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LE DÉCHIFFREMENT DES TABLETTES DE RAS SHAMRA

LE RÉV. PÈRE DHORME

(JÉRUSALEM)

Le nom de *Ras Shamra* était encore inconnu de la plupart des orientalistes en 1928. A peine si celui de *Minet el-beida* «le Havre Blanc,» par lequel les indigènes désignent la crique où s'élève le tell de *Ras Shamra*, figurait-il dans les relevés topographiques de la côte qui borde l'état des Alaouites. Une série de hasards heureux et de découvertes fortuites a fait sortir de l'ombre ce coin de terre situé à une quinzaine de kilomètres au nord de la moderne *Lataquieh*, l'ancienne Laodicée de la Mer. Deux campagnes de fouilles aux printemps de 1929 et de 1930, sous la conduite de MM. Schaeffer et Chenet, ont dégagé dans la baie de *Minet el-beida* une nécropole antique et sur le tell de *Ras Shamra* un temple avec ses dépendances.¹ Les objets retrouvés sur ces deux points font remonter au delà du XIII^{me} siècle avant notre ère la civilisation qui florissait en cette Phénicie septentrionale si peu connue par ailleurs. Un coup d'œil sur une carte quelconque montre la pointe orientale de l'île de Chypre se dirigeant obliquement vers la côte syrienne en face de *Lataquieh*. Il ne faut pas s'étonner si le port naturel de *Minet el-beida* a servi de lieu de refuge aux matelots venant de Chypre, comme il servait de point d'attache aux hardis navigateurs phéniciens. Transition entre les îles de la Grèce et l'intérieur de la Syrie, la ville qui occupait *Ras Shamra* et son pourtour voyait affluer les gens de la mer et ceux de l'intérieur. Les Égyptiens, dont l'influence sur la Phénicie

¹ Voir *L'Illustration* du 12 Octobre 1929; *Revue Biblique*, 1930 p. 152 ss.; *Syria*, X, p. 285 ss.; *The National Geographic Magazine*, October 1930 p. 476 ss.

ne saurait être exagérée depuis les admirables découvertes de MM. Montet et Dunand à Byblos, s'y rencontraient avec les Ioniens et les Crétois, les Assyriens et les Araméens.

Les produits manufacturés venaient de partout, comme c'est le cas pour la plupart des ports de la Méditerranée orientale. Les vases chypriotes et crétois, mycéniens et égyptiens, les statuettes au galbe égyptien ou crétois, les haches et pics de bronze qu'exportait l'île de Chypre, tout un musée de céramique et d'outillage, soit de provenance, soit d'influence étrangère, denote chez les habitants de cette côte un esprit assez syncrétiste. Mais on connaît assez vaguement une population quand ou n'a pas eu la bonne fortune de rencontrer des spécimens de son écriture et de sa langue. Cette bonne fortune s'est présentée sous la forme de tablettes d'argile qui étaient déposées dans la salle des archives du temple et qui ont été découvertes au cours des deux campagnes archéologiques.

Parmi ces tablettes il en est qui rentrent dans les catégories que les trouvailles d'*el-Amarna* en Haute Egypte et de Boghaz-Keui en Asie Mineure ont rendues familières. Lettres, syllabaires, exercices, rédigés par des scribes babyloniens d'origine ou d'éducation, qui répandaient dans l'ancien monde oriental la connaissance de la langue accadienne et de l'écriture cunéiforme. L'importance de ces documents n'échappe à personne, mais ce n'est point pas eux que *Ras Shamra* devait acquérir sa célébrité dans l'histoire de la linguistique et de l'épigraphie orientales. Tout un lot de tablettes était couvert d'une écriture d'apparence cunéiforme, mais d'un système extrêmement simplifié, ramenant à vingt-sept ou vingt-huit les centaines de signes du syllabaire accadien, dépassant donc déjà en simplification l'écriture des Perses Achéménides qui garde quarante-et-un signes. On devina du premier coup qu'il s'agissait d'un alphabet dont les antécédents échappaient à toute investigation, car il n'y avait aucun rapport entre les signes représentés sur les tablettes et la valeur syllabique des signes plus ou moins semblables qu'on aurait pu découvrir dans le répertoire des écritures cunéiformes. Ce qui devait rendre le déchiffrement possible, en l'absence de toute bilingue, c'est que les groupes de signes étaient séparés par des barres isolant les mots et que certains groupes reparais-

saient sur cinq des haches ou herminettes retrouvées dans le dépôt du temple qu'on croyait alors un palais.

Les premières tablettes découvertes ont été publiées par M. VIROLLEAUD dans *Syria*, tome X, 4 (1930), pl. LXI-LXX. J'ai montré ailleurs (*Revue Biblique*, 1930, p. 572 ss.) comment j'avais reconnu la lettre *l*, correspondant à la préposition phénicienne *l* "à," au début du n° 18 et comment cette lettre m'avait fourni le mot *b·l* "Baal" qui figure en tête de chaque ligne du n° 14. C'est alors que j'eus communication d'un article de M. HANS BAUER dans *Das Unterhaltungsblatt* du 4 juin 1930, où le docte sémitisant de Halle donnait les résultats de son déchiffrement. Son point de départ était le mot *grzn* qu'il croyait pouvoir lire sur une des herminettes et qui correspondait si bien au *garzen* de la Bible et de l'inscription du canal de Siloé. Je ne connaissais que le court article de HANS BAUER qui ne donnait que quelques lettres de son alphabet. Bien m'en a pris. Si j'avais connu alors tout son système, je me serais laissé aller au découragement et je n'aurais pas poursuivi mes tentatives isolées. Il est quelquefois bon de se trouver loin des grands centres où les vérités et les erreurs se divulguent avec une égale rapidité. Je continuai donc mes essais de déchiffrement et j'achevai, le 15 août 1930, une étude pour la *Revue Biblique* dans laquelle j'expliquais comment le groupe de signes qui suivait le soi-disant *grzn* sur l'une des herminettes et reparaissait sans ce mot sur les quatre autres devait se lire *rb khnm* "au chef des prêtres." A l'aide de ces données j'eus vite fait de recomposer l'alphabet phénicien de Ras Shamra, mais j'étais toujours persuadé que j'étais en plein accord avec HANS BAUER. (*Revue Biblique*, 1930, p. 574.) Quelle ne fut pas ma surprise quand je constatai, d'après un numéro des *Forschungen und Fortschritte* du 20 août 1930, que mon interprétation différait de celle de HANS BAUER sur des points d'une importance capitale ! J'écrivis alors (14 septembre 1930) un Post Scriptum à mon article (*Revue Biblique*, 1930, p. 577) et j'envoyai les épreuves de cet article, avant sa parution, au savant professeur. Les divergences (et je ne devais le savoir que par l'ouvrage de HANS BAUER, *Entzifferung der Keilschrifttafeln von Ras Shamra*, paru dans les derniers jours de

septembre) étaient plus profondes que je ne l'imaginais. Nous différions sur la lecture de *k*, *m*, *s*, *p*, *q*, *š*, toutes lettres essentielles de l'alphabet sémitique. Avec une loyauté parfaite, HANS BAUER prit le soin d'ajouter à son ouvrage un *Wichtiger Nachtrag* dans lequel il marquait nettement que mon système d'identifications donnait la clef de nombre de passages restés énigmatiques. Il m'en écrivait le 3 octobre et me communiquait, le 5 de ce même mois, un nouvel alphabet dans lequel, utilisant les valeurs découvertes par moi, il réussissait à identifier le *b*, le *t*, le *s*. C'est cet alphabet que je publie dans la *Revue Biblique* de janvier 1931. L'un des résultats les plus surprenants de cette mise au point, c'est que ce mot *grzn* qui avait déclenché le déchiffrement est en réalité à lire *brsn*, forme dissimilée de l'accadien *haṣṣinnu* et de l'araméen *haṣṣindā* "hache" (comparer l'arabe *qaddūm* et l'hébreu *qardōm* "hache" pour un phénomène similaire).

Nous sommes donc maintenant en possession de l'alphabet qui a servi aux Phéniciens du Nord à reproduire leurs consonnes. Cet alphabet, dans sa forme extérieure, n'a aucun point de contact avec celui du tombeau d'Aḥiram à Byblos qui était jusqu'ici le plus ancien spécimen de l'écriture phénicienne (XIII^e siècle avant J.C.). Nous avons dit qu'il ne correspondait pas non plus au syllabaire cunéiforme, bien que les signes soient composés de ces éléments à têtes de clous qui caractérisent ce syllabaire. Rien de commun non plus avec les écritures d'Egypte, hiéroglyphiques, hiératiques, démotiques. Nous avons sous les yeux une sorte de génération spontanée, un système complètement débarrassé de cette gangue de valeurs syllabiques et idéographiques qui rend si compliqué l'usage des syllabaires cunéiformes. A une époque toute voisine de celle des lettres d'el-Amarna, le génie d'un homme ou d'une race a substitué un alphabet élémentaire et très facile à une écriture d'une complication infinie. Cet essai n'a guère eu de vogue, si nous en jugeons par nos connaissances actuelles. Peut-être parce qu'il laissait de côté les voyelles, l'alphabet de *Ras Shamra* ne réussit pas à supplanter l'écriture babylonienne. Celui de Byblos, l'alphabet lapi-daire, bien que n'exprimant pas non plus les voyelles, devait avoir

une extension incroyable. Qui dira par quel concours de circonstances celui-ci fut adopté, l'autre délaissé? Mais par bonheur les archives de *Ras Shamra*, rédigées en cet alphabet dont nous venons de relater les étapes du déchiffrement, contiennent de quoi satisfaire les curiosités les plus exigeantes. Outre les quarante-huit textes ou fragments édités par VIROLLEAUD dans *Syria*, X, n° 4, on annonce toute une littérature épique et mythologique d'un millier de lignes qui va rendre vie aux idées religieuses de la Phénicie la plus ancienne.¹ En attendant la publication de ces nouveaux documents, nous pouvons déjà synthétiser les données que nous fournissent les premiers textes parus.

La langue est le phénicien des inscriptions lapidaires et nous pourrions presque dire le cananéen des Hébreux. Les prépositions sont *l* "à," *b* "dans" ou "avec," *mn* "de." La principale conjonction est *k* "comme." Les noms forment leur féminin en *t* (le pluriel se prononçait probablement *öt* au lieu *d'at*), leur pluriel masculin en *m*. Les pronoms absous sont *'nk* "je," *'t* "tu," *hw* "il," *hm* "eux," *hn* "elles." Les suffixes sont *y* pour la 1^{re} pers. sing., *n* pour la 1^{re} pers. plur., *k* pour la 2^{me} pers. sing., *km* pour la 2^{me} pers. plur. masc., *kn* pour la 2^{me} pers. pl. fém., *h* pour la 3^{me} sing., *hm* ou *m* pour la 3^{me} pers. plur. masc. Les formes verbales sont les mêmes qu'en hébreu pour le parfait et l'imparfait: *'mr* "il a dit" (6, 27), *hrg* "il a tué" (6, 5), *hslm* "il a pacifié" (20, 3), *yqlm* "il va bien" (18, 4; 21, 4), *ylk* "il va" (5, 23, 24, 25), *ytn* "il donne" (18, 19), *tdrs* "elle cherche" (8, 5), *tkr^c* "tu t'agenouilles" (6, 19), *'tn* "je donne" (6, 11), *sm^ck* "il t'a entendu" (6, 22). Les noms de nombre sont les suivants: *'hd* "un," *'ht* "une"; *sn* "deux"; *sls* "trois," fém. *slst*, plur. *slsm* "trente"; *'rb^c* "quatre," féminin *'rb^ct*, plur. *'rb^cm* "quarante"; *bm^s* "cinq," plur. *bm^sm* "cinquante"; *ss* "six," *sds* "sixième"; *sb^c* "sept," fém. *sb^ct*; *smn* "huit," fém. *smnt*; *sr* "dix," plur. *srm* "vingt"; *m't* "cent."

Un phénomène de phonétique intéressant est la distinction entre *s* (*sin*) et *š* (*shin*), la première consonne représentant le primitif

¹ Communication de M. VIROLLEAUD à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 24 octobre 1930.

th (arabe *ت*), la seconde le primitif *s*, *س*. On se rend compte de cette discrimination rien qu'en parcourant les noms de nombre et en constatant la différence de *s* et *س* dans *sn*, *s̄ls*, *ss*, *s̄mm*, *s̄sr*, et *b̄m̄s*, *s̄b̄c*. Un autre fait curieux est l'usage du même signe pour *d* et *ز*. L'influence araméenne explique comment le *ز* provenant de *dh* (arabe *ذ*) est rendu par *d*.

