their leaves for healing purposes.⁵ No twigs are cut off and even withered branches will not be carried away. Such a belief in the holiness of trees is old. We can trace it in the history of the Children of Israel from the earliest stages. This point need not be enlarged upon (cf. Is. 57⁵ 65³, Jer. 2²⁰ 3¹³ 17², Ezek. 6¹³ 20²⁸, Hos. 4¹³).

It is of interest to know that the present-day peasant does not venerate the trees themselves but the divine-power which acts in them and which is derived from the godly person whose soul is supposed to be still inhabiting the shrine, tomb, cave or spring with which they have become associated. Often these holy men have appeared either in the tree itself or near by. A close observation of the species of the holy trees reveals the fact that any tree growing in Palestine can be sanctified by *awliā*. This shows clearly that the holiness attached to the tree is not due to the species of the tree, but to the inhabiting *weli*.⁶ Holy trees growing by them-

¹ I. S. YAHUDA (*Bagdadische Sprichwörter*, 21) gives a variation.

² Matth. 21¹⁹⁻²¹ ³ CANAAN, *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries*, p. 103.

⁴ CANAAN, l.c., p. 103 f. ⁵ CURTISS (German edition), pp. 96-98.

⁶ In the Bible we meet the oak (Gen. 13¹⁸ 35; Joshua 24²⁶, Judges 6¹¹ and¹⁹), the pomegranate tree (I Sam. 14²), the palm tree (Judg. 4⁵) and the storax tree (Hos. 4¹³). Cf. LUNDGREEN, l.c. pp. 17-24.

selves and not connected with any shrine or tomb may be the abiding place of the saint, the local God of the peasants.¹

A study of popular ideas of the origin and importance of certain plants is of interest.

The palm tree plays an important rôle in the everyday life of the Palestinian² There is no doubt whatever that we have here many survivals of old ideas. In the writer's opinion the present day Palestinian considers the beautiful, evergreen,³ erect-growing palm tree as "the tree of life." The word *sadjarat el-hayâh*, "Tree of life," is not itself used, yet an analysis of the superstitions, beliefs and customs connected with the palm tree leads to this conclusion.⁴

A popular belief is that the love and devotion of Jesus to his mother came from the date which formed his main food.⁵ Therefore newborn children are often given as their first drink some drops of water into which a date has been macerated.⁶ Many Mohammedans eat a date as their first food at the *fi'ir* (breaking the fast) of Ramadân. It is reported that the Prophet's main food consisted of this fruit. Every child which feeds regularly on date-juice is believed to acquire the gift of charming and attractive speech.⁷ In all these cases dates from Mecca are preferred.

The main decorations in Mohammedan shrines are rude reproductions of the hand, palm branches⁸ and snakes.⁹ The first two are more often seen than the third. Even in decorating the walls of a house we commonly find that palm branches predominate. In shrines, as well as in houses, we also find decorations consisting of flower-pots and Qoranic verses. In the embroideries of the Christian peasants of Bethlehem and Ramallah one also notices the designs derived from the palm tree.¹⁰ Many women belonging to the Orthodox Church believe that sterility may be cured by eating

¹ Compare with Hosea 14th. ² It is often mentioned¹ in the Qoran.

³ Ps. 92nd.

⁴ Qoran XIX, 25. CANAAN, *Die Neugeborenen in der palästinischen Sitte*, Neueste Nachrichten aus d. Morgenlande, vol. 71, p. 151; JPOS, VII, 166.

⁵ An old custom which is still observed by Mohammedan townspeople. *Aghâni*, IV, 1549; WELLHAUSEN, *Reste arab. Heidentums*, 154.

⁷ CANAAN, *The Child in Palestinian Arab Superstition*, JPOS, VII, 166.

⁸ The inside of the temple was decorated with palm branches (I Kg. 6th 32nd, Ez. 41st).

⁹ CANAAN, JPOS, IV, 13.

¹⁰ The same is very often seen on pottery.

dates from the palm tree of Mar Saba.¹ The common Arabic name for the glans penis—the organ propagating life—is the same as that used for the date fruit, *tamarah*.²

Palm branches are carried in front of every Mohammedan funeral procession and later laid over the grave. I have seen many graves in the cemeteries of towns in the coastal region decorated with palm branches. Four such branches are put into the ground, one at each of the four corners of the tomb, in such a way that their tops touch each other. Often these branches are interwoven with flowers. It is a common belief that as long as they remain green the deceased is able to thank and praise God, thus partly or wholly atoning for his misdeeds in life. Many tombstones have also small palm branches engraved on them.

According to a Mohammedan belief God created the palm tree from the clay which remained after the creation of man. Therefore it is said still to contain the same "sap of life" as is in man himself.³ The Prophet is supposed to have uttered the following *hadit*: "Honour your aunts the palm trees!"⁴ Owing to this supposed common origin of the date trees and the human race, it is believed that the former resembles the latter in its erect growth, the outstanding characteristics of the male tree, the diseases to which both are subjected and, finally, in the fact that with loss of the head or crown, respectively, both man and date tree die.

On the table which God sent to 'Isâ (Christ) from heaven,⁵ there were five dates from the fruits of Paradise.⁶ Therefore any sick person eating dates is believed to recover more quickly.⁷

It is a widespread belief that the Holy Rock (of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem) rests upon a date palm which grows at the side of one of the streams of Paradise. Since the rivers contain the water of life, the palm tree imbibes this continually.⁸

After scrutinizing all this evidence the question to be answered is, why are so many superstitions connected with the palm tree, which is neither very abundant in Palestine nor specially dedicated

¹ CANAAN, *Aberglaube*, p. 87. ² It is a corruption of the classical *tamarah*.

³ PEFQS, 1903, 292. ⁴ CANAAN, *Aberglaube*, 187; *haridatu l-'adjâib*, 102.

⁵ Sûrah V, 112-115 ⁶ Mudjir ed-Din, *târîh el-uns ed-djâil*, 146.

⁷ Ibid. 147.

⁸ Ibid. 209.

to any renowned prophet? The Holy Books refer more often to the vine and the olive tree. According to the Mohammedan teaching the Almighty is even believed to have himself taken an oath by the olive tree.¹ But an analysis of the beliefs of the ancient oriental nations shows us that with them also the palm tree played an important rôle. It is seen venerated as the "Tree of Life" and as the symbol of victory on Babylonian cylinders, Assyrian reliefs in royal palaces, Canaanite earthenware articles and Hebrew coinage.² This idea of the "Tree of Life," the sign of immortality, probably lies at the root of all the customs and superstitions known to and practised by the present Palestinian. A convincing proof is the belief that God created the date palm from the same clay as the immortal Adam. For Adam became mortal only after his fall. The eating of the fruits of this Tree of Life creates life in a sterile woman. Palm branches laid down at the tomb of the deceased preserve him in life for a while, although his body is dead. In Mohammedan shrines we meet the two representations of life, the palm tree and the serpent. The name of the latter is *haiyeh* and comes from the same root as *hayah*, life.³ The most important spiritual and moral attributes, such as wisdom, love, devotion and attractive speech, are gained by partaking of the fruits of this Tree of Life.⁴ Thus according to Palestinian folklore the palm tree still fulfils the conditions of the Tree of Life mentioned in the Book of Revelation, 22²⁻⁴.

The orientals believe that originally wheat was the tree of the knowledge of good and evil⁵ which stood in the centre of the Garden of Eden.⁶ It was from it that the serpent plucked a fruit and gave it to Eve.⁷ At that time wheat grains were the size of

¹ Sûrah XCV, 1; XXIV, 35; JPOS, VI, 19.

² JEREMIAS, *Das alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients*, 95, 105; DALMAN, PJB, 1906, 50; SELLIN, *Ertrag der Ausgrabungen im Orient*, 35 ff.; LUNDGREEN, l.c., 137 f.

³ CANAAN, *Aberglaube*, 85; JPOS, IV, 13; Kahle, PJB, VIII, 140.

⁴ Prov. 3¹⁸ 11³⁰ 13¹² 15⁴. ⁵ Sûrah II, 33.

⁶ MUDJIR ED-DIN, l.c., 18; MUHAMMAD FARID EL-MUFTI, *tārîḥ el-anbiā ual-islām*, p. 4.

⁷ Some believe that Eve herself plucked the fruit, whereupon there exuded a milky fluid. Ever since the female sex "bleed," in order to be always reminded of the disaster they caused:

a cucumber. When Adam was driven out from Paradise God sent to him by the Angel Gabriel wheat grains wrapped in seven silk handkerchiefs. Adam sowed them, yet they grew only to their present size. This belief is cherished by Mohammedans and Christians.¹ All wheat grains are said still to bear the ا , the first letter of Allah; therefore they are treated with much honour. The Palestinian takes the utmost care that no crumb of bread falls to the ground. Should he perchance find a piece on the ground he will pick it up very carefully, kiss and deposit it in some place where it will not be trodden upon.² The following story illustrates this.³ A rich man prayed once that God would give a part of his riches to needy people, since he himself could not use the whole of it. Thereupon the Almighty sent him the angel Gabriel who advised him: "If you would have your prayer fulfilled, eat while you are walking." The man followed the heavenly advice, but he fastened around his neck a sack with a broad opening, so that no crumb might fall to the ground. God, on seeing the great loyalty of his servant in respecting the smallest gift, bestowed upon him a tenfold increase of his wealth.

In order to ensure the blessing of the Almighty⁴ on the wheat, God's name is pronounced before starting upon any of the following actions: sowing, reaping, threshing,⁵ winnowing, measuring⁶ or grinding the wheat, as well as kneading dough, baking, breaking⁷

¹ From the notes of my father.

² A *fellāh* will never tread with his shoes on a heap of wheat.

³ I have heard the same in Sarris. ⁴ CANAAN, JPOS, VI, 51 ff.

⁵ The *fellāh* is very leisurely over the process of threshing (Lev. 26^b, Ruth 3), which may last two or three months. He works almost in the same primitive fashion as his ancestors of biblical times (Deut. 25⁴).

⁶ The usual numbers are not used while measuring corn. The substitutes generally heard are: Instead of "one," for the first measure (*sā'*): *allah wāhīd*, "God is one," is repeated until the *sā'* is finished. For the second: *māluh tānī*, "He has no equal," is used. The third is called three (*talāṭī*). The fourth, *nirbah min allah*, "we gain from (through) God." For the fifth "five" is used, but instead of six, *sitr' allah*, "God's protection"; for seven *samḥah* "(God's) gift" or *barakeh*, "blessing"; for eight, *rabb el-'amāneh*, "the God of security (faith)" is used. Nine and ten are unchanged but the eleventh *sā'* "is for the Prophet," *el-ḥādī lan-nabī*.

⁷ Formerly the bread was broken but never cut: the peasants believe that it will lose its blessing if it is cut with a knife. The Christians argue, "Christ broke but never cut the bread" (Math. 26²⁶, Mark 14²²).

and eating the bread. This custom gives wheat a particular position. In former times, more than to-day, a sheep was sacrificed in honour of the patriarch Abraham after completion of sowing. Often after winnowing and cleansing the grains the first meal to be cooked from the harvested wheat was a *smât*,¹ dedicated to *Halil Allah*,² or to some other saint, and was distributed among the poor.³

Some sayings illustrating the superiority of wheat over other cereals are here given: *el-'és maṣḥaf allah*—Bread is God's (sacred) book. *lôlâ allah biyâkul la'akal ḥubz u' inab*⁴—If God would eat he would have eaten (nothing but) bread and grapes.

The one wish of a good housewife is to have a sufficient supply of corn: *in kân el-qamḥ fil-bêt friḥt ughannêt*—If the wheat is (in sufficient quantity) in the house I will rejoice and sing. *el-ḥubz uiz-ẓét '(i)mâret el-bêt*—Bread and oil (ensure) the prosperity of the house.

It is said that the best wheat grows on non-irrigated ground, for then it will keep better—(*'alék biqamḥ el-barriyeh uḥḍar min qamḥ taḥt el-maiyeh*).

Barley ranks second only. Barley bread is the mark of poverty. This is well expressed in the following proverb: *mâ suft yôm ta'abkî 'a' aiyâmub illâ ḥubz es-s'ir uqillit adâmub*—I have never seen a good day (during all the time I lived with him) so that I should bemoan his days! (I have seen nothing) except the bread made of barley and the lack of his fat (=butter in his food). Both barley bread and lack of fat are signs of poverty. *miṭl ḥubz es-s'ir ma'kul unadmmûm*⁵—Like the barley bread: it is eaten but (always) criticised.

When the Prophet contemplated giving his daughter in mar-

¹ CANAAN, ZDMG, EXX, 164 ff; *Aberglaube*, 70; Dalman, PJB, 17.

² Abraham.

³ The heap of corn on the threshing floor is called *ṣalībī*. Every evening it is stamped both on the top as well as on the four sides with a seal on which the Mohammedan credo is engraved. In case such an elaborate seal is not obtainable the print of the five fingers (the hand) will do. This is to be able to check next morning whether any of the corn has been stolen, and also to protect the heap. Cf. DALMAN, PJB, XIII, 17. *Sulībī*, from *ṣalīb*=cross, comes from the form obtained by uniting the four signs with that made on the top of the heap. Many do not start measuring the corn directly after threshing but wait until it has "settled," *birauwiq*.

⁴ Heard in Hebron.

⁵ AL-MIDANI, l.c., p. 334.

riage to 'Ali, she is said to have objected to it, because of the latter's poverty. Her father answered: *(i)tbârak allah fil-faqîr ibn el-faqîr (i)tbârak allah fil-qamḥ ḥalt eš-š'îr*—May God be blessed through the poor the son of the poor; may God be blessed through the (bread of) wheat mixed up with barley.¹ This verse indicates the Prophet's disregard of social distinctions, the marriage of a rich girl with a promising, strong and healthy, though poor, young man is to be encouraged. Barley bread is still the main food of a large section of the people.²

The following dialogue is attributed by the peasant to wheat, barley and maize and well expresses the characteristics of the three, so far as they are used as food: *'anâ el-qamḥ barmah ramḥ batqaddam laḍ-ḍéf balâ ghmâs*—I am the wheat, I keep running and am served to the guest without any condiment. *'anâ eḍ-ḍurah eḍ-ḍarieh³ zaiy er-rmah el-'alieh zênî zên el-mlah ṭali ṭâl er-rmah⁴*—I am the maize, a prolific woman⁵ (or who gives protection to those who seek it).⁶ (I am) like the high lances, my beauty is that of fair women; my stature is as high as that of the long spears.

I have also heard the following version: *'anâ eḍ-ḍurah el-muta-ḍarieh inum el-frû' el-'alieh bisarḥîni fidj-djurbân biradjd⁷ ani' adj-djmâl*—I am the maize of good, well-known origin, with the high growing branches. In small leather bags do they take me out (to the fields) and yet on camels do they bring me home (i.e. small quantities of seed give a rich harvest).

Barley⁷ kept silent and the others despised it: *eš-š'îr lal-b'îr*—Barley is good (only as forage) for the camel.

Sometime maize even scoffs at the wheat and says: *uskut yâ ašfar yâ mbaṭbi⁸ yâ mal' abet el-banât*—Be quiet you pale one! you dabbling one! you plaything of the girls.⁹

¹ CANAAN, *Aberglaube*, 34, note 1.

² Num. 5¹⁵, Jud. 7¹³, II Kg. 4⁴², Ez. 4¹², John 6^{9and13}.

³ The correct writing is النارية and الترة.

⁴ *Rmah* and *rmûh* are both used as plural.

⁵ H, B and MB.

⁶ W and MB

⁷ When the first blade of the barley develops from the stalk they say *'aṭla' râydt*, it has developed banners.

⁸ The noise of kneading dough. It also means swollen. Unknown in this sense in MB.

⁹ *Durah* not *ḍurrah*, PJB, XII, 102.

The mallow¹ complains of its bad lot to the beans: *el-hubbēzeh bitqāl bitqāl yābn 'ammī yā qrēn el-fūl 'anā qalā'ū šursī mā ḥallūlī šurs' iqām*—The mallow says and says: O my cousin, O little pod of broad beans, they have uprooted me (completely) and not a single root have they left standing (to grow up again).

The water complains of the trees which it once watered and whose growth it promoted: *el-'aṣl minnī u 'anā fil-uād djarēt u 'asqēt el-ghsan el-mdallāi ubnarhum inkauēt*—I am the real cause (of their growth) for I flowed through the valley and watered the overhanging branches, but by their fire am I scorched (boiled). This was overheard by a wanderer who, resting in the shadow of the tree on the bank of a brook, had gathered the dry twigs and kindled a fire to brew his coffee.

Although rice is one of the most important Arab dishes it can never take the place of wheat: *er-ruẓẓ mā hu 'ēs mā biṣbi' walā djhēs*—Rice (cannot be accounted true food since it) is not bread: it cannot even satisfy a young foal.

With bread, rice is the main food of the Oriental especially of the middle class. Instead of it the poor use the much cheaper *burghul* (wheat grains cooked, dried and roughly ground) as well as lentils, which are considered to be the rice of the peasant²: *el-'adas ruẓẓ el-fallāḥ*. This is well illustrated by the saying about the poor widow who had been asked to marry a poor man³: *armaleḥ (i)ḥ'adas umitdjauwziḥ (i)ḥ'adas ḥalliki balā djōẓ taklī 'adas*—As a widow you live on lentils, and married you will still have nothing but lentils. (It is better therefore that) you remain without a husband and eat lentils.

The difference between rice and *burghul* is expressed in *el-'izz lar-ruẓẓ uil-burghul šanaq ḥāluḥ*—Nobility belongs to the rice, *burghul* has hanged itself (out of jealousy). Legumes sometimes take the place of meat: *in ḡhab eḍ-dānī 'alēk bil-qaṭānī⁵ (bil-ḥumṣānī)*—If the

¹ *Lavatera Cretica*, fam. *Malvacea*.

² Lentils anciently were much in favour: Gen. 25⁸⁶, II Sam. 17²⁸ 23¹¹, Ez. 4⁹.

³ The same sense is expressed by: *ẓētūn (i)ḥẓētūn ḥurrah fī bēti bakūn*, (in my present condition I have only) olives (and married I shall have only) olives! I will remain (single but) free in my house.

⁴ A variant is *el-'izz lar-ruẓẓ uil-maraqah lal-'adas*, the honour (nobility) is for the rice, but the (best) soup is that of the lentils.

flesh of sheep is unattainable, they take legumes instead (or go to the person who prepares dishes of peas).¹

The best apricots are supposed to be those growing in *es-Sileh* while the best apples come from Sidon: '*alék bil-miṣmiṣ es-silāwi uit-tuffāh es-sidāwi*.

On the eve of Ramadan the *fellāh* strews a handful of seven different kinds of seeds in front of the door of his house, namely wheat, barley, maize, vetches (*kirsanneh*), millet, lentils and beans.² In some places a little salt is added. This is believed to be the most effective way to keep demons from entering the house. They are supposed to be banished in the month of Ramadan behind the mountain of Qāf.

On the Mohammedan New Year every family—especially those of the towns—hangs a green branch on the door of the house. This custom is also practised throughout Palestine upon the first entry of the bride into the house of the bridegroom,³ as well as during the erection of the wooden frame of a tiled roof, and sometimes on completing an arch. In the case of the roof an olive branch preferably is fastened to the top of the wooden frame: These customs are meant symbolically. The green branch of a living tree being the sign of prosperity and peace. It is for this same reason that a woman, a house or a mare, which are supposed to have brought good luck, are described as having a "green" foot or hand⁴—*idjirhā ḥaḍrā, idhā ḥaḍrā*.⁵

Some peasants prefer on the first of Moharram to eat only of

¹ In the first case the dish *ḥummuṣ biḥīneh* is meant.

² Instead of one of the latter some substitute lentils and vetches.

³ In Sarris the bride has to carry on her head a pitcher of water with which on entering the house of her future husband she touches the upper doorpost.

⁴ But quite different is the meaning of the expression *dar abī ḥaḍrā*, the house of my father is green. A respectable woman will never speak ill of others. She excuses herself with the above remark, believing that speaking ill of others may ruin her father's house which is noble and honoured (green and flourishing).

⁵ Plants are also used in a symbolic way in magic. Some examples are:—
a) People near whose doors the bridal procession passes on its way to or from the church will strew sweet fruits (raisins and figs) in hope that the union will have always a sweet future. b) An enemy of the bridegroom will, on the other hand, strew flour in order to "bind" (*yurbut*) his sexual powers.

green or white vegetables and fruits.

With a marked poetical touch the peasant compares the olive tree, the fig tree and the vine with the three classes of the inhabitants of the country: bedouin, peasants and townfolk. The olive tree which needs the least care among them growing everywhere and contenting itself with little, is compared to a bedouin woman. The fig tree which requires more attention and labour is like the peasant woman. The vine¹ is likened to the townswoman who can endure little yet requires much more attention and lives expensively. This may illustrate the agricultural rule according to which the olive tree and the vine are not planted on the same tract of land, and may account for the fact that in the Old Testament fig tree and vine are constantly mentioned together yet never the vine and olive tree.² This idea is expressed even more clearly in the following saying: *es-sadjar el-murr biyakul el-hilû*—The bitter trees (olive trees) devour the sweet ones (fig trees and vines).

It is the same with the comparison of the oak with the goat, and the peach (representing the fruit trees) with the sheep (*el-ballû zaiy el-'anzeh uil-hôh zaiy el-harûf*). Oaks and goats require little care, contrary to fruit trees and sheep.

Olives, pomegranates, figs and grapes are called "the fruits of Paradise," *'atmâr edj-djanneh*.³ The olive tree⁴ has also the honorific names "the blessed tree" (*es-sadjarah el-mubârah*) and the "tree of light"⁵ (*šadjrat en-nûr*) and is highly esteemed. Some people even take oaths by it.

It is believed that every pomegranate contains a seed originating from its prototype in the Garden of Eden: therefore many Mohammedans of the city take great care not to drop and lose any of the seeds, since that might be just the one which came from paradise. This accounts for the custom of giving small children the juice of the fruit.⁶ It is said: *er-rummân binli el-qalb 'imân*—The

¹ Some (especially at *Dér Ghassineh*) compare the townswoman with the orange tree, "the tree of coquetry."

² Deut. 8⁸, I Kg. 4²⁶, Ps. 78⁴⁷ 105³, Cant. 2¹³, Hos. 2¹², Joel 1¹², Mic. 4⁴, Zech. 3¹⁰.

³ They are the most important fruit trees of the Holy Land.

⁴ The Sûfis use the word *zêtûn* to express "a susceptible soul," MB, 901.

⁵ In the Bible it is used as a symbol of peace, beauty and fertility.

⁶ CANAAN, JPOS, VII, 166.

(eating of) pomegranates fills the heart with faith.”

The *mêramiyeh*¹ is called after the Blessed Virgin. It is related how she once took a long walk in the heat of the summer. Sweating profusely she sat on a stone to rest. At her feet there was a salvia plant. She took a few of the leaves to wipe her forehead, and thereby this plant acquired its sweet perfume and is still honoured with the name of the Virgin.² Some peasants also believe that salvia has retained the savour of mother Eve.³ In Artâs I heard: *buđi šimmî riḥit immik*— Take and smell the aroma of your mother (Eve).⁴

Once when walking through the fields the Virgin Mary wished to eat meat without bones. God at once caused the mushroom to grow. Bedouin value these more than do the peasants.

When Mary lost her son Jesus and was looking for him in the fields and gardens, between hedges and under trees, she was caught by the thorns of a rose bush. Reproaching it she said, “Dost thou not realize the pain and anguish which the absence of my boy causes me? May the bitterness of my soul come upon thee!” Since then this kind of rose has lost its thorns and is known as Oleander, *daflah*.⁵

In Nazareth is a custom for every family to plant a *riḥânet el-‘adrâ* (*Ocymum basilicum*), “Our Lady’s sweet basil,” which is offered to her in church on the feast of her Assumption.

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

It is further told how the prophet Mohammed once ate hard boiled eggs, and as these disagreed with him he soon vomited them and they were wondrously transformed into daffodils, the

¹ In Tûl Karm it is also called *šdjêrab*.

² In many places the dead are deposited in the grave upon *mêramiyeh*, which is also often placed over the grave.

³ Heard from Miss Baldensberger.

⁴ The rose of Jericho (*Anastatica hierochuntica*) is called *kaff el-‘adrâ*, the palm of the Virgin. I do not know why DALMAN (*Arbeit*, 54) translates it “sole of the Virgin.”

⁵ Heard from Mr. St. H. Stephan.

yellow of the egg being the calix and the white the petals.

The bedouin once asked Allah to give them a sweet meal which would need no trouble in its preparation. Therupon God gave them the date palm,¹ so they say: *el-balah ḥalāwih balā nār*—The dates are a sweet meal (prepared) without fire.

The superstitions connected with *tuffāh ed-djinn*² (Mandragora officinales) are interesting. This plant is believed to be inhabited by demons who attack any one who eats many of its fruits. From the root where they live the *djinn* rule over the whole plant.

The root is supposed to be so long that no one has yet reached its end. A part of the root is said to have the shape of the human body. If a peasant wished to remove such a plant from his garden he would never dare to do it himself, lest the demons attack him. Therefore he has recourse to the device of binding his ox or ass to the stem of the plant and driving the animal until the plant is uprooted. At that moment one may hear a horrible noise coming from the inhabiting spirit. The ripe fruits with their sweet smell³ are still used as a remedy for sterility.³

Further details may be added about the relationship between demons and plants. The Palestinian believes that the gold of the demons takes the shape of onion peel and their silver the shape of garlic peelings. People who were rewarded by the *djinn* used to disdain this apparently worthless gift and throw it away. They always regretted their mistake, but too late.

The carob trees and the fig trees⁴ yielding black fruits are the favoured habitation of the demons. The *djinn* gather under them for their meetings and processions. The *fellāḥ* avoids them: *en-nóm taḥt el-ḥarrīb ghér mamdúh*⁵—Sleeping under the carob tree is not

¹ It is also said: *en-nahleh šudjarat el-badawí*—The palm tree is the tree of the bedouin.

² It is known also by the names *tuffāḥ el-madjanín*, *t. el-badjan*, *t. el-madjal*, *t. el-mudjan*, *šudjdjá'* and *bandj*. STEPHAN, JPOS, II, 222, gives some of these names. In MB it is known as *luffāḥ* and the fruits as *yabrūḥ*.

³ Cant. 7¹⁴.

⁴ Gen. 30¹⁴. One may still hear: *tuffāḥ el-badjal bidjib el-ḥabal*, Mandagora causes (brings) pregnancy. Cf. Stephan JPOS, II, 222.

⁵ According to Judg. 20³⁰ (Baal Thamar, the Baal of the Palm) it seems that the belief in the habitation of trees by demons was known in biblical times.

advisable.⁴ The carob tree is believed to belong to the ill-omened planet Saturn² and any object in any way related to this planet is also more or less related to the evil spirits.

Less widespread is the belief that the oak tree is inhabited by demons. I met this superstition in Ṭurmus 'Aiyâ, where I heard: *lâ tiqtâ' el-ballût li'annuh maskan edj-djâlût*³—Do not fell the oak since it is the habitation of the devil.

I have never heard that a tree was inhabited at the same time by good and evil spirits. This is different in the case of springs, where antagonistic powers may dwell together.⁴

Even in the interpretation of dreams the plants play an important part, as in the time of the Old Testament.⁵ An analysis of such dreams shows that the interpretation is based either on a play of words or on some current superstition :-

	NAME	MEANING	DERIVATION
(English)	(Arabic)		
Quince	<i>safardjal</i>	Journey, quarrel, go apart	<i>safar</i> — journey, and <i>djalâ'</i> — emigration
Carob	<i>ḥarrûb</i>	Disaster, ruin, death, loss	<i>ḥaraba</i> ⁶ — to ruin
Vine	<i>dauâli</i>	Medicine, recovery, help ⁷	<i>dauâ</i> — medicine, and <i>lî</i> — for me
Prickly pear	<i>ṣabr</i>	Patience, success which requires prolonged effort	<i>ṣabr</i> — verb = to wait, noun = patience

¹ According to SCHEFTELOWITZ, *Alt-Palästinensischer Aberglaube*, p. 20, "Aus B. Pesachim III erfahren wir, dass man nicht im Schatten gewisser Bäume lagern soll, da die bösen Geister jener Bäume den Menschen Schaden zufügen."

² AL-MADJRITI, *ghdiatu l-ḥakim*; CANAAN, JPOS, IV, 37.

³ MB 272 gives *djalût* as "impertinent woman." In other dictionaries it is unknown. Probably it is derived from Goliath (*djalût*), Sûrah II, 244, 245. In the colloquial it is the name for a powerful evil demon (Goliath was a wicked giant).

⁴ CANAAN, JPOS, I 153-170.

⁵ The following biblical passages may illustrate this: Gen. 40⁹, the cup bearer's dream; Gen. 41¹⁻⁸, Pharaoh's two dreams; Judg. 7¹⁴, the barley bread of the Midianite; Gen. 37⁶, Joseph and his sheaves; Dau. 4⁷, the tree of Nebuchadnezzar.

⁶ 'ABD EL-GHANI EN-NABULSI, *ta'fir el-anâm*, I, 124.

⁷ Gen. 40⁹.

Bread, wheat	<i>hubz</i> , 'és	long life, richness ¹	'ása — to live
Rice	<i>ruzz</i>	Bad luck, misfortune	<i>raziyeh</i> —misfortune
Mallow	<i>hubbézeh</i>	Daily living	<i>hubz</i> — bread
Olives	<i>zétan</i>	Light, hope	Superstition
Hazel nuts	<i>bunduq</i>	Stranger, illegal ²	<i>bandüq</i> —illegal child ³

From the foregoing we may infer how great an influence plants exercised on the poetry of the Palestinian. Proverbs, idioms, axioms, rhymes and fables afford abundant illustrations, with their vivid pictures of grass and leaves, blossoms and fruits, trees and shrubs and descriptions of the beauties and defects of the human body and the human virtues and vices, in terms taken from the plant kingdom. Similarly the innumerable proverbs, songs, fables and parables of the Bible⁴ connected with plants show that the Hebrews were under the same influence as the modern Palestinian. This influence has gone so far that the *felláh* often disregards the names of angels and saints and gives his son or daughter the name of a flower or a tree. Even in oaths the plants play their part. Thus we find: *uñiát hal-bsát el-abqar illi ñilí min el-arq ñarsá ñarsá*⁵—By the existence of this green carpet which grew dumb and deaf (i.e. quietly) from the earth...! *uñagq man ya' lám kamm waraqah fi ñas-ñadjarah*—By the truth of the One who knows how many leaves are on this tree...! (The person while uttering this oath points to a tree).

Present-day imagery goes even farther: The attributes of God are explained by the flora. A proverbial expression makes plants praise God: *mā šā' 'allah ez-zar' bisabbih rabbuh*—O how beautiful! the standing corn praises God! *uñiát ñas-ñadjarah illi bñšrab min 'irñā ubñsabbih rabbñā*—By the life of this tree which drinks with its root, and which praises its Lord⁶. .!

Even this does not represent the summit of the peasant imagi-

¹ Joseph's dream about the sheaves meant good luck and success.

² 'ABD EL-GHANI, l.c.

³ Since *šedjam* is supposed to be inhabited by *djinn*, the interpretation of such a dream would not be favourable. Some think that it means *šaiy djān*, the shadow of the *djān*.

⁴ LUNDGREEN, l.c., p. 149 ff.