La plupart des textes de *Ras Shamra* traitent de sujets religieux, surtout des sacrifices qu'on distingue en sacrifices simples, *db̄hm* (pour *zebāhim*), en pacifiques, *s̄lmm* (*selāmim*), et probablement en divinatoires *s̄cm* (de la racine *s̄cy*, accadien *se'u* "observer, chercher, etc."). Les principales divinités sont *'l* "El, Dieu" (qui a un féminin *'lt* et un pluriel *'lm*), *'lhm* "Élohim," *b̄l* "Baal," *'srt* "Asherah," *'s̄rt* "Astarté," *'nt* "Anat," *r̄sf* "Résheph," *dgn* "Dagon." Les Baals de villes, lieux de culte, temples, sont nombreux. Celui de la localité qui était située sur l'emplacement de *Ras Shamra* s'appelle Baal de *Sapun*. Ainsi vient se fixer sur le sol le nom géographique de *Sapuna* (*sáphón* "nord") que nous connaissons par les textes assyriens et par une stèle égyptienne trouvée, elle aussi, à *Ras Shamra*.¹

J'en ai assez dit pour montrer l'importance de ces textes nouveaux dont je donne une première traduction dans la *Revue Biblique* de janvier 1931. Une source toute fraîche vient de jaillir du sol archéologique de Syrie. Nous allons pouvoir y puiser une connaissance plus approfondie de ce monde phénicien qui fut l'intermédiaire entre l'Orient et l'Occident, qui fut le promoteur et le propagateur du sémitisme en Méditerranée, qui fut mêlé de si près à l'histoire politique et religieuse des Cananéens et des Hébreux, qui fut aussi l'un des agents de diffusion de la civilisation égyptienne sur les côtes amorréennes et dans l'intérieur de la Syrie. Si les inscriptions puniques de Carthage nous font connaître les derniers soupirs de l'âme phénicienne, c'est à *Sapuna* que sa voix se fait entendre par delà les siècles pour attester combien ces anciens Sémites se sentaient liés par la religion et le culte des Baals et des Astartés.

Jérusalem 26 novembre 1930.

¹ *Revue Biblique*, 1930, p. 576, où nous pouvons lire *Spn*, *Sapuna*, et rejoindre notre ancienne explication de *Sapuna* par *Sáphón* "nord."

THE ROSE OF JERICHO

(*Anastatica hierochuntica L.* *Kaff el-^cAdra* : "The Virgin's Hand")

By G. M. CROWFOOT and L. BALDENSPERGER

(JERUSALEM)

If you pass near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and look into the shops where hang painted candles and blue and red and gold pictures on wood after the Greek manner, you will notice many curious wares spread out to attract the eyes of pilgrims. Incense in several qualities, cakes of white earth from the Milk Grotto at Bethlehem, thorns of *Paliurus*¹ twisted crownwise in memory of Christ's Crown of Thorns, and baskets full of Roses of Jericho, little dry plants, root and all, with the branches curled round into the form of a ball. Pilgrims and Crusaders no doubt bought them hereabouts all through the Middle Ages and here pilgrims still buy them to-day and carry them away to their distant homes. If you ask why, you will be told that this is *Anastatica*, the Resurrection Plant, and that pilgrims value it as a symbol of New Life, because however dead and dry it appears it will unfold and spread out its branches whenever it is immersed in water.

But it is not only pilgrims who buy the plant: there are also some among the dwellers in the land who value it and treasure it up in their houses. The local name for it is *Kaff el-^cAdra*, "The Virgin's Hand," and often one may hear it spoken of as *Keffet el-^cAdra* in a tone indicative of a diminutive of endearment, as if one in the mediaeval spirit were to say "The little hand of Our Lady."

¹ Sometimes these crowns are made of *Zizyphus Spina Christi* or *Poterium spinosum*.

The word *Kaff* means the palm of the hand, and a reason for the name is seen in the shape of the plant itself: when closed it is like the closed fist; when open, like the open hand. The name also suggests that its value to the simple folk may be of the nature of a charm, for the *Kaff* or "Hand Charm" is esteemed throughout the country as a protection against the Evil Eye. The human hand itself may be used, as when a *fellâha*, threatened by some evil not of this world, thrusts out her hand, palm foremost, and cries *Khamis fi wîj el 'aduw* ("five in the face of the enemy!"¹) or slaps her henna-daubed hand on a shrine wall to seal her vows. The protective sign, sometimes a mere daub of paint, sometimes carved in stone, may often be seen above the doors of houses. When worn on the person the *Kaff* is usually made of blue glass from Hebron or of metal.

Its use is the same to all wearers, though the name varies: it is the "Hand of God" to the Jews, "the Hand of Mary" to the Christians, and some think that it was probably the Hand of Venus to the Pagans before them.² Another old name for it among the Jews was "the Hand of Might." Similar names are used of other plant forms suggestive of a hand; e.g. *Kaff sadâbie*, Hand of Rue, for a sprig of rue with five leaflets, and *Kaff Qamîh*, Hand of Wheat, for the pretty plaited corn *baraka* because of its sprayed bunch of bearded wheat ears.

All these *Kaff* charms are openly displayed and hung here and there to catch "the Eye," but the *Kaff el-'Adra* is never so used. It is very difficult to secure information about it, perhaps, as with many other old customs, its use is almost forgotten. Its real use was as a birth-charm, and it is still occasionally stored away in houses to be brought out in time of need. Then it is soaked in water and held towards the woman in travail in the hope that as the plant opens, so may her delivery be hastened. Anxiety prevails in

¹ EINSLER, *Mosaic*, p. 35; CANAAN, *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel*, 64, 94.

² CANAAN, *Aberglaube*, pp. 64-65.

the house, for the birth is delayed and none knows why. The women helping are all unnaturally quiet: no voice of anger, no curse, must be heard at this time of crisis; even the children are hushed; even prayers and charms must be muttered under the breath. The women believe that now *es-sama maftūh*, heaven is opened, and the angels are ascending and descending, *el mala'ik talasu-w-nazilu*, asking, as they approach the open gate, "Which shall we bring, the Mother or the Child?" Then, perhaps, in the hour of stress, some old wise friend brings out the strange charm, soaks the *Kaff el-^cAdra* in water, and says, "Wait now till it opens, then all will go well." One woman said of its use, "The plant preaches patience." Another said, "We hold up the plant for the woman to see, and we say:

"If God can bring life from this dead plant shall he not much more bring life from your life?"—*Ruh min ruh*, a phrase reminiscent of the old verse charm :

Yâ Nabi Nuh : Itk! illi rub min rub
O Prophet Noah Separate life from life.

In Jerash (Trans-Jordan) another woman told us that she only knew of the plant as kept and used in one house there, but in Syria, her native land, she had often seen it in her young days. "When birth is at hand and labour hard they put the plant in water and as it opens so will the pain become less. The opening of the plant is a miracle, *bi amr Allah*. Also drinking the water in which the plant has been soaked may help a speedy delivery. This is *Kaff Mariam* the Blessed." "But why do you, a Moslem, call it *Kaff Mariam*? Is not that the name of the Christians, while the Moslems call it *Kaff Fatma*?" She indignantly replied, "It is *Kaff Mariam*, not *Kaff Fatma*! Our Lady Mary helps us just as much as she does you—she belongs to us as much as she does to you. So it is written in the Book."

Again, another much travelled informant said, "I have seen the plants in Mardin, in more than one room, hung up on the walls with crosses in between for a protection against the Eye—(*did el-^cAin*). Men, too, will sometimes put them in their pockets

for the same reason. I have also seen it as far off as Mosul. Sometimes some one going on pilgrimage to Mecca will bring one back with him. In Syria they are kept in houses, but more usually it is the midwives who have them in stock, and this is because of the help women get of the plant by the power of God (*Qudret Allah*)."

Another Syrian friend had seen it in Homs. "There the common use it to soak the plant and give the water to the woman to drink. But if you want information on these matters you should go to Kerak." (She meant Kerak of Moab, which apparently is the last home and refuge of all ancient ways of thought.) In Algeria it is called *Kaff Lalla Fatma*, and in Egypt *Kaff Fatma bint en-Nabi*, (Hand of Fatma, daughter of the Prophet) and also *Kaff Mariam*, (Hand of Mary); it is sold in some of the little shops near the Bab el-Zuweyla, where it can be seen hanging in bunches over the door to catch the eye of housewives going to market. Further south they are to be found at the sellers of drugs and spices in the bazaars of Omdurman and other towns, but not hung up in bundles, for here they are considered rarities and sold for more than the half piastre of Cairo and Jerusalem. In the Sudan the usual name for it is *Kaff Mariam* (although those who use it are Moslems) and the manner of its use is identical with that of Palestine, the plant being soaked in water and held up before the woman in childbirth so that she may gaze on the presage of the unfolding plant.

Another name is sometimes used in the country for it, i.e. *Shidr el Khalas*, which may be translated either "Plant of Deliverance," or "Plant of the Placenta," and some say that the shape of the plant when spread out suggested the latter name. If this is so we may have here a case of sympathetic magic, after the fashion of the Doctrine of Signatures in which the old herbalists believed, for by the icon or image of every herb the ancients at first found out their virtues. Or it may be merely an example of the punning common in the songs and charms of the women, as in one of the birth charms, sung both in Egypt and the Sudan:

<i>Yər balla el būllāl</i>	O Deliverer bring delivery
<i>Yər Gabrin khiff kum el yamin</i>	O Gabriel bare thy right arm (elbow)
<i>Wa Muhammed wa Ali</i>	And Mohammed and Ali
<i>Yeshuf (neshuf) khalashā.</i>	They [we] see her delivery (or placenta).

When an Egyptian friend was asked about the meaning of *khalas* here she was content with either translation saying, "It is all the same: it means the end of her trouble, and that is what we want to see."

In any case the name *Kaff Mariam* is the more common, while in Palestine, so far as we know, the name *Shidr el Khalaṣ* is not known at all. Curiously enough in Palestine the plant is often said to come from the Sudan, while in the Sudan the women are quite sure that it comes from Palestine and from the vicinity of the Holy City itself, for, they say, "It is well known that it only grows on land that was trodden by the foot of Our Lady Mary and watered by her tears."

A similar belief is recorded by Ludolph von Suchem, a pilgrim to Palestine in the 14th century. He says,¹ speaking of the wilderness of Sinai: "From Mount Sinai one journeys on towards Syria across the wilderness in thirteen days . . . The Virgin Mary crossed this wilderness with the Child Jesus when she fled from before the face of Herod, and all along the road by which she is believed to have passed there grow dry roses which in these parts are called "Roses of Jericho." The Bedouin gather these roses in the wilderness and sell them to pilgrims for bread. Moreover the Saracen women are very glad to have these roses by them. When about to be delivered they drink the water which has been poured over the roses and declare that they are most useful and valuable during pregnancy."

Ludolph's story about Saracen Women is exactly like the stories we hear to-day. Through pilgrims like him the belief in the plant spread to Europe. We hear of it again from John Parkinson (1640) who describes it in a portentously long sentence. He tells how it

¹ L. VON SUCHEM, 1350 A.D. Palestine Pilgrims Texts. vol. 12. p. 91.

was called *Rosa de Hiericho* and *Hiericontea* and *Rosa Mariae* and says:¹

"How dry soever the plant is being brought from beyond sea yet if it be set in water for a while, it will dilate and open itself abroad that all the inward parts may be distinctly observed how it groweth and although the leaves are all lost yet the seeds and the vessels remain from whence if it be freshe the seede taken had grown, and will close up again after a while, that it is taken out of the water, not, as the superstitious Monkes falsely fained that it did open miraculously that night our Saviour was borne, and that it would doe so in what house soever it is when the woman with child abiding therein shall be neere the time of her delivery, for with moisture, as I said, it will open and not without it."

So then to the pilgrims of old, the strange "Rose of Mary" was both a symbol of new life and a good omen in the house of birth. There is much in the folk beliefs and tales about this plant that seems very strange to a botanist. "Rose of Jericho" they call it, yet it is not a rose and it does not grow at Jericho. We feel inclined to agree with the old herbalist Gerarde when he says, "The coiner spoiled the name in the mint, for of all plants that have been written of, there is not any more unlike the rose." One can only think that the globed form of the dried plant may have suggested the unsuitable name. In its young form it is a little cress with minute white flowers, a most lowly herb, lying prostrate on the ground. The nearest point to Jericho at which it could be found is near Masada,² on the eastern shore of the Dead Sea, but it does not appear to be common there, and we think (though we have no very certain information on the point) that most of the specimens sold in Jerusalem come from Egypt, for it grows abundantly in the desert regions there. It is also found in sandy places in Syria, North Africa and Arabia.³ The story that it grew at Jericho

¹ JOHN PARKINSON. *Theatrum Botanicum*. Ch. 30. p. 1384.

² DALMAN, (*Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, vol. I, p. 54) saw the plant east of the peninsula of the Dead Sea.

³ See DOUGHTY. *Arabia Deserta* (edition published by Jonathan Cape and Medici Society), p. 303-4.

may have been caused by some confusion between it and a small yellow desert daisy, *Asteriscus pygmaeum*,¹ which is occasionally cherished under the same name and which actually does grow at Jericho. This daisy, too, has something of the same affection for water, only in this case it is the dry flower heads that close when dry and open when wet, not the whole plant, as with *Anastatica*.

The tales and beliefs about the "Rose of Jericho" also seem to be based on a complete misconception that though apparently dry and dead, and blown about in the desert, the plant lives on and would revive once more when moistened by the rain. For an extreme example see the following quotation from a little book, written in 1852, whose author solemnly remarks:

"In the neighbourhood of Jericho there grows a kind of rose on the hedges called Jericho Roses which are very famous... These roses have this wonderful speciality that after they have been picked years ago and are as one would think quite faded, yet, so soon as they are put in water begin again to bloom and spread themselves out afresh and again strike a green root in Mother Earth."²

That second blossoming, however, is not for its own sake but for the sake of the life of its seeds: the little plant itself can strike root no more, it has but one year of life. As Dr. Post briefly puts it, *Anastatica* is a "dwarf, dichotomous, prostrate annual." The real reason for the opening and shutting which has drawn such attention lies in a strange adaptation by means of which it triumphs over its

"We removed from thence a little within the high white borders of the Nefud, marching through a sand country full of last years plants of the "Rose of Jericho." These Beduw call them *ch[k]ef Marhab*. *Kef* is the hollow palm, with the fingers clenched upon it. *Marhab* is in their tradition a Sheykh of the old Jewish Kheybar. We found also the young herb, two velvet green leaves, which has the wholesome smack of cresses, and is good for the nomad cattle."

According to Dragendorff the plant under a similar name is also known in India. He gives the following note. "Anastatica. Aegypten, Westasien. Zu mancherlei abergläubischen Curen gebraucht. Auch in Indien so verwendet. (Keff i Maryan).

DRAGENDORFF, *Die Heipflanzen der verschiedenen Völker und Zeiten*, Stuttgart, 1898.

¹ Syn. *Odontospermum pygmaeum*.

² R. J. SCHWARZ, tr. from *Das Heilige Land*, p. 317..

desert environment. When its flowering days are done and the last tiny white petal has fallen, its branches begin to curve inwards until the whole plant is like a ball with the seed pods inside it. Often, when a plant becomes quite dry, the root will pull out from soil, and ball and roots will be blown about over the sandy wastes. What matter?—the seed pods are tightly shut and guarded by the clasping branches, and so they remain through the long dry months until the winter rains set in. When moistened by the showers the "rose" opens, the branches bend back and straighten out, and at the same time the pods open and the seeds can readily be washed out and down into the ground. The plant spreads open when moistened because, owing to the structure of the cell walls, the tissue on the inside of the branches can absorb more water than that on the outside, and the same applies to the seed pods; as this is a property of the cell walls, this closing when dry and opening when moist will go on naturally just as long as they exist. It seems strange to us, because in the plants with which we are most familiar the seed vessels do just the opposite and open when they are dry. Indeed it is very rare to find any that open when wet. It is known in some other desert plants, as in the *Asteriscus* already mentioned, and in the *Mesembryanthemums*; but *Anastatica* is, so far as we know, unique in that it is the whole plant that opens and shuts and not the seed vessels alone. So the "Rose of Jericho" is still a cause for wonder.

LIGHT AND DARKNESS IN PALESTINE FOLKLORE

T. CANAAN

(JERUSALEM)

A study of the effect of the two antagonistic phenomena in nature, light and darkness, on the life of the present inhabitants of Palestine (who are in many respects as primitive as their ancestors of two thousand years ago) may explain certain allusions in the Bible.

The Palestinian peasants use oil and paraffin lamps, candles and torches. The oil lamp is as simple and as crudely made as it was thousands of years ago.¹ Until about fifty years ago it was still, as in Old Testament times,² an indispensable utensil in every household. The oil-lamps vary in size, shape and number of wick nozzles. They are known by the names *srádj*,³ *dauw*, *mišbáh* and *nauwáseh*. The first name is the most frequent and the last refers only to the smallest kind, which normally gives but a faint glimmer. The wick (*fíleh*, *sféreh*)⁴ is made of cotton threads or cotton cloth.⁵ If the wick is broad it bears the same *sféreh*, but if several threads

¹ See the illustrations given by I. BENZINGER, *Hebräische Archäologie*, 1927, figs. 127, 128; and those of the *Realencyclopädie der Vorgeschichte*, 1924, vol. I, plate 105, figs. f, g, h.

² 1 Kings 11³⁹; Jer. 25¹⁰; Job 18¹⁰.

³ *Nibrás* is the classical word. It is of Syriac origin. See *muhít el-muhít* p. 2032.

⁴ The classical expressions are *dubálah* ְדָבָלָה, and *fátilah*, while *sféreh* is known in this sense in *muhít*.

⁵ It seems that wicks were made in Biblical times from flax (Is. 42⁸) and according to the Mishnah, Sukkah 5^a, wicks (*p'thilim*) for the Temple were made from the worn-out cotton drawers and girdles of the priests.

are twisted or woven together, it is called *fīlēb*. The oil-lamp is an oval, shallow earthenware vessel with sides turned slightly inwards and pointed at one end. It is either open like a saucer, or its upper surface is closed in, leaving two openings, a large one through which the vessel is filled with oil and a smaller one for the wick. The first form is the more usual. The simplest lamps have but one wick nozzle, called *šammāmeh*¹ (Nazareth) or *nammūmeh*,² but there are lamps with several openings from which wicks protrude. Formerly the richer peasants used to have metal lamps which were set on a high metal candlestick. Such a lamp always had several wick nozzles.

I have often seen lamps made of simple tin. They were conical in shape with two openings, one for the oil and the other for the wick. Instead of the earthenware *srādj*,³ the very poor sometimes use an ordinary empty, shallow tin that once contained preserved food. The oil lamp was the common and only light the peasants and Bedouin used until some fifty years ago, when the European paraffin lamp, *qandil káz*, took its place.

In Palestine olive oil⁴ is used for the *srādj*, while among the Bedouin, where oil is scarce and butter plenty, the latter is nearly always met with. During the last war sesame oil (*sīridj*)⁵ which is cheaper than olive oil, was commonly used. It gives off a slightly disagreeable smell.

Some believe that a few grains of salt put in the olive oil will improve the light. Others think that the salt causes the wick to absorb the oil more slowly. Hence salt is added as an economy. Some mix the powdered fruits of *Styrax* off., L. (*‘abhar*) with the oil, believing that it improves the smell.⁶

¹ Also known in *muhīt*, p. 1125.

² Not known in the classical language in this sense.

³ I have seen such tins in many a sanctuary.

⁴ A proverb says *illi fi srādjuh z̄et bidwih*, "the person who has oil in his lamp will (be able to) light it." It means figuratively that a person who possesses virtues will shine before others.

⁵ *ṣlīt* is the classical word for olive and sesame oil. *sīridj* is also known; it is of Persian origin (see *muhīt*).

⁶ I owe this information to the kindness of OMAR Eff. S. EL-BARGHUTI.

Such an oil lamp can only emit a faint light. A lamp giving a dim light is called *dauw el-ghulch*, the light of the *ghulch*, an expression also used of the fire-fly, the classical Arabic name of which is *hubâbib*. But the peasants, who go as a rule very early to bed, do not require more light. They have no sewing, knitting, reading or writing to do, and the housewife's ordinary duties, spreading out the bedding, grinding the corn¹ and the like, need but little light.

Larger lamps with several wicks give a stronger light.² The oil lamp is always placed on some raised object. As a rule a small clay bracket is fixed in the wall to hold the *srâdj*. It is called *masradjeh*, *rudqah*.³ At times it is placed in a small niche, *lâqâh*⁴ (cf. Matt. 5¹⁵; Mark 4²¹). A modification of the oil lamp is the *cawwâmeh* (night-light) which was and is still used in towns. It is a European invention.

Whenever men assemble for any official or festive gathering they meet during the summer months in the courtyard outside the house, and in the winter months in the guest-house (*madâfah*). In both cases a large fire is made which, beside giving light and warmth, is used for boiling coffee. Such a fire is made of brushwood or dried thistles. Often, especially in the winter months, green olive-wood branches are used to feed the fire. Clouds of smoke fill the hermetically closed room, irritating the mucous membranes and caus-

¹ While the grinding of wheat is at present the work of nearly every woman in the villages, in towns it is the office of the humblest and youngest female slave or hired servant. No male person humbles himself to do such degrading work. The same custom prevailed in Biblical times. We read: "Come down and sit in the dust, O virgin daughter of Babylon, sit on the ground: there is no throne, O daughter of the Chaldeans, for thou shalt no more be called tender and delicate. Take the millstone and grind meal... (Is. 47¹²); "The faces of elders were not honoured. The young men bare the mill" (Lam. 5¹²¹³); "All the first-born in the land of Egypt, from the firstborn of Pharaoh that sitteth upon his throne, even unto the firstborn of the maid-servant that is behind the mill" (Ex. 11⁶). See also Judg. 16²¹.

² Lamps with several openings for wicks have been found in various excavations in Palestine, in Gezer (*Realenz. der Vorgeschichte*, vol. I, p. 388), and in Ta'nak and Megiddo (BENZINGER, l.c. p. 107).

³ *rudqah* is unknown to *mnbit*.

⁴ See *Mohammedans Saints and Sanctuaries*, p. 27.

ing a burning sensation to the eyes (see Prov. 10²⁶; Is. 65⁵). One wonders how the peasants endure these irritating fumes.¹

Paraffin is now used not only in the cities but in most houses in the villages. These lamps need not description. To fill such a lamp with paraffin and to clean it is expressed by the word 'ammar,² "to keep in a prosperous state," "to furnish."³

Wick-tongs or snuffers seem to have been known in Biblical times⁴; they are not required for the wick of an oil lamp though useful for a paraffin lamp.⁵

The richer peasants use candles (*šamič*). They distinguish *šamič nahl* from *šamič sahm*, the former being made from beeswax and the latter of animal fat. Beeswax candles are the more costly and more highly esteemed. Candles are generally put in a candlestick, *samaḍāneh*, or stuck on the wall bracket.

Torches, *masā'il*, are chiefly used in festal processions, as at weddings,⁶ the return of a friend from a long journey or the release of an important person from gaol. In the last two cases the young women of the village assemble and come in procession with their torches to the person's house. They welcome him with loud singing and *zagħarit*. Torches are also sometimes used if the funeral of some important peasant takes place at night. One end of a piece of hard wood is wrapped up with old rags soaked in oil, paraffin or, more rarely, butter. Candles often take the place of torches. Formerly they were seen both in towns and villages, but now only in villages. Candles are very common at Christian wedding processions, especially when they take place by night, and at funeral ceremonies in a church. They are also usual at Mohammedan circumcisions. Owing to their offensive fumes torches are now almost entirely confined to out-of-door ceremonies. The use of

¹ See also JAMES NEIL, *Everyday Life in the Holy Land*, London and New York, 1920, p. 63.

² This expression is mainly used in the sense of building a house ('ammar bēt).

³ "Light a lamp" (*iqlū srādj*), "light the shrine" (*iqlū el-Maqām*), but not *iqlū 'alēh*, as KAHLE, PJ, VIII, p. 140. The last expression has another meaning.

⁴ Ex. 25³⁸; 1 King 7⁴⁹.

⁵ A hurricane-lamp with an oil or petroleum light is called *fniār*.

⁶ L. BAUER, *Volksleben im Lande der Bibel*, p. 94.

torches is referred to in the Bible (Judg. 7, 16f.).¹ Perhaps the oil-lamps of the ten virgins, when they went to meet the bridegroom, were torches (Matt. 25¹⁻¹⁰). The "band of men and officers from the chief priests and pharisees" who came with Judas to arrest Christ carried torches (John 18³).

In Palestine (but more often in the Lebanon) resinous pine-wood was cut into long strips (*aqabīt*, fingers) and used for torches. These gave a fairly good light and an agreeable odour. In the Lebanon they are called *liqṣ*.² In some places wood used for pressing out olives (*bašab badd*) served the same purpose. A common name for such a light is *mišhāb* (and *mušhāb*).³ These seem to be unknown in the villages around Jerusalem.

Another way of making a bright light is to set fire to ashes mixed with paraffin or, more rarely, with oil. A vessel containing such a light, and set on the roof of a house or on the top of a mountain, was used in some parts of Palestine to announce to the surrounding villages the recovery of some important person who had been seriously ill.⁴ In the Lebanon the Christians, who practice the same custom, place these lights on the tops of mountains during the night of the Feast of the Cross.⁵ They were usually arranged in the form of a cross. Such a light is called *maṣalet ramād*. That a similar custom was known to the ancient Arabs is apparent from several classical idioms.⁶

At present Lux lamps are used in many villages, especially on festive occasions. This year I noticed at Nebî Mûsâ that coffee houses and shops were lit up with Lux lamps, and at Nebî Rûbîn they were lit up with electricity. In 1927, when called at night to Bêt Fadjdjâr to visit a woman undergoing abnormally difficult labour, I found the inhabitants gathered in an open place amusing themselves by the light of a Lux lamp in preparation for a wedding.

¹ See *Realenz.*, l. c.

² *Muhīt*, p. 1910.

³ The classical word for it is *el-qabas* (*muhīt*, p. 1654).

⁴ Heard from OMAR Eff. S. EL-BARGHUTI.

⁵ Heard from Mr. A. FARIS.

⁶ اشهر من نار على علم

کانه علم في راسه نار

Thus civilization's paraffin, Lux and electric lamps are completely replacing old methods.

In Mohammedan sanctuaries and oriental Christian churches oil lamps and candles are still common.