⁵ CANAAN, *Mohammedan Saints*, 126. " JPOS, VI, 2.

nation and piety. Not only do the plants praise God: they even bow down in veneration before the throne of the Creator. The Mohammedans believe that on *lélatu-l-Qadr* (27th Ramadan) the gates of heaven are opened so that a fortunate person may see through them. On this very night the trees kneel down in reverence since they may not look on the face of the Almighty. The Christians hold the same belief about the olive tree on the feast of the Holy Cross (September 13) and on Epiphany (January 6). A more poetic or pious conception it is difficult to imagine.¹

Some notes about the use of plants in the household may be added. It is not proposed to give cooking recipes, but only facts about superstitions or more primitive customs.

The bulb of the cyclamen latifolium, usually known as *šabūnet er-rā'ī* and *šabūnet el-'arab*,² were formerly used instead of soap, since they produce a scum on being rubbed.³

*Eṭ-taiyūn (fēdjam)*⁴, *Ruta Chalepensis*, is believed to destroy fleas, therefore peasants spread it from time to time over the hard-beaten floor of their dwellings.

Hdērah imparts an agreeable aroma to garments.

Should hens not lay the expected number of eggs during the spring time, they may be made ashamed by throwing some anemones in their food. They are supposed to say to each other: *īlī' el-ḥannūn u mā biḏnā yā 'ēbnā yā 'aẓāritnā min šāhibnā*.⁵—Lo, the anemones are in blossom and we have not yet laid any eggs. O what a shame and what a disgrace befalls us from our owner!

Material for fuel is generally gathered by women and the following saying describes the relative fuel value of various kinds of wood:

<i>ḥābet el-basueh</i> ⁶	<i>ḥams (i)qta' mā btisūa</i>
<i>ḥābet eš-ših</i>	<i>btisūa nūt qīrs šhīh</i>
<i>ḥābet eš-šurr</i> ⁶	<i>btisūa tis' a utis' in 'abd uḥurr</i> ⁷

‘The felling of the *Ononis natris* is not worth five paras, that of

¹ The Tryptichon on the altar of the Orthodox chapel, Viri Galilaei, shows the olive trees bowing in honour of the Theotokos (heard from Mr. St. H. Stephan).

² Both expressions are unknown in H, B, W, KH, MB.

³ *eṭ-tu'm* is another name for the bulb.

⁴ According to MB *fēdjān* is the original of *fēdjān*. It is an arabicised Greek word.

⁵ CANAAN, JPOS, III, 34.

⁶ Unknown in B, H, W, KH, MB.

⁷ *Zētūn šurrī* is a sort of wild olive tree with small fruits and a large stone.

Artemesia herba alba is worth one hundred full piasters; (but) the felling of the wild olive is worth ninety-nine slaves and a freeman (i.e. it is very valuable since its wood makes the best fuel)." *alḡdar eḡ-ḡētūn yābis el-ḡaḡab*—The green olive wood is (as good as) dry fuel. *mā biḡqid es-sēkaran¹ illā kull sakrān*—None but a mad person would burn *Hyoscyamus datura²* as fuel (since the smoke has a narcotic influence).

The wood of *'abhar*, *Styrax officinalis* L., is not used as fuel, since the stones of the fruits furnish material for the rosary beads used in prayers and in praising God.

The most important fuel of the peasants is *nats* (also called *billān*, *Poterium spinosum*). The women gather these thistles very busily in the summer and autumn and spread them in the sun to dry. They are then stored for use in winter. Heaps of them are generally seen around a shrine or holy tree³; for nobody dares to steal from another's heap, for the saint will punish such deeds very heavily. *Nats* is especially used to heat a *lattōn* (lime-kiln) For weeks we may observe how men and women work incessantly to gather the thistles. Immense heaps are necessary to keep the fire burning for three days and three nights. The wide use of these thorny plants as fuel is one of the main reasons why the rain has washed away the soil from the treeless mountains.⁴

So much has already been written about the cosmetic use of *ḡinnā* and about its use in the decoration of shrines that I need not dwell on it here.

A few short stories about plants may conclude this essay:

A lazy girl wished to marry a poor man. To the astonished questions of her father she answered, "Because he can only afford to eat maize bread, which is not kneaded but simply well-mixed with water."

A husband rebuked his wife for her lack of thrift since she would carelessly drop many grains while grinding maize. The woman took umbrage and answered, "They are worth nothing."

¹ Even animals fed on it are said to become intoxicated.

² B and H. In W and KH not mentiond. MB, 973 describes it as an ever-green plant, the fruits of which are edible.

³ CANAAN, *Mohammedan Saints*, 103.

⁴ The "Thursdays of the plants" have been described in JPOS, III, 23.

He retorted, "With these few grains so carelessly thrown on the floor, I can get myself another wife." She laughed at this idea. But he gathered the grains, sowed them and sowed the reaped grains in their turn. The harvest was now so great that the price he received for it was sufficient to pay the dowry for a second wife.

A *fellâh* complained to the *çidi* about his wife's disobedience. "My son," was the answer, "the sick grew in the Garden of Eden! You may safely use it when necessary to train your wife in obedience. It will bring blessing and peace in your home."

A bedouin once murdered a Jew. As there was no witness the victim said, "Look here, this camel thistle is my witness against you and it will surely revenge me!" After many years it happened that the bedouin and his wife passed the scene of the murder. On seeing the plant he laughed. His wife insisted on knowing why he laughed, and after her persistent questioning he said, "How on earth can this thistle revenge the Jew?" Shortly afterwards he had to answer for his crime.

A *fellâh* suspected his daughter of misconduct and to save his honour and the honour of his clan he and his son murdered the girl in the open field near Solomon's Pools. Shortly afterwards a pumpkin grew very rapidly and had many snow-white blossoms. This was ample proof to the father and brother of the innocence and chastity of the murdered girl.

Fâtmeb, the daughter of the Prophet, while in her impurity wished to enter the sleeping room of her father. She noticed on the threshold a grain of corn and returned immediately, for while in her condition she did not wish to step over the blessed grain of 'âs. Every succeeding day she tried to enter, but was prevented by the same cause, which appeared and then disappeared in a miraculous way. When she became pure the corn disappeared. Up to the present day a woman in her menses will not enter a shrine or step over any holy object. The Christian women may not on any pretext enter the choir of any eastern church.¹

When the prophet Mohammed died all the trees grieved. As a sign of their grief they shook off their foliage for part of the year. This sign of their sorrow they repeat every year. To the astonishment of all the other trees the olive tree did not follow

¹ CANAAN, *Aberglaube*.

their example. When questioned the olive tree answered, "Your mourning is but a passing one whereas mine is everlasting, for all my life I carry the black colour—the sign of deep grief—on my stem." Thus it put the other trees to shame.

A negro finding a piece of bread on an unclean spot, picked it up and ate it. The blessing bestowed on this good deed was wonderful, for the colour of the cheek which chewed the piece of bread grew paler and paler until it turned white.¹

¹ The last two stories I owe to Miss Baldensberger.

DIE MELKIŞEDEQ—TRADITIONEN

H. W. HERTZBERG

(JERUSALEM)

Im 14. Kapitel der Genesis, das bekanntlich bisher allen Versuchen, es einer der landläufigen Quellen einzugruppierten, widerstanden hat, begegnet jene eigenartige Gestalt des Melkişedeq, Königs von Salem. Es wird von ihm, ohne dass eigentlich ein Zusammenhang nach vorwärts oder nach rückwärts vorliegt, nur berichtet, dass er Brot und Wein herausträgt, über Abraham einen Segensspruch sagt und von ihm den Zehnten empfängt. Vorher und nachher ist die Rede von dem Zusammentreffen Abrahams mit dem König von Sodom, ohne dass des Melkişedeq Erwähnung getan wird. Die Beurteilung des ganzen Kapitels von Abrahams Kampf gegen die Ostkönige wie der Melkişedeqepisode ist zu verschiedenen Zeiten eine verschiedene gewesen. Während die Wellhausensche Ära das ganze Kapitel für eins der jüngsten Erzeugnisse der Genesis hielt, ist heute, aus historischen und aus religionsgeschichtlichen Gründen, das Vertrauen wieder im Wachsen begriffen¹; vor allem sind es die in dem Kapitel genannten Namen gewesen, die die oft geäußerten Zweifel immer wieder erschüttert haben²; dazu scheint die Bezeichnung Abrahams als des Hebräers auf älteren, nichtisraelitischen Ursprung zu weisen. Es würde zu weit führen, die verschiedenen Ansichten für und wider das Alter wie überhaupt die Probleme,

¹ Vgl. zur Orientierung Sellin, Einleitung in das Alte Testament, 4. Auflage, 1925, S. 29 ff.

² F.M. Th. Böhl, Die Könige von Gen. 14, ZAW (=Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft) 1916, S. 65 ff; Derselbe, Tud'alia I., Zeitgenosse Abrahams, um 1650 v. Chr., ZAW 1924, S. 148 ff. Vgl. Albright, The historical background of Gen. 14, Journal of the Society of Oriental Research, 1926, S. 231-269.

die mit diesem Kapitel zusammengehören, zu erörtern. Hier soll nur versucht werden, den Traditionen, die über die Gestalt des Melkişedeq hierzulande im Laufe der Zeit gelebt haben, nachzugehen und von da aus möglicherweise Rückschlüsse auf die Vergangenheit zu ziehen.

Die seltsame Gestalt des Priesterkönigs von Salem, der wie ein *deus ex machina* erscheint und wieder verschwindet, dem der Stammvater des jüdischen Volkes in einem Augenblick besonders grosser Macht den Zehnten gibt, hat ganz naturgemäss die Nachwelt beschäftigt. Das älteste Zeugnis ist der 110. Psalm, ein Königspsalm, wo im 4. Vers dem König von der Gottheit zugeschworen wird: du bist ein Priester in Ewigkeit nach der Weise Melkişedeqs; gerade die Tatsache, dass diesem Satz, der der Höhepunkt des Psalms ist, nichts weiter hinzugesetzt wird, zeigt, wie gut man über Melkişedeq Bescheid wusste. Auch diesem Psalm ist es ähnlich gegangen wie Gen. 14; lange hat man ihn in die späteste Zeit hineingesteckt und ihn, vor allem wegen eines vermeintlichen Akrostichons, für einen Hymnus auf den Makkabäer Simon gehalten. Heute sind die neuesten Kommentare (z. B. Kittel und Gunkel) wieder durchaus der Meinung, dass er in die ältere Königszeit hineingehört. Das Interesse an Melkişedeqs geheimnisvoller Persönlichkeit ist gewiss lebendig geblieben. Das geht einmal daraus hervor, in welchem Mass der jüdenchristlich orientierte Hebräerbrief des N. T. sich mit Melkişedeq beschäftigt, der ihm der Prototyp Jesu Christi ist; ferner, dass diese Gedankengänge auch später nachgewirkt haben, so dass man von den Theodotianern des 2. Jahrhunderts, die der Meinung gewesen sein sollen, Melkişedeq verhalte sich zu Christus wie das Urbild zum Abbild und sei deswegen höher zu stellen,¹ auch als von Melkişedeqianern spricht²; endlich, dass auch die jüdische Überlieferung der späteren Zeit sich noch lebhaft mit Melkişedeq beschäftigt hat. Wird er doch in dieser Überlieferung dem Sem

¹ A. Harnack in RE (=Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche) Bd. 13, S. 315 f. Über diese und andere Melkişedeq-Spekulationen vgl. H. Windisch, Der Hebräerbrief, 1913, S. 58 ff.

² Einen interessanten Einblick in die Rolle, die Melkişedeq in der christlichen Spekulation spielt, gibt der Aufsatz von G. Bardy, Melchisédek dans la tradition patristique, Rev. Biblique, 1926, p. 496-509, sowie besonders G. Wuttke, Melchisedech der Priesterkönig von Salem, 1927, und H. Stork, Die sogenannten Melchisedekianer, 1928.

gleichgesetzt¹, offenbar aus dem Bestreben heraus, den Mann, den der Hebräerbrief ἀγγελόγητος nennt,² in die Familie hineinzubekommen, aus der der Stammvater Abraham hervorgegangen ist.

Es ist angesichts dieser Tatsachen kein Wunder, dass auch in Palästina die lokalisierende Tradition³ sich für Melkišedeq interessiert hat. Als der wichtigste Ort für die Melkišedeqgeschichte tritt natürlich von alters her bis heute hin Jerusalem auf. Das setzt der 110. Psalm voraus, der den König in Zion feiert; das wird von Josephus⁴ ausdrücklich bestätigt und von vielen christlichen Pilgern als selbstverständlich angenommen. Die Gründe für diese Lokalisierung liegen auf der Hand. Zu Jerusalem passt das Heranziehen des Königs von Sodom, der Heimmarsch Abrahams von Damaskus nach Hebron sowie auch das im Vers 17 genannte Königstal, das gewiss mit dem Königsgrund⁵ von II Sam. 18,18 gleichgesetzt werden darf, in welchem sich Absalom seine Gedenksäule aufgerichtet hat; der Name dürfte mit den Königsgärten in Zusammenhang zu bringen sein,⁶ die im heutigen Kidrontal anzunehmen sind, und ein Hysteronproteron darstellen. Zu Jerusalem passt auch der Name Salem; das Wort wird als Bezeichnung für Jerusalem sonst noch im 76. Psalm erwähnt, der der israelitischen Königszeit entstammen dürfte. Zu Jerusalem passt auch der Name Melkišedeq, der ein Gegenstück bildet zu dem Jos. 10 erwähnten König von Jerusalem Adonišedeq, welcher als Führer eines gegen Josua gerichteten Städtebundes genannt wird. Dass überhaupt diese Gestalt des kanaanäischen Priesterkönigs, welchem Abraham den Zehnten gibt, von der Überlieferung erhalten worden ist, versteht sich am besten in der Stadt, die nachher die Zentrale des Priestertums geworden ist.

¹ M. J. bin Gorion, Die Sagen der Juden II: Die Erzväter, 1914, S. 174 f. Wuttke a. a. O. S. 19, 27, 49. Noch in der Pilgerschrift des Johannes von Würzburg (1160/70) taucht die Gleichsetzung mit Sem auf, PPT (=Ausgabe der Palestine Pilgrim's Texts Society) S. 5. - Über das Alter vgl. Vigouroux, Dictionnaire de la Bible, Bd. 7, S. 941, und Stork a. a. O. S. 72 f.

² Hebr. 7, 3; ähnlich Philo, der den Melkišedeq mit dem λόγος gleichsetzt, vgl. Windisch a. a. O. S. 57 f. Ist das Wort ἀγγελόγητος vielleicht in Opposition gegen die Gleichsetzung mit Sem gesagt?

³ Zur "Tradition in Palästina" vgl. meinen Aufsatz in PJB (=Palästinajahrbuch) 1926, S. 84 ff.

⁴ Antt. I, 180.

⁵ Von Josephus (Antt. VII, 243) 2 Stadien von Jerusalem entfernt lokalisiert.

⁶ Vgl. Riehm, Handwörterbuch des Bibl. Altertums, 1881, S. 844.

Während z.B. noch die in dem Sepher hajjaschar¹ berichtete Tradition, welche übrigens statt von Melkişedeq von Adonişedeq spricht und diesen auch mit Sem gleichsetzt,² die Szene ganz korrekt im „Tal der Könige“ sich abspielen lässt, gibt es eine andere Überlieferung, die den ganzen Vorgang auf den Tempelplatz verlegt. Die Tradition ist eine jüdische und als solche in der Midrasch-Literatur bezeugt,³ aber auch von Christen akzeptiert und wiederholt überliefert,⁴ -immerhin ein Beweis, wie stark diese Tradition war, wenn selbst die inzwischen aufgekommene Golgothaüberlieferung sie sogar bei Christen nicht auszurotten vermochte. Der Grund für die Lokalisierung der Tradition an der heiligen Stätte ist einleuchtend; der Vorläufer des Hohenpriesters konnte seine sakramentale Handlung nur an der Stelle vorgenommen haben, an welcher der nachmalige Hohepriester seines Amtes waltete. Schon hierbei wird deutlich, wie die Überlieferung die Melkişedeqepisode als einen *ισοδός λόγος* des Jerusalemer Heiligtums auffasst.

Wie bereits erwähnt, ist die Melkişedeqüberlieferung schon früh nach Golgotha herübergewandert. Vom 4. Jahrhundert an⁵ durch die ganze Pilgerliteratur hindurch findet sich die Erinnerung an die Melkişedeqszene mit Golgotha verknüpft, stellenweise auch die Form annehmend, dass das Grab des Melkişedeq dort gesucht wird⁶. Heute befindet sich noch in der Adamskapelle der dem Melkişedeq gewidmete Altar, auf dem er Brot und Wein dargebracht haben soll, sowie eine bildliche Darstellung jenes Vorgangs; ausserdem in der sogenannten Opferungskapelle im griechischen Abrahamskloster unter mehreren Abrahamsbildern auch eine Darstellung der Melkişedeqgeschichte; das passt zu der Tatsache, dass die Erzählung von Isaaks Opferung und die von Melkişedeq auch sonst in der Pilgerliteratur miteinander genannt werden und beide vom Tempelplatz

¹ Wohl im 11. Jahrhundert geschrieben, vgl. H. L. Strack, Einleitung in Talmud und Midrasch, 5. Aufl. 1921, S. 217 f.

² Bin Gorión, a. a. O. S. 166.

³ J. Jeremias, *Agglos* 1926, S. 90.

⁴ Ludolf v. Suchem 1350, PPT S. 99; Felix Fabri 1480, p. 255 a (PPT II, 1, S. 221).

⁵ Vgl. Eusebius, PPT S. 28; Antoninus 570, Geyer, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, 1898, S. 204.

⁶ Von Fabri abgelehnt, p. 116 b (PPT I, S. 371).

nach Golgotha gewandert sind. Das hat jetzt Joachim Jeremias in einem gründlichen und lesenswerten Aufsatz¹ sowohl für diese Überlieferung wie auch für die Vorstellungen vom Erdenmittelpunkt, vom klaffenden Felsen und von Adam nachgewiesen und an der Hand des vorhandenen Materials dargetan, dass es sich in allen diesen Dingen gleichsam um den eisernen Bestand des Zentralheiligtums handelt; für die Juden war das alles beim *אֶבֶן שֹׁהַת* lokalisiert; für die Christen wandert es dann, teilweise schon sehr früh, nach Golgotha. Speziell für die Melkišedeqepisode wird dabei noch das Moment mitgespielt haben, dass der Hebräerbrief an dieser Gestalt das hohepriesterliche Werk Christi, das sich in Golgotha verwirklichte, vorgebildet sah, so dass es auch aus inneren Gründen verständlich ist, wenn diese Überlieferung sich in Golgotha ansiedelte.

Gerade nach dem Ebengesagten ist es natürlich, dass die Melkišedeqszene des weiteren mit dem Garizim verknüpft worden ist, ebenso wie Isaaks Opferung, die Vorstellung vom Nabel der Erde, - die sich bekanntlich schon Jud. 9 findet, - usw.² Die Melkišedeqtradition auf dem Garizim ist schon in den Eupolemosfragmenten, also vorchristlich, bezeugt.³ Ein Salem bei Sichem ist in der LXX und Vulg zu Gen. 33,18 und in der LXX, Cod. Vat., zu Gen. 41,5 vorausgesetzt. Auch der Judith 4, 4 genannte *αὐλῶν Σαλήμ* scheint bei Sichem liegen zu sollen. Epiphanius sucht die Joh. 3,23 genannten Orte *Αινών* und *Σαλείμ* in der Nähe von Sichem. Bis heute gibt es ja östlich *nāblūs* die Ortsnamen *'ainūn* und *sālim*. Wir dürfen annehmen, dass für das Vorhandensein der Tradition auf dem Garizim die Existenz des Ortsnamens Salem ein mitbestimmendes Moment gewesen ist. Auch die Tatsache, dass der Weg von Damaskus nach Hebron über Sichem führt, dürfte das Entstehen dieser Tradition begünstigt haben. Jedenfalls wird man von ihr ohne Schwierigkeit sagen können, dass sie zu den altsamaritanischen Überlieferungen gehört.

Und endlich gibt es nun noch eine vierte Stelle, an der die

¹ Golgotha und der heilige Felsen, *Αγγελος* 1926, S. 74. Auch zusammen mit einem weiteren Aufsatz in Buchform erschienen, „Golgotha“, als Heft I der Beihefte des *Αγγελος*, 1926.

² Vgl. J. Jeremias a. a. O., Wuttke a. a. O. S. 27.

³ A. Schlatter, Geschichte Israels von Alexander dem Grossen bis Hadrian, 2. Aufl., 1906, S. 101.

Melkişedeqepisode lokalisiert ist. Das ist der Tabor. Bis zum heutigen Tage haftet sie dort an einer dem sogenannten *bâb el-hawwa* vorgelagerten Höhle. Die Tradition findet sich in der Pilgerliteratur vom 10. Jahrhundert an; ich habe sie bei Epiphanius Hagiopolita, Eugesipp, dem Abt Daniel, Fetellus, Johannes von Würzburg, Theoderich, Johannes Phokas, Pseudobeda, Burchard, Marino Sanuto, Antonius von Cremona, dem Libro d'oltramare des Fra Nicola, Fra Frederico erwähnt gefunden, d. h. also bei den wichtigsten Pilgerschriften des 10. bis 15. Jahrhunderts. Dabei ist ein eigentümliches Schwanken in der Angabe der Örtlichkeit zu beobachten. Während Daniel¹ die ganze Szene in der Taborhöhle sich abspielen lässt und den Altar sieht, auf dem Melkişedeq Brot und Wein „geopfert“ und damit den ersten Gottesdienst gehalten habe, sagt Theoderich,² dass Melkişedeq den Abraham am Abhang des Berges getroffen und ihm Brot und Wein angeboten habe. Johannes Phokas³ sucht den Treffpunkt in der Nähe der Höhle, Johannes von Würzburg⁴ und Marino Sanuto⁵ unterhalb des Berges, Fetellus⁶ verlegt alles an den Abhang; nach Burchard⁷ liegt die Stelle gegenüber von Endor, nach Antonius von Cremona⁸ in der Nähe von Nain.

Wie kommt die Tradition an bzw. auf den Tabor? Gewöhnlich werden diese Taborüberlieferungen als ein nicht ernst zu nehmendes Erzeugnis einer nicht geschichtlich denkenden Zeit abgelehnt, ohne dass die Frage des Wie gestellt oder genügend beantwortet würde. Ich glaube nicht, dass die Sache so einfach liegt. Schon dreimal hatten wir beobachtet, wie das zentrale Heiligtum gerade mit dieser Tradition verwachsen ist. Nun gehört der Tabor ohne Zweifel zu den ältesten und wichtigsten Heiligtümern Palästinas.⁹ Dass er

¹ 1106; ZDPV (=Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästinavereins) 1884, S. 53 f.

² 1172; PPT S. 67.

³ 1185; PPT S. 14.

⁴ 1160/70; PPT S. 5.

⁵ 1321; PPT S. 37 f.

⁶ 1130; PPT S. 30 f.

⁷ 1280; PPT S. 43.

⁸ 1327/30; ZDPV 1890, S. 158.

⁹ Vgl. Barnabé, *Le Mont Thabor*, 1900, S. 8 ff. Bemerkenswert ist, dass der Tabor heute, wie Sinai, Garizim und Ölberg, den Namen *djebel et-tûr* trägt

(Barnabé, S. 14). *طور* ist = syr. ܛܘܪ, aram. ܛܘܪܐ = hebr. צור.

nicht mehr im AT hervortritt, liegt naturgemäss daran, dass die nördlichen Gebiete des Landes überhaupt weit weniger im Brennpunkt des Interesses der biblischen Schriftsteller liegen als die südlichen. Aber trotzdem sieht man klar seine Bedeutung. Die älteste Stelle, die ihn erwähnt, ist Jud. 4, 6 aus der Deborah-Baraq-Geschichte: das Gotteswort, das an Baraq ergeht, befiehlt ihm, sich auf den Berg Tabor zu begeben und von dort die kriegerischen Handlungen ins Werk zu setzen. Nachdem sie dann auf den Tabor gezogen sind, heisst es V. 14: „Jahve zieht vor dir aus“; bedenkt man, dass auch sonst die Stätten wichtiger Heiligtümer vor Kriegen gern für die Musterungen der Kämpfer in Anspruch genommen werden¹, so verstärkt sich der Eindruck, dass der Tabor um seiner Bedeutung als eines Heiligtumes willen als Sammelpunkt erwählt worden ist. Um jeden Zweifel auszuschliessen, wird der Tabor ja auch in dem Wort an die Priester Hos. 5, 1 neben dem benjaminitischen Zentralheiligtum Mişpah und dem Kultort Schittim² ausdrücklich genannt. Es ist ferner zu beachten, dass der Tabor nach den Stammeslisten im Buche Josua offenbar an dem Grenzpunkt der Stämme Sebulon, Issachar und Naphtali³ liegt, — auch Manasse scheint fast an ihn herangereicht zu haben,⁴ — und vielleicht gemeinsamer Besitz oder exterritorial, ähnlich wie Jerusalem⁵, gewesen ist, eine Tatsache, die sich am einfachsten versteht, wenn der Tabor ein allgemein verehrtes Heiligtum war. Der Wortlaut von Jos. 19, 22 könnte allerdings dafür sprechen, dass der Tabor nominell zu Issachar gehörte; wenn es noch I Chr. 12, 33 von den Issachariten heisst, sie verständen sich auf die Zeiten, so dürfte der Grund dafür in der Tatsache zu suchen sein, dass sie ein berühmtes Orakelheiligtum ihr eigen nannten. I Chr. 6, 62 ist Tabor unter den Levitenstädten genannt⁶. Auch die Ermordung der Brüder Gideons

¹ Vgl. meinen Aufsatz Adonibezeq, JPOS (= Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society) 1926, S. 219.

² Vgl. Sellin, Das Zwölfprophetenbuch übersetzt und erklärt, 1922, zu Hos. 5, 2, sowie Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift 1925, S. 638.

³ Vgl. Jos. 19, 12; 22; 34. Diese drei Stämme spielen auch in Jud. 4 und 5 eine besondere Rolle.

⁴ Vgl. Jos. 17, 11.

⁵ Vgl. JPOS 1926, S. 214.

⁶ Aus Sebulon, während *dubrat* v. 57 als Levitenstadt von Issachar namhaft gemacht wird. In Jos. 19, 12; 22 scheint die Stammeszugehörigkeit die umgekehrte

„in Tabor,“ von der Jud. 8,18 berichtet wird, erklärt sich am besten, wenn der Ruhm eines Heiligtums und der Wunsch, da etwa ein Opfer darzubringen, sie den Weg von Ophra nach dort hatte machen lassen, — ein Umstand, den man besonders gut begreift, wenn der Stamm Manasse, dem die Familie Gideons ja nach Jud. 6,15 angehörte, auch irgend welche Rechte am Tabor hatte. Endlich steht es mir ausser Zweifel, dass in dem Mosesegen Deut. 33 der über Sebulon und Issachar gesagte v. 19: „Völker rufen sie auf den Berg, dort opfern sie rechte Opfer [זבחי צדק],“ — auf den eben jenen beiden Stämmen benachbarten bzw. gemeinsamen¹ Tabor anspielt.² Gerade dieser Satz kann uns nun weiterführen. Es ist gewiss, dass das Heiligtum auf dem Tabor, das gerade in den ältesten Zeiten eine Rolle zu spielen scheint, ein ursprünglich kanaanitisch ist. Bedenken wir, dass nach Jud. 1 Sebulon und Naphtali die Kanaaniter nicht vertreiben konnten, dass über Issachar in Jud. 1 geschwiegen wird, dass es von diesem Stamm im Jakobssegnen (Gen. 49,15) heisst: er beugte seinen Nacken zum Lasttragen und wurde zum dienstbaren Fröner, — dann wird man sagen dürfen, dass das kanaanitische Heiligtum sich hier, auf so umstrittenem Gebiet, lange als solches erhalten haben wird. Die Opposition des Hosea versteht sich bei dieser Voraussetzung besonders gut. Ob nicht auch auf dem Tabor, wie ich es für Jerusalem schon früher vermutungsweise ausgesprochen habe,³ ein altes Šadiq-Heiligtum gewesen ist? Dann würde der vorher erwähnte Vers „Völker rufen sie auf den Berg, dort opfern sie זבחי צדק“ erst seine rechte Pointe erhalten; genau wie der Benjaminspruch aus dem Mosesegen wortspielweise an den משכן, die heilige Wohnung, erinnern will, die im Herzen Benjamins sich befand, — ich hoffe darüber in Bälde an anderer Stelle

zu sein. War der Tabor später strittig zwischen beiden Stämmen?

¹ Vgl. die vorige Anm.

² Hängt der Name Tabor, תבור, irgendwie, wenn auch nur wortspielweise, mit סבור zusammen? Wenn ja, so würde sich auch dieses Merkmal des Zentralheiligtums (vgl. J. Jeremias a.a.O. S. 80 ff; A. Jeremias, Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur, 1913, S. 33 ff.) mit dem Tabor verknüpft finden. So schon Herder, vgl. Barnabé a.a.O. S. 9, und auch Barnabé selbst S. 13. — Alt-spricht ZAW 1927, S. 75, auf Grund des Mosesegens von einem „gemeinsamen Kultus der Stämme Sebulon und Issachar, doch wohl auf dem Tabor“ und vermutungsweise von „einer noch grösseren, auch Naphtali und Asser umfassenden Amphiktionie dieses Heiligtums.“

³ JPOS 1926, S. 215 f.

Näheres sagen zu können, — genau so heisst es von diesen beiden Stämmen: sie bringen *şedeq*-Opfer, nicht meht *Şadiq*-Opfer, sondern *şedeq*-Opfer, welche „recht,“ d.h. Jahve wohlgefällig sind. Und nun denken wir an den Namen Melkişedeq, der mit dem Tabor verknüpft ist. Es ist ein altkanaanäischer Name, wie Adonişedeq gebildet: „mein König ist Şadiq,“ — ist es zu kühn, die Verbindung mit der alten Zeit herzustellen und in diesem Namen eine Bestätigung zu finden für jenes vermutete alte Taborheiligtum? Ich denke nicht! Denn es lässt sich eine Zwischenstufe nachweisen zwischen der Zeit Altisraels und dem 10. Jahrhundert nach Christus. Was ich im Auge habe, wird aus dem 4. Jahrhundert berichtet und hängt zusammen mit dem Ortsnamen Salem. Hieronymus berichtet von einem Ort Saloumias, 8 Meilen südlich von Skythopolis, und von einem Ort Salem in der gleichen Gegend, nahe bei Skythopolis; die Ruinen des Palastes des Melkişedeq seien dort zu sehen. In der Peregrinatio Silviae wird diese Örtlichkeit genau beschrieben und ebenfalls mit Melkişedeq in Verbindung gebracht. Auch auf der Madabakarte und bei Eusebius findet sie sich erwähnt.¹ Es handelt sich offenbar um den heutigen *tell er-ridgha*, bei welchem es heute noch einen *şebch salim* gibt.² Der Hauptgrund für das Interesse an diesem Ort ist nun aber nicht die Melkişedeqgeschichte, sondern die schon erwähnte Stelle Joh. 3,23, welche ein *Αινών* bei *Σαλειύ* als Taufort des Johannes nennt. Es ist begreiflich, dass diese Stelle nahe dem Jordan gesucht wurde.³ Andererseits beweist das auch wieder indirekt für das Wurzeln der Melkişedeqtradition in der Taborgegend.⁴ Die den Christen wichtige Taufüberlieferung, — die zunächst wohl südlicher zu Hause ist,⁵ dann aber nach Norden gewandert zu sein scheint, — hat die andere Salemüberlieferung, die von Melkişedeq, an sich gezogen.⁶ Das ist zugleich der

¹ Thomsen, *Loca Sancta*, Bd. I, 1907, S. 100 f.