In vowing a light to any holy place or holy person the usual formula is: "I will light thee, NN. (the name of the saint) such or such a number of candles!" or "I will give thee, NN. two *rā'is* of olive oil!" The number, size and quality of the candles are exactly described. One may find even in the simplest sanctuaries in the most isolated places oil lamps and very often candles. Most of the shrines are lit up in the night between Thursday and Friday; and where the shrine has no *qayim* (guardian) to attend to this, some pious woman vows to go regularly for a certain time to light the lamp.¹

Oil plays a special rôle in popular belief and usage. According to the belief of the ancient Arabs and of the present inhabitants of Palestine the olive tree possesses great virtues. Its fruit and its oil are staple articles of diet. The oil is used as food both alone and in its raw state² and in conjunction with most cooked³ and uncooked food)s.⁴ All kinds of fat (olive oil, sesame oil and butter, *samneh*) are known in Galilee by the name *qufrab* (*qaffart et-ṭabil*: I put fat in the food).⁵ The ancient Arabs believed that the leaves of the olive tree boiled with vinegar cure tooth-ache, and that the decoction sprinkled in a house drives away flies. The resin acts favourably on haemorrhoids. Bread soaked with an infusion of the resin kills mice, and ointment made from it heals scabies. The oil itself removes worries, strengthens the nerves, cures the pathological condition called *bulgham*, improves the character and sanctifies

¹ Some Bedouin tribes light an oil-lamp in the *ṭidqah* of the tōmb of their important *zéhs*.

² *baghammis lhubz (i)bżet*, I dip bread in oil (and eat it). Oil was supplied by Solomon to Hiram's workpeople as food, 2 Chron. 2¹⁶.

³ Food cooked with meat and butter (*samneh*) is called *ṭabil zafar*, while that in which oil is used, is called *ṭabil syiāmī*.

⁴ Such as oil with *za'tar* (thyme), *labaneh* (milk-curd) and all preparations in which *ħiñeh* (dregs of sesame-oil) enters.

⁵ *Muħit*, p. 1743.

the soul.¹ According to the commentators of the Qoran, the Prophets, and Mohammed in particular, used only olive wood tooth picks which prevented the teeth from decaying and also gave the mouth a good odour.² According to a popular proverb, *es-sann laz-zén uiz-zét lal-ṣaṣabén*, "Butter is for beauty and oil is for (strengthening) the nerves."³ Another saying praises the oil as "the nails" which make the knees firm (*ez-zét masámir er-rukab*). "The olive tree has the honorific names 'the blessed Tree' (*es-ṣadjarah el-mubárakah*) and the 'Tree of Light' (*ṣadjaret en-núr*)."⁴ The peasants of Palestine sometimes swear by the olive tree saying, "By the Life of the Tree of Light" (*uibyát ṣadjaret en-núr*). Another form is "By the life of Him who put the oil in the olives" (*uibyát man 'anzal ez-zét fiz-zétún*).⁵ According to the Qoran, Surah xcvi, God himself swore by this tree and therefore it bears the name "the blessed Tree." It was given to Adam and Eve after their expulsion from Paradise and it was the first plant to appear after the flood.⁶

Oil⁷ is still commonly used in popular medicine as in Biblical times (Is. 1⁶; Luke 10³⁴; James 5¹⁴). It still forms part of religious rites (cf. Gen. 20¹⁸; Lev. 2^{15f.}; 14¹²) and it is much used in magic rites. Several passages in the Old Testament show that the olive tree played an important rôle both in the civil and religious life of the Israelites.

The Qoran says of the olive tree: "The oil thereof would give light though no fire touched it."⁸

The tree is thus regarded as holy. Its supernatural qualities are shown in other ways. Among the Mohammedans *zétūnet en-nabi*, "the olive tree of the Prophet," which grows in the Temple Area between the Dome of the Rock and the Mosque el-Aqsa, is believed to have grown from a stone thrown at this spot by the Prophet

¹ *Dáiratu l-ma'árif*, vol. IX, p. 331.

² SALE, *The Koran*, p. 449, footnote g.

³ The dual is probably used for the rhyme.

⁴ CANAAN, *Plantlore*, JPOS, VIII, p. 160.

⁵ CANAAN, *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries*, p. 143.

⁶ Cen. 8¹¹; *Fahr er-Rází*, VI, p. 174.

⁷ Oil is mentioned more than two hundred times in the Bible.

⁸ Surah xxiv 35.

during his miraculous visit to Jerusalem.¹ The Christians say that the olive trees bow down in veneration on the night of the feast of the Holy Cross, when the heavens open and the light of Paradise shines on earth.²

The olive tree's virtues are found in still higher degree in the oil itself. With oil, kings and the elect were anointed. Exactly as in Biblical times³ the present Palestinian honours oil as the best and most fitting substance to be offered at his sanctuaries. Formerly only the finest quality was offered, whereas now, because of poverty, any sort may be vowed. But one still sometimes hears specified the best quality, *z̄et tfāh*, and *z̄et ghafīs*.⁴ Oil taken from the lamps of a shrine is a more effective cure for diseases than common oil. Wicks soaked with oil from the lamps of several *awliā*, local saints, are swallowed by sterile women in the belief that this method will fulfil their lack. Others in the like belief carry the wick as a *hidjâb* (amulet).⁵

The oil symbolises clearness and purity. *sâfi mi'l ez-z̄et* means "as clear as oil" (Zech. 4¹²).⁶ A person who is successful in life is compared to oil: "NN. is like oil, always (floating) on top" (*fulân mi'l ez-z̄et dâymân lafâq*).

The Palestine *fellah*, who is still unspoilt by western ideas, dreads darkness, and therefore night; for that is the time when evil spirits roam. Therefore the oil lamp burns in many houses the whole night through.⁷ This custom, however, is not universally practised among all classes of peasants. In some villages it is commoner than in others, but fifty years ago it was more general.

¹ On a certain day, when the soul of the Prophet is said to descend and rest on this tree, the twigs begin to shake.

² *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries*, p. 142, 143. Some believe that the heavens open also on the day of the Ascension of the Blessed Virgin. The olive trees of Gethsemane play an important rôle in the belief of many pious Christians.

³ Ex. 25²⁶; 27³⁰; Lev. 24^{3f.}

⁴ I heard the last expression in Nazareth. Some say *fgħiṣ*.

⁵ *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries*, p. 113.

⁶ 'ēnūb sâfiyeh mi'l ez-z̄et — "his eye is clear as oil"; *z̄et sâfi mi'l ēn ed-dik* — "oil as clear as the cock's eye."

⁷ CANAAN, *Dämonenglaube im Land der Bibel*, p. 16.

The families who still observe this practice persist in it no matter how feeble the light or how often the lamp needs replenishing. Also in the guest-house, and in the reception-rooms (*dawâwin*) of the chiefs of the villages, an oil lamp burns throughout the night. Families in which is a suckling child or a sick person, or with whom a visitor is sleeping, also keep a ligh burning. Passing by night through the narrow, crooked, deserted ways of a village we see a dim light shining through the small windows of many a house.

Formerly this custom seems to have been so prevalent that a house without a light in the night meant that that house was deserted and uninhabited, or that its inmates were so poor that they could not afford oil.¹

Thus light gradually came to have the significance of the continuance of life : so long as the members of the family were living and so long as the house was inhabited, a lamp continued burning.

This idea is ancient. We find many references to it in the Old and New Testaments. In Proverbs 31¹⁸ we read : "Her lamp is not put out in the night." To wish that anyone's light should be put out, was to wish him death and destruction. The latter idea is no longer familiar in Palestine, but there are traces of it in certain idioms and sayings: *allah yiżlim 'alék*, *allah yiċtim 'alék*, "May God darken (everything) around you," i.e. may God kill you or make you blind. When a person puts a light out he is cursed with the words *allah yiħiġi dawwak*, "May God put out your light!" meaning that he should become blind.² More will be said later about

¹ Biblical references are given below.

² Some curses meaning the destruction of a house are :

allah yiġrib bētak — May God ruin your house

allah isakkir dár 'abúk 'al-balád ('al-fár) — May God close your father's house on the (bare) stones of the floor (on the mice), i.e. killing all members of the family, so that nobody is left to inhabit the house!

allah ibidd dár 'abúk 'as-sásat — May God destroy the house of your father down to the foundation stones !

yiqta' zar' ummak min es-sab' zidján — May the descendants of your mother be cut off even if she marries seven husbands!

veqta' hamiril immak — May the leaven (descendants) of your mother be cut off !

allah yiħiġi srādjak — May God put your oil-lamp out !

the eyes. In the Sinai Peninsula we hear the curse, “*amri bibéetak uyákul zétak*, “May ‘Amri invade your house and eat up your oil!” so that you shall be unable to burn a light. In Trans-Jordan *Maḥmúd* is used instead of ‘Amri. ‘Amri is said to have been a most wicked man; whom the Bedouin dislike. Whenever anyone passes his tomb he throws a stone on it with the curse, “May God curse you!”

A saying with the contrary meaning and wishing long life is *inshallah itdall dárik innauwrib*, “May your house remain shining!” It is generally used when a peasant asks for light and his request is fulfilled.

There are many references in the Bible showing that living in the dark, i.e. having no light in the night, was regarded as a severe punishment. The following verses may be quoted:

He hath made me to dwell in dark places, as those that have been long dead (Lam. 3⁶).

Whoso curseth his father or his mother, his lamp shall be put out in the blackest darkness (Prov. 20²⁰).

I have spread my couch in the darkness (Job 17¹³).

Yea, the light of the wicked shall be put out, and the spark of his fire shall not shine. The light shall be dark in his tent, and his lamp about him shall be put out (Job 18^{5f.}).

How oft is it that the lamp of the wicked is put out?

That their calamity cometh upon them? That God distributeth sorrows in his anger (Job 21¹⁷).¹

The light of the righteous rejoiceth : but the lamp of the wicked shall be put out (Prov. 13⁹).

I will take from them . . . the light of the candle (Jer. 25¹⁰).

And the light of a lamp shall shine no more at all in thee (Rev. 18²³).

Darkness is the intensest manifestation of mourning:

All the bright lights of heaven will I make dark over thee, and set darkness upon thy land (Ezek. 32⁸).

¹ In this verse as well as in Prov. 7⁹ the pupil of the eye is figuratively used for the very depth of darkness.

Give glory to the Lord your God, before he cause darkness,
and before your feet stumble upon the dark mountains;
and, while ye look for light, he turn it into the shadow
of death, and make it gross darkness (Jer. 13¹⁶).

Death and the grave are described as places of uttermost darkness.¹

The natural lights of the world are the sun, the moon and stars. Their regular courses, their brightness and animating power have always deeply impressed the human race. The joint influences ascribed to the sun and moon decided in past times, and still decide, the times for agricultural activities and for religious festivals. The sun rules the day, the moon the night. In several places the Quran speaks of the sun as "the burning lamp" and "the lamp of the day,"² and the stars as "the lamps of heaven."³ All the characteristics attributed to artificial lights are essential properties of the heavenly lights, especially of the sun. The powerful sunlight of Palestine makes darkness especially abhorrent (Eccl. 11⁷).⁴ Several idioms in Arabic illustrate how the Palestinians regard the sun as a living being. The sun "beats" (*darbatuh*) or smites a person and he suffers sun-stroke (cf. Is. 49¹⁰, Ps. 121⁶). They speak of *'in eṣ-ṣams*,⁵ the eye of the sun, i.e. the sun disk; *dár eṣ-ṣams*, *dár el-qamar*⁶ (the house of the sun, the house of the moon), i.e. the halo of light surrounding the sun and the moon; *ghirqat eṣ-ṣams* (the sun is drowned), i.e. when it sinks beneath the horizon of the sea; *'én eṣ-ṣams maridah*, the eye of the sun is sick, is said when the sun is temporarily clouded; but when it is covered most of the day with clouds the Palestinian speaks of *'én eṣ-ṣams ramdáneḥ*, the eye of the sun is inflamed.

¹ Is. 9².

² Sūrah XXV 11, 61; LXXIII 13; LXX 1, 61; XXX 46.

³ Sūrah LXV 11 2.

⁴ J. NEIL, l.c., p. 68.

⁵ A folksong has *qulū latén eṣ-ṣams ld tibnáši* — "Tell the eye of the sun not to get hot!"

⁶ CANAAN, *Kalender*, ZDPV, vol. XXXVI, p. 289. A variation of the proverb mentioned there is *dár eṣ-ṣams maṭar*, *dár el-qamar saṭar*.

The sun, it is believed, is drawn from east to west by a company of angels. The angels that draw it in the morning are old and feeble, but the angels that draw it in the evening are young and strong; hence the sun moves slowly in the morning, and quickly in the evening. The rays, frequently seen at sunset issuing from the sun's disk, are the ropes by which it is drawn. Out of respect for the sun's heavenly nature no Palestinian in the fields or in the desert will perform his natural needs while turning his face (*yistaqbil*) to the sun, but he turns his face (and so his private parts and anus) to the north or to the south.

No honest person, it is said, can look directly at the sun, for who can gaze at the face of what is divine? Only a harlot looks at it shamelessly, which is obvious proof of her bad manners.

In welcoming the moon Palestinians say *ibill iblālak uidjill djalālak nydj' alak 'alēnā šahr imbārak*, "May your New Moon appear (like a crescent) and your might be high. May God make it a blessed month for us!" In Rabbinical literature we read that "he who sees the New Moon is like one who greets Divine Majesty."¹ This belief may explain the Arabic custom.

The relation of the sun to the powers of darkness will be discussed later. Though the heavenly bodies were worshipped by the ancient Semites (2 Kings 11¹², 21^{3,5}, 23⁵, Jer. 19¹³, Zeph. 1⁵) there are no sure indications of the survival of such worship in Palestine.

At twilight or at night *'awlia* (saints) sometimes cause by supernatural means a green light to appear and disappear at intervals in their *maqām* or on their tomb. No storm, however violent, can blow it out. Such a sign, accepted by the Arabs of Palestine as proof that the place is inhabited by the soul of some benevolent supernatural power,² is never met with in places haunted by demons. This belief has its parallel in the story of the burning bush, described in Exod. 3², where we read: "And the angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush."

The eyes are "the light of a man," *el-'enén dāruw el-insān*. A

¹ Jewish Encyclopedia, vol. VIII, p. 83.

² Mohammedan Saints, p. 73.

blind man, deprived of the blessings of light, living his whole life in darkness, is held to suffer the worst of inflictions. The expression used is "His two lights are put out" (*inṭasat nūrēnuh*). Any other infirmity is more tolerable: *balā 'abuan min balā uil-ksāh 'abuan min el-‘amā* — "One misfortune is easier than another, and being crippled is a milder (infliction) than blindness." *Eṭ-ṭaraṣ 'abuan min el-‘amā* — "Deafness is a milder (infliction) than blindness," for the first infirmity is believed to befall important men, while blindness is the chastisement of the lowest class (*eṭ-ṭaraṣ lal-'akābir uil-‘amā lal-harāfiṣ*).¹

Loss of sight is thought to affect the whole character for the worse. The following proverbs convey this idea: *lā 'atab illa 'an-nazar* — "No blame (can be made) except to (those having) eye-sight," (for the blind are naturally expected to be impudent and to do wrong deeds); *'ida itṣabbaḥt bil-'awar ma bitsūf bér* — "If you meet a one-eyed man as the first person in the morning, you will have no luck (that day)";² *el-'awar djiqim* — "The one-eyed is insolent"; *‘en el-hurr mīzān* — "The eye of a free (noble) man is a balance (i.e. accurate in justice)"; *lōlā 'enħā mā hadd qaraħħā* — "Were it not for her eye nobody would have pinched her," i.e. were it not for the play of her eyes with which she coquettish and thus entangled men, none would have approached her; *illi biyābūd min 'aqdūluh biyema* — "He who takes (and follows) his advice will become blind," for he is a dishonest person, whose advice corrupts and destroys. *el-‘en mrāyet el-qalb* — "The eye is the mirror of the heart." A person who has no clear sight is said to be *'amā el-baṣirah* "blinded in his intelligence." If a person asks somebody's advice concerning an enterprise he says, *uđrub ‘enak*, or *nazrah*, meaning "Let your eye rest upon this . . . , and tell me your opinion.

Intelligence has its seat in the eye (cf. Num. 10³¹). Sight and blindness are often compared with light and darkness. The Quran

¹ *Harāfiṣ* is unknown to *muhīt*, Belot, Hava, Kassāb and Hammām. It is probably the transposition of *harṣafa* see *muhīt*, p. 375. Wahrmund gives the singular and the plural (*harfūs* and *harāfiṣ*) as "Mensch der gemeinsten Klasse."

² Sūrah LXXX begins "He (i.e. the Prophet) frowned, and turned aside, because the blind man came unto him."

(Sûrah xii 15) says, "Say, shall the blind and the seeing be esteemed the same? or shall darkness and light be accounted the same?"

Some of the worst curses are those connected with the loss of sight: *yî'mî dâuwak*—"May God blind your light (eyes)!" *allah yî'mik*—"May God blind you!" *yâ dâmâuiyeh itghamniq 'énék*—"May a haemorrhagic inflammation close your eyes!" *allah iyâzlim bâsarak u bâsirtak*—"May God darken your sight and your intelligence!" St. Paul speaks in the Epistle to the Ephesians (4¹⁸) of "blindness of the heart." A person afflicted with an 'evil eye' is supposed to be possessed with an evil spirit whose poisonous rays emanate through that person's eyes. Such people cause great horror and misfortune; they are dreaded.

These ideas illustrate many passages in the Bible, in the time of which most of them were already current. For example:

The lamp of the body is the eye (Matt. 6²²; cf. Luke 11³⁴).

If thine eye be evil, thy whole body shall be full of darkness (Matt. 6²³; cf. Luke 11³⁴).

Is thine eye evil? (Matt. 20¹⁵).

Having the eyes of your heart enlightened. (Eph. 1¹⁸).

The wise man's eyes are in his head, and the fool walketh in darkness (Eccles. 2¹⁴).

I made a covenant with mine eyes (Job 31¹).

Who did sin, this man or his parents, that he should be born blind? (John 9²).

The Lord shall smite thee with blindness (Deut. 29²⁸).¹

In Palestine eight months of the year belong to summer. The short spring and autumn, each of about one month's duration, are generally reckoned in with summer. Throughout this period, especially during the middle five months, the sun shines with all its power. Nearly every night in the year (except for a few cloudy nights in winter) the moon² and the stars shine brilliantly. These

¹ Other passages are Lev. 26¹⁶, 2 Kings 6¹⁸, Zeph. 1¹⁷, Acts 9⁹, 15⁶.

² A saying teaches *miš kull el-'aiyâm qamrah urabî*,—"Not all the days are full-moon (days) and spring (days)."

conditions have caused the Palestinians from time immemorial to love and adore light. They associated light with God, and the detested darkness was regarded as the symbol and the realm of God's enemies, Satan and his followers, the evil spirits. This, in brief, explains why everything that pertains to light is considered to have good attributes and to be a good omen, whereas everything pertaining to darkness is considered a bad omen and in some way connected with the demons.

Many personal names, derived from light and shining bodies, owe their popularity to this same idea. Thus we find: *nûr* f. = light; *munîr*, m. *munirah*, f. = shining, bright; *nûrân*, m. = light (from *nûr*); *nûri*, m. = my light; *munâwar*, f. = shining; *mušriq*, m. *mušriqah*, f. = shining (like the rising sun); *diyâ'*, f. = shining light; *faḍâ'*, f. = lighted place,¹ light; *lam'ah*, f. = flattering light; *subb*, m., *sabhab*, f. = morning; *nhâr*, m. = day; *mišbâh*, m. = lamp; *fânuś*, m. = lantern; *šam'ah*, f. = candle; *barq*, m. = lightning; *šâhâ*, m. = bright meteor, (star); *badr*, m. = full-moon; *hlâl*, m. = moon-crescent; *qamar*, f. = moon; *nidjm*, m. *nidjmeh*, f. = star; *tureiyâ*, m. and f. Venus; *šams*, f. = sun.

A child who is born in darkness in a place where, for some reason, no light was available at his birth, is called *citmeh* = darkness. The blossoms of plants bear the collective name *nuwâr*, from *nûr* (light), in that they represent the 'shining' part of the plant. *Nuwârab*, a feminine name, is derived from this word.

In describing a person of high moral standing, especially if he has a gentle face, they say "his face radiates light," *nidjhû minuir*, *nidjhû bisîc nûr*. The same expression occurs in the Bible. Thus in the account of Moses' descent from Mount Sinai we read (Ex. 34²⁰) "The skin of his face shone."² The same is said of Christ: "His face did shine as the sun."³ The Palestinian tells us that several saints who have appeared to mortal beings had a halo of light around their face (*nidjhum biqûi*). If a person intervenes between

¹ In the classical Arabic language it means "large plain," "unoccupied place."

² Ex. 34²⁶; 2 Chron 3¹⁻¹⁸.

³ Matt. 17²; Luke 9²⁹.

another and the light or the light of the sun, he is told, *ifdī tanṣūf uidjih rabnā*—“Make light (i.e. change your position which is keeping the light away) so that we may see the face of our Lord.” God’s face is here compared with light. The Bible describes not only God’s face¹ as emanating light, but His whole being is luminous.² The Quran also calls God “Light.” Unbelievers try to extinguish this light.³ The prophet Muhammed bears the honorific title “Light.”⁴ Jews,⁵ Christians and Muhammedans⁶ speak of their holy books as “Light.”

A fierce look is described as *uidjih muzlim*, “a dark face.” A mother uses the term of endearment *yā nūr iāni*—“O, thou light of my eyes!” *yā nūr qalbī*—“O, thou the light of my heart!” *yā ṣam’i*—“O my shining candle!” A good wife is called “the light of the stranger (husband)”—*el-marah daww el-gharib*.⁷

A man is advised “to walk in the light,” *imṣī ḡanūr*, which means to study carefully his proposed plans and to choose only the sure way. The same idea is conveyed in the greetings “May God light your way”—*allah inauwir ṭariqak*; “May God shine upon you”—*allah yifḍī ‘alēk*, *allah inauwir ‘alēk*⁸; “May God make your luck to shine”—*allah inauwir sa‘dak*.⁹ A curse in the contrary sense is: “May God darken your projects”—*allah yizlim sa‘dak*. A dissatisfied person, who is never pleased however well he is served, is described by the saying, “Even if I should light the ten fingers

¹ Ps. 4⁶; 44⁸; 89¹⁶.

² Ex. 24¹⁰; Ps. 30⁸; Job 36⁴⁰.

³ Sūrah IX 31; XXIV 35; LXI 8.

⁴ Sūrah XVI 15.

⁵ Prov. 6²².

⁶ Sūrah IV 173; LXIV 8.

⁷ For the explanation of the expression “stranger” (which means here “husband”) I quote the proverb *ba‘d abūyī uimmi kull en-nās ghurabā*—“All people, except my father and mother are strangers.” A husband is a stranger to his betrothed bride until the wedding is over.

⁸ An Arabic proverb teaches *illī ‘duwaluh ḥarṭ ‘abrub nūr*—“A thing which begins with a condition ends with light,” i.e. everything which is based on a clear understanding ends favourably.

⁹ Consolation, happiness joy, a good conscience are symbolized in the Bible by light; Job 12²², 22²⁸, Is. 5⁸⁰, 58⁸.

he will not be satisfied"—in *daueṭluh el-āṣarah miš ḋadjuh*. The Arabic word *zálím*, "tyrant, unjust oppressor," is from the same root (*zlm*) as *zalám* and *zulmáh*, darkness. The Bible compares fear, sorrow, affliction, ignorance, sin, mourning, confusion, doubt and vexation with darkness.¹

The difference between light and darkness plays also a great part in the interpretation of dreams. We find that every dream concerned with light, the sun, a lamp, oil or the day has a favourable interpretation, while dreams concerned with night or darkness are a bad omen. This is shown in the following examples,² familiar to the inhabitants of Palestine. If anyone dreams that he passed through the night into the shining day, or from a dark place into light it means one of the following things: that he is passing from infidelity to belief in God, from poverty to riches, from failure to success, from sin to repentance, from blindness to sight, from imprisonment to liberty, from injustice to justice, from sickness to health, from loss to gain, or from anxiety to peace and joy.

Light indicates righteous acts, a Holy Book, science, or a virtuous son.³

The sun indicates a king, a good father, a beautiful wife, gold, science or riches.

The day indicates relief, many children, happiness, or the return of an absent relative or friend.

The oil lamp, if lighted, means the cure of one that is sick, the birth of a child to a childless man or a faithful guardian. If the lamp is put out it foretells the death of one that is sick, the loss of a position, or a faithless guardian.

A candle indicates marriage, gain, a good position or belief in God.

Oil indicates health, a plentiful income, science, blessing, true faith, or light to the soul.

¹ Job 5¹⁴ and 20, 9², 12²⁶, 19⁸, 23¹⁷, 34²², 37¹⁰; Ps. 139¹¹ and 12, Prov. 2¹⁸, 35⁶, Eccl. 2²¹, Is. 45⁸, 47⁵, Amos 5¹⁸ and 20, Zeph. 1¹⁶, Nah. 1⁸.

² They are taken from 'Abd el-Ghani en-Nâbulsi, *taṭfir el-'anâm fî tafsîr el-'ahlâm*.

³ To give anyone a "light" or a "lamp" meant in the Old Testament "to establish him," "to continue his seed," 1 Kings 15⁴, 2 Kings 8¹⁰.

An olive tree indicates a blessed man, riches or an honourable woman.¹

Darkness indicates going astray, tyranny, injustice or darkness of the soul.

Night indicates worry, imprisonment, disease, sin, tyranny, injustice or a difficult time.

The same figurative uses of light and darkness are found in the Bible (cf. Gen. 15¹², Job 10²¹, Is. 24¹¹, 47⁵, John 1⁵, 3^{19,20}, II Pet. 1¹⁹, 2⁹, 1 John 1⁶). The Quran often² speaks of God leading his people from darkness to light.

The Palestinian of to-day has transferred the ideas associated with light and darkness to their corresponding colours, white and black. Thus the colour white and all white objects have come to typify good things and to count as a good omen, while black usually typifies what is evil. Good spirits³ always take the form of an animal white or green in colour, such as sheep, doves⁴ or green birds.⁵ Malicious demons take the form of an animal black or dark in colour, such as a goat,⁶ liyena, *ghoul* or *carbid*.⁷ Whenever a *weli* appears to a human being, by day or by night, he is usually dressed in white. In Matt. 17² we read of Christ that "his garments became white as the light."⁸ Ps. 104² describes God as covering himself "with light as with a garment."