² V. d. Velde, *Reise durch Syrien und Palästina*, 1861, S. 302 f; *Memoirs des Survey of Western Palestine*, Bd. II, S. 247.

³ Dalman, *Orte und Wege Jesu*, 3. Aufl. 1924, S. 250.

⁴ Sehr interessant ist, dass in der *narratio apocrypha* des Athanasius „Melchi,“ „Sohn des Joşedeq,“ aus Jerusalem vertrieben wird, 40 Jahre am Tabor wohnt und dort von Abraham aufgesucht wird. Vgl. Wuttke, a. a. O. S. 39.

⁵ Dalman a. a. O. S. 98 f.

⁶ Auch nordwestlich *ta'annek* gibt es einen Ort *salim*. Guérin fand dort antike Reste und identifizierte den Ort mit dem fiktiven Salem Gen. 33,18 LXX Vulg. *La Samarie*, Bd. I, 1874, S. 456 f.

Grund, warum niemand der christlichen Pilger vor dem 10. Jahrhundert die letztere auf dem Tabor sucht, wohin sie eigentlich gehört, und erklärt vielleicht auch das eigentümliche Schwanken in der Lokalisierung der Melkişedeqszene. Dass die Melkişedeqgeschichte nicht ursprünglich an den Jordan gehört, dafür könnte der Umstand sprechen, dass die Hauptstrasse von Damaskus nach Hebron, die ja in Gen. 14 vorausgesetzt ist, am Tabor vorübergeht und nicht am Jordan¹; auch der Name „Königstal,“ der heute allerdings nur an einem tiefeingeschnittenen Tale Südwestgaliläas haftet, passt am besten für die Ebene Jesreel. Vielleicht hatte auch die auf dem Tabor lokalisierte Verklärungsgeschichte, die wohl etwas mit Mose und Élia, aber nichts mit Melkişedeq zu tun hat, für die Melkişedeqtradition verdrängend gewirkt. Immerhin scheint aus dem allen hervorzugehen, wie fest die Tradition mit dem Tabor verknüpft ist, wenn sie wieder zu ihm zurückfand.

Die Melkişedeqgeschichte ist der *ιερόεξ λόγος* eines altkanaanitischen Heiligtums, das später israelitisiert worden ist.² Dass sie nicht nur literarisch, sondern auch in der Tradition erhalten blieb, hat seinen Grund einmal darin, dass Abraham mit ihr verbunden ist, und dann, dass Melkişedeq als Prototyp des Hohenpriesters erschien, wie ja dann auch folgerichtig christliche Pilger sein Handeln als die Darbringung des ersten Messopfers ansahen. Wir finden die Tradition viermal, wie wir sahen, an grossen, zentralen Heiligtümern. Es ist natürlich schwer zu sagen, an welchem sie zuerst beheimatet war. Ich muss sagen, die psychologische Wahrscheinlichkeit spricht für den Tabor. Denn es ist wohl begreiflich, dass sie nach Jerusalem wanderte; der Name Salem, das Königstal, die Nähe von Sodom, vor allem aber der Umstand, dass Jerusalem der einzige

¹ Dalman a. a. O. S. 199.

² Es wird notwendig sein, dass überhaupt viel mehr als bisher die grossen Heiligtümer zur Erklärung bestimmter Erzählungen mit herangezogen werden. Mit Recht hat jetzt L. Rost (Die Überlieferung von der Thronnachfolge Davids, 1926, S. 4 ff) betreffs der Ladeerzählung behauptet, dass sie ursprünglich der *ιερόεξ λόγος* des Jerusalemer Heiligtums ist.—Auch die Psalmen sind ursprünglich gewiss an bestimmten Heiligtümern gesungen und kultisch verwendet worden. So mag es auch Taborpsalmen gegeben haben. Als solcher käme vor allem in Betracht Ps. 83 (die Beziehung zum Norden v. 10 ff.; *עליון* als Gottesname am Schluss!); auch Ps. 133 scheint an ein Heiligtum des Nordens zu gehören (trotz *ציון* v. 3; vgl. Gunkel, Kommentar, z. St.).

legitime Sitz des Priestertums wurde, musste für diese Tradition anziehend wirken; ebenso begreiflich ist es, dass der Garizim die Tradition an sich zog, wie viele andere aus dem Pentateuch stammende; dagegen ist schlechterdings keine Ursache vorhanden, warum die Überlieferung nach dem Tabor hätte wandern sollen. Weder ein alttestamentlicher noch ein neutestamentlicher Grund lag dazu vor. Die Zusammenstellung des hohepriesterlichen Werkes Christi mit Melkişedeq konnte wohl die Verlegung der Tradition nach Golgotha, aber nicht eine solche nach dem Tabor beeinflussen. Der Ortsname Salem zog die Tradition, wie wir sahen, nicht zum Tabor hin, sondern von ihm fort. Dass die Hauptstrasse von Damaskus nach Hebron am Tabor vorüberführte, hat der Tabor mit dem Garizim und Jerusalem gemein; so konnte das unmöglich für den Tabor besonders ins Gewicht fallen. Wenn trotz alledem die Tradition den Tabor bis heute nicht verlassen hat, so scheint mir das doch stark dafür zu sprechen, dass sie hier ursprünglich zu Hause war. Beachten wir endlich die eingangs erwähnte Tatsache, dass die Verse Gen. 14,18–20 ihrem Zusammenhang so lose eingliedert sind, dass sie sich ohne weiteres herauslösen lassen. Das spricht doch auch dafür, dass die Melkişedeqepisode nicht notwendig wie der übrige Stoff der zweiten Hälfte von Gen. 14 in der Nähe von Sodom lokalisiert werden muss, sondern sehr wohl unabhängig davon bestanden haben und erst im Laufe der Zeit mit jenem Material zusammengewachsen sein kann. Darnach scheint der Weg deutlich zu sein: die Überlieferung von dem kanaanäischen Priesterkönig, die ursprünglich am Tabor sass, ist für die Juden nach Jerusalem und dem Tempelplatz, für die Samaritaner nach dem Garizim, für die Christen nach Golgotha hinübergewandert. Die grosse Wahrscheinlichkeit spricht dafür, dass Melkişedeq eine Gestalt des kanaanäischen Nordens ist, und dass das Wenige, was wir von ihm wissen, einen der Reste darstellt, den wir noch von dem älteren Traditionsbestand der nördlichen Gebiete Palästinas haben.

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF PSALM LXXXIII

HAROLD M. WIENER

(JERUSALEM)

Psalm 83 clearly originated in a definite historical situation. It begins with a prayer for divine intervention. Enemies are planning the complete destruction of Israel. To this end an alliance has been made comprising Edom, the Ishmaelites, Moab, the Hagarenes, Gebal, Ammon, Amalek, Philistia with the inhabitants of Tyre. Assyria, too, is leagued with them, and is helping the children of Lot. The poet prays that this coalition may meet the fate of Midian, Sisera and Jabin, and that its leaders may be made like Oreb and Zeeb, Zebah and Zalmunna. On any reading which is not forced and unnatural that means that the Psalmist is praying for victory in battle over a hostile confederacy composed of the powers named. At what juncture was the political position such as appears in the Psalm?

The commentaries give little help in answering this question. According to some¹ it belongs to the Maccabean period and is explained by the narrative of 1 Macc. 5. Gressmann is cited by Kittel as assigning it to the period of Saul. In the view of J. P. Peters² it "belongs in the latter days of the kingdom of Israel after the time of Jeroboam II. The historical references are taken from the ancient history of Israel, as recorded in its narratives: the wars with Amalek, Edom, Ammon and Moab, the Philistines, the Midianites

¹ E.g. R. Kittel, *Die Psalmen*, 3te u. 4te Auflage 1922, following Wellhausen; A. Bertholet in E. Kautzsch, *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*, 4te Auflage, II, 1923.

² *The Psalms as Liturgies*, 1922.

and the Canaanites. Some of these, like Amalek, had passed out of existence at the time of the composition of this poem, when Assyria was the great enemy." Briggs wishes to assign it to "the late exile and early restoration," Gunkel to the period between Ezra and Alexander the Great. His thought, however, is far from clear. At one moment he holds that Assyria is supporting the children of Lot "wohl durch Hilfstruppen oder Söldner," at another he thinks that perhaps the Psalm is concerned with gradual movements of population (allmähliche Völkerverschiebungen).¹ It is difficult to understand what part auxiliary troops or mercenaries would play in these. The whole theory is rebutted by the petition of the Psalmist which prays for a victory in the field comparable to the most memorable successes of the period of the Judges.

Not one of these explanations fits the facts. The Maccabean date, in addition to suffering from the difficulties which beset all theories of Maccabean Psalms, is quite incompatible with the mention of Assyria. Attempts have been made to equate the term with many powers other than the only country known to history under that name. When they are examined with care they are seen merely to constitute notice of the bankruptcy of the exegesis that makes them.²

The part played by Assyria rules out alike the reign of Saul and the period preferred by Briggs. The mention of Tyre excludes the ages of Saul and Jehoshaphat alike. The prayer for help in a definite historical emergency is fatal to the view of Peters.

Of the Amalekites too little is known with certainty for much to be based on their being mentioned. In 1 Chr. 4⁴³ they are regarded as still in existence in the days of Hezekiah, and this is perfectly possible. They seem to belong to the pre-exilic period. In any case the whole attitude of the poet excludes Gunkel's hypothesis that the name is used in "dichterisch altertümlicher Sprache." He is praying for help against real enemies of the present and he would not mix up the past and the present in this way any more than a modern poet would couple say, Czecho-Slovakia and Burgundy.

We may therefore reject the current explanations and turn

¹ *Die Psalmen*, 1926, p 385.

² See my *Prophets of Israel in History and Criticism*, 1923, Appendix II.

to an examination of the history to find the period from which the Psalm speaks.

The foregoing discussion has narrowed the field of our enquiry by eliminating all the non-Assyrian ages, and the way in which the poet speaks of Assyria shows that it was not in the foreground in the conflict, nor the predominant power in Southern Syria: it is, rather, engaged in helping the little states of that region to fight one another, pushing forward others as protagonists and itself remaining in the background. We must look for a time at which Assyria was interested in their affairs and was intriguing among them but not taking the lead herself.

The next clue is provided by the reference to Tyre. So far as we know, Israel was generally on peaceful terms with this state; but on one occasion she gave serious provocation to her northern neighbour. When the house of Omri was overthrown, a Phoenician princess was barbarously done to death, and drastic measures were taken to destroy the influence of the Phoenician religion on the people of Israel. The story in Kings is interested primarily in the religious developments and tells us nothing of the repercussions abroad of the events it narrates so dramatically. But it is difficult to believe that a foreign princess could be treated as was Jezebel (2 K. 9³³ ff.) without arousing the antagonism of the royal house from which she came. Further the measures taken against the Syrian Baal (2 K. 10^{18, 28}) can hardly have been unobjectionable in Phoenician eyes. We do not know whether any Phoenicians were included in the massacre of his worshippers, but in any case Jehu's whole movement represented a native reaction against Phoenician influence and a drastic insult to the Phoenician god. It is extremely probable that in those circumstances relations between the two powers assumed a hostile character. The events narrated in Kings were more than sufficient as a *casus belli*.

The beginning of Jehu's reign is, therefore, a date that would suit the attitude of Tyre. It also satisfies the Assyrian facts, of which more hereafter. But before it can be regarded as probable we must consider what is known of the position in that age of the other powers named.

Moab had recently revolted from Israel. According to the Moabite stone this had happened in the reign of Ahab, while 2 K. 1¹

3⁴ put the event after his death. Quite probably Mesha's first attempt had occurred under Ahab and only met with partial success. In any case 2 K. 3⁶⁻²⁷ tells of a campaign against Moab which ended in the retreat of the Israelites and their confederates as the result of "great wrath" on the part of Chemosh against Israel. This seems to have been near the beginning of the reign of Jehoram of Israel, i.e. under Jehu's predecessor. Enmity between Moab and Israel was undoubtedly a feature of the period.

Moab's rebellion was followed at no long interval by a successful rising of Edom against Judah (2 K. 8²⁰⁻²²), then ruled by Jehoram, Ahab's son-in-law. His immediate successor, Ahaziah, was killed by Jehu after a year's reign. Thus this people, too, was available for hostilities against Israel if they promised adequate reward.

According to the same passage Libna revolted at the same time. It appears to have been on the borders of Philistia.

Thus far the data of Kings. The statements of Chronicles can only be received with the utmost caution, but so far as they go they are favourable to the view that the political situation at this period was that postulated by the Psalmist. Jehoram of Judah is said to have had to face a coalition of Philistines and Arabs (2 Ch. 21¹⁶ 22¹). The notice is, however, of very doubtful value, and in any case the Arabian tribes mentioned by the Psalmist were to be found at all periods of the history.

Two names are significantly absent from the coalition, those of Syria (Aram) and Judah. This, too, fits the time suggested. The relations between Aram and Israel are intimately connected with those of both powers to Assyria.

In 543 B.C. Shalmaneser III, king of Assyria, fought a great battle at Qarqar against a confederacy which included among its members the kings of Aram, Hamath and Israel (Ahab), an Arab prince Gindibu, and the Ammonite Baasha. He claims a great victory but, in fact, he does not appear to have been able to make any further progress against his enemies. In 848 he made another expedition and boasts of a further victory over the king of Damascus (or, as in another inscription, the kings of Damascus and Hamath) again assisted by twelve kings of the sea coast whose names are not specifically given. Presumably, as on the earlier occasion, the king

of Israel was one of the twelve, though it would seem that it was no longer Ahab.¹ The year 845 witnessed a repetition of the story.

In 841 there was a fourth expedition, and this time we see a very different state of affairs. Hazael of Aram fights alone at Mount Hermon and is defeated and shut up in Damascus, which the Assyrian king fails to take. Tyre, Sidon and Jehu of Bit-Ḥumri (Israel) send tribute. The political grouping of the Syrian states has altered considerably.

Aram, then, seems to have made head against Assyria to a considerable degree when supported by a number of the neighbouring states, but was worsted in a single-handed duel with Assyria. That suggests two reflections. It shows that it was to the advantage of her enemy, if possible, to stir up strife among the southern states, which would leave her without allies. Such a situation as that created by Jehu's revolt would be a heaven-sent opportunity for successful intrigue in that direction. And it throws an interesting side-light on the narrative of Ahab's death. The command given by the Syrian king to fight with neither great nor small save with the king of Israel alone (1 K. 22³¹), and the tenderness shown in the treatment of the king of Judah, suggest that the policy of the Arameans was to be as conciliatory as possible towards the southern states, merely eliminating Ahab's personality. So far as might be, the Syrian forces were to be husbanded, and care was to be taken not to push the conflict to extremes. That was presumably with an eye to the greater danger from the side of Assyria which was never absent for long. In that struggle Aram needed all her own men and the alliance of her southern neighbours, not their hostility.

Jehu's revolt followed a further defeat of Joram of Israel by the Arameans at Ramoth Gilead (2 K. 8²⁸ f. 9¹¹ f.). It involved a complete change in international relations. The murders of Ahaziah and the members of his house (2 K. 8²⁷ 10¹² f.), and the treatment of Jezebel and the worshippers of Baal, put an end to the alliances with Judah and Phoenicia. Peace was patched up, or had been imposed by Aram, but the Israelite king had his hands too full elsewhere to be able to furnish her with auxiliaries.

¹ This monarch apparently thought it opportune to attempt the recovery of Ramoth Gilead soon after the battle of Qarqar.

Assyria had thrice failed in her attempts to overcome the Syrian confederacy. What more natural than that she should endeavour to sow discord among its members and, by inducing the minor allies to make war on one another, ensure that Shalmaneser in his fourth effort should be free to fight a duel with Aram? With friction between Israel and the Phoenicians the former offered the easiest prey because of its central position. The children of Lot could find territorial spoils in Trans-Jordan, but not on the Philistine or Tyrian plains. The Ammonites and Arabians who had contributed part of the allied forces at Qarqar are now threatening Israel. Of Judah there is no mention. Jehu and Athaliah had between them completely crippled her.

Thus we have a date which suits the indications of the Psalm. The Syrian desire for Ramoth Gilead had proved fatal to the house of Ahab, but it was also one of the determining factors in a series of events which were to inflict a heavy wound on the Damascene kingdom and to insure that Israel would have to buy off Assyrian hostility by tribute instead of venturing to face the great king in the field by the side of her north-eastern neighbour.

Is there any other time to which the Psalm could be assigned? At no earlier date did Assyria and Tyre simultaneously fill the rôles assigned to them here, and consequently we have only to survey the subsequent history.

From 2 K. 10³² f. it appears that in the latter days of Jehu Aram was the enemy *par excellence*. This implies a totally different grouping of the powers from that revealed by the Psalm. Aramean supremacy continued unbroken during most of the reign of Jehoahaz (2 K. 13^{3, 7, 22}). We read of a saviour for Israel (13⁵) and of some successes under Jehoash (13¹⁴⁻²⁵); but throughout that period Aram is the enemy. To all appearance the saviour was either the Assyrian king Adadnirari, who besieged Damascus and by his campaign relieved Aramean pressure on Israel, or Jeroboam II (14^{20f.}). Neither view of the passage gives us anything like the political constellation contemplated by the Psalmist. The abiding antagonisms were between Aram and Israel on the one hand, and between Aram and Assyria on the other. Every conflict between the two latter appears to be reflected in an improvement of Israel's position. Conversely her oppression by her great neighbour corresponds to

periods of Assyrian preoccupation elsewhere.

The reign of Jeroboam II saw victories that restored Israel's old frontiers. Shalmaneser IV's siege of Damascus (773 B.C.) provides the background.

Subsequently Assyria is the dominant power and could not have been referred to in the language of the Psalm.

Thus, so far as our knowledge goes, there is no other possible date for its composition. If we had further information we might perhaps see some other possibility, but it is scarcely likely that the grouping of the powers was ever exactly the same.

A word should be said as to the strictures passed by Amos (1³-2³) on several of these states. His references do not appear to be to a single conjuncture at which all the offences mentioned were committed. While most of the sentences are pronounced for wrongs done to Israel in which Edom is prominent, it is remarkable that Moab is censured for inhuman conduct to the king of Edom. That shows that the prophet is not thinking of one joint war but picking out crimes from the recent records of the various peoples and teaching that the disasters he foresees will be the divine retribution for their misconduct.

We have no means of telling whether any of the events to which he alludes are connected with the position at the beginning of Jehu's reign.

Our Psalm refers to events of the period of the Judges and may have a bearing on the criticism of that book; but it must be remembered that other allusions show that the stories to which it alludes were well known, though not necessarily in the exact form in which we have them. Hence the references afford no reliable criterion of date.

WO LAG GIBE' ON ?

A. JIRKU

(BRESLAU)

Seit langem suchte man den im Alten Testament mehrfach genannten Ort *Gibe'on* (גִּבְעוֹן) an der Stelle des heutigen *eg-gib* (9 km n.n.w. von Jerusalem). Noch ALBRIGHT¹ stimmt dieser Lokalisierung zu, indem er gleichzeitig das biblische *Be'erot*, dessen Lage noch nicht bekannt ist, auf dem 12 km nördlich von Jerusalem liegenden und vor einigen Jahren von den Amerikanern unter der Leitung von BADÉ ausgegrabenen *tell en-našbe* sucht. Nun hat neuerdings ALT² mit Eifer die These verfochten, dass *Gibe'on* auf dem *tell en-našbe*, das oben schon erwähnte *Be'erot* aber an der Stelle des heutigen *eg-gib* zu suchen sei.³ An die Spitze seiner Beweisführung stellt ALT die Erörterung einer Stelle aus dem Onomasticon des Eusebius,⁴ nach der *Gibe'on* 4 römische Meilen (=6 km) westlich von *Bethel* lag; diese Entfernung passe wohl auf den *tell en-našbe*, nicht aber auf das von *Bethel* viel weiter entfernt liegende *eg-gib*. Allein, diese genannte Angabe des Eusebius ist derart, dass sie, m.E., zur Bestimmung der Lage von *Gibe'on* überhaupt nicht herangezogen werden darf. Einmal liegt der *tell en-našbe* gar nicht westlich, sondern beinahe südlich von *Bethel*.⁵ Und dann findet

¹ Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 1924, 90 ff.

² Palästina-Jahrbuch (=PJ) 1926, 11 ff.

³ Im folgenden wird nur die Frage nach der Lage *Gibe'on's* erörtert; und ich kann ALT (PJ 1927, 22 Anm. 3) in keiner Weise zustimmen, wenn er meint, das Problem *Gibe'on* könne nur gemeinsam mit dem Problem *Be'erot* gelöst werden.

⁴ Edidit Klostermann, s. 66.

⁵ ALT (a. a. O. S. 11) empfindet diese Schwierigkeit auch. Er sucht sie aber

sich noch ein Zusatz, der uns deutlich sagt, dass mit dieser ganzen Stelle überhaupt nicht viel anzufangen ist. Darnach lag nämlich *Gibe'on* auch in der Nähe von *Rama* und *Rimmon*; das erstere, heute *er-ram*, liegt 8 km südlich von *Bethel*; das letztere, heute *rammun*, liegt 6 km östlich von *Bethel*. Also! Nach dieser Angabe des Eusebius soll *Gibe'on* 6 km westlich von *Bethel* liegen, und zugleich in der Nähe zweier Orte, von denen einer 8 km südlich, der andere 6 km östlich von *Bethel* zu suchen ist. Wer könnte es fertig bringen, all diese Angaben miteinander zu vereinigen!?¹

Der zweite Einwand, den ALT gegen eine Gleichsetzung von *Gibe'on* mit dem heutigen *eg-gib* machen zu müssen glaubt, liegt in einem schon von KAMPFMEYER² ausgesprochenen Hinweis auf eine Unebenheit zwischen den beiden Namensformen: das '*ajin*' von *Gibe'on* sei in dem heutigen Namen *eg-gib* vollkommen geschwunden, so dass man zwischen beiden Namensformen eine Verbindung nicht herstellen dürfe. Dazu weist nun schon DALMAN³ auf das Gegenstück *Gilboa'* = heutiges *gelbon* hin, auch mit dem Schwunde des '*ajin*'; und ich möchte hinzu noch den biblischen Ortsnamen *Ke'ila* nennen, der heute zu *kila* geworden ist. Und was das Verschwinden der Endung *on* betrifft, so braucht nur, um bloss ein Beispiel zu nennen, auf die schon von MARIETTE vor Jahrzehnten vorgeschlagene Gleichung *Rinw-Ludd* hingewiesen zu werden.⁴

Im weiteren Verlauf seiner Ausführungen sucht ALT auch der wichtigen Stelle bei *Josephus, Bell. II. 18, 1* eine der bisherigen entgegengesetzte Deutung zu geben. Hier wird der Weg des *Cestius*

durch folgende Erwägungen zu beseitigen: "und wenn er, d.h. Eusebius, die Richtung als westlich bezeichnet, so wird es sich um eine Strasse handeln, die von *betin* aus mindestens auf einige Entfernung nach Nordwesten, Westen oder Südwesten lief. Unter diesen Voraussetzungen kann man wohl nur an die römische Strasse von *betin* nach *el-bire* und weiter nach Jerusalem denken." M.E. sind aber die von ALT angeführten Voraussetzungen nicht zutreffend. Denn wenn ein Weg von einem Orte zu einem andern Orte zuerst westwärts und dann südwärts führt, so liegt dieser zweite Ort deshalb doch noch nicht westlich von dem ersten.

¹ Es geht nicht an, wie es ALBRIGHT und ALT tun, das ihnen unbequeme *Rimmon* einfach aus dem Texte auszuschalten. Wie sagt doch Luther zu der Erzählung von der Opferung der Tochter Jephta's durch ihren Vater?: "Wir wünschten, es stünde nicht da; aber es steht da!"

² ZDPV, 16, 26f.

³ PJ, 1926, 108.

⁴ Vgl. W. M. MUELLER MVAG, 1907, I. S. 21, No. 64.

bei seinem Zuge gegen Jerusalem beschrieben, der ihn von Lydda (heute *ludd*) über *Bet-Horon* (heute *bet-'ur*) und *Gibe'on* nach Jerusalem führt. Die tendenzlose Auslegung dieser für die Lage von *Gibe'on* so wichtigen Stelle legt es, wie ein Blick auf die Landkarte zeigt, unbedingt nahe, *Gibe'on* bei dem heutigen *eg-gib* zu suchen.¹ ALT greift nun, um seine Gleichung *Gibe'on tell en-našbe* zu retten, zu dem verzweifelten Ausweg, Cestius sei, um sich die nach Jerusalem führende Nordstrasse zu sichern, erst bis zum *tell en-našbe* vorgerückt, wo daher auch nach dieser Stelle *Gibe'on* zu suchen sei. Darf man aber, um eine Lieblingsidee zu stützen, das Näherliegende zugunsten des Fernerliegenden preisgeben?

Entscheidend muss für uns schliesslich das sein, was das Alte Testament selbst uns über die Lage von *Gibe'on* zu sagen hat. Eine Reihe von Stellen sind in dieser Hinsicht völlig farblos; so Jos. 9. 1 Kg. 3, 4ff. I Chr. 16, 39. II Chr. 1, 3. II Sa 21. II Sa 2, 12ff. Auch die Erwähnung *Gibe'ons* in der Palästinaliste des ägyptischen Königs Sosenk I.,—falls wir in dem dort genannten Ortsnamen *K'b''n'* unser *Gibe'on* suchen dürfen,—sagt uns nichts über die genaue Lage unseres Ortes.²

Allein zwei Stellen, die Kombination von Jos. 18, 11 ff. und Jos. 18, 21 ff. sowie Ri 20, 31 sagen uns zweierlei ganz eindeutig: einmal, dass *Gibe'on* nicht an der Stelle des heutigen *tell en-našbe* gelegen haben kann, und zum anderen, dass wir *Gibe'on* in der Gegend des heutigen *eg-gib* zu suchen haben.

Jos. 18, 11 ff. findet sich die Beschreibung der Nordgrenze des Stammes Benjamin (wozu gewisse Parallelen sind Jos. 16, 1 ff, wo die Südgrenze Josephs, und Jos. 16, 5 ff, wo die Grenze Ephraims verzeichnet ist). Die uns hier interessierenden Daten sagen uns, dass die Nordgrenze des Stammes Benjamin lief von *Bethel* abwärts noch '*Aṭrot 'Addar* (heute '*aṭtāra*) und weiter zu dem Berge südlich von *Bet-Horon* (heute *bet 'ur et-tahta*). Der *tell en-našbe*, der nördlich (!) von '*Aṭtāra* liegt, lag damit auch nördlich der Nordgrenze von Benjamin; d. h. also *nicht* innerhalb der Grenzen von Benjamin. Andererseits wird Jos. 18, 21 ff, in der Liste benjaminitischer Städte,

¹ Vgl. dazu schon DALMAN, PJ, 1926, 106.

² W. M. MUELLER, *Researches I*, 77, 23. — Sošenk I. nennt in Anschluss daran *Bet-Horon* und '*Ajjalon*. Die Wiedergabe von palästinensisch-semitischem *g* durch ägypt. *k* ist auch sonst noch bezeugt.

ausdrücklich auch *Gibe'on* als benjaminitische Stadt bezeichnet (V. 25), so dass es, diese beiden Angaben kombiniert, als ausgeschlossen gelten muss, *Gibe'on* auf dem *tell en-našbe* zu suchen.

Dass aber *Gibe'on* in der Gegend des heutigen *eg-gib* gelegen haben muss, scheint mir deutlich aus Ri 20,31 hervorzugehen; aus dem Berichte über den Kampf der israelitischen Stämme gegen den Stamm Benjamin wegen der Schandtät von *Gibe'a*. Die Benjaminiten befinden sich, von den übrigen israelitischen Stämmen belagert, in *Gibe'a*. Es heisst nun, dass sich die Benjaminiten aus *Gibe'a* herauslocken liessen und die Israeliten verfolgten auf den Strassen, deren eine nach *Bethel* führt, deren andere durch das Feld nach *Gibe'a*. Nun ist es seit langem erkannt, dass hier ein kleiner Schreibfehler vorliegt, dass wir hier statt hebr. *Gib'atá Gib'oná* zu lesen haben. Denn der heutige Text ist widersinnig. Man kann sich nicht aus *Gibe'a* entfernen auf einer Strasse, die von da weg nach *Gibe'a* führt. Setzen wir aber statt des fehlerhaften *Gib'atá-Gib'oná* ein, so wird der Text durchaus den lokalen Verhältnissen gerecht. Von *Gibe'a* (heute *tell el-fúl*) führt der Weg nach *Bethel*; bald hinter *Gibe'a* aber zweigt ein Seitenweg (vgl. V.31 "durch das Feld") ab, der nach *eg-gib* führt.

Alles in allem genommen werden wir wohl in der Gleichung *eg-gib=Gibe'on* festzuhalten haben. Und jeder, der von *en-nabi samwil* aus nach Norden blickt, wird den uns durch Josua 10,12f von Jugend auf vertrauten Ort auch weiterhin auf dem schönen *tell* suchen dürfen, der sich so plastisch von seiner Umgebung abhebt.

BOOK REVIEWS

- M. H. SEGAL, *The Foundations of Hebrew Phonetics: an enquiry into Hebrew pronunciation and its history* [in Hebrew]. (Jerusalem, 1928: Published by Dr. J. Junowitch, P. O. B. 543. Price three Shekels [=6sh.]).
- M. H. SEGAL, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1927. 15sh. net).

Semitic students will have reason to rejoice if these volumes prove to be typical of the work that is to be given to the world by the staff of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Mr. Segal's recent work satisfies the two requirements which this University can justly be expected to fulfil—to instil into the Jews themselves a scientific knowledge of their own cultural possessions, and to make these—at least in part—accessible to such of the Gentile world as is interested.

Mr. Segal's "Hebrew Phonetics" is the first study of the subject in which the resources of recent developments in general phonetic technique and principles are applied. It is aimed primarily at the Palestinian Hebrew-speaking community; and though its method is descriptive and far from being didactic, being concerned mainly with reducing the elements of the "Tiberian" pronunciation within the limits of modern systematic phonetic classification, it may also serve a practical purpose by, indirectly, calling the attention of Jewish readers to the phonetic anarchy which to-day prevails in Hebrew speech. It is true that there are thirteen recognized standards of Hebrew pronunciation sanctified by ancient, or comparatively ancient, usage and local associations, as, for example, the peculiarities among the Yemenite, the Polish or the Baghdad communities. But these in Palestine, where representatives of all

these 'standard' pronunciations have converged, are swamped by a horde of new modifications in pronunciation, modifications which have a wholly non-Jewish origin, being simply "foreign language infection" caught from the characteristic vowel and consonantal features of nearly every language under the sun from Shanghai to Chicago, from Whitechapel to Wellington. The consequence is that whereas Hebrew can be an attractive sounding language, with all the virtues of Arabic and none of its difficulties, it is, in the mouths of most of those who speak it, definitely ugly.