When offering good wishes the Palestinian says, "May God whiten your face"—*allah ibaiyid uidjhak*; "May God whiten your honour"—*allah ibaiyid arḍak*. The contrary is, "May God blacken your face," or "your honour"—*allah isauwid uidjhak, arḍak*. "To whiten" means to raise in honour, reputation, rank, or the like,

¹ Pressing the oil out of the olives may mean difficulty and worry.

² Sūrah V 18, XIV 1, 5, LXV 11, XXIII 43, LV 9.

³ *Mohammedan Saints*, p. 244.

⁴ Doves according to the Bible were the symbols of purity and (with pigeons) were the only birds that could be offered on the altar (Lev. 11^{14,15}: 141²⁰; 14²²; Num. 6¹⁰). The Holy Spirit took the shape of a dove (Matt. 3¹⁶)

⁵ Green is a holy colour.

⁶ All goats in Palestine are black.

⁷ For the difference between *haiyeh* and *carbīd* see *Mohammedan Saints*, p. 244.

⁸ Mark. 9³; Luke 9²⁰.

while to "blacken" has the contrary sense¹. The Palestinian speaks of *qalb abiqd*,² a white (righteous) heart, and *qalb aswad*—a black (wicked) heart; *uidjhu aswad mitl ez-zift*—his face is as black as tar. Lam. 4^{7,8} uses the same idioms in describing the plight of the daughter of Israel: "Her Nazirites were purer than snow, they were whiter than milk . . . [whereas now] their visage is blacker than a coal." A bad character is compared to tar. When a friend is wished "Good morning!" it is often expressed with *yâ sabâh abiaq*—"May God give you] a white morning." The contrary is *yâ sabâh zift* (or *aswad*). The like sentiment is used if anyone receives bad news early in the day. The same expressions were already known among the ancient Arabs; thus in the Quran we read (Sûrah III 106, 107), "On the day of resurrection some faces shall become white and other faces shall become black. And unto them whose faces shall become black God will say, Have ye returned to your unbelief, after ye had believed? therefore taste the punishment, for that ye have been unbelievers; but they whose faces shall become white shall be in the mercy of God, therein they shall remain forever."³

In dreams white objects are usually a good omen and black objects an evil omen. The ancient Arabs, who cherished the same idea, generally made figurative use of the colour white in their laudatory poems and in their satirical poems they used black objects in their figures of speech. In proclaiming the ability, excellence and hospitality of some person a white flag is often hoisted by visitors over the roof of his house.⁴ In some parts of Palestine the bridegroom on the first morning after the wedding hoists a white flag to proclaim "the honour" (*saraf*) of his bride, namely that she was a virgin. Above the leader's tent in a Bedouin camp a white flag (*râyeh bêdah*) is hoisted to guide strangers and visitors.

¹ The curse *allah ibaiyd 'énak* (May God whiten your eye) is meant literally and not figuratively.

² An Arabic poem says:

يَابِضُ الْوَجْهِ مَعَ خَبْثِ النَّفْوسِ كَلْتَدِيلٌ عَلَى قَبْرِ الْمَجْوَسِ

³ See also Sûrah III 107, XX 22, XXVII, 32, XVI 17, XXXIX 60.

⁴ For white flags at *awliâ* see *Mohammedan Saints*, p. 184.

Similar ideas about white and black existed in Biblical times. White was the symbol of God's holiness and glory; heavenly appearances are described as wearing white cloths¹. The Jewish² as well as the Egyptian³ priests wore white garments. Moral purity; innocence and justice were symbolized by the colour of white. Black on the other hand was the symbol of sin, darkness, magic, and evil.⁴

In reviewing the whole subject we see how widespread these ideas are. They constitute part of the mass of ideas, superstitions and customs inherited by the inhabitants of Palestine from the ancient Semites. Light and darkness, day and night,⁵ white and black, representing good and evil supernatural powers, are continually fighting with one another (Acts 26¹⁸, John 8², Eph. 5⁸). Whenever the first overpowers the second it drives it away and so relieves the human race from great troubles. But the evil powers soon begin the fight again, and as soon as they gain the victory they avenge themselves on suffering humanity. This idea is excellently illustrated in the explanation the peasants give for the cause of the periodic spring, reported in the present writer's *Dämonenglaube im Lande der Bibel* (Morgenland, № 21, 2nd ed., 1930, p. 16),

Whenever and wherever light shines it drives away both darkness and the powers of darkness. When Bedouin are on a journey, they make a fire every evening at the place where they pitch their tents and this is kept burning throughout the night in the belief that demons and wild animals are thus kept away. The power of the sun in counteracting the action of the powers of darkness is well illustrated in the case of *iün el-haṣr*, the water of the springs used against suppression of urine.⁶ Such water must be transported from the source to the sick person during the night. The moment the

¹ Dan. 12⁶ ff.; Matt. 17², 28⁸, Mark 9², 16⁶ Luke 9²⁹, John 20¹².

² Is. 1¹⁸; Ps. 51⁷, 132⁸ and 16⁶, Rev. 19¹³, 7¹⁴.

³ Gen. 41⁴²

⁴ Lam. 4⁹.

⁵ A proverb says *ṣugħi el-lēl, mašbaġet en-nħidra*—“the work of the night is the laughing-stock of the day.”

⁶ JPOS, vol. I, p. 157.

rays of the sun shine on it, it loses its efficacy. An example illustrating the fight between the powers of darkness and the two most important heavenly bodies, the sun and the moon, is the belief in the cause of the eclipses of the sun and the moon. Eclipses are caused by a demon dragon who comes up from the sea and tries to swallow the sun or the moon. The frightened people assemble in the streets and on the roofs to drive the monster away and so save the sun. They shout, beat on tins and fire in the air.

The idea of God fighting the dragon was current in the time of the Old Testament; cf. Is. 51^{9 f.}; Ps. 74¹³⁻¹⁷. Another phase of the unceasing fight between the "lower" and the "higher" powers is the belief that Satan and his followers continually try to overhear the decrees of the Almighty.¹ No sooner do they approach the outer region of the celestial sphere than they are chased away by "visible flames" or "shining flames" (meteors) which are thrown at them by angels guarding paradise. Although this idea is well known and common among the Muhammedans of Palestine and is taught in the Quran,² it is of still earlier date.

The hyena is the fiercest wild animal of Palestine. It is supposed to be possessed by *djin*. In attacking a man it is said first to hypnotize him (*btiqba'uh*). If he lights a match the animal is frightened, runs away and the man is saved. Many stories are told of how demons which had appeared during the night vanished away on the moment of making a light. The name of God and that of the Prophet have the same power. They are called the "light of the world," *nûr el-âlam* (cf. Ps. 104⁹, John 1⁵, 1⁴⁵, 8¹², 12¹⁶).³ The Holy Virgin is known by the name "Mother of the Light," *îmm en-nûr*.

As we have seen, demons prefer darkness and night, for they come from darkness and eventually will vanish into eternal dark-

¹ Job 15⁸.

² Sûrah XV 16; XXXVII 6 f., LXVII 7 and 8.

³ PAUL ERNO EICHLER, *Die Dschinn, Teufel und Engel im Koran*, 1928, p. 31; CANAAN, *Dâmonenglaube*, footnote 252.

⁴ Other passages are Is. 9¹², 60^{3 and 20}, 49⁶, 42⁶, Mal. 4²⁴, Phil. 2¹⁶, Matt. 5¹⁴, Rom. 2¹⁹, Eph. 5⁸.

ness. Hence they are also known by the names "the Spirits of Darkness"—*al-'aruâḥ ez-zulmâniyeh*, and "the Spirits of the Lower World"—*al-'arnâḥ es-sufliyeh* (cf. Col. 1¹³, Jude⁶, 2 Pet. 2⁴). The good spirits who come from heaven bear the names "the Spirits of Light"—*al-'aruâḥ en-nûrâniyeh*, and "the Spirits of the Upper World"—*al-'arnâḥ il-`alâwiyeh*.

NATURWISSENSCHAFTLICHE METHODEN BEI ARCHAEOLOGISCHEN AUSGRABUNGEN.

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Das Denken des Archäologen oder Philologen ist sehr von dem des Naturwissenschaftlers verschieden. Meist gehen beide Wissensgebiete auch getrennte Wege. Und doch kann gemeinsames Arbeiten zu schönen Ergebnissen führen. Man lese nur in dem 13 bändigen „Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte“ von M. EBERT, das jetzt an der Spitze vorgeschichtlicher Forschung steht, etwa Aufsätze über „Pollenanalyse“ oder „Niveauveränderungen“ und man wird mir zustimmen. Prof. LINQUIST in Uppsala erzählte mir daselbst auch ein schönes Beispiel wonach er nach diesen Methoden ein im Sand befindliches Wikingerschiff, das vermodert war, allein nach der Lage von Tausenden von Nägeln in seiner Form wiederhergestellt hat. Wir wollen auf ein palästinisches Beispiel hinweisen.

1929 fand man Steinwerkzeuge, Tonscherben, Mauern am Tell Ghassûl, wie wir kurz jene Gegend am untern Jordan, 7 km vom Toten Meer entfernt, nennen wollen. Pater A. MALLON gebührt das Verdienst, diese Stelle in ihrer Bedeutung zuerst erkannt zu haben. Man grub eine Reihe Häuser in ihren Fundamenten aus und war froh, dass ein grösserer zusammenhängender Siedlungsboden gefunden war. Doch blieb noch eine gewisse Unsicherheit und man rief Naturwissenschaft zu Hilfe.

Schwierig schien die Aufgabe. Erhebungen solch kleiner Art in einer Ebene schienen nichts Besonderes zu sein; Ruinen stürzen

übereinander und haben keine Stratigraphie; hier gar ist „alles Sand,” der von jedem Regenguss verlagert wird. Wo soll man da eine Stratigraphie, eine feste Gliederung bekommen?

Der Geologe nahm Hammer und Rucksack und wanderte hinaus in das weite Gelände. Zum Jordan hinunter, zum Bergfuss hinüber und ins Gebirge bis 600 m. Höhe hinauf, kreuz und quer, mit und ohne Weg. Gewohnt den Bodenbelag sogleich zu beurteilen nach der Art, Form, Farbe der Gesteine, fand er zwar manche neue Steinwerkzeuge und Stationen, aber nirgends eine solch grosse, dichte Bestreuung wie am Tell Ghassûl. Das ergab sofort einen Hintergrund für die Bedeutung und Grösse der Siedelung. Zugleich ersah er die Entstehungsgeschichte der Gegend. Nicht der Jordan kommt als modellierender Factor in Frage. Nicht der dünenbildende Wind, nicht das erodierende Flusswasser, nicht ein Meer, das unregelmässig eindampft, sondern allein die auf die alte Tonwanne des ehemaligen Toten Meeres von den diluvialen Wassern aus den Tälern Wâdi ‘Ajûn Mûsâ, Hesbân, Kefrân hervorfließenden, flächenhaft sich in Deltaform ergießenden Rückwasser. Diese haben die gerade Absfalllinie des Schuttkegels am Fuss der Täler gebildet. Messungen mit dem Geologenkompass ergaben als Neigungswinkel überall nach Westen und Südwesten 2° . Weithin im Gelände ist Tell Ghassûl die einzige Ausnahme: der Anstieg hat kaum etwas über 0° , der Südabfall dagegen 4° . Nach der Entstehungsgeschichte war klar, dass der weissgraue Tonhorizont sich auch unter Tell Ghassûl hindurch ziehen musste. Ein Versuchsgraben quer durch das ganze Gelände wurde angelegt und mit einem 2 m langen geologischen Bohrer versucht, den Sand zu durchstossen. An den tiefsten Stellen am Anfang und Ende wurde dann auch, mitten im Sandgebiet, der Tonhorizont erschlossen. Um festzustellen, wie tief der diluviale Sand vor der Besiedelung war, ging man weit nach Süden, wo er die grösste Mächtigkeit hatte. Die Oberkante des Tonhorizontes stand im Wâdi Dscharafa. Das ergab, dass 2,60 m die lokal am höchsten zu bemessende Mächtigkeit war. Auf der Zeichnung lag nun klar das Endergebniss. Die Höhenlinie 2,60 m über der Tonoberkante liess noch Raum für 4 bis 5 Meter bis zum

Gipfel der drei höchsten Hügelchen. Man hatte aber erst 1, 50 m unter der Oberfläche ausgegraben. Demnach musste noch ein Ruinenfeld von etwa drei Meter unter den aufgedeckten Häusern sein: ein Tell Ghassûl I unter Tell Ghassûl II. Über einen Monat später hat man auch diese Ziegelmauern, Silos, Herde in der Tiefe aufgedeckt. Jetzt liess man auch einen geologischen Bohrer von 3 Meter Länge machen, um die Oberkante möglichst oft zu erfassen. Aber auch für weitere Feinmessungen ist er geeignet. Die in der Rinne des Bohrers befindliche Erde konnte man mit Klebpasta direkt auf einen Papierstreifen abdrücken und die verschiedenen Höhen nach Papierstreifen zusammen setzen. Mit einem Mikroskop, in Form einer binokularen Zeisslupe mit Mikrophotographie, wurden die Streifen näher untersucht. Zunächst war damit ein sicheres Mittel gefunden, den alten Oberflächenboden vor der Besiedelung ganz genau festzulegen. Unter dieser Linie enthielt er nie das geringste Stäubchen von Asche. Im Mikroskop sah man ja jedes Stäubchen, das schwarz am Boden unter den hellen diluvialen Quarzsanden lag. Es brauchte nur Geduld, um all diese Proben zu machen.

Mit dieser Hilfe sand man auch mit dem Taschenmesser an der alten Oberfläche eine grössere Anreicherung der Steinsalze, die nach jedem Regen im Ghôr ausgeschieden werden. Die weitere Aufgabe war weitere Gliederungen über dem alten Boden zu ermöglichen. Es wurden wie bei geologischen Aufschlüssen von nun an die Einstiche in den Boden so gemacht, dass senkrecht stehende, schön geputzte Profilwände herauskamen, die in den verschiedenen Bänderungen ihre Schichten deutlich zeigten. Jede konnte im Mikroskop untersucht werden.

So erkannte man die verschiedenen Arten von „Aschen.“ Nur an wenigen Stellen war sie so dicht, dass fast nur verbrannte Holzteile vorhanden waren. Meist war sie mit Sand gemischt, bald zu 50 Prozent bald zu 80 oder ähnlichen Zahlen, wie das nebenbei bei untersuchten Aschen von Ain Schems, Bêt Mirsim, Jericho auch der Fall war. Ebenso waren bald unverbrannte Pflanzenhäcksel beigesellt, bald war die Asche völlig pflanzenfrei. Sogar Pollen konnte ich unter einem anderen Mikroskop erkennen. Ob es pollen-

analytische Untersuchung grösseren Stiles möglich sein werden, die in Skandinavien der Urgeschichte solche Dienste geleistet, muss erst noch abgewartet werden.

Zur Auswertung der Ergebnisse bedarf es vor allem genauer Kartierung. Viele wurden schon angefertigt; unter anderem das ganze Abwassernetz der Hügel, die alten Erosionsrinnen und Aufschuttungsebenen. An einer andern ergab sich bei 80 verschiedenen Aschenzipfeln, dass alle einer stratigraphischen Fläche angehören mit zwei Gruben und einer Störungszone. Die meisten Aschenbänder befinden sich unter der aufgedeckten Fläche der Häusermauern, also muss die von Ghassûl I herühren, nicht von Ghassûl II, das darauf gebaut ist.

Erst auf Grund dieser Karten konnte auch ein Gipsrelief des ganzen Geländes hergestellt werden, in das man nun eintragen kann, was von Bedeutung ist. Um kartieren zu können, bedurfte es einer Neueinteilung des 700 m langen und 400 m breiten Geländes. Je 100 Quadratmeter wurden abgesteckt, nach dem Kompass Nord Süd orientiert.

Innenhalb des Quadrates wieder je 10 m nach Länge, Breite und Tiefe unter dem Vermessungspunkt des Ingenieurs wie Höhe über der Tonoberkante eingemessen. Sollten noch weitere kleinere Quadrate nötig sein, so kann man sie leicht machen bis zum Zentimeter, ja theoretisch wie praktisch zum Bruchteil eines Millimeters unter dem Mikroskop und das Endergebnis noch festgehalten im photographischen Bild. Da erst gewinnen die aufgeklebten Bodenproben Wert, wenn man sie noch später jederzeit genau nach ihrem Ort festlegen kann.

Nach all diesen naturwissenschaftlichen Sicherungen kann jetzt der Archäologe kommen und ruhig bald hier 1,20 m Aschensand sehen, dort dafür 5 bis 7 getrennte Bänder, hier gar ist im oberflächlich völlig aschenfreien gelben Sand Aschenstaub zu entdecken. Es muss immer klarer werden, wie diese Schichten zusammengehören. Nur bedarf es Genauigkeit und Geduld, ohne die nichts Grosses geschieht.

In dem Nachrichtenblatt der Deutschen Wissenschaft und Tech-

nik „*Forschungen und Fortschritte*,“ 20. Oct. 1930. (Haft. 30), hat Prof. ROEDER die Ausgrabungen in Hermopolis in Aegypten besprochen. Er schliesst mit dem Hinweis, dass gerade die naturwissenschaftlichen Methoden den Erfolg der Grabung herbeigeführt haben. Wir können nur sagen: Auch am Tell Ghassûl werden sie ebenfalls angewandt. Hoffen wir auf gleiche Erfolge.

TAMMUZ WORSHIP IN THE BOOK OF MALACHI.

J. G. MATTHEWS

(JERUSALEM)

Malachi 2¹⁰⁻¹⁶, the basis of our study, is the most puzzling passage in the book. In some places the text seems hopelessly corrupt: the Septuagint and Syriac often vary greatly from the Hebrew; the allusions are indefinite and even its unity has been seriously questioned by leading Old Testament scholars.

The most common interpretation is that this section is a polemic directed against Jews who, divorcing wives of their own race, were marrying foreigners, especially Samaritans. This interpretation goes back to the Targum which, in verse 10, actually inserts "Abraham," as the explanation of "one Father of us all." By the judicious adaptation of phrases and the careful glossing over of difficulties this passage is brought into a vigorous alliance with Nehemiah-Ezra in their programme against mixed marriages (Neh. 13¹³⁻²⁷; Ezra 10⁹⁻⁴⁴).

BULMERINQ in the most recent and most exhaustive introduction to the book valiantly supports this theory. He goes so far as to date these verses definitely in 475 B.C., a date long enough after the building of the second temple (516 B.C.) to permit abuses to creep in, and yet one that preceded the arrival of Ezra in Jerusalem in 458 B.C. He finds this makes an excellent preparation for the reforms of Ezra. Indeed he concludes from the fact stated in the Ezra reform, that if we had not this polemic we would have to postulate some similar movement at about the date designated.

The arguments have been well marshalled, though in not a few places his armour is scarcely lance proof.

The inherent difficulties of the passage have led G. A. SMITH, followed by MARTI, MOFFAT, SELLIN and VANHOONACKER to consider verses 11,12 (or 10-12 VANHOONACKER) a late interpolation. This criticism gives us two authors and two themes. Malachi, who is responsible for 2¹⁰, 13-16, attacks the divorce evil, only, and a later writer, who inserted 2¹¹⁻¹² (or 2¹⁰⁻¹²), sententiously opposes foreign marriages.

This is much more tenable than the older theory. If it be correct Malachi has presented us with a very high ideal of Matrimony. One Creator, one Father, and hence one race and one family would be the corollary and enrichment of the Deuteronomic principle (Deut. 5⁴, 24¹). Because God and his people are linked up in a spiritual, unbreakable bond, therefore the family unit should be as indissoluble as the personality of God, would be one of the finest expressions of the ideal marital relationship in all literature. SELLIN's excellent commentary supports this position in a most illuminating way. His study of phrases and words so used in reference to marriage and divorce, the comparison with the situation in the Nehemiah-Ezra period and his textual suggestions lend the best possible support to this theory.

Yet after all possible has been said for either theory, they both leave too much unexplained and lay too great a burden on the ingenuity of the exegete.

As far back as 1898 Prof. C. C. TORREY drew attention to the grave difficulties in the current interpretations and brilliantly supported the thesis that בָתְהַאֲלֵ נָכֶר in verse 11 should be interpreted as a foreign cult in which the female figure was dominant and אֲשֶׁח נָעִירְךָ, verse 14, was equivalent to the covenant religion of Israel. Thus he conceived the whole passage to be an attack on unfaithfulness to Yahweh because of the introduction of the Tammuz cult (TORREY, J.B.L. 1898, p. 1-15). Later HUGO WINCKLER interpreted it in a similar way but considered it an attack on the worship of Zeus, whose image had been introduced into the temple by Antiochus

Epiphanes in 168 B.C. While the former has been called a "curiosity of interpretation" and the latter "ganz aus der Luft gegriffen," nevertheless to the writer the solution seems to lie in this direction.

A careful reading of the passage will convince all that only by a twist of imagination can many of the words and phrases be applied to the marriage problem, while they most naturally fit in into the idea of ritual. "Covenant of our fathers," "profaning the covenant," "defiling the sanctuary of Yahweh," "daughter of a foreign god," "caller and answerer," "covering the altar with tears," "the mate of your covenant," "seed of God," "violence on one's garment"—all these on the face of them, even in our older translations, have in them the peculiar flavour of ritual. While most of the remaining significant phrases, "acting treacherously," "an abomination," "a putting away," "wailing and groaning," are as frequently and definitely used in reference to ritual as to social evils.

More conclusive than this is the fact that the phrase on which depends the validity of the older translations, "the wife of your youth," נָשָׁת נְעֹרִיךְ, rests on a quite improbable presupposition. It implies (and this is conceded by the interpreters, though they fail to see the difficulties involved) that only the old men in Judah were putting away their Jewish wives and were marrying Samaritans, and that they were doing so in such numbers that a prophet in speaking of them could use the collective singular. It has been argued that the wives of their youth were barren, hence for the sake of posterity they divorced them and remarried. So many Jewish women barren and foreign women fertile? Or again it has been suggested that they were seeking prestige by alliances with a leading class in the country. Then why should the old men be the chief sinners? Or as BULMERINCQ deduces from the lists of those returned from captivity, were the men three times as numerous as the women, and hence the necessity of marriages with natives? But what could that possibly have to do with divorce? Merely to state the problem is to recognize its great improbability. נָשָׁת נְעֹרִיךְ, the chief corner stone of the old interpretations, has usually been glossed over; it fits very poorly into the structure of the book and may be

but a block from some ancient, crumbling, scribal edifice. At least the old interpretation of it seems scarcely tenable.

Still further evidence against the old interpretation is the fact that the book of Malachi, which in its arrangement is one of the most orderly in the Old Testament, is throughout an appeal for observance of correct ritual. Under the old interpretations this paragraph is an intrusion, but if it can be interpreted as an appeal against an insidious, false ritual like Tammuz Worship it is consonant with the whole tenor of the book, and in fact becomes the dramatic climax of the message.

Assuming then the possibility that Malachi originally delivered such a broadside against a prevalent evil, we need to hold in mind the following facts.

The Tammuz cult, like the Osiris-Isis cult of Egypt and the Cybele worship in Asia Minor, was a fertility cult and centred round the idea of the changing seasons, spring, summer and winter, and the human life processes, birth, marriage and death. The central ideas of both, the seasons and human life, were synthesised and dramatised into a mystery play. It was believed that as the summer forces of life and love waned into the autumn, the young god Tammuz went into the lower world. Later, Ishtar his mate, mourning him went to find him. Hence the life-giving forces vanished from the earth. She passed down into Sheol divesting herself of one garment after another as she passed through the doors of Hades, till divested of all her raiment she at last reached the seventh, the lowest abode of the underworld. Here she found Tammuz, and on December the twenty-fifth, the day of the winter equinox, she gained his release and together they began the return to the upper world. At each stage she reclothed herself with the garment previously discarded and at each stage the life-giving force was revived in the earth and in animal life. Around these general features an elaborate ritual with many suggestive symbols was woven. We can readily understand that the fertility cult, with its gay festivities; its appealing symbolism, and its emphasis on the central facts of human experience, so appealed to the masses that it was always a menace

to the higher morality and the purer worship of Israel.

Again in the interpretation of those passages that refer to such pagan rites we are faced by certain very serious handicaps. The forms and ceremonies, the signs and pass-words, were largely in the keeping of those initiated into the mysteries. Hence we are not surprised that these have not been handed down in perfect form to the modern world. We possess no manual of any fertility cult. We understand the general principles underlying such cults and we are able to learn something of the secret rites through the reconstruction of scraps of literature that have come to us from friend and foe. Stray phrases are found in the Old Testament prophets, but these are never explanatory (cf. Ezek. 8⁵⁻⁷, 13¹⁸⁻²¹, Jer. 16¹⁷, 22¹⁸, 34⁵, 44¹⁵⁻¹⁷). Words such as *מספחות*, *כשות*, *גלוים*, *יד*, *זמור*, that to the ancient readers must have epitomized a world of scorn and contempt, to us have lost their sting and even their meaning. Without the complete background out of which these phrases sprang our interpretation will always be halting.

Further it is probable that our text, particularly in passages where it deals with immoral pagan elements in the worship, suffers from the fact that the scribes, either through a mistaken piety or through ignorance, failed exactly to reproduce the original. Too many illustrations of scribal errors of this type exist to need illustration.

With these facts in mind we are now ready for the detailed study of the text. Many small textual changes and the details of argumentation are necessarily omitted in this paper. Only the features of outstanding importance will be noted.

Verse 10 begins, as Malachi so uniformly does, with a question. "Have we not all one Father?" "Did not one God create all of us?" are parallel expressions that readily gain the assent of all the hearers but subtly bear in their train the condemnation of all pagan worship.

Verse 11 launches an attack against those Jews who had defiled the sanctuary of Yahweh by becoming the devotees of a כהן־אלֶּי נָכַר, a pagan goddess.