Mr. Segal's *Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew*, besides its very complete presentation of the rules and peculiarities of the language as it appears in the Mishnah and Tosefta, and the Midrashim and Talmudic Baraitas, serves to reinstate this aspect of the language as a true living successor of the biblical language and not, as frequently alleged, an artificial, pedantic refurbishing of a dead language with a stiff Hebrew exterior and an Aramaic soul. Careful comparative studies in vocabulary enable the author to demonstrate his thesis that "Mishnaic Hebrew is the direct lineal descendant of the spoken Hebrew of the biblical period, as distinguished from the literary Hebrew of the biblical period preserved in the Hebrew Scripture."

The Hebrew volume is one of a series entitled "A Historical and Philological Library," edited by Dr. J. Junowitch, and like other items of the series it is remarkable for the high standard attained in typography and quality of material and workmanship—a rare feature in Hebrew publications.

EPIGRAPHISCHE BEMERKUNGEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DES CHRISTENTUMS IN DER PALAESTINA TERTIA.

ALBRECHT ALT

(LEIPZIG)

Als ich vor einigen Jahren die bis dahin bekannt gewordenen griechischen Inschriften der Palaestina Tertia westlich der 'Araba sammelte und aus ihnen die Geschichte der Landschaft zwischen Beerseba und Kades im römisch-byzantinischen Zeitalter zu erschliessen suchte,¹ gab mir vor allem die Frage der Ausbreitung des Christentums in dieser Gegend viel zu denken. Mit unverkennbarer Deutlichkeit hob sich eine kleine Anzahl vorchristlicher Texte von der Masse christlicher Inschriften ab, und der zeitliche Abstand zwischen beiden Gruppen war mit Händen zu greifen. Aber ebenso klar ergab sich mir auch, dass der Übergang von der einen Periode zu der anderen und damit das Aufkommen der neuen Religion durch die epigraphischen Urkunden nicht unmittelbar beleuchtet wird. Keine Inschrift der Gegend redet vom Übertritt einzelner Menschen oder grösserer Kreise zum Christentum, und die Texte, die sich auf Stiftungen für Kirchen beziehen, sind leider in der Regel nicht datiert, sodass unausgesprochen bleibt, von welcher Zeit an das Bedürfnis der sich bildenden Gemeinden zur Errichtung gottesdienstlicher Bauten führte.² Die christlichen

¹ Die griechischen Inschriften der Palaestina Tertia westlich der 'Araba (Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen des Deutsch-Türkischen Denkmalschutz-Kommandos, Heft 2. 1921); im Folgenden zitiert GIPT.

² Die einzigen Ausnahmen GIPT Nr. 119. 120 aus Ḥafir el-'Audscha gehören beide dem siebenten Jahrhundert an, also einer Zeit, zu der das Christentum längst eingebürgert war, wie die dortigen Grabsteine aus dem sechsten Jahrhundert zeigen (GIPT Nr. 131 ff.).

Grabsteine aber, die weit mehr als die Hälfte sämtlicher Inschriften ausmachen, verwenden fast immer stereotype Formeln, die erst in Übung kommen konnten, wenn die neue Religion zur allgemein herrschenden Macht geworden war; und wer da weiss, wie schwer gerade in sepulkralen Dingen das Neue an Stelle des Althergebrachten sich durchzusetzen vermag,¹ der wird sich den Hergang nicht so vorstellen, als müsse die christliche Formulierung der Grabtexte der Ausbreitung des Christentums zeitlich auf dem Fusse gefolgt sein.

So habe ich denn auch in jener Abhandlung aus der Tatsache, dass die bis dahin gefundenen christlichen Inschriften der Palaestina Tertia, soweit sie ein berechenbares Datum enthalten, erst mit dem Jahre 509 einsetzen, um sich dann in ziemlich gleichmässiger Folge bis zu dem verheerenden Einfall der Perser um 613, spärlicher sogar bis über die Besetzung des Landes durch den Islam 634 hinaus zu verteilen,² nicht den Schluss gezogen, dass erst zu Anfang des sechsten Jahrhunderts die Christianisierung der Landschaft vollendet worden sei, sondern habe das ganze fünfte Jahrhundert für den allgemeinen Religionswechsel offen gehalten.³ Der Umstand, dass noch zu Beginn dieses Jahrhunderts in Elusa (el-Chalaşa), dem alten Vorort der Gegend, Grabsteine mit nichtchristlichem Formular gesetzt worden sind,⁴ brauchte mich aus den oben angegebenen Gründen an meiner Zeitbestimmung nicht irre zu machen. Noch weiter hinaufzugehen verhinderte mich das literarische Zeugnis der Lebensbeschreibung Hilarions von Hieronymus, nach der gerade in Elusa erst jener Mönchsheilige im vierten Jahrhundert dem Christentum die Bahn gebrochen haben soll.⁵ Wie gut sich diese freilich sehr vagen Datierungen in die Geschichte der Ausbreitung des Christentums in Palästina einfügen, braucht hier nicht ausgeführt zu werden.⁶

¹ Vgl. z. B. für Ägypten SCHMIDT, Zeitschr. f. ägypt. Sprache 32 (1894), S. 60; für Gallien HIRSCHFELD, Sitzungsber. d. Berl. Akad. 1895, S. 408.

² Datenliste GIPT S. 51.

³ Ebenda S. 54 f.

⁴ GIPT Nr. 49 ff.

⁵ Vita S. Hilarionis cap. 25 (MIGNE, Patrol. Lat. 23, Sp. 41); etwas abweichender griechischer Text bei PAPADOPULOS-KERAMEUS, Analekta (1898), S. 114 f. Von den verallgemeinernden Ausdrücken der Erzählung wird man einiges in Abzug zu bringen haben.

⁶ Für die ersten Jahrhunderte vgl. HARNACK, Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums 2^a (1915), S. 95 ff.; für die Folgezeit fehlt es leider noch an einer vergleichbaren Darstellung.

Die wenigen christlichen Inschriften der Palaestina Tertia, die seit dem Erscheinen meiner Sammlung veröffentlicht worden sind, haben das historische Bild in keiner Weise verändert; die datierten unter ihnen entstammen ohne Ausnahme dem sechsten Jahrhundert, und die undatierten dürfen unbedenklich der gleichen Zeit zugewiesen werden.¹ Um so mehr muss es überraschen, dass TONNEAU jetzt einen von ihm im Besitz des Gouverneurs von el-'Arisch gefundenen Grabstein, dessen christlicher Charakter nicht zu bezweifeln ist, mit voller Bestimmtheit dem Jahre 234/5 n. Chr. zugeschrieben hat, ohne dieses ausserordentlich frühe Datum mit dem Gesamtverlauf der Geschichte des Christentums in der fraglichen Gegend in Verbindung zu bringen.² Wäre diese Datierung richtig, so müsste unsere Ansicht über den historischen Hergang gründlich revidiert werden; eine Nachprüfung der von TONNEAU gegebenen Interpretation des neuen Textes ist daher dringend erforderlich.

Dass TONNEAU die Heimat des Grabsteins in der Palaestina Tertia sucht, obwohl er ihn in el-'Arisch, also ausserhalb dieser Provinz auf dem Boden Ägyptens, fand, verdient volle Zustimmung. Denn die Form einer Stele mit kreisrunder Scheibe am Kopfende, die ihm gegeben ist, darf als charakteristisch für die Grabsteine der Palaestina Tertia gelten, wenn auch daneben die Form rechteckiger Deckplatten überall in der Provinz vorkommt und in Beerseba sogar allein herrscht.³ Wahrscheinlich ist jene Stelen- und Scheibenform noch genauer als ein Erbstück aus dem altnabatäischen Gräberwesen zu bezeichnen, das ja längst vor dem Aufkommen des Christentums in der Landschaft heimisch war.⁴ Hat doch MOUTERDE neuerdings an Grabsteinen vorchristlicher Herkunft aus Der'a, also ebenfalls aus nabatäischem Gebiet, den Nachweis führen können, dass die auf ihnen unterhalb der Inschriftzeilen angebrachten Kreise mit schräg nach unten abgehenden geraden Strichen eine Darstellung der Seele des Verstorbenen sein sollen, und hat mit Recht

¹ Ich habe diese Texte in der Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins 46 (1923), S. 51 ff., zusammengestellt und kurz besprochen.

² Revue Biblique 36 (1927), S. 94 f., Nr. 4; Zeichnung auf Pl. II.

³ Vgl. GIPT S. 26. 31. 40 ff.

⁴ Die vorchristlichen Grabsteine von el-Chalasa GIPT Nr. 49 ff. haben sämtlich diese Form.

bemerkt, dass die Stelen- und Scheibenform der Grabsteine der Palaestina Tertia in anderer Weise den gleichen Gedanken zum Ausdruck bringt.¹ In diese Reihe gehört der neue Grabstein offenbar hinein, und es bleibt nur zu bedauern, dass keine genauere Angabe über seinen Fundort vorliegt; nach dem Gesagten wird er vermutlich einer der südlicheren Ruinenstätten der Landschaft entstammen, von denen schon so manche Inschrift nach el-'Arisch und noch weiter verschleppt worden ist.² Aber gerade bei solcher Herkunft erscheint das von TONNEAU angenommene hohe Alter dieses christlichen Grabsteins erst recht bedenklich; denn es wäre immer noch eher denkbar, dass es zu Anfang des dritten Jahrhunderts z.B. in Beerseba oder in el-'Arisch, dem damaligen Rhinokorura, Christen gab, als dass sich die neue Religion um jene Zeit auch schon in Elusa und in seinem Hinterland ausgebreitet haben sollte.³

Den griechischen Wortlaut der Inschrift: „ K^{H} Ἀνεπα(η) ἡ μα-
 ρ(α)ρία Μαρία .ρηη ινδ(ικτιωνος) ιγ“ glaubt TONNEAU übersetzen zu sollen: „Est morte feue Marie, (l'an) 128, indiction 13^e.“ Das Kreuz am Anfang und die gebrauchte Formel, aber auch der Name der Verstorbenen stellen den christlichen Ursprung des Grabsteins völlig sicher. Die Schwierigkeiten beginnen erst bei den Zeitangaben am Schlusse. Hier fällt schon auf, dass zwar das Todesjahr genannt sein soll, hingegen nicht wie üblich zugleich der Todestag.⁴ Auch die Voranstellung des Ärenjahres vor die Bezeichnung nach dem Indiktionszyklus ist in den Inschriften der Palaestina Tertia zum Mindesten nicht das Gewöhnliche. Zudem stimmen die beiden Jahresangaben nicht einmal überein; denn das Jahr 128 der von TONNEAU vorausgesetzten Ära der Provinz Arabia, die ja auch in der Palaestina Tertia mit Ausnahme von Beerseba bis zuletzt durchaus herrschte, läuft vom 22. März 233 bis ebendahin 234 n. Chr.,

¹ *Syriac* 6 (1925).S. 237 ff.

² Fälle dieser Art hat schon CLÉDAT, *Recueil de travaux* 37 (1915), S. 40, konstatiert; einen neuen verzeichnet jetzt TONNEAU a. a. O., S. 95.

³ Nicht allzu weit von Beerseba auf dem jüdischen Gebirge gab es nach EUSEBIUS, *Onomastikon* 26, 13f.; 108, 1ff. (ed. KLOSTERMANN) schon zu Anfang des vierten Jahrhunderts zwei ganz christliche Dörfer Anaia und Jetheira. Für Rhinokorura vgl. SOZOMENOS, *Hist. eccl.* VI 31, 6ff. (HUSSEY).

⁴ Unter den bisher veröffentlichten Inschriften der Palaestina Tertia ist kein einziger sicherer Fall dieser Art.

nicht 234/5, wie TONNEAU annimmt,¹ und das Jahr 13 des Indiktionszyklus würde erst mit dem 1. September 234 n. Chr. beginnen.

So bedenklich jedoch diese Unstimmigkeiten zumal in ihrer Häufung sein mögen, so würde man sich mit ihnen am Ende noch abfinden können, wenn wenigstens die beiden Jahresangaben in solcher Verbindung überhaupt vorkommen könnten. Dies ist aber nicht der Fall. Denn im Jahre 233/4 n. Chr., das TONNEAU bei Zugrundelegung der Ära der Provinz Arabia hätte errechnen sollen, gab es die in der Inschrift verwendete Jahreszählung nach dem Indiktionszyklus überhaupt noch nicht; es steht vielmehr fest, dass diese erst zur Zeit Diokletians mit dem Jahre 297/8 als Ausgangspunkt eingeführt wurde und sich dann von Ägypten aus allmählich verbreitete – ein Vorgang, der sich zumal im Datierungswesen nachweisbar nur sehr langsam vollzog.² Eine Inschrift vom Jahre 233/4 n. Chr. mit Indiktionsangabe ist also ein bare Unmöglichkeit. Damit bestätigen sich die oben ausgesprochenen Bedenken vollauf, und die Bezeichnung des Jahres nach dem Indiktionszyklus führt ihrerseits zu dem Schluss, dass die neue Inschrift allerfrühestens aus dem vierten, wahrscheinlicher aber aus einem noch späteren Jahrhundert stammt. Für die Geschichte der Ausbreitung des Christentums in der Palaestina Tertia ist dem Texte unter diesen Umständen nichts zu entnehmen, was sich nicht schon früher aus den Inschriften und der Literatur ergeben hatte.

Aber es fragt sich nun, wie man die Buchstaben zu deuten hat, in denen TONNEAU die Zahl 128 finden wollte, die ihn zu der Datierung in das dritte Jahrhundert brachte. Lag der Fehler vielleicht nur in seiner Annahme, dass das Jahr nach der Ära der Provinz Arabia bezeichnet und zu berechnen sei? Stammt der Stein etwa aus Beerseba, in dessen Zeitrechnungswesen eine andere Ära, nämlich die von Eleutheropolis mit dem Jahre 200 als Epoche, die Herrschaft hatte³? Ihr Jahr 128 wäre nach unserer Rechnung 327 n. Chr. Aber dieser Datierung der Inschrift gegenüber bestünde das Bedenken wegen der Verwendung des Indiktionszyklus zu einem

¹ Die Epoche der Ära ist der 22. März 106 n. Chr.; vgl. GIPT'S. 47 und die dort verzeichnete Literatur.

² Vgl. SEECK's Artikel „Indictio“ in PAUTY-WISSOWA's Real-Encyclopædie der class. Altertumswissenschaft IX (1916), Sp. 1327 ff.

³ GIPT S. 49 f.

so frühen Termin noch immer fort; es käme hinzu, dass das Jahr 327 n. Chr. gar nicht dem 13. Jahre der Indiktion, sondern in seiner grösseren ersten Hälfte dem 15., für den Rest dem 1. Jahre eines Zyklus entspricht und dass wie oben bemerkt der Grabstein nach seiner Form kaum aus Beerseba stammen kann. Eine andere Ära aber mit noch späterem Ausgangspunkt kommt, soviel ich sehe, hier nicht in Betracht.¹

Aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach sind die Buchstaben der Inschrift, die TONNEAU für eine Jahreszahl hielt, überhaupt nicht als solche aufzufassen. Ich sagte schon, dass man, wo einmal auf einem Grabstein dieser Gegend die Angabe des Todesjahres erscheint, daneben den Todestag bezeichnet zu finden erwartet. Wie sonst oft könnte auch hier das Jahr lediglich nach dem Indiktionszyklus vermerkt sein und davor in starker Abkürzung der Name des Monats nebst dem Tagesdatum stehen. In dieser Vermutung bestärkt mich der Umstand, dass TONNEAU selbst in seiner Zeichnung des Steins vor den von ihm als dreistellige Zahl gelesenen Buchstaben $\rho\kappa\eta$ Reste eines anderen Buchstabens angibt, die er infolge seiner Auffassung nicht berücksichtigen konnte und einfach ungedeutet liess.² Ich suche hier den Anfang des abgekürzten Monatsnamens und ergänze demgemäss [Λ]ρ(αρτεμισίου); die zwei übrigbleibenden Buchstaben $\kappa\eta$ sind dann das Tagesdatum: 28. Artemisios = 18. Mai eines Jahres, das uns unbekannt bleibt, weil es nicht nach einer Ära bezeichnet ist. Dass der Monatsname so stark abgekürzt ist, hat Parallelen genug und ist jedenfalls kein entscheidender Einwand gegen meine Vermutung, die ich natürlich nur mit allem Vorbehalt aussprechen kann, da ich den Stein nur aus TONNEAU's Zeichnung kenne, die nach seiner eigenen Angabe nicht durch einen Abklatsch kontrolliert werden konnte. Aber ob sich nun mein Vorschlag bestätigt oder nicht, unter allen Umständen

¹ Die junge Ära von Gaza, die in den dortigen Inschriften gelegentlich auftritt (vgl. über sie zuletzt KUBITSCHER, Sitzungsber. d. Wiener Akad. 177 [1916], Abh. 4, S. 25ff.), scheint in die Palaestina Tertia nicht eingedrungen zu sein. Die unten zu besprechende Ära Diokletians-nach ihr würde der Grabstein aus dem Jahre 411/2 n. Chr. stammen-war zu so früher Zeit schwerlich schon in dieser Gegend bekannt; auch würde das Jahr nicht zu der Indiktionsangabe stimmen.

² Ein blosses Abkürzungszeichen kann es nicht wohl sein, da das vorhergehende Wort ausgeschrieben ist.

den ist TONNEAU's Deutung der fraglichen Buchstaben als Jahreszahl und damit die Datierung des Grabsteins in das dritte Jahrhundert abzulehnen. Es fehlt also nach wie vor an Zeugnissen für eine so frühe Verbreitung des Christentums in der Palaestina Tertia, und nichts verbietet uns, den Grabstein in der Zeit entstanden zu denken, der alle seine sonst bekannten Artgenossen angehören, d. h. im sechsten oder sogar erst im siebenten Jahrhundert, wohin auch seine Buchstabentformen sehr viel besser passen.

Zusammen mit ihm hat nun aber TONNEAU ausser zwei in el-'Arisch selbst beheimateten Grabplatten¹ noch die Kopfscheibe einer Grabstele der oben beschriebenen Form veröffentlicht, die er zwar ebenfalls in el-'Arisch fand, aber richtig wieder der Palaestina Tertia zuwies und der wahrscheinlich ein grösserer chronologischer Wert für die Geschichte des Christentums dort beizumessen ist.² Er liest sie: „† Ἀναπ(άη) Στέφανος υου (=υῖος) Γωλωτ Διοκλιτιανοῦ τπδ (ἐν) μ(ηνί) Π(ανέμου) ς ἐν(δικτιώνος) ιγ“ und übersetzt: „Est mort Étienne, fils de Golot Dioclétien, l'an 384, le 6^e du mois de Panemos (?), indiction 13.“ Legt man auch hier wieder die Ära der Provinz Arabia zugrunde, so ergibt sich als Entstehungszeit dieses unverkennbar christlichen Grabsteins das Jahr 489/90 n. Chr., und dazu stimmt auch das Indiktionsjahr 13, wenn man nur den abgekürzten Monatsnamen nicht mit TONNEAU Panemos, sondern, was ebenso gut möglich ist, Peritios liest.³ Dieses Datum geht über den ältesten datierten christlichen Grabstein der Palaestina Tertia, der bis jetzt bekannt geworden war,⁴ um volle zwanzig Jahre zurück; aber das ist ja nicht weiter überraschend, wenn, wie wir annehmen, im Laufe des fünften Jahrhunderts der allgemeine Übergang zum Christentum stattgefunden hatte, und es kann sehr wohl sein, dass sich der auch hier noch bleibende Abstand von den nichtchristlichen Grabsteinen von Elusa einmal durch Funde aus der

¹ A. a. O., S. 94, Nr. 2f. Die Herkunft aus Rhinokorura beweisen die ägyptischen Monatsnamen der Texte.

² Ebenda S. 93, No. 1; Zeichnung auf Pl. II,

³ Das Indiktionsjahr 13 beginnt am 1. September 489, der Monat Peritios des Jahres 384 arabischer Ära am 16. Januar 490, hingegen der Panemos des gleichen Jahres schon am 20. Juni 489.

⁴ GIPT Nr. 131 (509 n. Chr.).

Mitte des Jahrhunderts noch mehr verkürzt.¹

Aber auch bei diesem Texte kann man bezweifeln, ob TONNEAU ihn richtig gedeutet hat. Die grösste Schwierigkeit liegt hier bei den angeblichen zwei Namen des Vaters des Verstorbenen in der Mitte des Textes. Seine Doppelnamigkeit wäre an sich nicht schlechthin unmöglich—solche Fälle kommen auf den Grabsteinen der Landschaft gelegentlich vor²; aber dass Γωλωτ eine Wiedergabe des Namens Goliath oder vielmehr seiner im Kor'an bezeugten arabisierten Form Galât sein sollte, wie TONNEAU annimmt, ist in jeder Beziehung unwahrscheinlich,³ und ebensowenig leuchtet ein, dass ein Christ, wie es der Vater des verstorbenen Christen Stephanos doch wohl war, nach dem grossen Christenverfolger Diokletian benannt gewesen sein sollte.⁴ Auch die Anordnung der Zeitangaben: Ärenjahr in der Form der blossen Jahreszahl—Monatsname—Tagesdatum—Indiktionsjahr entspricht keineswegs dem Üblichen.

Nun ist es freilich nicht ganz leicht, eine andere Deutung vorzuschlagen, da TONNEAU ausdrücklich hervorhebt, dass die Buchstaben der Inschrift vollkommen lesbar seien. Aus seiner Zeichnung geht aber doch hervor, dass der Steinmetz, der den Text auf dem Grabstein anbrachte, oder vielleicht schon der Schreiber seiner Vorlage mit dem Griechischen auf gespanntem Fusse stand—Beweis dafür ist schon die Schreibung $\alpha\nu\alpha\pi(\acute{\alpha}\nu)$ in der ersten Zeile und dass er Ligaturen liebte—ein gutes Beispiel bietet die Verbindung der Buchstaben $\phi\alpha\nu$ im Namen des Verstorbenen—. Auch TONNEAU sieht sich daher genötigt, an Stelle von $\nu\omega\nu$ vielmehr $\nu\acute{\iota}\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ zu lesen. Ich vermute, dass solche Verschreibungen und Ligaturen in dem Text noch etwas häufiger sind und dass von ihnen vor allem der angebliche Name Golot betroffen ist. Wenn überhaupt $\nu\omega\nu$ in $\nu\acute{\iota}\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ berichtigt werden darf, wird der dahinter zu erwartende

¹ Man vergleiche das benachbarte Gaza, wo die christlichen Inschriften schon mit dem Jahre 450 n. Chr. einsetzen (Nea Sion 13 [1913], S. 918, Nr. A¹).

² Wenn Diokletian der Name des Grossvaters sein sollte, würde man davor $\tau\omega\nu$ erwarten.

³ Nicht nur die Vokalisation, sondern auch die Wiedergabe des arabischen τ durch ein griechisches τ wäre sehr auffällig; auch würde dem Namen in diesem Falle doch wohl seine griechische Form belassen sein.

⁴ TONNEAU's Vermutung, es könne sich um einen Freigelassenen des Kaisers handeln, leuchtet wenig ein.

Name des Vaters nur in den Buchstaben Γωλω zu suchen sein; man könnte dann entweder an Γαύλον oder bei anderer Auflösung der Ligatur der ersten Buchstaben an Παύλον denken.¹ Aber am Ende gehört die ganze Buchstabengruppe υυπωλω zusammen als Berufsbezeichnung des Verstorbenen; dann läge es am nächsten, eine fehlerhafte Schreibung für ὑπόλος „Schweinezüchter“ anzunehmen. Das übrigbleibende τ halte ich für einen Rest von ἔτ(ους); das davor zu erwartende ε steckt entweder ligiert in dem vorausgehenden ω oder ist irrigerweise übergangen, die Endung ους wie so oft unterdrückt. Dann ergibt sich eine Jahresangabe nach der Ära Diokletians, woran auch TONNEAU schon dachte. Dass dieselbe nur in Ägypten heimisch ist und sich auch dort nur sehr langsam verbreitet hat,² ist kein Grund gegen ihre Anerkennung hier; denn vereinzelt Fälle ihrer Verwendung ausserhalb Ägyptens finden sich auch sonst in später Zeit, auch im palästinischen Gebiet,³ und gerade die Gegend, aus der unser Grabstein stammt, liegt ja der Grenze Ägyptens sehr nahe. Dann würde der Text, da die Ära Diokletians mit dem 29. August 284 n. Chr. beginnt, aus dem Jahre 667/8 n. Chr. stammen, also schon aus islamischer Zeit, in der die Verwendung dieser Ära erst recht aufkam, und seine formalen Unvollkommenheiten wären dann besonders leicht zu erklären. Nun hat freilich schon TONNEAU bemerkt, dass die am Schlusse der Inschrift beigefügte Indiktionszahl zu dem diokletianischen Ärenjahr nicht stimmt; denn das Jahr 13 des betreffenden Zyklus beginnt erst am 1. September 669. Da jedoch die verwendete Ära in der Palaestina Tertia nicht einheimisch war, ist dieser Fehler doch wohl verständlich und braucht uns an der Annahme dieser Erklärung, bei der das Auftreten des Namens Diokletians in einer christlichen Inschrift seine weitaus einfachste Deutung

¹ Der Name Gaulos ist in Nordsyrien inschriftlich bezeugt (Princeton Univ. Archæol. Exp. to Syria, Div. III, Sect. B, Nr. 1101); Paulos begegnet öfters in Ägypten (LEFEBVRE, Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte [1907], S. 162 s. v.)

² Vgl. LEFEBVRE a. a. O., S. XXV; HOHMANN, Zur Chronologie der Papyrusurkunden (1911), S. 44 f. GINZEL, Handbuch der mathem. u. techn. Chronologie III (1914), S. 175. 321.

³ Die Ära ist für die Provinz Arabia bezeugt durch eine Inschrift aus el-Muchazak (GERMER-DURAND, Échos d'Orient I [1898], S. 117; mit Unrecht bezweifelt von CLERMONT-GANNEAU, Recueil d'archéol. orient. 6 [1904], S. 327 ff.).

findet, nicht zu verhindern. Wahrscheinlich ist dann eher das Indiktions- als das Ärenjahr, d. h. das einheimische, nicht das fremde Element der Datierung, richtig berechnet, und die Inschrift rückt somit in das Jahr 669/70 n. Chr. Schliesslich sei noch bemerkt, dass bei dieser Auffassung auch die ungewöhnliche Anordnung der Zeitangaben, auf die schon oben hingewiesen wurde, keine so grosse Schwierigkeit macht; die umständliche Bezeichnung des Ärenjahres hat sich in den Vordergrund gedrängt und ist so von der Indiktionsangabe, die ihren althergebrachten Platz behielt, losgerissen worden.

Trifft meine Deutung zu, so gehört dieser Grabstein zu den allerletzten Ausläufern des christlichen Inschriftenwesens in der Palaestina Tertia und ist bis auf Weiteres geradezu die jüngste christliche Urkunde der Gegend, mehr als zwanzig Jahre jünger als die letzte Inschrift, die wir schon kannten.⁴ Und zugleich liefert er einen neuen Beweis dafür, dass der Untergang der Kultur in diesem Randgebiet Palästinas kein plötzlicher Tod, sondern ein langsames Erlöschen war. Um so schmerzlicher ist es, dass wir wohl niemals werden erfahren können, wo der Grabstein dieses Stephanos einst stand und wo nach seinem Zeugnis noch um 670 ein Rest der christlichen Bevölkerung sein Dasein fristete. Das letzte Ende der Blüte der Landschaft und ihr Zurücksinken in die Wüste und in das Nomadenleben wird uns niemals ein epigraphischer Text beleuchten; aber wer sich die verwilderten Formen der Schrift und Sprache unseres Grabsteins genauer ansieht, dem ist es wohl, als sähe er schon hier einen Anfang vom Ende.

⁴ GIPT Nr. 28 (647 n. Chr.).

WO LAG PNUEL?

CARL STEUERNAGEL

(BRESLAU)

Es ist bisher nicht gelungen, die Stätte, an der wir das alttestamentliche Pnuel (oder Pniel) zu suchen haben, auch nur mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit zu bestimmen. Jetzt sind die Aussichten dafür günstiger geworden. Denn in der grossen SCHUMACHERSchen „Karte des Ostjordanlandes“, die der Deutsche Palästina-Verein herausgegeben hat, und in der Beschreibung des 'Adschlün, die ich kürzlich nach den Aufzeichnungen SCHUMACHER's geliefert habe,¹ besitzen wir eine sehr ins Einzelne gehende Darstellung des in Betracht kommenden Gebietes. Ich habe denn auch bereits in meinem Buche über den 'Adschlün einen neuen Vorschlag für die Ansetzung von Pnuel gemacht; jedoch konnte ich diesen dort nicht ausführlich begründen, und so benutze ich gern die Gelegenheit, die Frage nach Pnuel hier etwas ausführlicher zu erörtern.

Wir finden Pnuel im Alten Testament nur an drei Stellen erwähnt: in der Jakobgeschichte Gen 32²³ ff., in der Gideongeschichte Jud 8⁴ ff. und in der vereinzelt Notiz 1. Reg 12²⁵. Weitere, davon unabhängige Angaben besitzen wir überhaupt nicht. Wir sind also für die Bestimmung der Lage ausschliesslich auf die Angaben des Alten Testaments angewiesen.

Nach Gen 32²³ ff. steht fest, dass Pnuel am Jabbok lag, d. h., wie jetzt wohl allgemein anerkannt ist, am *nahr ez-zerkä*, und zwar an einer Stelle, wo ein für grosse Herden benutzbarer Weg den

¹ STEUERNAGEL, Der 'Adschlün, in der Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins 1924-26; Buchausgabe: Leipzig 1927.

Fluss mittels einer Furt überschreitet. Genauer scheint die Stelle dadurch bestimmt zu werden, dass Jakob auf seinem Zuge vorher Machanajim, nachher Sukkoth berührt (s. einerseits Gen 32³, vgl. auch die Anspielung auf Machanajim in Gen 32^{8.11}, anderseits Gen 33¹⁶). Aber diese Angaben nützen uns so gut wie nichts. Denn die Lage von Machanajim ist uns vollkommen unbekannt, und so kennen wir den Ausgangspunkt des Weges nicht, auf dem Jakob mit Überschreitung des *nahr ez-zerka* nach Sukkoth = *tell der 'alla*¹ gelangte, und können somit die von Jakob benutzte Übergangsstelle da nach nicht bestimmen. Dazu kommt die Erwägung, dass ja die Erzählung von Jakob's Wanderung kein streng historischer Bericht ist. Verschiedene ursprünglich von einander unabhängige Lokalsagen des Ostjordanlandes, die an die Jakobfigur angeknüpft waren, sind von den Erzählern durch das Wanderungsmotiv mit einander in Verbindung gebracht, so gut es ging. Dass sich dabei ein einfacher, klarer Reiseweg ergeben haben sollte, ist sehr unwahrscheinlich.

Immerhin lässt sich aus dem Zusammenhang der Jakobgeschichte wenigstens noch ein Datum für die genauere Bestimmung der Lage von Pnuel gewinnen. Die Pnuelgeschichte selbst wird nämlich durch einige Sätze eröffnet, die von der Überschreitung des Jabbok handeln, und diese Sätze dürften uns Aufschluss darüber geben, ob Pnuel an der Nord- oder Südseite des Jabbok lag. Soviel ist nämlich klar, dass wenigstens der jahwistische Erzähler Jakob den Fluss in der Richtung von Norden nach Süden überschreiten lässt; denn nach ihm kommt Jakob aus Charan, jenseits des oberen Euphrat (Gen 28¹⁰; 29⁴; 31²¹), und er zieht seinem von Süden herankommenden Bruder Esau entgegen. Unklar aber ist zunächst, ob Jakob selbst den Jabbok bereits überschritten hat, als er das nächtliche Erlebnis von Pnuel hatte—in diesem Falle läge Pnuel an der Südseite des Flusses—, oder ob nur erst seine Frauen und Kinder hinübergewandert waren, während er selbst noch am Nordufer zurückgeblieben war—in diesem Falle hätten wir Pnuel an der Nordseite des Jabbok zu suchen. Die erstere Auffassung wird durch Gen 32^{23b}, die zweite durch v. 24. 25^a gefordert. Man will die Differenz gewöhnlich durch

¹ Diese Identifikation halte ich für hinlänglich gesichert; sie ist auch so gut wie allgemein anerkannt.

Verteilung der Angaben auf verschiedene Quellen, die jahwistische (J) und die elohistische (E), erklären, und auch ich habe das früher getan. Doch glaube ich jetzt nicht mehr, dass das angängig ist. Nimmt man an, dass beide Quellen die eigentliche Pnuelgeschichte v. 25 b ff. boten, so setzt die verschiedenartige Angabe über Jakobs Beteiligung oder Nichtbeteiligung an der Überschreitung des Flusses voraus, dass die beiden Quellen ihn von entgegengesetzten Seiten her an den Jabbok gelangen lassen; das ist aber dadurch ausgeschlossen, dass beide ihn von Machanajim aus kommen lassen. Nimmt man aber an, dass die eigentliche Pnuelgeschichte nur in einer der beiden Quellen stand, so würde die Differenz von v. 23 und 24. 25^a daraus zu erklären sein, dass die eine Quelle mit Rücksicht auf die Pnuelgeschichte Jakob allein auf dem einen Ufer zurückbleiben lassen musste, während die andere, eben weil ihr die Pnuelgeschichte fehlte, keinen Anlass hatte, Jakob von den Seinigen zu trennen. Nun scheint mir sicher, dass die Pnuelgeschichte jedenfalls vom Jahwisten berichtet worden ist, da sie den Namenwechsel des Patriarchen erklärt, der für den Jahwisten charakteristisch ist. Also muss v. 24. 25^a der Quelle J zugeschrieben werden, während v. 23 dem Elohisten zufallen würde. Für unsere Frage ergäbe sich, dass Pnuel an der Nordseite des Jabbok lag, da Jakob das Pnuelerlebnis hatte, ehe er von Norden kommend den Jabbok überschritt. Aber gegen die Zuweisung von v. 23 an E erheben sich doch Bedenken. Die Bezeichnung der Mägde mit שפחה statt mit אמה in v. 23 spricht eher für J als Verfasser, wiewohl שפחה auch bei E nicht ganz unerhört wäre (vgl. Gen 20¹⁴; 30¹⁸). Besonders aber sehe ich nicht ein, warum E überhaupt den Übergang Jakobs über den Jabbok erzählt haben sollte, wenn dieser bei ihm gar kein besonderes Interesse beanspruchte. Es scheint mir richtiger, die Erklärung der Differenz von v. 23 und 24 f. nicht auf dem Wege der Quellenscheidung zu suchen, sondern auf dem der Textkritik. Mir scheint v. 24^a eine vom Rand in den Text aufgenommene korrigierende Glosse zu v. 23^b zu sein: das ויקחם ist die abgekürzte Stichwortangabe für die Zugehörigkeit der Glosse, entnommen aus v. 23^a β, das ויקברם ist die eigentliche Korrektur für das ויקבר, das את הנחל ist zur Abrundung der Glosse beigefügt. Der in v. 23^b vorliegende Fehler scheint mir dadurch entstanden zu sein, dass in

dem ursprünglichen Satz **ויעבר אתם את מעבר יבק** vor der folgenden Konsonantengruppe übersehen wurde. Auch in diesem Fall spielt die Pnuelgeschichte am Nordufer des Jabbok. Eben damit ist dann aber zugleich erwiesen, dass auch Machanajim nach dem Zeugnis des Jahwisten irgendwo nördlich des Jabbok gesucht werden muss. Läge es südlich, so hätte der Sammler der Einzelsagen die Machanajimsage sicherlich hinter der Pnuelgeschichte eingeordnet.

Gegen unser Ergebnis könnte eingewandt werden, dass doch Jakob, nachdem er bei Pnuel den Jabbok in südlicher Richtung überschritten haben soll, Sukkoth erreicht, das jedenfalls nördlich vom Jabbok lag. Das reimt sich nicht zusammen. Ich habe jedoch schon oben darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass sich bei der Verbindung der ursprünglich getrennten Lokalsagen durch das Wandermotiv schwerlich ein einfacher klarer Reiseweg ergab. Wenn der Sammler die Sukkothsage, obwohl sie nördlich vom Jabbok spielt, nicht vor der Pnuelsage eingeordnet hat, so wird das wohl darin begründet sein, dass es in Anbetracht der Lage der drei Orte Machanajim, Pnuel und Sukkoth immer noch denkbarer schien, dass Jakob später wieder an das Nordufer des Jabbok gelangte, als dass er entweder von Sukkoth über Machanajim oder von Machanajim über Sukkoth nach Pnuel kam. Das heisst, Sukkoth muss von einer Route, die, wenn auch mit Umwegen, vom Nordosten her nach Pnuel führte, so weit abgelegen haben, dass es sich an sie nicht anschliessen liess, während das bei Machanajim verhältnismässig leicht möglich war. Überdies ist zu beachten, dass die Ankunft in Sukkoth sich durchaus nicht unmittelbar an den Übergang bei Pnuel anschloss, sondern dass Jakob zunächst Esau entgegenzog. Das kann ihn nach der Vorstellung des Erzählers genötigt haben, nicht auf der Nordseite des Jabbok zu bleiben, sondern zunächst nach Süden zu ziehen und dann auf die Nordseite zurückzukehren. Es wäre freilich einfacher gewesen, Jakob von dem südlich des Jabbok gedachten Ort des Zusammentreffens mit Esau aus mittels einer der südlichen Jordanfürten das Westjordanland erreichen zu lassen. Aber es galt, ihn nach Sichem zu führen, wo mehrere Jakobsagen spielten, so dass ein Jordanübergang bei *ed-dāmiye* oder bei der noch etwas nördlicheren *machadet umm sidre* sehr wohl in Betracht kam, und das wurde dadurch empfohlen, dass nun so die Sukkothsage leicht angeschlossen werden konnte.

Es scheint mir hier der passende Ort zu sein, um zu früheren Vorschlägen für die Ansetzung von Pnuel kurz Stellung zu nehmen. MERRILL hat dafür bekanntlich einst die *tulul ed-dahab* in Vorschlag gebracht, die am Zerka wenig oberhalb seines Austrittes in das Ghör liegen.¹ Dafür spricht, dass Pnuel nach Jud 8⁸ in der Tat oberhalb von Sukkoth = *tell der 'alla* lag und dass die *tulul ed-dahab* die nächste und für eine sehr weite Strecke am Zerka die letzte Ruinenstätte sind, die als Überrest einer befestigten Stadt betrachtet werden könnte. Aber es ist schwer vorstellbar, dass man auf den Gedanken gekommen sein sollte, Jakob habe hier den Jabbok überschritten, da es an dieser Stelle keinen dafür passenden Strassenzug gibt. Es wäre kaum zu verstehen, dass die Sammler der Sagen Jakob dann nicht von Pnuel, d. h. von den *tulul ed-dahab*, am Nordufer des Flusses entlang nach dem nahen Sukkoth = *tell der 'alla* ziehen und hier mit Benutzung der Ghörstrasse den Jabbok überschreiten liessen, sondern die uns jetzt vorliegende Sagenverbindung schufen. DALMAN² hat von der Erkenntnis aus, dass man nur bei "ungenügender Ortskenntnis" Pnuel mit den *tulul ed-dahab* identifizieren konnte, da "ein Übergang über den Jabbok dort innerhalb des Berglandes keine entscheidende Bedeutung für den Ziehenden gehabt hätte", die auch von ihm früher angenommene These MERRILL's aufgegeben, die *tulul ed-dahab* für das alttestamentliche Machanajim erklärt, den Übergang Jakobs über den Jabbok demgemäss weiter flussabwärts, also im Ghör, angesetzt und danach für Pnuel einen südlich von *tell der 'alla* am Zerka gelegenen, auf SCHUMACHER's Karte fehlenden kleinen Ruinenhügel, den *tell esch-scha'be*, in Vorschlag gebracht. Dann aber müsste Jakob auf seinem Zuge von Machanajim nach Pnuel den *tell der 'alla* = Sukkoth berührt haben, und es wäre völlig unverständlich, dass die Sammler die Sukkothsage nicht zwischen der Machanajim- und der Pnuelsage eingeordnet haben. Dazu kommt, dass Gideon nach Jud 8⁸ von Sukkoth nach Pnuel hinauf zieht (לָקַח). Kann man ferner wirklich den unbedeutenden *tell esch-scha'be* für die Ruinenstätte einer

¹ Seine Ausführungen über *The Identification of Succoth and Pnuel* in den Statements der amerikanischen Palestine Exploration Society 1878 S. 81 ff. und *East of the Jordan* 1881 sind mir nicht zugänglich.

² Palästinajahrbuch IX (1913) S. 68 ff.

bedeutenden befestigten Stadt halten? Ich halte auch den Ausgangspunkt DALMAN'S, die Gleichsetzung der *tulal ed-dahab* mit Machanajim, für nicht mehr als eine blosser Vermutung, die nicht mit ausreichenden Gründen gestützt werden kann.

Wenn wir uns den bei Pnuel erfolgenden Uebergang Jakobs über den Jabbok nicht im Ghör denken können, so müssen wir die Übergangsstelle weiter oberhalb suchen. Da käme zunächst eine der Stellen in Frage, wo die verschiedenen Zweige der von *irbid* südwärts führenden Hauptstrasse nach *es-salt* den *nahr ezzerka* überschreiten, also eine der Furten südwestlich oder südöstlich von *birma*, und sodann eine der Stellen, wo die von *dscherasch* südwärts nach der Belkâ führende Strasse den Fluss überschreitet, also die Furt im *zör en-nawâbilsî* oder bei *el-ehmeme*. Aber all diese Stellen befriedigen nicht. Denn es fehlt bei ihnen an einer bedeutenderen Ruinenstätte, die als der Überrest einer alten, befestigten Stadt betrachtet werden könnte, und das war doch Pnuel nach Jud 8^{f.}; 1. Reg 12²⁵. Aus dem gleichen Grunde dürfen wir auch nicht an eine der Furten denken, die weiter oberhalb bis zur *îâhûmet el-mizrak* folgen, zumal es hier auch an einer bedeutenderen Strasse fehlt, von der es einigermaßen begreiflich wäre, dass die Sage sie als Anmarschstrasse des mit grossen Herden wandernden Patriarchen angesehen hätte. Dagegen ist nun die noch weiter ostwärts folgende Strasse, die von *ed-dukmissi* und *medwar nöl* her südwärts führt, dem *wâdi shaba* und *wadi el-kneije* folgend, als Anmarschstrasse Jakobs wohl denkbar. Sie vermittelt einen leichten und bequemen Zugang von den nördlichen und nordöstlichen Steppengebieten zum Jabbok und bietet mit den zahlreichen in ihrer Nachbarschaft entspringenden Quellen hinreichend Gelegenheit zum Tränken grosser Herden. „Noch jetzt ziehen die Beduinen mit ihren zahlreichen Herden hierher, um sie an den 20 Brunnen des Tales zu tränken,“ bemerkt Dr. SCHUMACHER (s. 'Adschlûn S. 151). So kam denn Dr. SCHUMACHER selbst schon auf den Gedanken, Pnuel an dieser Strasse zu suchen. Er dachte speziell an *medwar nöl* (vgl. seinen vorläufigen Bericht über seine Beobachtungen in den „Mitteilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins“ 1901 S. 2 ff.). Das aber ist nicht wohl möglich, da Pnuel am Jabbok gesucht werden muss. Ich zweifle nicht, dass Dr. SCHUMACHER, wenn er damals schon die Gegend, in der die oben genannte

Strasse den Zerkā erreicht, genauer gekannt hätte, statt *medwar nöl* an eine andere Stätte gedacht haben würde, die viel passender liegt, nämlich an *chirbet* und *tell el-emrāneh*, die genau da liegen, wo jene Strasse den Zerkā erreicht, und zwar an der Westseite der Strasse, auf dem Ausläufer eines durch ein Seitental abgegrenzten, südwärts zum Zerkā abfallenden Bergzuges. Der *tell el-emrāneh* erhebt sich etwa 100 m über das Flussbett und beherrscht die ganze Gegend der Zerkā-Biegung. Er trägt eine zwar nur schmale, aber 120 m lang ausgestreckte Ruine von viereckigen Bauten aus unbehauenen Bausteinen, die vielfach $0,87 \times 0,40 \times 0,30$ m gross waren. Die *chirbe* liegt auf dem gleichen Bergzuge, etwas weiter oberhalb; Dr. SCHUMACHER charakterisiert sie als „eine bedeutende Ortslage mit vielen Höhlen, die wohl einst bewohnt waren, Zisternen, einer Tenne und in den Fels gehauenen Keltern, vor allen Dingen aber Grundmauern von Gebäuden aus $1,00 \times 0,60 \times 0,60$ m grossen behauenen Quadern mit verkröpften Bossen, die römische Arbeit sind; es fanden sich auch Reste einer Steintür, aber keine Ornamente“ (s. mein 'Adschlūn S. 362). Damit ist freilich zunächst nur bewiesen, dass hier in der römischen Periode eine Ortschaft bestand. Dass deren Ursprünge bis in altisraelitische, ja vielleicht bis in vorisraelitische Zeit zurückreichen, dafür fehlt zunächst noch ein vollgültiger Beweis, den nur genauere archäologische Untersuchungen erbringen könnten. Aber wenigstens die Möglichkeit und selbst Wahrscheinlichkeit eines hohen Alters der Ortslage wird kaum jemand in Abrede stellen können, der die allgemeine Situation, die Lage an einem bedeutenden Flussübergang und die schon von Natur gesicherte Position in Betracht zieht.

Es kommen aber noch weitere Gründe hinzu, die mir jeden Zweifel daran auszuschliessen scheinen, dass man an ein sehr hohes Alter der Ortslage glauben darf. Der *chirbet el-emrāneh* gegenüber, an der Ostseite des *wād el-kneije*, erhebt sich eine auf drei Seiten von tiefen Tälern (*wād el-kneije*, *nahr ez-zerkā* und *wādi charasān*) begrenzte, etwa 400 m über den Zerkā aufragende Höhe, *el-emiāwak*, mit einer gewaltigen Fernsicht nach der oberen Zerkā-Gegend bis zur *kal'at ez-zerkā* und bis in die Gegend von *rihāb*, dem alttestamentlichen Beth Rechob. Auf dieser Höhe finden sich eine grosse Menge Dolmen (weitere 350-400 Dolmen liegen an den Abhängen der östlich des *wādi charasān* aufragenden Höhe *ḡalmā*), riesige

rohe Blöcke, die aneinandergereiht sind zu Ringen, Einfriedigungen, Mauern, oder zweireihig als Strasseneinfassung, ferner Monolithe von 2 m Höhe, aufrechtgestellte Platten von 3 m Länge und 1,5 m Höhe. Auf der höchsten Spitze des Berges steht ein roh bearbeiteter, viereckiger Opferstein (wohl römische Arbeit, Abbildung s. 'Adschlun S. 375) inmitten eines Steinkreises. Die Gegend ist also tatsächlich seit uralter Zeit besiedelt gewesen. Sollte sich bei genauerer Untersuchung ergeben, dass *chirbet* und *tell el-emrameh* selbst nicht bis in altisraelitische Zeit zurückreichen, so würde damit zu rechnen sein, dass ihre Vorgänger auf der gegenüberliegenden Höhe *el-emtawak* lagen. Es hätte dann nur eine Verlegung der Ortslage von der östlichen auf die westliche Höhe stattgefunden. Diese könnte man in Zusammenhang bringen mit den Nachrichten von Jud 8,17 und 1. Reg 12,25, nach denen Gideon die Stadt eroberte, den Turm (=die Burg?) zerstörte und die Männer der Stadt tötete, Jerobeam I. aber Pnuel baute, d.h. wieder aufbaute, wenn auch vielleicht an einer anderen Stelle. Für die Verlegung könnte ausschlaggebend gewesen sein, dass Pnuel als Bollwerk gegen die Beduinen der nordöstlichen und östlichen Steppengebenden und gegen die Ammoniter dienen sollte, seine Front also ihnen entgegenkehren musste, während die östliche Höhe ein verkehrt orientiertes und leicht abschneidbares Bollwerk gewesen wäre. Doch das sind Erwägungen, auf die ich kein Gewicht lege. Sie schweben so lange in der Luft, als genauere archäologische Untersuchungen der beiden Höhen nicht vorliegen.

Es kommt ein weiterer Umstand hinzu, der die Ansetzung von Pnuel in dieser Gegend begünstigt. Der Name des Ortes lässt auf eine alte, berühmte Kultstätte schliessen, wie denn auch die Sage Gen 32,25 ff. voraussetzt, dass hier ein אלהים wohnt. Dass dieser אלהים nach dem ursprünglichen Sinn der Erzählung nicht Jahwe ist, ist selbstverständlich, da er Jakob feindlich entgegentreit. Die Art, wie er charakterisiert wird, lässt ihn als eine nächtliche Spukgestalt erscheinen, die mit dem Aufsteigen der Morgenröte verschwinden muss. Was wir oben über die Funde auf *el-emtawak* mitteilen konnten, ist geeignet, dem zur Erklärung zu dienen. Die Höhe ist seit alter Zeit eine Kultstätte gewesen und hat ihren kultischen Charakter bis in späte Zeit behalten; ja sie gilt den Beduinen noch heute als eine heilige Stätte. Die Dolmen

ber machen es zugleich begreiflich, dass die alten Israeliten das hier wohnende Numen als ein unheimliches, gespensterartiges auffassten. Wenn sie trotz der Tatsache, dass ein unheimlicher Dämon diese Stätte verteidigte, doch von ihr Besitz ergreifen konnten, so erklärten sie das in einer Sage daraus, das ihr Repräsentant Jakob einen Dämon überwunden und ihm weitere Schädigungen unmöglich gemacht hatte, indem er ihn zum Segnen zwang.

Wir haben die Lage von Pnuel zu bestimmen versucht, indem wir wesentlich von der Jakobgeschichte ausgingen. Die beiden anderen Stellen haben wir bisher nur soweit zu Rate gezogen, als sie bezeugen, dass Pnuel eine befestigte Stadt war. Mehr lässt sich auch aus 1. Reg 12,25 nicht entnehmen. Wohl aber enthält die Gideongeschichte Jud 8 noch einige Angaben, von denen wir fragen müssen, ob sie unserer Ansetzung von Pnuel nicht widersprechen. Es sind in Jud 8 nur zwei Orte genannt, die wir mit einiger Sicherheit identifizieren können und die uns als Orientierungspunkte dienen müssen. Der eine ist Sukkoth = *tell der 'alla* (v. 5 ff. 14 ff.), der andere Jogbeha = *adschbehät* an der Strasse von *es-salt* nach *'ammān* (v. 11). Von Sukkoth aus zieht Gideon „hinauf“ nach Pnuel (v. 8), eine Angabe, die die Ansetzung von Pnuel am Zerka oberhalb von Sukkoth bestätigt (gegen DALMAN's Ansetzung von Pnuel südlich von Sukkoth), unserer weit nach Osten greifenden Lagebestimmung aber nicht widerspricht. Jogbeha wird zusammen mit Nobach, dessen genauere Lage wir nicht kennen, in v. 11 erwähnt, um danach eine andere Örtlichkeit näher zu bestimmen: „östlich von Nobach und Jogbeha.“ Nach dem gegenwärtigen Text ist das eine Strasse, die *הַדֶּרֶךְ הַשְּׂכֵנִי בְּאַהֲלֵימ* „Strasse der Zeltbewohner, Nomadenstrasse“ genannt wird. Zweifelhaft ist es, ob das die Strasse ist, der Gideon von Pnuel aus weiter folgt, oder eine Strasse, auf die Gideon zumarschiert. Denn die Lesart des massorethischen Textes mit dem Artikel vor dem Status constructus (*הַשְּׂכֵנִי*) ist unmöglich richtig; man hat den Artikel entweder zu streichen oder als *ה* locale mit dem vorausgehenden *דֶּרֶךְ* zu *דֶּרֶכְהָ* zu verbinden (ob man auch *שְׂכֵנִי* in *שְׂכֵנֵי* zu ändern hat, ist hier nicht zu erörtern; sachlich ist das bedeutungslos). Wie man auch korrigieren mag, jedenfalls bestimmt „östlich von Nobach und Jogbeha“ schwerlich die Lage der Strasse überhaupt, sondern den hier genauer in Betracht kommenden Teil von ihr, und das kann nur den Sinn haben, die Stelle des

Weges zu bezeichnen, wo Gideon das Lager der Midianiter unvermutet überraschte. Mir will freilich scheinen, dass der Sinn „Gideon zog die Nomadenstrasse aufwärts bis in die Gegend ostwärts von Nobach und Jogbeha“ oder „er zog auf den östlich von Nobach und Jogbeha gelegenen Abschnitt der Nomadenstrasse zu“ durch den hebräischen Wortlaut nicht recht deutlich zum Ausdruck gebracht wäre und dass überhaupt eine so nur ungefähr bestimmte Ortsangabe nach dem viel bestimmteren בקרקר von v. 10 recht unwahrscheinlich ist. Ich möchte daher zur Erwägung geben, ob man in dem מקרם לנכח וינבחה nicht eine an falscher Stelle in den Text eingefügte Glosse zu בקרקר in v. 10 zu sehen hat. Dann ergäbe sich folgende Darstellung: Das Lager der Midianiter befand sich (wie Gideon erfuhr) bei Karkör, das östlich von Nobach und Jogbeha liegt; daher zog er von Pnuel weiter die Nomadenstrasse hinauf bzw. der Nomadenstrasse zu. Wenn Gideon auf Erfolg hoffen wollte, so musste er versuchen, das Lager zu umgehen, um es von der Seite anzugreifen, nach der hin die Midianiter sich am leichtesten seinem Angriff durch die Flucht entziehen konnten. Lagerten sie östlich von *adschbehät*, also etwa in der Gegend des *köm jadschuz*, so erreichte er seinen Zweck am leichtesten und sichersten, wenn er der am Zerkä entlang laufenden, später mit der jetzigen Pilgerstrasse sich vereinigenden und nach *'ammän* führenden Strasse bis östlich vom *köm jadschuz* folgte. Mag man eine solche Konstruktion des Gideonmarsches nun für wahrscheinlich halten oder nicht, so viel ist jedenfalls sicher, dass Gideon sich schliesslich östlich von *adschbehät* befindet und dass es daher sehr wohl möglich ist, Pnuel so weit östlich anzusetzen, wie wir es getan haben. Man darf nicht einwenden, Gideon habe natürlich den direktesten Weg nach dem Lager der Midianiter einschlagen müssen; er müsse also von Sukkoth aus sehr bald über den Zerkä in die Belkä gezogen sein, und darum müsse Pnuel viel näher bei Sukkoth gesucht werden. Denn Gideon musste bei der Verfolgung den Spuren der Midianiter folgen, um ihren Aufenthaltsort zu ermitteln; dass die Midianiter aber den direktesten Weg gewählt haben müssten, darf man nicht ohne besonderen Grund behaupten.

Das unverständliche מלמעלה החרם am Schluss von v. 13 kommt für die Frage nach der Lage von Pnuel nicht in Betracht. So bleibt nur noch ein Punkt zu erörtern. Man erwartet, dass Gideon auf

dem Rückmarsch Pnuel, dann Sukkoth erreicht und daher zuerst an Pnuel, dann an Sukkoth das Strafgericht vollzieht, das er diesen Orten angekündigt hatte. Tatsächlich aber berichtet unser Text zunächst in v. 14—16 von dem Strafgericht über Sukkoth und dann erst in v. 17 von dem über Pnuel. Darf man daraus schliessen, er habe auf dem Rückweg zuerst Sukkoth und dann Pnuel erreicht? Schwerlich! Denn dann müsste Pnuel westlich oder nordwestlich von Sukkoth gelegen haben, was nach allen sonstigen Angaben unmöglich ist. Es liegt auf der Hand, dass der Erzähler hier nicht nach der durch die Ortslagen bedingten Reihenfolge erzählt, sondern nach einer durch den ersten Teil der Erzählung gegebenen sachlichen Reihenfolge: wie zuerst die Drohung über Sukkoth zu berichten war, so wird auch die Ausführung der Drohung über Sukkoth zuerst berichtet und danach erst von Pnuel erzählt. Man beachte auch, dass bei v. 17 jedes Wort über einen Marsch Gideons von einem zum anderen Ort fehlt. Hier wird nicht mehr der Verlauf des Heimmarsches beschrieben, sondern es wird in sachlicher Gruppierung berichtet, wie Gideon nach seinem Siege die notwendigen Strafmassnahmen vollstreckte.

Nach alledem glaube ich behaupten zu dürfen, dass meinem Vorschlage, Pnuel an der Stelle des *tell* und der *chirbet el-emrämeh* bzw. der Höhe *el-emtāwak* am obern Zerkā anzusetzen, keine wirklichen Bedenken im Wege stehen, dass er vielmehr den Andeutungen des Alten Testaments vollkommen gerecht wird, ja dass er es wie kein anderer wird. Und so glaube ich ihn der freundlichen Beachtung der Fachgenossen empfehlen zu dürfen.

STUDIES IN PALESTINIAN CUSTOMS AND FOLKLORE

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(I) *THE NUMBER FORTY*

It is well known that orientals have always shown a preference in religion, superstition, magic and daily life for certain numbers, of which One, Two, Three, Five, Seven and Forty are chiefly noticeable. The following treats only the number Forty, although this is not the most highly favoured number.

Forty is a "household number," convenient, round, and always at hand. One meets it everywhere and wonders why it is so liked. The oriental mind, abounding in imagination, loathes exactitude and, speaking generally, has no use for abstractions.

In oldest times this number is found to be in favour. The Bible Concordance enumerates some 130 passages dealing with this number and its combinations. Also its occurrence in Moslem religious books is frequent. Both Jews and Arabs seem, therefore, to have an unaccountable preference for this same number. And as Palestine was hardly ever more than a mere link between Syria and Egypt, we cannot expect to find here anything original in the use of this much used number.

"Forty" stands for a concrete quantity as against the indeterminate "many" or "some." It is the first large number which has been arbitrarily selected to note the idea of an inconceivable amount, selected even in preference to a hundred. It commonly occurs multiplied by three, but its double as well as its half are also used.

In the Bible the occurrence of "Forty" is so common as to suggest that it is peculiarly a Semitic characteristic. The Koran has two passages about "forty nights,"¹ and another two on "forty years."²

The following examples from the *Hadīṭ* are familiar to every Mohammedan. The Prophet received his call at the age of forty. This is based on the Koran, Surah 46, 14 (الاية) لا بلغ اشدّه *lamma bā-laḡa asūddahu* (when he reached his acme); hence the traditional saying that, apart from Christ, none can attain prophecy before that age. When the number of "companions," *ṣahābah*, reached forty, the Prophet began his mission publicly. And when his army numbered forty warriors, he ordered the Arab "Stentor," *Balāl-ul-Ḥābaṣi*, to proclaim aloud the call to prayer, and at the same time he began to invite people to embrace Islam.³ According to the *Ṣāfi'i* rite a minimum of forty is required to constitute a congregation on Fridays. In *Ṣūfism* there are never more than forty *abdāl* (pl. of *bādāl*) at one time and from these the *qutb*, the spiritual leader of the age, will be selected. And in the world to come Mohammedan tradition or, rather, common belief, assigns to every believer forty *ḥūriyye*.⁴ The true believer himself would then possess the strength of forty ordinary men: but there are also more generous estimates. In *makārim al-aḫlāq* *makārim al-aḫlāq*, one of the many religious handbooks, we read that every believer ought to cut the hair on his body at least once every forty days. *Al-Quṣairy* in his *risala* mentions that *Abu Bakr al-Kytāni* asked the Prophet in his dream to pray God for him that his heart should not become spiritually dead. Whereupon the Prophet told him to repeat daily

¹ a) *wa id wā'ādna Mūsa arba'ūna lāila...* and when We had appointed to Moses forty nights, Surah II, 51. b) *miqātu rabbīhi arba'ūna lāila* (الاية) ميقات ربه اربعون ليله The appointment of his Lord being forty nights. Surah VII, 142.

² a) *muḥarrāmatun 'alāihim arba'īna sānuh...* Surah V, 27: being forbidden to them for forty years. b) *wa bālaḡa 'arba'īna sānuh...* وبلغ اربعين سنة and he reached forty years Surah XLIV, 19.

³ Previously he used to call for prayer holding a jar against his mouth to suppress his voice. On that first occasion of public *adān* from a somewhat higher place he is said to have caused miscarriage to a passing woman.

⁴ This number is sometimes given as forty-eight or seventy-two, while the strength of a man is increased a hundredfold.

forty times *يا حي يا قيوم لا اله الا انت* *yá hayyu ya qayyumu lá iláha illa ant* (O living, everlasting One, there is no God beside Thee!). And a familiar book about the authentic traditional sayings of the Prophet is *اربعون النووي* *arba'ún un-nawawiy*, which this author collected from the most reliable sources.¹

Another religious trace of the use of forty appears in the observance of Lent *صيام الاربعين* *syám il-arb' in*, "the fasting of the forty days," to which any long period may be compared.² All Eastern Churches keep it strictly.

The young mother is considered ritually unclean for forty days.³ During this period she may not enter any sanctuary. If she gave birth to a girl this period is doubled as in the Mosaic Law. At the end of this time she has completed her "period of forty days," *ترينت* *itràb' anat*. This custom is observed by Mohammedans and Christians alike. With the Armenians the purification of the woman is also observed according to the Mosaic Law. The Purification of the Most Blessed Virgin is celebrated forty days after Christmas (Candlemas). The Armenians prefer to baptize their children within the first forty days. A period of forty days is allotted to the novice to be spent in contemplation and prayer before ordination. And after ordination a priest spends forty days in continuous spiritual exercises. After forty days they celebrate a Mass for the soul of the departed over his grave. The prayers on behalf of the dead on the fortieth day are prominent among the seven prescribed occasions for prayer.⁴ The wailing for forty days, *ناحة الاربعين* *nyáhat-l-arb' in*, according to the old Semitic custom mentioned in Judges 11⁴⁰, is still in vogue with us. The fortieth day after the passing away *يوم الاربعين* *yom il-arb' in*, is scrupulously observed. Some Christian rosaries have forty beads: three times thirteen, plus one.

The Forty Martyrs have a special feast in the Orthodox Church, on the eve of which as many as forty candles are burnt in their

¹ Cfr. also AL-GAZALI'S *Kitáb-ul arba'in* on religious duties.

^{2/3} Cf. STEPHAN: *The Division of the year in Palestine*. JPOS, Vol. II, 168, note 2.

⁴ These are performed on the first, third, seventh, ninth, and fortieth days, and at six months and one year after the death,

honour by pious families.¹ In the Anastasia there is a chapel dedicated to them. Mohammedans, too, have "forty martyrs," yet these have not become a basis for legends.² The following sites in and around Jerusalem are connected with their names: *Jāmi' il-arb' in*, a part of the Mosque *al-Aqṣa*; a small mosque in 'isā-wiyyeh bears the same name; on the Mount of Olives there are shown, besides the *qibbit il-arb' in*, the graves of the forty *Mujāhidin*, while to the north of the *Raṣidiyyeh* School is another graveyard with the same name.³

Around the "White Tower" of Ramleh⁴ are forty graves. People also call the mosque after them. Near Beisan is a village *ḥirbet il-arb' in*, and in it a mosque *jāmi' -il-arb' in ḡarawy*.⁵ In *Der Niẓām* is a "cave of the forty (holy men)." Other places and sites with names like *dér il-arb' in*, *mazār il-arb' in* and *irjāl il-arb' in* are met with all over the country.⁶

The following are popular superstitions associated with the number. The foetus starts life after forty days. The duration of pregnancy is forty weeks or ten lunar months. Forty days after marriage the bride must visit her parents (افراد العروس *ifrād il-'arūs*).⁶ It is interesting to know that a person eating thyme before breakfast for forty days is safe against a snake bite.⁷ The skeleton of a

¹ In the evening of this day children go round with lights and candles, sometimes torches, saying:-

'arb'in šahid

la 'yfitu bētna

(For the sake of the) Forty Martyrs
No snake nor reptile

'arb'in iftīle

la ḥayye wala dbibe...

and the forty candles—
may enter our house...

The day of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste is the 10th March.

² Cf. JPOS, Vol. VII pp. 56-58, T. CANAAN, *Moh. Saints and Sanctuaries*, where the number forty in connexion with Mohammedan saints is discussed at length.

³ These are the tombs of those who fell during Saladin's attack on the City. They are known simply as *qubūr il-mujahidīn* (Tombs of the warriors who fought against the infidels).⁴ *ij-jāmi' il-ābyaḍ, jāmi' il-arb'in*.

⁵ Miracle-workers (?) or simple folk (?), i. e. dervishes. No root is traceable of this word in the dictionaries.

⁶ The Armenians allow their brides on the fortieth day after marriage to visit their parents in order to make any complaints. Should she then return to her husband the marriage cannot be revoked.

⁷ In order to make them fierce, young dogs are given their own cut ears to eat together with green pepper husks, *filfil ḡazzāwi*. They are at the same time kept in a dark room for forty days.

snake buried for forty days in lime is used for amulets and other superstitious purposes. People with callosities on their hands can get rid of them by cutting and hiding them, provided that the place is not discovered within forty days.¹ Summer and winter have their *marb'iniyyât* (*marb'aniyyat*) periods of forty days, during which we have the greatest heat and greatest cold.²

"Forty times," *اربعين مرة* *arb'in marra*,³ means a quite unlimited number of times, and in common speech "forty persons," *اربعين واحد* *arb'in wāḥad*, may denote a moderate crowd. According to common belief a woman of forty, *بنت الاربعين* *bint il-àrb in*, has already reached the sterile age. On the other hand the fortieth year represents the climax of a man's life.⁴ Therefore forty years are reckoned to be a generation.

"Forty" figures commonly in popular tales. Thus the king gives the vizier a period of forty days to think over a plan, solve a riddle, answer a childish question, or the like. The distance from a kingdom to another is covered in a forty days' journey. The woodcutter sets aside one pea every night until the number forty is reached, within which period either the king or a jealous husband would become lean and meagre. Many towns have forty gates where there is a place with forty doors behind which a beautiful girl is hidden. The giants prefer to keep kidnapped princesses behind forty locks and keys. Famous courtesans have forty rings as tokens from every one of their lovers. The number

¹ Mad men are given a special diet, *ḥimye*, for forty days, whilst under treatment.

² The *marb'aniyyât iṣ-šita* "the forty days of winter," from December 10th to January 19th, old style, are the coldest, while the greatest heat occurs during the *marba'aniyyât iṣ-šéf*, from July 10th to August 19th. Cf. JPOS, Vol. II, p. 165.

³ Against this cf. the following elaborate form of forty in *اعشى قيس* *a'ṣa qais* (died A. D. 629):-

wa laqad šaribtu ṭamānīan wa ṭamāniya *wa ṭamāni 'ašra wa ḥnatāini wa arba'a.*
 Yet I have drunk eight and eight And eighteen and two and four (cups
 of wine)...

⁴ Against the classical:-

wa māḍa tablaḡi-š-šu'arā-u minni *wa qad jāwaztu ḥadda-l-arba'ini*
 What else do poets still expect from me since I have already passed the limit of
 forty? Yet: *ibn il-àrb'in min in-naṣ il-kamlīn* a man of forty is considered among
 the perfect.

of genies, dwarfs, giants and beasts of burden in a caravan, as well as the usual gang of robbers, assassins, and thieves is always forty. Sometimes there is the variant "forty less one" to lay stress upon the number and to denote that they were at least near to forty. Like Psyche the heroes of certain tales are tested by passing forty doors, each one more fearful than the last; they are allowed to use or open thirty nine chests or rooms and solemnly warned to abstain from touching the fortieth. This warning they disregard in their curiosity so that a good genie must come to rescue them from their consequent misfortune.

The following proverbial sayings further illustrate the popular usage :-

il-mara biḥibb yom u btikrah arb' in yom. Woman loves for one day and loathes for forty days.

Bint il-arb' in dāt banāt u banīn A woman of forty has daughters and sons (who care for her).

Min 'āsar il-qōm arb' in yōm ṣar minhūm. He who lives with people for forty days becomes one of them.

'alēk bi-j-jār u jār ij-jār, la arb' in jār walā u jār. Keep to your neighbour and his neighbour, even up to forty neighbours even though he has wronged you.

il-bādawi ma aḥādīs tāro illa bād arb' in sanē, u bād dēn qāl : 'manīs mistā jil 'aleb. The bedawi did not take his revenge until after forty years, and then said, "I am in no hurry about it." This illustrates the interminable feuds among these tribes. The same is said of the Druzes.

iš-sab' ān ilo arb' in luqme. The satisfied person can yet eat another forty mouthfuls.

ī yār is-sab' ān arb' in lu'me The capacity of a satisfied person is yet another forty mouthfuls.

ba'dma saḥḥamāha arb' in ṣāḥat: yā muslimīn (or bnādamin, 'ālamīn).
After forty men had had intercourse with her she pleaded innocent.
Lit. She cried for help, O Moslems! (or, O honourable men! O all people!).

il-bālad fiha arb' in jabbār. There are forty unruly persons in this town (lit. giants, tyrants).

int waḥad minhūn (=il-arb' in aẓ'ar). You are one of them (i. e. the forty mischievous people).

ta' m il-fu 'ur arb' in yóm. The (bitter) taste of poverty lasts (only) for forty days, (after which period one gets accustomed to it). *ihðar in-nisa 'abl il-'isrin w-itrikhum (utrúkhun) ba'd il-arb' in.* Beware of women before (they reach) the twentieth year, and give them up, abandon them, when they are over forty of age. *al-junún funún aqallabu arba' ún.* Madness manifests itself in at least forty forms.

In Hebron and its neighbourhood a preparation of a number of herbs is sold in pulverized form, *sádde* (i.e. intensity, extract). These ingredients are said to have been collected from "forty" herbs. A little quantity is boiled in syrup or in pure honey and a spoonful of this concoction is given to weak persons, especially to mothers in their early nursing days. It is said to be delicious and wholesome. It can be had also in the *sú' il-'aṭṭarin* in Jerusalem.¹ The following riddle about the Friday was prayer heard in *Bét Ḥanina*:-

qúl : ana baftik ibtaláte w-arb' ini²
séf u šita taláte w-arb' ini³
u fi ràjul bidjàwwaz b-arb' ini
il-kull idkúr ma fihin naṭáya...

Say: I ask you about three and forty,
 They are (the same) three and forty, all the year round;
 And about a man, who marries forty,
 All (of them) being males, no female being amongst them...

In villages peasants sometimes play in the *maðáfe*, *lu' bit il-finján w-iš-šiniyye* "the cup and the tray game," when the one who first reaches forty points may insult, 'azzar, the loser. The practical jokes which follow often lead to quarrels. In the villages of *Betule* and *Lunqur* (Hebron District) are ancient dry cisterns called *bir il-arb' in*, wherein the shrouded corpses of noble mares are thrown. The entry to the cistern is carefully sealed up by a big stone. (M. Yaghmur).

¹ Heard from Miss L. Baldensperger. In commenting on Surah III 97, *al-Baiðáwy* states, that, when being asked about it, the Prophet said: The first House assigned to people for prayer was that of Mecca, and then the Sanctuary of Jerusalem and that one was built forty years after the other.

² Lit. I consult you on a point of Mohammedan law.

³ I was told that the "three" involved were "only so" for the sake of the rhyme.

The centipede, *arb' iniyye*, is called sometimes *imm arb' a warb' - in*. The Turkish, Persian and Kurdish variants of this name are also based on the number forty. (qyrq ayaq, chal pa, chihil pah).

A rhyme sung by children is :-

..... *arb' in yôm ma tšûf in-nôm*
arb' in léle ma tšûf il-'éle
arb' in inhâr ma t'ûm min il-ibrâr

Mayest thou not sleep for forty days,

Nor meet thy wife for forty nights,

And suffer dysentery for forty days

Finally I quote a rhyme known in *Lifta* and *Betjâla* :-

bâṭni bôjî ni u bâ rif mdâwâteb
mîṭên bêda w-arb' in irgîf
u qurš malli qadd mârj bni 'âmîr¹
hâda u hâda.—w-il-hânak l-ùhri bišîh :-
 “*ya râbbi t'inni, ya râbbi tšâbbirni,*
ta-yîṭîh it-ṭahîh . . .”

My stomach pains me, yet I know it's treatment,

(viz.) two hundred (boiled) eggs and forty loaves

And a cake of millet bread as large as the Plain of Jezreel.²

So much for this. Yet the other jaw cries loudly:

“Oh Lord, help me, let me wait

Until the cooked meal comes down (from the fire).”³

¹ The plain of Jezreel is called in Arabic after the tribe of *Beni 'Amer*, who migrated centuries ago to the southern parts of Palestine (O. S. Barguti)

² *Malle* is Millet. The prepared dough is put on live coals after they have formed a layer of ashes. It is covered thickly with ashes for about twenty minutes. An underbaked loaf will remain so even if it be put in “hell fire,” according to common belief.

³ The following Turkish Proverbs illustrate a similar preference for the number 40:

- 1 *qyrq qurâ bir arslan ne yapsyn?* What can one lion do against forty wolves?
- 2 *qyrqdê bir qâdyn sözu dinlemely imiş.* One should follow a woman's advice only once in forty times.
- 3 *qyrq qyrq dër iken elliye buldu.* By constantly saying forty he got fifty instead.
- 4 *qyrq dedi qyrq bir deyemedi.* Though he said forty yet he did not say forty-one. He could have done this too.
- 5 *qyrq kilisseyi idäre edên bir manastêri idäre edemedi.* He that can manage forty churches may not be able to manage a single monastery.
- 6 *qyrqlarâ qarıştı,* He has gone mad (lit. he has meddled with the forty spirits).

- 7 *qyrqdân sonra öyrenüp seksendèn sonra saz çalajâq.* After forty he would learn, in order to practice music after eighty
- 8' *qyrq yaşındèn evvel hykmet söilémeyen adam ondan sonra hetch söyleyemêx.* He who does not say sensible things before reaching the age of forty will not do so afterwards.
- 9 *qyrq yıl yağmür yağsâ mermerê geçmez.* Should it rain even forty days it will not affect the marble.
- 10 *qyrq gündê qazandyğini bir gündê gâib itti.* He lost the savings of forty years in a single day.
- 11 *qyrq yıllık bir maşâl.* A story of forty years (ago).
- 12 *qyrq qarğaya bir maşal daşy.* To hurl a stone against forty ravens. To illustrate great cleverness or good luck.
- 13 *qyrq verdi, çiqdi qorqu.* He paid (his debt of) forty (paras) and his anxiety vanished.
- 14 *qyrqmydir, qyriqmıdır?* Is he forty, or is he an invalid?
- 15 *qyrqinê mihnet görmeyen seksandê şefa görmêx.* He who does not work at forty, will not get his rest at eighty.
- 16 *qyrqinâ girmeyen adam ne bilir şefanın qadrini?* How does one value the joy of life before forty?
- 17 *qyrqsız baş, derdsiz baş.* A head without (i. e. that is not yet) forty, is a care-free head.
- 18 *yıldn hikâyessi gibi qırqa sürêr.* Like the endless stories which number about forty (which follow each other until forty is reached). A lengthy, tedious story or affair.

THE EGYPTIAN EMPIRE IN ASIA IN THE
TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY B.C.

BY W. F. ALBRIGHT

(JERUSALEM)

It is safe to say that no epigraphic discoveries since the Tell el-'Amârnah Tablets have shed so much light on conditions in early Palestine and Syria as Professor Sethe's *Achtungstexte*, published at the end of 1926.¹ These documents consist of inscriptions in ink cursing all rebels against Egyptian rule and the authority of Pharaoh, the inscriptions being written on earthenware vessels, which were then broken. The vessels were broken in connection with special magical rites, which were believed to lend peculiar efficacy to the curses. Just as the vessels were broken, so the rebels would be crushed, a conception found also in Mesopotamia, and rooted in the most primitive sympathetic magic.

Professor Sethe's discovery and decipherment of these texts is a most brilliant achievement, a veritable romance of archaeology. No one else could have done the work as well as he. With the decipherment of the inscriptions themselves, however, only part of the task is accomplished; we must still interpret their contents. Useful contributions have been made by Alt² and Dussaud,³ while

¹ *Die Achtung feindlicher Fürsten, Völker und Dinge auf altägyptischen Tongefässscherben des Mittleren Reiches*, Berlin, 1926 (*Abh. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Klasse* 1926, Nr. 5).

² *Die asiatischen Gefahrzonen in den Achtungstexten der 11. Dynastie*, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 63, 39-45; *Amurru in den Achtungstexten der 11. Dynastie?*, *ZAW* 1928, 77 f.

³ *Nouveaux renseignements sur la Palestine et la Syrie vers 2000 avant notre ère*, *Syria* VIII, 216-33.

various suggestions which must be considered have been advanced by Gressmann,¹ Lods,² and Mallon,³ among others.

Sethe seems to have established the date of these documents with certainty as being somewhere in the latter part of the Eleventh Dynasty, that is, toward the end of the twenty-first century B.C., or 2000 B.C., in round numbers. The rebels are grouped into several categories: Nubians, Asiatics, Libyans, and Egyptians. The Nubians are arranged according to chiefs and districts. The chiefs are fully identified by name, sometimes by special appellation, as well as by the names of their father and mother. The list of chiefs is followed by the words *Nḥsw nbw*, "all Nubians," with the names of their towns and districts. The Asiatics are arranged in precisely the same way. First come the chiefs or princes of towns or tribes, followed by the words *ʿzmw nbw*, "all Asiatics," with a second list of the towns or districts to which the Asiatics in question belong. The third group, that of the Libyans, mentions no names of persons or places, aside from a general reference to the land of *Tḥnw* (Libya) and the people of the *Tmḥw* (Libyans). Finally, the Egyptian category contains a brief list of all classes of Egyptians, followed by a longer list of individual Egyptian nobles who are devoted to death because of their plots and conspiracies.

It is impossible to escape the conviction that the complete catalogue corresponds roughly to the extent of the Egyptian Empire at the end of the Eleventh Dynasty. We know that Mentuhotpe III.⁴ conquered Nubia, and claimed to have subdued the Asiatics.⁵ One of his officers, Zehmau, refers to his wars in Nubia and Asia

¹ ZAW 1926, 280-2.

² *Revue d'histoire et de Philosophie religieuses*, VII, 451-3.

³ *Jérusalem et les documents égyptiens*, JPOS VIII 2-6.

⁴ Winlock has proved conclusively by his careful work at Deir el-Bahri that *Nb-ḥpt-rʿ* Mentuhotpe and *Nb-ḥ(3)pt-rʿ* Mentuhotpe were identical; see his reports on the Egyptian expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, section II for Dec. 1920, Nov. 1921, Dec. 1922, Dec. 1923, Dec. 1924, March 1926, Feb. 1928, where his gradual changes of view on this involved subject may be followed. Almost hopeless confusion exists in the discussions in the standard histories, even in the latest accounts by Petrie, *History*, 10th ed., Weigall, *A History of the Pharaohs*, Eduard Meyer, and Hall, *Cambridge Ancient History*. Winlock's work supersedes all of these discussions, but it is not yet definitively published.

⁵ On fragments of reliefs from a temple at Gebelein; for references cf. Meyer, *Geschichte*, 277 A.

while in the service of Mentuhotpe III.¹ The Asiatics receive the same name 'zmw as in the *Achtungstexte*. During Mentuhotpe's long reign of at least 46 years he unified Egypt, and then proceeded to restore the Egyptian Empire, which had completely fallen to ruins during the long generations of war between Thebes and Heracleopolis, while the Delta was apparently most of the time under Asiatic rule.² Our *Achtungstexte* cannot well date from the reign of the great Mentuhotpe, for the very reasons given by Sethe (pp. 21-2) why they cannot be assigned to the powerful kings of the Twelfth Dynasty. On the other hand, they may well date from the reigns of his two ephemeral successors, S'anḥkeré' or Nebtawiré', who can hardly have reigned much more than a decade (highest preserved years respectively 8 and 2) together. The grand vizier of the latter became the founder of the Twelfth Dynasty. Under him we find that the Egyptian Empire has been restored to its former prestige, though probably not quite to its extent under the Sixth Dynasty. Yakin-ilu, prince of Byblos, is his vassal,³ while the Sinuhe Romance certainly reflects historical conditions when it makes Sinuhe traverse Palestine and Phoenicia to Byblos, from which he continues into Eastern Syria (Qedem) in order to escape from the sphere of direct Egyptian control.

During the greater part of the Twelfth Dynasty we may safely suppose that Palestine and Phoenicia were tributary to the Egyptian Pharaoh. This is certainly true of Byblos, which was "comme une petite Égypte" toward the end of the dynasty, as Montet has observed (*Syria*, VIII, 92). Montet's discoveries of tombs from the reigns of Amenemmes III and IV (together cir. 1842-1785 B.C.⁴) establish this

¹ Published by Roeder; cf. Meyer, *loc. cit.*

² See especially Frankfort, *Egypt and Syria in the first intermediate period*, JEA XII, 80-99, particularly pp. 95 ff.

³ Cf. JPOS II, 120 f.; *Sellin Festschrift* p. 9, n. 1.

⁴ For the chronology here adopted see Schoch, *Die Neumondfeste*, p. 3 (Selbstverlag, Berlin-Steglitz, Jan. 1928). Schoch is one of the most brilliant of the astronomers interesting themselves in ancient chronology. That his work is not vitiated by a striving after novelty may be seen from the fact that he now accepts Fotheringham and Schnabel's treatment of the chronology of the First Dynasty of Babylon, while his view of the chronology of the Twelfth Dynasty agrees entirely with that of Mahler, as he emphasizes. The date of 1993 for the beginning of the dynasty is slightly later than that of Meyer (2001-1997) and Borchardt (1995). If we date the *Achtungstexte* shortly after the death of Mentuhotpe III, they may be assigned

beyond caval. The princes of Byblos, Abi-šemu and his son Yapā-šemu-abi, were contemporary vassals of these Pharaohs.¹ Du Mesnil's discovery in the temple of the goddess Nin-egal at Qatna (el-Miṣrifeh east of Ḥumṣ) of a small sphinx inscribed with the name of the princess Ata, daughter of Amenemmes II (1931-1900),² proves that Qatna belonged to the sphere of direct Egyptian influence, which thus extended into Central Syria in the twentieth century. That Palestine was tributary in large part, at least, to Egypt is shown by a number of facts. At Gezer two funerary statues of Egyptians of this period were found, bearing respectively the names of Ḥeqa-ab (*Hq3-'b*) and Dedi-amōn (*Ddy-'mnw*).³ At Gezer, Beth-shan, and elsewhere in Palestine scarabs bearing the names of kings of the Twelfth Dynasty, notably of Sesostri I (1973-1932), have come to light. Finally, there is the explicit testimony of Sebek-ḥu (or Ḥu-sebek) that he fought in the army of Sesostri (1880-1843) during a campaign in Palestine, in the course of which the town of *Skmm*, that is, Sakmum (see below), biblical Shechem, was captured.⁴ The

almost exactly to the year 2000. However, more material is naturally required before we can be confident of their precise chronological position.

¹ See Montet, *L'art phénicien au XVIII^e siècle avant J.-C.*, pp. 4-13 (*Monuments et Mémoires de l'Académie*, Vol. XXVII). In this connection it may be observed that the new prince discovered by Montet and published as *Un Égyptien, roi de Byblos, sous la XII^e Dynastie (Syria, VIII, 85-92)* is not the imaginary *Mxr ib. t. f.*, but his supposed father "Amipi." The inscription on the scarab in question may be rendered "Hereditary prince and viceroy, '3m (?)y(?)p, son who follows in his father's footsteps (*mḏr*—*mḏd*; for the idiom cf. Erman-Gradow, *Wörterbuch*, II, 192: *mḏd w3t, mḏd mḏn*—"to follow someone's way, i.e., to be subject to him"). Montet has rendered the phrase as a proper name with the supposed meaning "He whom the sandal of his father presses" (Celui que presse la sandale de son père), an absolutely unparalleled expression. The apparent occurrence here of the well-known usage *X s3 Y* = "Y son of X" is quite illusory. The prince whose name is commemorated on the scarab evidently died before his father, who had the scarab carved for him; cf. the final words of the inscription *wr - - nfr k3*, "great of - - , beautiful of *ku* (the correct pronunciation of "ka").

² Cf. Dussaud, *Syria VIII*, 191.

³ See Macalister, *Gezer*, II, 311-3.

⁴ For bibliography cf. Ranke in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*² I, 81; add Peet, *The Stele of Sebek-khu*, 1914. The mention of the capture of cattle in Palestine by Dahute-hotpe, which has been fully discussed by Blackman, *JEA* II, 13 f., may perhaps refer to the same campaign, though it is quite possible that Egyptian campaigns in Asia were then frequent occurrences.

excavations at Balâta, the site of Shechem, have not yet revealed the stratum of this period, but quantities of characteristic Middle Bronze sherds in the débris prove that the town was already in existence at that time.

It is often maintained that there was no Egyptian empire in Asia during the Twelfth Dynasty. For years the writer has protested against this entirely erroneous conception, which is due exclusively to the lack of adequate excavation in Palestine and Syria.¹ Since the discoveries at Byblos we know what may be expected from excavations in other towns of Syria and Palestine. It must be remembered that the acropolis of Gezer could not be dug, owing to the presence of a *weli* and a cemetery, as well as other buildings, on the summit of the acropolis hill. No public buildings, such as palaces or temples, belonging to the Middle Bronze I, contemporary with the Twelfth Dynasty, have yet been excavated anywhere in Palestine. Scholars often draw the conclusion that Palestine was not conquered by the Pharaohs of the Twelfth Dynasty because there are no inscriptions, aside from the stela of Sebek-ḥu, which mention such conquests, whereas there are many references to campaigns and conquests in Nubia. They forget that practically all of this material comes from Nubia itself, and that we should be wholly in the dark regarding the character and extent of Egyptian operations in Nubia if we were restricted to the inscriptions found in Egypt alone. Explorations in Palestine and Syria will certainly, as we have seen on the basis of our scanty material, bring to light materials which will definitely establish the fact that Palestine and Western Syria were treated by the Egyptians as provinces of their empire.

The interval between the death of Mentuhotpe III, who claims to have conquered Nubia and Asia—and certainly subdued Nubia—and the accession of Amenemmes I can hardly be more than a decade. Furthermore, Amenemmes I had almost certainly been the grand vizier of Mentuhotpe V (or IV, since the order of kings is not quite certain). It follows, accordingly, that the Egyptian domination in Asia, however limited it may have been, was not interrupted seriously, and that hostility on the part of the Asiatics was correctly regarded as rebellion. Alt cannot, therefore, be justified in assuming

¹ Cf. JPOS II, 121; *Sellin Festschrift*, p. 12.

that the towns and chiefs in question were cursed because they constituted a menace to the internal peace of Egypt, and not because they had rebelled against the external authority of the reigning Pharaoh, as we maintain. Alt, following Sethe (*Achtungstexte*, p. 43), explains the formula *m t3 pn r-dr.f*, "in this land in its entirety," as meaning "in all Egypt." But the formula is very archaic, reaching back probably to the Pyramid Age, as believed by Sethe himself (pp. 19-20), and so need not be taken very literally, especially since *t3 r-dr.f* has the double meaning "the whole land," and "the whole earth," like Heb. *kol ha'ares*. The demonstrative *pn* very often corresponds to the Hebrew article, or is even quite redundant, when it occurs in Middle Egyptian texts (cf. Erman, *Grammatik*,³ p. 87, note; Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 86, below), so it is not surprising that the Middle Egyptian scribe should not have been disturbed by its appearance in an old formula. Of course, the original meaning of the expression *t3 pn* was certainly "this land," i.e., Egypt, but we are interested in the meaning it bore at the time when the *Achtungstexte* were actually written. Quite aside from the philological question is the consideration that maritime towns like Byblos can hardly have allied themselves with interior towns or tribes in order to make a joint onslaught on Egypt. The situation would be entirely unparalleled. The difficulty of this interpretation has evidently been responsible, at least in part, for Dussaud's avoidance of the historical issues raised by the *Achtungstexte*.

The indispensable prerequisite to a correct explanation of the numerous place-names and personal names which appear in these documents is naturally the knowledge of the philological laws which then governed the transcription of Semitic words in Egyptian. We cannot assume without proof that these laws were the same as they were during the New Empire or during the Saite period, since we know that the pronunciation of Egyptian changed appreciably in the course of time. Comparison of the treatment of consonants in the Egyptian orthography of the Middle and Late Empires is conclusive on this score. The remarkable change in the transcription of Semitic words in Egyptian and Egyptian words in Hebrew which we find on comparing the usage of the New Empire and of the Saite and Persian periods also suggests that it might be very hazardous to base our identifications on the laws induced by Burchardt from

the syllabic orthography of the Empire. We must, therefore, proceed cautiously, with the full knowledge that some of our combinations will eventually be proved false.

Some assistance may be derived from a study of transcriptions of Asiatic place-names and personal names already known to exist in texts of the Twelfth Dynasty.¹ The small number of these names may be materially increased by drawing on the stock of archaic spellings of place-names which we find in the Eighteenth Dynasty. Such archaic spellings may generally be detected by the fact that they are not written in the current syllabic orthography, that is, they have no vocalization, or at most only a very sketchy one.² Of these archaisms only the names which have a known Semitic equivalent are of service to us; e.g., *Rḫnw*, Syria (including Palestine!), pronounced approximately *Reẓānu*, remains unidentified, though Alt's suggestion is the best.³

¹ Practically all the material available up to 1912 was collected by Max Müller, *Die Spuren der babylonischen Weltchrift in Aegypten* (MVAG 17, 3), pp. 45 ff. The more recent additions to our scanty stock are principally from Byblos (see Montet's publications, especially *L'art phénicien*, referred to in p. 226, note) and Sinai (see Gardiner-Peet, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, London, 1917).

² There is a controversy as to whether the syllabic orthography of the New Empire represents the vowels as well as the consonants or not. Müller maintained the former view with great energy, but was opposed by Erman, Sethe, Burchardt and other members of the so-called Berlin school, who were, however, quite unable to explain the nature of this script, especially the rigidity of its orthography. New discoveries with regard to the vocalization of Egyptian itself in the New Empire have completely changed the situation; for the demonstration of the laws of vocalization see Albright, *Recueil de Travaux*, 1923, 64-70; Sethe, *ZDMG* 1923, 145-207; Albright, *JEA* 1926, 186-190; Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, pp. 422-7. As a result Sethe himself has now changed his views (*Achtungstexte*, p. 29), and recognizes that the syllabic orthography is an effort to represent the vowels. The writer believes that he has solved the question, with results differing considerably from those of Max Müller, but yielding satisfactory vocalizations in almost every case, which Müller's system failed to do except in a relatively small number of instances. For a brief account of the principles on which the writer's theory rests, see the forthcoming abstract of his paper, "Die Vokalisation der asiatischen Fremdnamen und Wörter in der syllabischen Schrift des Neuen Reiches" read at the Bonn meeting of the German Oriental Society (Orientalistentag), in August, 1928. The amount of vocalization present in the spelling of foreign words and names before the end of the Hyksos period is at most very slight, but this question is still obscure (see Müller, *Spuren der bab. Weltchrift*, pp. 45 ff.); see note 68, below.

³ See Alt, *Ein Reich von Lydda*, *ZDPV* 47 (1924), 169-85. He identifies the name

In order not to be unnecessarily tedious, we shall discuss only phonetic equivalences which are not obvious identities such as $q=q$, $b=b$, $y=y$, etc. It must also be emphasized that we are only interested in the method of transcribing Semitic sounds in Middle Egyptian, and not in Egypto-Semitic etymologies, which are governed by a radically different set of laws.¹

One of the most striking peculiarities of pronunciation in Old and Middle Egyptian was the tendency to change inter-vocalic r to 'alef.² The tendency is an old one in Egyptian, as we see from the fact that Semitic words with r often exhibit 'alef in Egyptian cognates. By the end of the Middle Egyptian period this law had become definitely established, as we know from cuneiform transcriptions of Egyptian words in the New Empire (e.g., *mai Amana* for *mry mrrw*), as well as from slightly later Hebrew transcriptions as פתם for *Pr-tm*, Pithom. In Coptic there are practically no exceptions to this law. Since the law had come fully into operation in Middle Egyptian, and was no longer in active operation so far as we know in New Egyptian, there was in the latter period no special tendency to change Semitic post-vocalic r to 'alef in pronunciation. Consequently the syllabic script always transcribes Semitic r by Egyptian r . In the Old and Middle Empires this was not the case. The Egyptians of the Pyramid Age borrowed the

Rlnw with that of the town *Rw-lu* of the Tuthmosis list, which is almost certainly identical with Heb. Lod (for **Ludd*), Greek Lydda. The Egyptian spelling probably is defective for *Luddōn* (the character for *w* serving in both syllables, as is not infrequently the case), in which case the place cannot be identified with *Rlnw*. It is barely possible, however, that the spelling *Rw-l-n* is to be taken at its face value, in which case we should read it *Luzōn*, or the like. A Canaanite *Luzōn* should become later Hebrew **Loz* (= *Luz*) and Aramaic *Lod*, just as Canaanite *Akzib* became Aramaic *Aklib* (עכזיב). While archaeological evidence that there was an important Bronze Age city under the modern Ludd is lacking, this combination must remain problematical, though tempting.

¹ For these laws see especially the papers by Ember, *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*, 49, 87 ff., 50, 86 ff., 51, 110 ff. (besides many others in various journals); Albright, *AJSL* XXXIV, 81 ff., 215 ff. *Recueil de Travaux*, 1923, 64 ff., *JAOS* 47, 198 ff., etc.; Sethe, *Zeitschrift für Semitistik*, 5, 1 ff.; *ZDMG* 1923, 145 ff. For a very accurate characterization of the affinities between Egyptian and the Semitic languages cf. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, pp. 2-3, with a brief bibliography, and 422-7. For tables of the consonantal equivalences see especially *Recueil*, 1923, 64; *JAOS* 47, 237.

² See especially Erman, *Grammatik*³, pp. 62-3.

Canaanite *karmu*, "garden, vineyard", but pronounced it naturally *kazmu*, which they wrote *kzmw*.¹ Since there was no *l* in Egyptian it was represented either by *n*, by 'alef, or by *r* in different periods. Etymologically it usually corresponds to Egyptian *n*, an equivalence also illustrated by some of the oldest transcriptions, such as that of *Gubla* or *Kupla* (originally non-Semitic), which was Egyptianized as *Kpn* (late *Kbn*) not later than the First Dynasty. In the New Empire *l* is always rendered by *r* or *nr*. *A priori* we may expect the transcriptions of our period to exhibit either *n* or *r* in the pre-vocalic position, *n* or more probably *z* in the post-vocalic one.

Another peculiarity which we find in Middle Egyptian transcriptions is a certain confusion between *b* and *m*. The best example is the archaic orthography *Rmnn*, i.e., *Rannan*, for *Labnana* (Hittite *Lablana*, Eg. also *Rbrn*), Lebanon. Confusion between *b* and *m* is fairly common at all periods of the Egyptian language. It is very frequent in Egypto-Semitic etymological equivalents, appears within Egyptian, especially in Old and Middle Egyptian, and is not uncommon in the period of transition from Egyptian to Coptic. The period when fewest cases of this interchange may be found is that of the New Empire. It cannot be accidental that the syllabic orthography offers no illustrations (*Rmnn* is not written

¹ In New Egyptian the word is written *kzm* (not syllabically), while the corresponding word in Old Egyptian (already in the Pyramid texts) is read *kzmw* (written with the hieroglyphs for "genius" and small pot) by Egyptologists. Consequently, Müller, *Spuren der babylonischen Weltchrift*, pp. 69-70, separated the word from Hebrew גַּרְם, with which most scholars have connected it and erroneously (since the word is not spelled syllabically) connected it with Heb. גַּרְם, "garden." A change of *m* to *n* is quite unknown in Egyptian, and yet the words *kzmw* and *kzm* cannot be separated, especially since they correspond so exactly to Coptic *īšôm*, "garden, vineyard." The explanation of this anomaly is, we believe, to be sought in another direction. It seems almost certain that the character for *mw* (small pot) had in early Egyptian times the secondary value *mw*, as suggested also by early *dzmw* for later *dzmw*, "youth," Coptic *djôm*. Now there is a confusion in the earliest times between the hieroglyphs for "water," because of the fact that several words meaning "water" and related conceptions began with *m*, while a similar group began with *n* (*mw*, *my*, *myt*; *nwy*, *nwyt*, *nwnw*). In his *Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte Aegyptens*, pp. 40-1, Sethe showed that the simple hieroglyph for *n* was also read *mw*, or the like, in the First and Second Dynasties; e.g., *Ntry-N* is to be read *Ntry-mw*, *Sn-N* is *Sn-mw*, or the like. Very similarly we must read *nw* and *mw* for the character now read exclusively *nw*. In later times the second value was completely lost, just as was the second value *mw* for *N*.

syllabically, but exhibits the archaic spelling with the consonants only).

The question of Egyptian *t* is rather complicated, though not particularly obscure. It corresponds always, so far as Ember and the writer have been able to tell, with some scores of perfectly clear etymologies, to Semitic *k*, which sometimes, though not always, became *t* in the earliest Egyptian we can trace.¹ The process of change was still under way, however, in the time of the Pyramid Texts (Sixth Dynasty); see Erman, *Grammatik*², p. 68. In the Middle Empire the consonants *t* and *t̃* were frequently confused, showing that they often fell together in popular pronunciation. As a rule the standard Old Empire spelling prevailed. By the time of the New Empire the confusion between *t* and *t̃* became general in ordinary Egyptian writing, but the correct pronunciation of the *t̃* was still employed in transcribing the Semitic *samek*, which always appears as *t̃* in Egyptian³. Conversely, Egyptian *t* always appears as *samek* in Hebrew loanwords of the period, except where the *t̃* had become *t*. In Coptic this double evolution of *t̃*, which cannot yet be explained, is perpetuated as *t* (*tau*) and *t̃* (Bohairic *šima*). In the light of this situation it follows with certainty that the Old Empire pronunciation of *t̃* was palatalized *k* or *t̃* (English *ch*), while the standard Middle Empire pronunciation must have been the same, since the *t̃* still survives in certain cases in Coptic. While the exact pronunciation of *samek* in the Canaanite period of Hebrew linguistic history is still obscure, it must have been either *t̃* or *t* (the writer's preference), which accounts for the invariable transcription with *t̃*=*t̃* in New Egyptian.³ There is, accordingly, every reason to suppose that *t̃* was already used in Middle Egyptian to represent Canaanite *samek*.

In this connection two points which belong rather to Semitic philology than to Egyptian may also be considered. First is the question of the sibilants. The spelling of the Byblian royal names *Abi-šemu* (*bšmu*) and *Yapā-šemu-abi* (*Ypšmw' b*) proves conclusively that the Phœnicians already pronounced the *šin* in Heb. *lašon*, Arab.

¹ Cf. Sethe, *Zeitschrift für Semitistik*, 5, 1.

² See Burchardt, *Altägyptische Fremdwörter*, 1, 46 f.

³ After about 1000 B.C. we find the situation completely changed. Hebrew *samek* from now on corresponds regularly to Eg. *s*; cf. also AJSL XLI, 84, n. 1.

lisán as *š*,¹ while it is well-known that the so-called Amorites of the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon (Fotheringham-Schoch-Schnabel: 2169-1870) pronounced the same *šin* as *s*. There can be no question whatever that the Babylonian pronunciation of the sibilants was the same as the Phœnician, or that Egyptian *s* and *š* correspond to Bab. *s* and *š*, respectively.² On the other hand the name of Shechem, Heb. שֶׁכֶם, שֶׁכֶם (Num. 26:31 etc.), Amarna *Šakm(i)* appears as *Škmm*, that is *Sakmum*, where the *šin* in *lasón* appears as *š*, just as in Amorite. The writer has elsewhere pointed out that the same double pronunciation appears in the Egyptian lists of towns and loan-words from the New Empire, showing that there were two dialects spoken side by side in Bronze Age Palestine, just as there are three in modern Palestine. For example, the *qáf* is pronounced by city people (dialect I) as *záf*, by *fellahin* in Central and Northern Palestine as *káf* (dialect II), and by Bedawin and *fellahin* from the south as *gáf* (dialect III). The English soldiers stationed in Palestine during and after the war adopted whatever pronunciation they were most familiar with, so that a list of places prepared by them would exhibit an etymological *qáf* in three radically different forms. The writer could give many amusing illustrations of this phenomenon. Of course, the name of one and the same place will be rendered in different ways by different Arabs; e.g., the muleteer from Jerusalem calls Tekoa *Itzú*, the peasant of 'Ain Kârim calls it *Itkú*, the Ta'âmreh 'Arab of the environs call it *Itgú*. In the same way we find, e.g., both *Lakis(i)* and *Lakis(a)* in the Amarna tablets. After a careful examination of the material a number of other dialectic differences between the forms of place-names in Palestine at this period are observable, so that the Canaanite and Amorite dialects may be differentiated in many points, but since the writer hopes to publish a special paper on this subject, we need not pursue it further here (see also below).

The second point to which we wish to call attention is the transcription of the old Semitic mimation in Egyptian in the Middle Empire. The mimation was employed in Mesopotamia down to the end of the First Dynasty of Babylon (cir. 1870 B.C.), after

¹ Cf. the writer's remarks JPOS VI, 82 f.; *Archiv für Orientforschung*, III, 126.

² Cf. JEA XII, 187 and note 3.

which a gap prevents us from obtaining a clear idea until the reappearance of inscriptions in the fifteenth century shows that the mimation had been lost during the preceding age. The situation is the same in both Babylonia and Assyria. The Ḫana tablets, however, dating from between 1870 and 1700 B.C.,¹ prove that the mimation was not always correctly used after the end of the First Dynasty of Babylon, so we may place its loss in the spoken language in the nineteenth and eighteenth centuries B.C. If we turn to the West we find that the mimation, which was characteristic of the Amorite names from the beginning of the First Dynasty of Babylon (before 2000 B.C.), and is sometimes found later, disappeared from ordinary use before the Amarna period (cir. 1400 B.C.) The Egyptian transcriptions of the New Empire show no sign of its existence at all. In Classical Hebrew the only trace of the old mimation is the preservation of the original adverbial accusatives in *-am*, like *'oninām*, *ḥinnām*, *yómām*, etc. In vernacular Arabic we have the same development in the old adverbial accusatives *dā'imān*, *'abadān*, etc., which still exhibit the otherwise disused nunation. If we turn now to the transcriptions of Semitic words into Egyptian in the time of the Middle Empire we find clear proof that the mimation was still in use, though apparently not indispensable. The best illustration is the name of the brother of the prince of *Rḫnw*, from the time of Amenemmes III (1842-1794). This name, which occurs repeatedly in the Sinai inscriptions (Gardiner-Peet, Nos. 85, 87, 92, 112, etc.), is spelled both *Ḫbdd* and *Ḫbddm*, i.e., *Ḫb-dadum*.² The same variation is found, e.g., in the forms *Aqbu-dada* and *Aqbu-dadum*, which occur in documents from the First

¹ See Thureau-Dangin and Dhorme, *Syria*, V (1924), 275-6; Bauer, *Ost-kanaanäer*, p. 6, n. 5; Albright, *JSOR* X, 257-8.

² The name is unquestionably formed with the divine name *Dad*, originally a hypocoristic for *Hadad*; it has been discussed by the writer in his paper "The Name of Bildad the Shuhite" (*AJSL* XLIV, 31 ff.). The first element in the name, *ḫb*, is either imperative (properly hypocoristic for the imperative; cf. *AJSL*, XLIV, 32; *JBL*, XLVI, 161) or perfect. It occurs in two Hebrew proper names: *El-yahba'* (II Sam. 23:32, 11:33) and *Ḥabayah* (Ezra 2:61, Neh. 7:63). That the laryngeal *h* goes back to *ḫ*, as in the Egyptian transcription, is proved by the Arabic and Accadian cognates *ḫ* and *ḫabū*. The name *El-yahba'* means "God hides," i.e., He protects, while *Ḫb-dā* could mean either "Protect, O Dad," or "Dad has put (me) in a safe place."

Dynasty of Babylon.¹ This explains the form *Skmn*, which has been already mentioned. Hitherto it has been regarded as a plural or a dual, or it has been treated as an error in spelling. *Saknum* is simply the normal Amorite equivalent of a Hebrew *Šekem* (preserved as the name of the Mañassite clan or district around Nāblus; cf. JPOS V, 28 n. 28)=Amarna *Šakm(i)*, while the Massoretic form of the town-name, *Šekem*, represents an Aramaizing vocalization. We shall find a number of clear cases of mimation in the names of the *Aechtungstexte*.

After this introduction we may turn to the names of places in Asia mentioned in our documents. The first place mentioned in the list of places to be cursed (f 2) is *Kpny*, that is, Byblos, native *Gubla* or *Kupla*, with the North Syrian interchange of voiced and voiceless stops. We have already called attention above to the fact that Semitic *l* is represented by Egyptian *n* in the earliest times. Since this name of Byblos has now been found on numerous inscriptions from the excavations of Montet and Dunand at Djebeil, there can be no doubt whatever about the correctness of the identification. It is not surprising to find Byblos heading the Syrian rebellion, as we may infer from its being mentioned first (cf. the fact that Nos. 1 and 2 in the Tuthmosis list are Kadesh and Megiddo, the foci of the revolt in Syria and Palestine, respectively), since it must have been the wealthiest and most influential city of Syria at that time. Why no chief of Byblos is mentioned is not clear.²

Second in the list of Asiatic places comes *w3t* (five times)

¹ The name *'Aqbu-dadum* probably stands for *'Aqbu-hu-dadum*, "His protection is Dad." As is well known, the stem *ꜥꜣꜣ* means "to protect" in South Arabian; the meaning was still alive in Amorite, though it died out later. The Palestinian place-name *Ya'qob-el* means "God protects"; the name *Ya'qob* is a hypocoristic of it. For the form *'Aqbu-hu* in Amorite see *Archiv für Orientforschung*, III, 126 above, where the close connection between Amorite and Sabaeen, first pointed out by Hommel, is also stressed.

² Dussaud (p. 218) develops a suggestion of Sethe's to the effect that no hostility was to be expected from the princes of Byblos. No chiefs of Ullaza, the two Yarnuts, or of *Dm'tyiv*, are mentioned either, so one is tempted to suggest that these places had not actually revolted, but were included because of their potentialities, i.e., because a possible revolt on their part was apprehended. Since Byblos, the possession of which was always so important to Egypt, is among these places, this interpretation seems reasonable.

or *wzł* (also five times). Sethe has identified this place with the town of *Üsô* or Palaetyrus, spelled *w-tw = 'Utū* in the texts of the New Empire, and all subsequent writers on the subject have adopted his identification. It appears to be very improbable, however, since the consonantal *'alef* cannot be explained at all in a transcription of the name *'Üsô*. A very satisfactory identification is with Ullaza, an important Phoenician city of the New Empire, mentioned repeatedly in the Egyptian records, as well as in the Amarna tablets, while *Üsô* is only mentioned occasionally, and there is nothing to suggest that it possessed any particular importance. The name *Ullaza* is spelled *'n-r3-l3 = (U)llati*, etc. in the Egyptian texts, and fits the orthography *wzł* of the *Achtungstexte* perfectly, since, as we shall see, there can be little doubt that *w* is frequently used in them to indicate the presence of an *u*-vowel; i.e., *'Ullaza* would be pronounced *'uzaʔa* ($\text{ʔ} \approx$ approximately *ts*) by the Egyptians, who could not then pronounce an intervocalic *r (=l)*. The town of Ullaza first appears in later times in the Annals of Tuthmosis III, who captured it in his seventh campaign (B.C. 1474). Unfortunately, the only statement made with regard to its location is that the town was situated on the banks of the stream *Ns-r3-n3 = Nisrana*, otherwise unknown.¹ In the Amarna tablets Ullaza is mentioned with Arvad and with *Šumur* (Simyra) in the Eleutherus Valley.² Amarna 105, 17-24, shows that Ullaza probably lay on or very near the coast, between Arvad and *Šumur*. Unfortunately, the exact site of the latter is not known, but it unquestionably lay near the mouth of the Eleutherus.³ Several passages (e.g., 60, 23; 140, 19)

¹ The first character of this name is not quite certain. The old reading is *ns* (i.e. *nis*, whence Coptic *las*, tongue), which Von Bissing corrected to *đ*, while Sethe (*Urkunden*, IV, 691) read *ns* (or *mr*). Gauthier (*Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, III, 51) prefers *mr*, but this orthography would be unparalleled in the entire syllabic orthography. I have, therefore, no hesitation in preferring *ns*, in agreement with Bilabel (*Geschichte*, I, 40).

² Cf. Weber in Knudtzon's *El-Amarna-Tafeln*, pp. 1141-2, and Dussaud, *Topographie de la Syrie*, pp. 78-80. Dussaud wishes to identify Ullaza with the Hellenistic Orthosia, at the mouth of the Nahr el-Bârid, between Tripoli and 'Arqâ. The situation is unsatisfactory, and the identification appears to be based mainly on a problematical comparison of names.

³ The writer tried hard to find the site of *Šumur-Simyra* in October, 1925, but with absolutely no success, though every mound could be seen at a great distance in this level valley. Nor was he able to learn anything about the supposed village

show that Şumur and Ullaza were neighboring cities. The writer would therefore propose the identification of the latter with Tell Qazil on the right bank of the Nahr el-Abraş, some eight kilometres north of the mouth of the Eleutherus (in a straight line). The mound, which he visited with Dougherty on Oct. 24th, 1925, is probably the largest mound in the region of the Eleutherus Valley; the pottery found on the slopes and on the summit belonged to the Bronze Age (Early, Middle, and possibly Late, though not later than about 1400 B.C.). Since the coarse pottery of the period 1800-1400 B.C. does not vary much, there is nothing in these results to preclude the identification with Ullaza, which disappears from history after the Amarna period. Tutmosis III tells us that he took 494 captives, with 13 chariots and 26 chariot horses, at Ullaza, so the size of the citadel mound, where these captives were taken ("in the space of an hour") need not be estimated as larger than the dimensions of Tell Qazil (three-four hectares). Tell er-Raşidîyeh, the site of Ūsô, is smaller and not nearly so imposing.

The following names, f 4-8, cannot be identified, with our present knowledge. The first one, *Y'nuq*, i.e., *Ya'nuq*, undoubtedly belongs philologically with the biblical *'Anaq*, as pointed out by Sethe and accepted by all subsequent writers, but it is most improbable that there is any other connection. So far as we can see from the few identifications which can be made, all the places in the group f 2-12 were in the north, while Israelite tradition located the *'Anaqîm* in the southern part of Judaea and Philistia. The meaning of the stem is obscure, since the Hebrew and Arabic deri-

of Şumra, though he enquired everywhere in the region of the Nahr el-Kebîr, as well as miles to the north of it (cf. *Bulletin of the American Schools*, No. 21, p. 4). The identification seems to be mentioned first by Thomson (*The Land and the Book, Central Palestine and Phœnicia*, Harper's popular edition, p. 610), who calls the village *Sumra*, and locates it twelve miles southeast of ʦarʦûs and two miles north of the Nahr el-Kebîr. In his orthography *Sumra* represents a *Sâmra*, or the like. Since it is eighteen miles in a straight line from ʦarʦûs to the Nahr el-Kebîr, there is an evident error in Thomson's statement. Renan took the identification over from Thomson, and since then all scholars have followed his example. Even Dussaud falls into the trap (*Topographie*, p. 118), though the fact that the name of the village does not occur on any military map should have given him pause. It is, of course, possible that there has been a subsidence of the coast, so that the site of Simyra is now under water. The question requires an exhaustive investigation.

vatives are all denominative. Happily the names of three of its chieftains are given (e 1-3): 'zm, 'bymmw, and 'kzm, all of which are clearly Semitic. The first may correspond to a Semitic 'rm or 'lm, in both of which the m must represent the mimation. We may safely identify it with the Hebrew name 'Er, mentioned several times in the Bible as that of a son (clan) of Judah. From the same stem come probably the names ערן and יעיר. The name occurs also on Thamudæan graffiti as ער (see Jaussen, *Mission en Arabie*, II, 569). The name is, at least in Hebrew, the *qal* participle of עיר, with the meaning "wakeful, watchful, alert." The second chief has a name which certainly represents a compound of *abu*, "father," with some element of *mediae geminatae* type.¹ Heb. *Yemimah* (in Job) is properly a feminine passive participle, like *Yedidah*, "beloved." Precisely this form appears in Amorite in the masculine *Yadidum* (also *Yadidatum*); see Bauer, *Ostkanaanäer*, p. 25. We must, therefore, pronounce our name *Abi-yamimu*, or the like; the final *w=ü* proves that we are dealing with a substantivized form, and not with a finite verbal element. The meaning is uncertain; Arabic 'mm, *ymm* has the force of "aim at, try to reach, plan," with cognates in Assyrian and Egyptian, etc., and a secondary development "desire" would have innumerable semantic analogies. In any case *Yemimah* must mean "Desired," or "Beloved," etc., so that *Abi-yamimu* could mean "My father is the beloved," or the like. The third chief of *Y'ng* bears the name 'kzm, which corresponds to an 'krm or 'klm in Semitic. The m is, of course, the mimation, since there are already three consonants in the name. The Semitic equivalent is not difficult to find; Dussaud is almost certainly correct in comparing the 'Okran of Num. 1:13 etc. (name of an Israelite noble of the thirteenth century B.C.),² as well as the Amorite *Akirum* (Bauer,

¹ The two "ayins" in the Egyptian orthography are purely graphic, and have nothing whatever to do with the pronunciation. Theoretically they might possibly be phonetic, but the cacophonous result would be quite out of the question. But one cannot consider one of them graphic and the other phonetic, so the extremely ingenious suggestion of Dussaud, to read 'Abima-'ammu, must be considered impossible.

² In a study which has not yet been published, the writer has collected material for distinguishing the Canaanite and Amorite dialects; see above and *Annual of the American Schools*, VI, 17, note 8. Here it will be shown that an original *Gaulán* (Arab *Djaulán*) would appear as *Gólón*, whence *Gílón* (by dissimilation) in Canaanite

p. 12), which also has the mimation. Unfortunately he proposes the vocalization *'Akram*, which is impossible as a nominal form from *'kr*. We may also add the place-name *'Akor*, belonging to a valley in northeastern Judaea. The most plausible vocalization of our name is *'Akirum*. From the preceding discussion it will have become evident that the name of the three chieftains are just as Semitic as the name of their district.

The next place-name in our list, *Šwtw*, is unknown.⁴ Of the three chiefs, two bear names which can be explained; one is quite obscure. The name *'ybm*² is obviously identical with Hebrew *'Iyyób*, probably the *Ayab* of the Amarna tablets; we should perhaps vocalize *'Ayyábum*. It is strange that neither Sethe nor Dussaud should have thought of this simple and satisfactory solution. The name *Kwšr* is peculiar, and Sethe's explanation, endorsed by Dussaud, has no onomastic parallels. It need hardly be said that we must have parallels before we can accept any suggestion in such an obscure field as this. The third chief bears a most interesting name, *Tb3nw*, brilliantly identified by Sethe with Hebrew *Zebúlán*, a tribal name of great antiquity. This identification has been accepted also by Dussaud. We may vocalize approximately *Zabúlánu*.

The next place-name (f 6) *Ymw'r* is obscure; Alt is unquestionably correct in rejecting the identification with Amurru, suggested by Dussaud and others.³ The presence of the *r* probably means that it immediately follows the *'ayin*, since post-vocalic *r* is regularly changed to *3* in these documents. Its prince bears the name *H3wb3h*, which looks rather baffling; Dussaud's *Abu-barib* (written

and as *Gólan* in Amorite. The personal name *'Okrán*, if vocalized correctly by the Massorettes, stands for **'Ukrán*, which remained in Amorite, whereas in Canaanite it was changed to **'Okrón*, dissimilated to **'Ekrón* (like *'Efrón*, etc.).

¹ Gressmann proposed the impossible identification with the *Sutú*, though this is merely the Babylonian expression for *Bedawin* (older *Sutium*). Dussaud seems to reject this identification, instead of which he proposes to equate *Šwtw* with the town of *Ušte* (changed to *Šu-te* by a typographical error). Cf. also Alt, p. 43, n. 2.

² This name is spelled with the character for *'y*, "to come," followed by the consonants *b* and *m*. Sethe does not distinguish in transcription between the three reed-leaves, which are here unquestionably employed for *y*, as Ranke pointed out, and the distinct group for *y*. In the Byblos inscriptions from the Twelfth Dynasty the usual double reed-leaf is used for *y*, corresponding exactly to the triple one in our texts.

³ See Alt, ZAW 1928, 77 f.

Ahoubarih) will not do; since it does not fit the Egyptian consonants. However, his suggestion seems to be partly correct; we must only substitute *bālu*, "maternal uncle", common in Amorite names¹ and almost ubiquitous in South Arabian. *Hālu-barih* would mean "(His) maternal uncle is noble," or the like; the name *Barih* was known among the pre-islamic Arabs, as well as among the Hebrews and Aramaeans (*Berih*=*Barihu*; cf. Dussaud), two occurrences being listed in Wüstenfeld, *Register*, p. 107. For the honorific meaning of the stem *brh* in Arabic cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, I 181 c, under *ح ر ه*, which has the meanings "to honour, to excel in nobility," etc.

The following place-name *Qhrmw*² is not much clearer than the preceding, but the names of its three chieftains are happily good Semitic forms. The first one, *'mmw'tz*, has been explained by Sethe as *'Ammuata*, but the name is quite unparalleled, and the consonantal *'alef* is neglected. We are in a position to give an exact equivalent from the stores of Amorite names collected by Bauer; the names *Hammatar* and *Hanmiatar* (Bauer, p. 19), i. e., *'Ammu-atar*, are obviously the same. We should, therefore, vocalize *'Ammu-atar*, or preferably *'Ammu-yatar*, assuming that the *y* has been elided between *u* and *a* (or should we read simply *'Ammi-(y)atar*?). The name is found in Hebrew, with the elements transposed, as *Yitre'am*, for original *Yatir-'ammu* or *Yatar-'ammu*.³ The hypocoristic *Yatarum* (also *Yataratum*) is common in Amorite (Bauer, p. 31). The element *(y)atar* in *Abiyatar*, *Hammatar*, *Ili(y)atar*, etc., is identified by Bauer (p. 71) with the Aramaean divine name *'At(t)ar*, Canaanite *'Astar-tu*,⁴ but this is naturally impossible; *yatar* means simply "abundant,

¹ See Bauer, pp. 61, 73; Albright, *Archiv für Orientforschung*, III, 125 b.

² It is possible that the name is to be analyzed as *Qh-rāmu* "God *Qh* is exalted". In any case the *r* must be pre-vocalic, since it would otherwise become *z*. No divine name like *Qh* is known, unless one can compare the obscure name of the chief deity of Qatābān, *'Imqh*, i. e., *Il-mūqah*, or the like. *Waqah-il* was a common name in South Arabia, but the exact semantic connection of the verbal element with Ar. *waqiba*, *yaqihu*, "to obey," is not clear. *Qh* would be a perfectly natural abbreviation of an original-imperfect *yqh* (*yaqih*); see p. 242, n. 2. Early Hebrew *הקח* also belongs here; see the discussion of f 12 below.

³ Cf. p. 242, n. 3.

⁴ The original form is *'Attar*, which was undoubtedly still pronounced in this way by the Amorites, just as by the South Arabians later. For Amorite *t* (written *t* in cuneiform) cf. *Archiv für Orientforschung*, III, 125. Such a form would have to be written, at least occasionally, with initial *h* in cuneiform.

wealthy, preëminent," etc., and is Accadian *watru*, *watar*, Arab. *watr*, "unique," and Hebrew *yeter*. There are numerous Hebrew hypocoristica from the same source; cf. *Yeter*, *Yitró*, *Yitrán*, etc. The name of the second chief, *Hmtnw*, has no equivalent that I can find, but it has an excellent Amorite form; cf. the long list given by Bauer, pp. 42-8, 92-3, e.g., *Hašmánum*, *Hižnánum*, *Huržánum*. We have already found the same form in *Zabúlánu*, above, and will find it again in *Yp'nw*, *Asqalánu* (place-name), *Hktnw*, *S'nu*, besides in several place-names. The same adjectival formation is found in early Hebrew and Semitic names in the Bible; e.g., *Disón*, *Sib'ón*, *Sihón*, 'Eglón, etc. For the etymology of *Hmtnw* (חמתן) cf. Ar. *همس*; *hammās* is an appellative applied to a lion which crushes its prey. The third chief of *Qhrmw* bears the transparent Amorite name *'mmwykn*, that is, *'Anmu-yakún*, "the people is established." Dussaud has already pointed out that a corresponding name, with the elements inverted, occurs in the Amorite collections of Bauer (p. 77) as *Yakúnammū*. A parallel biblical name is *Yekonyah*, "Yahweh is established."

The next place, *ʿzbbw*, bears a Semitic name, as shown by the *h*, and must be read either *'Alhabu* or *'Arhabu*. That the second is right, is shown by the South Arabian tribal name *Arháb* (cf. Hartmann, *Die arabische Frage*, p. 544 etc.). *Arháb* is a collective from *Raháb*, Canaanite *Rehób*¹ like *Argób* (for older *Argáb*) from **ragb* Heb. *régeb*, "boulder," and similiar forms, which are very common in early Arabian tribal names. Gressmann's connection with Hebrew *'Ah'ab* is impossible; Dussaud's discarded combination with the town of Ihibe, mentioned in the Amarna tablets, is improbable, since the Egyptian spelling is against it and the latter name does not appear to be Semitic, while his alternative (and preferred) identification with the name *Rehób* is based on an unnecessary transposition in the Egyptian form (also assuming that pre-vocalic *r* be-

¹ The Egyptian transcriptions of the New Empire and the Taanach tablets both prove that the actual pronunciation of the name of the town was *Raháb*, i.e., *Raháb*, which is only the Amorite form of Canaanite *Rehób*, where the *d* was obscured, and the unaccented *a* in an open syllable was reduced to *sewi*. Since the passage in the *Annual of the American Schools*, VI, p. 39, above, was written, the solution of the Egyptian syllabic orthography has proved that *Rahab(i)* does represent the actual pronunciation of the name in the Late Bronze Age.

comes 'alef in Egyptian, which is not the case). Of the two chiefs of this place, the first one bears the name 'prw^hq or 'prw^ht. The first element, 'prw, is common in early West-Semitic onomatopoeia. Dussaud has already referred to the three names 'pr-'el, 'pr-'ba'al, and 'pr-'degal,¹ to which we may add early Heb. 'Efron, South Arabian Y'fr, and Arabic Ya'fur, Ya'fūr (Wüstenfeld, *Register*, p. 251). Since there are two stems, 'pr (عفر) and ḡpr (غفر), which have fallen together in some of the Semitic tongues, it is difficult to fix the meaning of these names; the most plausible etymology is from Accadian epēru, "to provide for (food etc.)" = Eg. 'pr, "to provide, equip." The element hq (more probable than ht) is enigmatic; it may possibly be an erroneous Egyptian transposition of qh, already found in the name Qhrmw (see p. 240, n. 2). The second chief of 'z^hbw bears the name Ymn'w^uw, with the variant Y'm^umw. Montet is probably correct in suggesting (see Dussaud) that the first w is a mistake for m, in which case we would have a normal form Ymn-'m^uw, or the like. In view of such equivalences as Eg. Rmnn = Labnana-Lablana, it is quite safe to propose the identification of this name with biblical Yible'am, contracted also to Bil'am.² If the form of this name were still Yabil-'ammu, like Amorite Yabil-werra (Bauer, p. 24), this explanation would become impossible, since post-vocalic l would be reduced to 'alef, but the Amorite hypocoristica Yabliya, Yabliyatuni (Bauer, pp. 24-5), which certainly stand for *Yabil-, prove that Yabli'ammu was already possible. Later Hebrew Yible'am (Yeblaam in the older recension of the LXX)³ is an ancient modification of Yabil-'ammu, as is shown by the Egyptian

¹ This name has generally been explained as "God 'pr has seen," comparing Accadian dag^lu, "to see," and its cognates. The other names were then rendered "'pr is god" and "'pr is lord," but names with such meanings are exceedingly rare. The writer is convinced that 'pr-'degal should be explained as containing the divine name Dagan, parallel to the divine names Ilu, "god," and Ba'al. The Cappadocian recension of the *šar tamhari* epic calls the Nūr-dagan of the Accadian text Nūr-daggal, i.e., Nūr-dagal, since the Hittite orthography is careless in its doubling of consonants. Cf. also the name Bēt-san or Bēt-še-'an, which the Egyptian texts of the New Empire write Bēt-ša'al, or Bēt-šal.

² This contraction is explained in the *Annual of the American Schools*, II-III, 24, n. 10; cf. also AJSL XLIV, 32 f., with the parallels there given.

³ For a discussion of the vocalization, as well as of the morphological changes in the name cf. JBL XLVI (1927), 161 ff.

vocalization *Y(i)bra'am* (like the Greek form) in the Tuthmosis list; cf. the writer's remarks on Amorite *Binahmel* for **Minahhim-el* in *Archiv für Orientforschung*, III, 125.

The following place (f 9) *Y3m(w)t*, is probably *Yarmût*, presumably identical, in name at least, with the *Yarmuti* of the inscriptions of Sargon I, and the *Yarimuta* of the Amarna tablets, as already suggested by Dussaud. Opinions regarding the *Yarimuta* of the Amarna tablets still vary from the Plain of Antioch to the Delta. The writer has defended an identification with the coastal plain of Palestine, especially Sharon,¹ but his arguments are by no means conclusive. *Yarmuti* and *Yarimuta* were probably different localities, though the possibility that both names refer to the Eleutherus Valley (the Plain of Antioch is too far north in any case) remains.² No chiefs of this place are mentioned.

The next place-name (f 10) is obscure again; 'nh'3 is probably, however, Semitic, since its three chiefs all bear Semitic names. The final '3 cannot express a vowel, as thought by the editor, but may correspond to 'el, "god." The first chief seems to bear the name *M3k3m*, though the first sign is only preserved in one fragment, and is a little peculiar in this. Dussaud suggests an identification with later *Milkîrâm* for *Malkî-râm*, "My king" (the god *Malik* is exalted,) but this name would be written in our text *M3k3mw*; the final *m* without *w* nearly always indicates mimation. I would propose that the 'alef be combined with the *m3* sign, as is usual elsewhere, and that we read *M3km* = *Malikum*, or the like. For *Malikum* as an Amorite name cf. Bauer, p. 34. The second chief is called *Km3m*, which Dussaud has explained quite reasonably as

¹ See JEA VI, 92; VII, 139, n. 2 (Langdon); JAOS XLII, 320 f.; JPOS IV, 140.

² The identification with the Eleutherus Valley would suit most of the references in the Amarna tablets well enough, but Şumur and Ullaza are never connected with it. *Yarmuti* is mentioned with *Mari* and *Ibla*, which was itself near *Ursu* (said to be in the mountains of *Ibla*). It was, therefore, either in the upper valley of the Euphrates or in Northern Syria. If we could certainly identify *Ursu* with *Rhosus* (*Arsûz*) south of *Alexandretta* (see JAOS XLV, 197, n. 7), the probability that *Yarmuti* was a seaport in Northern Syria would be increased. Dussaud's proposal to identify *Yarmuta* with *Tell Irmid*, between *Umm el 'Awâmid* and *Iskanderûneh* (south of *Tyre*) encounters very serious obstacles. The surrounding country is most certainly not a fertile grain-land, as *Yarimuta* is described as being. Phonetically the comparison is without parallel.

Kamarum. Dussaud might have adduced the proper names *Kamaru* (in the Taanach tablets; see now Gustavs, ZDPV LI (1928), p. 202, with the references given by him). It should be added that the Palmyrene (and Nabataean!) proper name כַּמְרָא means simply "priest" (cf. the use of *Cohen* and *Khuri*, etc., as personal names). In the Amarna tablets there is a word *kamirum* meaning "eunuch" (cf. JAOS XXXV, 394). The third chief receives the name *zqhm*, **Aqihum*, or the like. I cannot identify this name, which may stand for **Waqihum* (cf. Ar. *waqih*, "impudent, insolent", which may have had the meliorative sense of "bold" originally). In Amorite initial *w* became regularly *y* (see Bauer p. 63), just as in Hebrew, so a *Waqihum* would become *Yaqihum*, which might become *'Aqihum* by dissimilation. Dussaud's proposal to identify our name with Amorite *Haliquum* requires a metathesis as well as the improbable explanation of the initial *z* as a pre-vocalic *l*. The fourth chief of 'nh'3 has the name *Yp'nu*, which Dussaud has correctly explained as *Yap'anu* (*Yapa'anu* would be equally possible). His explanation of the name does not seem quite satisfactory, since the name is identical with the South Arabian tribal and personal name *Yaf'an* (cf. Hartmann, *Die arabische Frage*, pp. 268-9), and belongs with the numerous Amorite names ending in *anum*. Personal names from the same stem are common in Canaanite and early Hebrew generally; cf. *Yapah(i)*, *Yapah-Adad* in the Amarna tablets; *Yapi'* and *Yapa'* (evidently the correct pronunciation of the name of the chief of Lachish) in the Bible. The ancient Hebrew place-name (in Transjordan) *Mefa'at* has long since been identified with Arabic *Maisa'at*. The stem is *wp'*, Hebrew *hif'il hof'i'*, "to cause to appear, shine"; Accadian *súpa*, with the same meanings.

The place-name *zqb'*, (also *zqb*: f 11) evidently belongs with the personal name *zqhm*, discussed above, but I cannot identify it. The 'alef is pre-vocal and cannot well be put into Semitic as *l*. Dussaud's ingenious identification with *Heleq* labours under the same difficulties as his identification of the personal name. Two chiefs of this place are mentioned. The first name, *Yqzdmw*, belongs together with *Yqz'mw*, i.e., *Yaqar-'ammu* (see below, under f 18). The second element ought to be either a term of relationship or of divinity, but *q* does not equal *d* at this early period of Egyptian, so Dussaud's tempting suggestion *Yaqar-Damu* is not probable. I

have thought of the divine name *Šalmu*, very common in Assyrian and Persian times, but it would have to be written *d3m*. The name of the second chief is not certain, but is probably to be read *Šmšw-r'm*, i.e., *Šamsu-ili-ma*, "Šamaš is my god"; cf. such names as *Ili-ma-Anum*, "Anu is my god" (name of the first king of the Second Babylonian Dynasty, reading with Ungnad).¹ This name is not Amorite, but rather Babylonian, or perhaps Canaanite, as shown by the sibilant, which would be *s* in Amorite (as in *Samsu-iluna*, etc.). It is, of course, possible that the Amorite name was reported through Canaanite channels.

F 12, *'3qtm* may again be identified with practical certainty as 'Arqatum or 'Irqatum, an important and very ancient Phoenician city just north of Tripoli. No other scholar seems to have noticed this rather obvious identification. The town figures in the Amarna tablets; full references to the sources mentioning it are given by Dussaud, *Topographie*, pp. 80-85. I would only like to add that an examination of the great mound of Tell 'Arqā in October, 1925, yielded Early and Middle Bronze pottery from the lower levels, where the stream had cut into the hill on which the mound stands. There is, accordingly, no doubt that 'Arqatum was in existence long before the period of the *Achtungstexte*. Only one chief of it is mentioned: *'3wmqht*, whose name is curiously suggestive of the South Arabian divine name *אלמקא*, as well as of the early Hebrew *מקא*; see the discussion p. 240, n. 2 above. A reading *Ilu-mqht*(³) seems very reasonable; Dussaud has already combined the first element with *ilu*, "god."

F 13, *Y3m(w)t*, has already been referred to under f 9, where the identification with Yarimuta has been discussed. For the orthography cf. Sethe's treatment.

The next place, *'s'nw*, has again an obscure, though clearly Semitic name. We should doubtless pronounce it *'As'ānu*, or the like, and derive it from the stem *אשן*, the Amorite character of which is shown by the sibilant. Sethe is not justified in considering the name as non-Semitic, especially since the parallels he cites (on p. 49) are all typical Semitic forms. Three chiefs of *'s'nw* are mentioned, headed by *'mmwt*, son of *Ykwdd3*. The first name is

¹ The intervocalic *r* for Semitic *l*, if correct, may be explained because the sign for *r* in Egyptian actually received in ordinary pronunciation the value *'3*.

very peculiar; I cannot imagine what the final syllable means. 'Ammu-ta, or the like, does not seem to occur elsewhere,¹ though the first element is, of course, exceedingly common in Amorite onomastics. The father's name is not *Ykw-ddz*, as Dussaud supposes, basing his correction upon an erroneous statement of Montet,² but clearly *Ykw-ddz*, the first element of which is presumably a substantive, because of the *w*. In any case Dussaud's reading *Yakún-adad* cannot be correct, since *ddz* corresponds to *šdr* or *šdl*. The best equivalent would be *šid(i)ri*: "Ykw is my *šidr*." For this element see Bauer, p. 42, where we find *Šidri-ilu*, *Šidri-elum* etc.^{2a}

The second chief bears the name '(w)ḏw-šnw, which Dussaud has tentatively explained as 'Uzzu-šinu, comparing *Šin`abš* of Gen. 14:2. If we suppose that 'Uzzu-šinu is a contraction of 'Uzzubū-šinu, we have a perfectly satisfactory name meaning "His strength is the god Šin."³ The third chief is named *Mzzm(w)l*, probably with a pleonastic *z*, since two such sounds in succession can hardly be expected in a transcribed Semitic name. I would suggest an identification with Heb. *Meremôt*, a name of obscure origin which is surely older than the post-exilic sources where it first occurs.⁴ Without knowing its etymology it would be idle to reconstruct the Amorite vocalization. Dussaud's suggestion that the name be read *Amurru-muti* is also possible, and if right would be far more interesting.

F 15 brings us to the familiar name 'Ašqelôn, written 'sqznu.

¹ Dussaud's suggestion that this is the same name as e 8 (see above, on f 7) is improbable, because of the wholly different orthography.

² Montet's view cannot be right, since two of the three copies of the name (e 13) have no sign of *n*, while in the third (text 1) the *ḏ* is written over what appears to be an initial scribal error (apparently *n*).

^{2a} Dhorme (RB 1928, 67) suggests the reading *Sitri-el*, "God is my refuge," which may be correct, since the hypocoristic *סִטְרִי* occurs Ex. 6:22. In this case the Egyptian transcription *ddz* must be distinguished from Amorite *zi-id-ri*.

³ For the sibilant cf. JPOS I, 69, note 4.

⁴ *Meremôt* is generally supposed to be derived from *rām*, "to be high," and to be some kind of a hypocoristic. Cf. also the Lihyāni name *Mrmllb*, which Margoliouth, *Relation between Arabs and Israelites*, p. 15, wishes to connect with Arabic *maram*, pl. *marāml*, "desire," so that the name would mean "desire of Ilāh," Margoliouth, however, goes much too far in trying to refer all early nominal elements derived from the root *rm* to this stem.

The identification was proposed by Sethe and has been accepted by all writers on the subject. We should naturally read 'Asqalānu, which would be 'Asqalānu in earlier Canaanite, 'Asqalōn in later Hebrew. The site (modern 'Asqalān, near the village of Djōrah) was examined in 1920-1 by Garstang and Phythian-Adams, who made soundings on the edge of the ancient mound, and determined that it had been occupied since before 1800 B.C. Soundings in the heart of the mound would doubtless reveal older remains, extending back into the fourth quarter of the third millennium, if not earlier. Of the three chiefs of Ashkelon only two names are preserved. The first name is Ḫzyk'm, which may be corrupt, since the yōd is represented by only two reed-leaves, instead of three, as regularly in these documents. The name may be a compound of ḫāl, "maternal uncle"; cf. above, under f 6. The second chief is called Ḫktmw, if Sethe's reading is correct, but in view of his own uncertainty it is best not to attempt a combination. The name is an Amorite one ending in ānu, at all events.

For the next name, Dm'tyṣ, mentioned alone, without any names of chieftains, I have no suggestion. See the discussions by Sethe and Alt; Dussaud's proposed identification with Tyre is not impossible, but has no tangible support.

The next name, M(w)t'z, may be read Muti-īlu, like the name Mut-bā lu of the Amarna tablets. Names beginning with the element mut(u), "man," were very common in Amorite; cf. Bauer, p. 35: Muti-āhi, Muti-arah, Muti-ḫuršana, Mut-ḫali, Mut-naḫa, etc. I have no suggestion as to its identification. One chief is mentioned by name: Mntm, whose name seems to end in the mimation. An identification with Manusama (Bauer, p. 34) is to be rejected, since the name is obscure, and if Semitic probably has an s=š. On the analogy of Rmm, etc. (see above, under f 8) we might equate Mntm with Bntm or Bltm, but I have no etymology to offer.

Sethe's identification of the following place-name, ṣwšzmm (f 18), with Jerusalem is one of those brilliant ideas which repel at first, but finally convince. It has been fully accepted by Dussaud, but regarded with suspicion by Alt and Mallon (JPOS VIII, 4-5). I would accept it also without reservations, for the following reasons. Heb. Yerušalem (Yerušalaim is Aramaizing back-formation) stands unquestionably for an older *Urušalim, which appears in the Amorite

form *Urusalim* in the Amarna tablets. In Middle Egyptian transcription this would appear as *ʾwsʾm*, but since the semi-vowel which separated the first two weak laryngals was hardly strong enough to hold them apart, they would fall together, giving the form *ʾwsʾm*. The second *m* is naturally the mimation, reflecting the full form *Urusalimum*. Whether the Canaanite form (with *š*) is original, or whether, as perhaps more likely, the sibilant has been altered by passing through a Canaanite medium, escapes us. The name may mean "God Salim has founded"; cf. South Arabian *Warawa-il*, "God has founded." An original **Warau-salim* would naturally become *Yerósale*m or *Yerúsale*m in Hebrew. There can be no question whatever that Jerusalem was inhabited during the last centuries of the third millennium, though its antiquity has often been greatly exaggerated of late. Two chiefs are mentioned: *Yqʾmw* and *Sʾnw*, both with excellent Amorite names. The first has been happily read as *Yaqar-ʾammu* by Dussaud; I would only alter the second vowel, reading *Yaqir-ʾammu*, with the imperfect instead of the perfect. "(My) people is honourable" gives an excellent meaning. The initial element is found in Amorite (Bauer, p. 29) in the name *Yagri-ilu*, for *Yaqir-ilu* (whence *Yaqrilu*). For the phonetic changes involved cf. JBL XLVI, 166. The South Palestinian place-names ירקעם and יקרעם are probably slight corruptions of a ירקעם, since there can be little doubt that they refer to the same town (see JBL XLVI, 174). It is only reasonable to suppose that the Egyptian *Yqʾmw* reflects the same name, which would become *Yiqré'am* in Hebrew, just as *Yabil'am* has become *Yible'am*. The name of the other chief of Jerusalem, *Sʾnw*, cannot be paralleled exactly, but there can be no reasonable doubt that it is a derivative of the well-known Hebrew verb שם, which would be *sʾ* in Amorite (the *z* represents the older pronunciation of *samek*, as in cuneiform) and *sʾ* in Egyptian. *Saz'ánu*, literally "the cleaver," would be an excellent appellation, of the true Amorite type, for a warrior. It is quite likely that the common Amorite name *Zaz'ánum*, which also appears as *Ziz'ánum* and *Zuz'ánum* (Bauer, p. 48) is a cuneiform attempt to reproduce the incompatible *Saz'ánum*.

F 19, *ʾbm(w)t* is, as Sethe has pointed out, only the common orthography of the word *ʾbnt*, "bank." Since the combination *ʾb* is quite impossible except in Egyptian, we may safely follow the

latter orthography and identify our name provisionally with an *Abi-muti* = *Muti-abi* (Bauer, p. 35).¹ For the element *mut(i)* cf. above in the discussion of f 17. The name of its chief is damaged, but it clearly ended with the mimation.

The next place, *'zhnw*, bears a name which I would identify with South Arabian *Alhân* (אלהן), name of an important tribe (Hartmann, *Die arabische Frage*, pp. 353 ff.), as well as of individuals.² The name is curiously parallel to Heb. *Bilhân* in sound; for the stem cf. *elôh*, "God." The chief of Alhânu was *Ym'zw*, in whose name Dussaud sees the element *ilu*, probably with reason. Instead of *Ayom-el*, or the like, I would propose an identification with the Hebrew name *Yemû'el* (preserved in two passages and corrupted in two others to *Nemû'el*), name of a Simeonite clan.³

The last name in the list of Asiatic places is *Ys'p'*, that is, יִשְׁפָּא'. The name may perhaps be identified with Arabic *Yasâf* (Wüstenfeld, *Register*, p. 254) for **Yas'af*. The name has no connection either with *Yôséf* (which would be transcribed *Y(w)îp*, or the like), *Yasîf* (Kefr Yasîf in Western Galilee), or *Yasûp* (in *Yasûp-el*; cf. modern *Yasûf* and Amorite *Yasûp-ilu*).

In the foregoing pages it has been shown that nearly all of the personal names, as well as many of the place-names, belong unmistakably with the so-called Amorite names of the First Dynasty of Babylon, which reigned contemporaneously with the Eleventh and the first half of the Twelfth in Egypt. Not a single personal name can be proved to be non-Semitic, and there are none which have a non-Semitic appearance. This is an additional argument for the date at the end of the Eleventh Dynasty, before the beginning of the barbarian irruptions which finally led to the partition of

¹ Dussaud proposes an identification with some Hamath, but the laryngal forbids this tempting combination.

² Dussaud suggests an identification with *'Ayyâlôn* or *'Elôn*, but the *b* must be explained.

³ Cf. *Mw'l*, a Minaean name occurring in a text published by Jaussen, *Mission en Arabie*, II, 261, who cites the name *Mw'll* as well. Margoliouth, *Relation*, p. 30, has not represented Jaussen's attitude correctly; the latter does not read the name *Ma'wa'il*, but simply *Maw'il*, which he does not explain, though he was probably thinking of Ar. *mau'il*, "refuge." The Hebrew parallel seems to favor the theophorous interpretation of the Minaean name, which would be a reduced form of *Ymw'l*.

Palestine and Syria among a congeries of non-Semitic peoples. A date after 1800 B.C., i.e. after the downfall of the Twelfth Dynasty, would be practically inconceivable, quite aside from such details as the mimation, which seems to have disappeared rapidly after the nineteenth century B.C. Sethe has proven conclusively that a date in the Twelfth Dynasty is out of the question, so we must come back to his brilliantly established date at the very end of the Eleventh Dynasty.

The arguments in support of the writer's view that the *Achtungstexte* refer to actual or suspected rebellions in Asia, and not to apprehended inroads into Egypt have been set forth above, and need not be repeated. After the preceding detailed study of the names we are in a better position to trace the extent of the Egyptian empire in Asia about 2000 B.C. Byblos, Ullaza, Yarimuta, and the obscure *Dm'tyw* were all certainly situated on the sea-coast; none of them are mentioned as having proscribed chiefs. What this lack of chiefs means is unclear, as observed above. 'Arqatum, also on the sea-coast, had apparently only one chief, and so would seem to belong to the group of settlements which had abandoned the tribal form of organization. The only two other identifiable towns, Ashkelon and Jerusalem, have three and two chiefs, respectively, and thus must have possessed a normal clan system. It is significant that only one of these towns is on the coast, and that the coastal town can hardly have been more of a port than the modern Djòrah, since there was no harbour, and the Amorite settlers were certainly not natural sea-farers. We must, therefore, distinguish between the group of Phoenician coastal cities without tribal organization, and the much larger group of places with tribal system, the only two of which that can be identified are located in Southern Palestine. It follows with considerable probability that Egypt then considered Phoenicia and Palestine, but not the rest of Syria as falling within her direct sphere of interest. This is just the picture which we obtain from the Sinuhe romance, which probably gives a tolerably accurate picture of conditions at the end of the reign of Amenemmes I and the beginning of his successor's rule, less than a generation after the probable date of the *Achtungstexte* (see above, at the beginning of this paper).

By far the most important result accruing from the new texts is the light they throw upon a hitherto obscure phase of Palestinian

history, the period of Amorite settlement. The writer has long believed that there was a well-defined period of Amorite invasion and settlement in Palestine, probably falling in the last third of the third millennium, for the following reasons.

Firstly, there is a steadily increasing mass of evidence pointing to movements of semi-nomadic peoples from the West into Babylonia between the Third Dynasty of Ur (Fotheringham-Schoch : cir. 2408-2301) and the First Dynasty of Babylon. These peoples have Semitic names of a type connected most closely with Palestine and South Arabia, and are called "Westerners" (Amurrû).¹ During the Heracleopolitan period in Egypt (22nd-21st centuries) there is evidence of a similar Asiatic movement into the Delta. These semi-nomadic peoples must have played a considerable rôle in the evolution of settlement in Palestine and Syria.

Secondly, there is an increasing probability that most of the pre-Israelite (and Bronze Age) towns in the highlands of Palestine were founded between 2300 and 1800 B.C.² This is certainly true of Tell Beit Mirsim (probably Kirjath-sepher), Shechem, Bethel, Ai, etc., and probably of Jerusalem.³ Coast-towns like Ashkelon and Dor were also apparently founded during this period. In the early part of the Early Bronze, as well as in the preceding Aeneolithic, settlement was almost entirely restricted to the river valleys and alluvial plains; the hill-country was left to the nomads.⁴ This period of active town building in sections of the country which were likely to be occupied by nomads coincides roughly with the period when the Amorites appear in Babylonia. Moreover, it can hardly be accidental that it is precisely the towns in the hill-country which so often bear specifically Amorite names, such as *Yible' am*, *Yiqne' am*

¹ Cf. now the monograph of Dhorme, *Les Amorhéens*, which began to be published in RB 1928, 63 ff.

² For the relative chronology of the settlement of Palestinian towns see especially *Annual of the American Schools*, VI, 66 ff., *Sellin Festschrift*, pp. 4 ff.

³ The so-called "Neolithic" pottery discovered by Duncan is nearly all Middle Bronze, as the writer has determined by repeated examination. The pottery discovered by Parker and published by Vincent belongs to the end of the Early Bronze or the very beginning of the Middle (see p. 253, n. 2 and Gjerstad, *Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus*, pp. 302 f.).

⁴ Cf. the references given above, n. 2, and Alt, *Die Landnahme der Israeliten in Palästina*, Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, II², 95 f.

(*Yoqne'am*), *Yiqre'am* (see above), *Šefar'am*, etc. Ashkelon, which belongs to this period, bears an Amorite name ending in *ānu*, as pointed out above.

Thirdly, we find, when the full light of history breaks upon Palestine in the Late Bronze Age, that the hill-country and Transjordan are characterized much more by dialectic peculiarities of the Amorite type than the coastal plain and Phoenicia, which are referred to both in the Amarna tablets and in the Egyptian texts as being Canaanite.¹ The Hebrew traditions also connect the Amorites with Transjordan, the Canaanites with Cisjordan, the Amorites with the hill-country, the Canaanites with the lowlands.² It follows that the Canaanites, who occupied the most desirable sections of the country, preceded the Amorites in time of settlement. Moreover, there are certain indications of closer contact between the Canaanite Phoenicians and the Babylonians in very early times than was later the case, after the Amorites had come between; cf., for example, the perfect agreement between Babylonian and Phoenician in the use

¹ See footnote above. In this connection it may be noted that Dhorme, RB, 1928, 162 ff., has attempted to divide the Amorite names collected by Bauer into two main categories, Arabic (our Amorite) and Canaanite. It may be considered very probable that there were Canaanite names among the "Westerners" who settled in Mesopotamia toward the end of the third millennium, but the method employed by Dhorme is too subjective, and might, e.g., force us to divide the kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon into Arabs (Amorites) and Canaanites. It is only reasonable to suppose that the great mass of these names belongs to a single linguistic group. Moreover, it is questionable whether there was a very great difference between the names employed by Canaanites and Amorites after the Amorite wave had swept over Canaan. The writer's method in distinguishing between peculiarities characteristic of the two languages is the following. The Amarna tablets, supplemented by the proper names from Byblos and the Canaanite loan-words in Egyptian, enable us to establish the character of the Canaanite language in the second millennium B.C. Where place-names and non-Accadian Semitic forms vary from this standard, they attach themselves intimately to the "Amorite" as we know it from the cuneiform transcriptions of proper names belonging to this tongue. Many Amorite forms have survived into biblical times, alongside of the commoner Canaanite-Hebrew ones. Among the principal differences which can with certainty be detected are: Amorite *s*=Canaanite *š* in the *lāšōn*=*lišān* category, Amorite *d*=Canaanite obscured *ḏ* (*Reḥōb*=*Rahāb*, *Gilōn*=*Gōlān*, *Yardōn*=*Yordān*), assimilation of *n* to following *t* in Canaanite (*yittin*=*yantin*), etc.

² In later texts we find much confusion between the terms, especially with regard to the Amorites, who became extinct as a people long before the Canaanites.

of the sibilants, and the early worship of the Sumerian Damu in Byblos.¹ There are a number of Sumerian loan-words in Hebrew, such as *môrag*, "threshing sledge," from Sumerian *mar-raġ*, which not only seem to have no Accadian intermediate form, but which appear to be phonetically inexplicable if borrowing through the medium of Accadian is assumed.

The new documents introduce us to a very interesting period in the history of Amorite settlement in Palestine. Most of the names of places with two or more chiefs seem to bear Amorite, or at least Semitic names. Two of them, Ashkelon and Jerusalem, were already in existence as towns. The fact that two or more chiefs of each place are mentioned proves that the old tribal organization, resting on a confederation of several clans or groups, each with its own head, had been maintained. This custom may be traced back from modern Arab times through early Arabic customs to the practise of the Midianites, as described in the Old Testament, a comparison which Sethe has already made. It can hardly be accidental that precisely those places with more than one chieftain generally bear Semitic, probably Amorite names; e. g., *Ya'nuq*, *Qahrâmu*, *'Arhâbu*, *'As'ânu*, *'Asqalânu*, *Muti-ilu*, *Abi-muti*, *Alhânu*, *Yas'apa*. The apparent disappearance of most of these names in later times suggests that some, at least, are names of districts called after the tribe which occupied them. In exactly the same way we find Palestine divided among the twelve tribes of Israel, each of which gave its name to a district. The perfectly good Amorite personal name of *Zabûlânu* (later Canaanite *Zebûlân*) became the name of a tribe and a district some centuries later than our period. Whether the towns of the coastal plain, of Esdraelon, and the Jordan Valley, such as the great city of Beth-yerah, flourishing at just this time, according to the pottery evidence,² were included in some of these district names,

¹ It is doubtful whether the worship of the Sumerian god Nin-egal at Qatna, or Nin-PISAN-PISAN-NA at Kinza (Kadesh) is pre-Amorite or not. There was once a Sumerian population in the northeastern part of Syria (see AJSL XLI, 78 f.), and this fact enables us to understand the relation between Canaanite and Sumerian better than we could otherwise.

² Professor Garstang has called my attention to the fact that some of the pottery from Beth-yerah is similar to pottery from the so-called pan-graves of Abydos and other parts of Egypt, dating from the Middle Bronze (Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties); see Emery, *Annals of Arch. and Anthr.*, X, 33 ff. I have on other

or did not share in the revolt are at present quite insoluble questions.

At no time in the ancient history of Syria before the Persian period does the north of this country seem to have become so semitized externally as during the Amorite period. In the beginning of the Early Bronze Age the greater part of Syria was essentially non-Semitic, as is shown by the dominance of non-Semitic place-names. After the Hyksos period all Syria and Palestine were occupied by groups of non-Semitic peoples of the most varied origin,¹ who nearly always were dominant, as shown by the proper names of the princes in the Amarna letters, as well as by the names in the texts of Taanach and Qatna, etc. Traces of the earlier Semitic domination are clear, however. The language actually spoken was generally Canaanite or Amorite, though Hurri (Horite) and perhaps other tongues were also spoken in Syria. The influence of the Amorites is particularly clear in religion, as illustrated by the spread of the cult of Hadad and Dagan. Even the Hittites of Northern Syria adopted the cult of the Amorite gods Daddaš (a form of Tešub; Dad with the Hittite nominal ending) and Eralı (the moon-god).

The discovery of the *Achtungstexte* is a very encouraging indication that our knowledge of the earliest history of Palestine is not destined to remain a documentary blank. Little by little the inscriptions will be found to cast direct light on those phases of its early history which archaeology alone cannot elucidate. What significance this will have for our comprehension of Hebrew beginnings will readily be seen. We owe Professor Sethe a great debt of gratitude for this revelation.

POSTSCRIPT

When the preceding article was completed the writer's attention was called to the paper by Montet on *Pays et princes redoutés des Égyptiens sous la XIII^e dynastie* (*Kémi*, I, 1928, pp. 19-28). Montet's discussion of the *Achtungstexte* presents numerous points of interest and value. On pp. 20-2 he maintains for epigraphic reasons that the documents in question should be dated in the beginning of the Thirteenth Dynasty. Here his argument is not convincing, since it really reduces itself to a matter of variant spellings of a single word,

grounds dated this pottery in the centuries immediately preceding the eighteenth (*Annual*, Vol. VI, pp. 27-31).

¹ See JPOS II, 125-9.

rswt. We do not yet know enough about the exact date of the Middle Empire MSS to dogmatize, even after the excellent work of Dévaud. He contends that the absence of mention of a chief of Byblos belongs to a time when Byblos was ruled by an Egyptian viceroy, such as the "*Mdd tbt 'tf*" of the scarab discussed above. This argument drops out, as already shown. On pp. 22-3 he defends the reading *Ullaḫa* instead of *Usó*, thus anticipating the identical conclusion reached above by the writer. This independent agreement undoubtedly strengthens the case for this identification. On pp. 24-5 he proposes to explain *dm tyw* as "villageois," an ingenious suggestion, though difficult to prove. On pp. 25-7 he tabulates the new rules of transcription which emerge from the philological analysis of these texts. First he calls attention to the equivalence between Egyptian *ʒ* and Semitic *l* and *r*, but fails to note that it is probably the intervocalic and post-vocalic *r* and *l* alone which were changed to *ʒ* by the Egyptians.¹ The first of his new rules relates to the graphic form of *m*. It is not likely, however, that *mw* is to be read simply as *mw*. The triple reed-leaf indicates consonantal *yóð* only, not 'alef, as suggested in rule 2. Rule 3 is not properly orthographic, so may be passed over. Rule 4 identifies *d* and *ḏ*, an equation which the writer cannot accept. Finally, on pp. 27-8, Montet offers a short, but good discussion of the name 'Anmu-'ns, given in the Sinuhe Romance to the patron of the hero, a chieftain of Retānu. He points out that the initial character of the second element only appears as a small cursive *ʒ* ("son") in one MS, so that it may readily be explained as an ancient scribal error. In addition to the

¹ In this connection it may be observed that the evidence of the *Achtungstexte*, proving that the 'alef was never vocalic at this period, compels us to explain the name of the town *Ndʒ*, mentioned in the Fifth Dynasty, as reflecting a Semitic *Nd-ilu*, or the like (cf. Müller, MVAG 1912, 64), while the Semitic chieftain 'bʒ (ibid., p. 62) must be explained as bearing some such name as *Abi-sarru* (the sibilant would be *ʒ* in Amorite, since it is *sin* in Hebrew). It is interesting to note that the writer had previously come to the conclusion that *ʒ* is never treated as a vowel in the syllabic orthography, while it may be the bearer of *a*, *i*, or *u*. Only the *w* and *y* (not the reed-leaf!) are treated as vowels, representing *u* and *i* respectively; the same is true of the *w* in our texts. The great difference between our orthography and the syllabic is that the framework is strictly consonantal instead of syllabic in the former. The only exceptions appear to be the use of *w* occasionally, especially at the end of words, to indicate *u*, as well as the appending of the reed-leaf to indicate a final vowel (probably *u*).

reference to Dévaud given by Montet cf. Müller, MVAG 1912, 295, and Gunn, *Studies in Egyptian Syntax*, p. 91. It must be confessed that the orthography of the second element remains peculiar, though the identification with South Arabian 'Ammu'-anas is very probable. The difficulty in the sibilant disappears if we suppose that the name has passed through a Canaanite medium into Egyptian, as so often. The vocalization of the second element (not 'anis or 'anis) is assured by the name of the pre-islamic god 'Amm-anas. Besides 'Amm(u)-anas we also find *Ab(u)-anas* (Jaussen, RB, 1926, 559, 565) and *Anas* (Jaussen, *Mission en Arabie*, II, 373). It is extremely interesting to find that the orthography of the first element is identical in Sinuhe and the *Aechtungstexte*.