In verse 12 יְרוּ וְעֹנוֹת, "inciter and respondent," or "caller and answerer" (TORREY), or "teacher and student" (JASTROW), is an admirable

characterization of those who took part in the dance or in antiphonal responses in Tammuz worship.

In verse 13, “כָּסֹת דְּמֻעָה אֶחָדִמּוֹכֵחַ יְהוָה,” “covering the altar of Yahweh with tears,” is most naturally interpreted as part of the ritual of the dying God. It is very similar to those suggestive phrases that Ezekiel and Jeremiah directed against the Tammuz cult: “women weeping for Tammuz” and “they shall not lament for him saying הָיוּ אֲחוֹת הָיוּ אֲדוֹן וְהָיוּ הָרָה or וְהָיוּ אֲחוֹת (Ezk. 8¹⁴, Jer. 22¹⁸),

Verse 14 begins with the query of the accused עַל־מָה, “what is it?” and the crux of the whole question is found in the prophet’s answer, הַעֲדֵר בֵּין הַעֲיר בֵּין נָשָׁת נְעוּרִיךְ וּבֵין אֲשָׁת נְעוּרִיךְ We note that הַעֲדֵר בֵּין “witness between” is an isolated use of the verb הָעַד with the preposition בֵּין. “To judge between” two parties is expressed by בֵּין שְׁפָט בֵּין, while “a witness between” calls for עַד בֵּין. Further in English the phrase “witness between” sounds strange and wide search has so far produced no other illustration of this idiom. Doubt is raised as to the correctness of the phrase either in English or Hebrew. It is not impossible that בֵּין is a scribal error for בְּ and that the original text conformed to good Hebrew usage and read הַעֲדֵר בְּ which would read “witness against you and against . . .”

Next comes אֲשָׁת נְעוּרִיךְ, the *bête noir* of the whole book. If Malachi’s general theme is ritual, if the majority of the phrases in verses 10-16 refer to ritual when interpreted in the most natural way, and if the restoration suggested above is valid, probably this phrase originally referred to some central feature or some symbol in pagan worship which came under the prophetic ban. Can an approximation to these consonants אֲשָׁת נְעוּרִיךְ be made to yield good sense is our next problem.

The reconstruction that most naturally suggests itself would be אֲשָׁרָה נְעַכְּבָה, “abominable Asherah.” Another that is inviting, especially as a ה has been dropped from the בֵּין, would be נְחַשְּׁתָן שְׂרוֹת, “shameful bronze thing.” That such idolatry was always present in ancient times and was frequently the object of prophetic attack needs no illustration here. However while the present Massoretic text might easily be a corruption from either of the above suggested

texts, no insistence on one or other would be profitable since no help is found in any of the versions.

The last phrase of the verse gives better sense when read as an interrogation, without the interrogative particle being written, a practice not uncommon in Hebrew: "Was she your companion, the mate of your covenant?"

The Septuagint begins verse 15 by καὶ εἶπατε τί αἷλο, and seems to have read אחר ואמורתם מה instead of מה האחד. This is much more intelligent than the perplexing Massoretic text. Then the phrase זורע אליהם, may be translated "numerous posterity," taking אליהם as it must be taken in a goodly number of cases as an intensive to the word it qualifies (cf. AJSL. 1928, pp. 111-112, ZATW. 1929, p. 310). For אשת נעריך we must naturally use the same reconstruction as suggested in verse 14.

The חילש of verse 16 has usually been translated by "putting away," or "divorce." But it may apply as readily to some of the long forgotten ritual of Tammuz. May it have reference to some putting off or stripping off of garments? The verb חילש is actually used in this sense in the Targums. Further the stripping off of garments and thus reverting to the simple primitive loin-cloth is an essential part in the ritual of many peoples. When we think of Tammuz worship it is unnecessary to draw attention to the prominent place the nude Astarte occupied in that cult. But even a more curious feature than this is the fact that perhaps a dozen seals have been found in which Astarte is represented as undraping herself (cf WARD, *Seals and Cylinders*, pp. 266, 296-302, HOGARTH, *Hittite Seals*, No 176; CONTENAU, *La glyptique Syro-Hittite*, Nos. 136, 138, 138, 156, 141, 311 and LEGRAIN, *The Culture of the Babylonians*, XIV. No. 501). In a number of these she is seen carefully pushing aside her garments, in others she is undraping herself. Do these curious seals preserve to us a part of the Tammuz ritual? Are they part of the mystery play celebrating the descent of Ishtar into Hades and the seven stages of her undraping? If so what a righteous passion may be preserved in חילש שונא?

In the same verse we face the enigma עלה ללבושו. It is

much easier to believe that this refers to something put on a garment, than on a wife. Decorations have always had religious significance. The Jews were doing something of this kind in the days when Ezekiel upbraided the women who were performing rites that they believed would give life to the individual for "sewing bonds on all elbows" (Ezek. 13¹⁸⁻²¹). The Septuagint has not given us a good translation of this part of the verse: *καὶ καλύψει ἀσέβεια ἐπὶ τὰ ἐνθυμήματά σου.* Had ἐνθυμήματα a word like בָּשָׂר, "to reckon," behind it? If so we note that בָּשָׂר or שְׁבָר is used for girdles. Read שְׁבָר for בָּשָׂר, and the translation "putting a girdle on his garment" makes good sense. The well known "girdle tie" of Isis may have figured in the ritual and may have symbolized some of the abominable practices of the cult. Some such word would at least make intelligible a text otherwise quite hopeless.

From such emendations, which on the whole do less violence to the Massoretic text than usual, we turn to the translation of the whole paragraph.

10. Is there not one Father to all of us? Did not one God create all of us? Why then should one act treacherously toward another, profaning the covenant of our fathers?

11. Judah has acted treacherously and an abomination is committed in Israel . . . for Judah has defiled the sanctuary of Yahweh, which he loves, and has become a devotee of a pagan goddess.

12. Yahweh will cut off to a man, whoever does it, both inciter and respondent, from out of the tents of Jacob, even from those making an offering to Yahweh of hosts. 13. Indeed, these things that I hate you are doing, covering the altar of Yahweh with tears, wailing and groaning, so that there can be no favorable turning to the gift, nor taking with pleasure from your hands.

14. But you say, Why is it? Because Yahweh bears witness against you and against your abominable Asherah with which you have apostatised. Was she your companion, or the mate of your covenant? 15. But no one who has a remnant of moral sense does this.

But you say, What is it but seeking a numerous posterity? Now then, preserve your good sense and do not apostatise to the abominable Asherah 16. For I hate stripping off, and putting a pagan device on one's garment, says Yahweh of hosts. So preserve your good sense and do not apostatise.

Such a translation requires but slight textual changes, makes the passage a consistent whole, integrates it with the general message of the prophecy and, if only an approximation to the original, preserves a telling attack on the prevalent seductive Tammuz worship.



REIFENBERG Thoraschrank

DER THORASCHRANK AUF DEN TETRADRACHMEN DES ZWEITEN JÜDISCHEN AUFSTANDES

A. REIFENBERG

(JERUSALEM)

Die Deutung der Vorderseite der Tetradrachmen des zweiten Aufstandes ist seit jeher eine recht umstrittene gewesen. PEREZ BAYER und nach ihm ACKERMANN wollten auf ihr das Mausoleum Simon Makkabis erblicken, während andere die Darstellung der Bundeslade zu sehen glaubten.¹ LEVY und MERZBACHER wiederum meinten die Abbildung des Tempels vor sich zu haben, während GRAETZ in der Fassade eine „festliche Laubhütte“ erkannte. In neuerer Zeit kommt ROGERS² zu der Auffassung, dass es sich um die vier Pfeiler für den Schleier vor dem Allerheiligsten handelt mit einer konventionellen Darstellung der Bundeslade und des Gnadenstuhles. Dieser Ansicht schliesst sich auch HILL³ an. Merkwürdigerweise hat nun schon vor fast hundert Jahren CAVEDONI⁴ diese Ansicht zurückgewiesen und schliesslich seine endgültige Meinung dahin ausgesprochen, dass es sich um das Sacrarium einer Synagoge mit der Darstellung des Thoraschrankes handele. CAVEDONI kam zu seinem Ergebnis durch Vergleiche mit den schon damals bekannten Goldgläsern. Leider ist CAVEDONIS Erkenntnis infolge ihrer ablehnung durch BABINGTON und ROGERS nich Amerkannt obwohl er in

¹ LENORMANT u.a.

² Num. Chron. 1911 vol. XI ff.

³ Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine, S. CVI.

⁴ Biblische Numismatik, übersetzt von A. VON WERLHOF, Hannover-1855 und 1856. Teil I S. 34 ff. und Teil II, S. 65 ff.

der Hauptsache zweifellos im Recht war. Insbesondere zeigen dies die im Laufe der letzten Jahre bei der Ausgrabung palästinensischer Synagogen gewonnenen Erkenntnisse. In dieser Arbeit sollen aber auch andere diesbezügliche Darstellungen des Thoraschrankes mit herangezogen werden; diese, im Verein mit den Ausgrabungsergebnissen, beweisen, nach Ansicht des Verfassers, dass die Vorderseite der Tetradrachmen des zweiten jüdischen Aufstandes zweifellos die Darstellung eines Thoraschrankes gibt.

Wir erblicken auf der Vorderseite der Münzen (Abb. 1 und 2) vier Säulen, die ionischen ähneln (und nicht etwa, wie von CAVEDONI angegeben, dorischen). Bekrönt werden diese Säulen durch einen Architrav, der in dem einen Falle (Abb. 1) durch zwei punktierte Linien, im anderen Falle durch eine punktierte und eine volle Linie wiedergegeben ist. Die Säulen ruhen auf einem Postament, das im Falle von Abb. 1 eine verhältnismässig grosse Höhe hat. Im Innern erblicken wir eine von einem Bogen überwölbte Konstruktion, die mittels zweier parallel laufender Linien abgeteilt ist. In der mittleren Abteilung befinden sich zwei Punkte. Die Inschrift lautet auf Abb. 1 „Schimon,” auf Abb. 2 „Jeruschalem.” Auf Abb. 1 befindet sich im Feld oben ein Stern. Es gibt auch derartige Münzen, bei denen statt des Sterns eine Wellenlinie erscheint.

Keinesfalls kann die gewölbte Konstruktion eine Tempeltür darstellen, da sie erhöht ist.

Bevor wir nun auf die Deutung dieser Darstellung eingehen, mögen einige andere, zweifellos Thoraschränke präsentierende, Objekte betrachtet werden.

Bekannt sind die Goldgläser mit der Darstellung eines Thoraschreines, von denen wir hier nur eines nach GARRUCCI, *vetri 5, i* wiedergeben. (Abb. 3). Wir sehen hier den geöffneten Thoraschrein, der sechs Schriftrollen enthält. (Ausserdem andere jüdische Kultusgeräte, darunter auch Ethrog und Lulab, die auf der Rückseite unserer Münzen erscheinen). Eine ähnliche Darstellung des Thoraschrankes findet sich auf einem von CLERMONT-GANNEAU veröffentlichtem Ossuar vom Ölberg (Abb. 4). Wir glauben aber auch denselben Thoraschrank auf einem palästinensischen Glas der Samm-

lung Sambon (nach KISA : *Das Glass im Altertum*, S. 823 Abb 331 a) wiederzuerkennen. (Abb. 5). Der Thoraschrank war infolge seiner Heiligkeit ein beliebtes Motiv in der Volkskunst Palästinas und es kann nicht Wunder nehmen, dass wir ihn neben dem Wahrzeichen des Judentums, dem siebenarmigen Leuchter und der so oft verwandten Palme erblicken.

Besonders häufig wurden Abbildungen von Thoraschränken in palästinenschen Synagogen gefunden; es erübrigt sich an dieser Stelle ausführlich auf dieses Thema einzugehen, da inzwischen SUKENIK in einer eingehenden und sehr wertvollen Arbeit darüber berichtet hat.¹ Insbesondere ist neben dem Thoraschrank von Tell Hum² auch der Thoraschrank von Keraze³ (KOHL und WATZINGER a.a.O. S. 51, i) zu vergleichen. Übrigens sind entgegen DALMAN⁴ beide Thoraschränke schon von den Herausgebern als solche erkannt worden.⁵ Mit Recht erblickt u.E. auch DALMAN⁶ in dem von KOHL und WATZINGER als „Wagen des Patriarchen“ gedeuteten Tempelchen einen Thoraschrank, der ja nach Taan. II 1, Tos. Taan. I 8 beweglich sein musste, da er bei Regenfasttagen auf einen öffentlichen Platz gebracht wurde. (Abb. 6).

Natürlich mögen bei dieser Darstellung Vorstellungen von der fahrbaren Bundeslade oder sogar des Festwagens der Aphrodite (DALMAN) mitgespielt haben. Wir wollen es vorerst ununtersucht lassen, ob nicht auch die „Tempel“ auf den in der vorigen Arbeit behandelten Öllampen einen Thoraschrein darstellen sollen. Desgleichen ist vielleicht das von GALLING⁷ als Gitterfenster (?) gedeutete Ornament auf der in Gezer gefundenen Lampe als Thoraschrank zu deuten, woranf mich Dr. L.A. MAYER aufmerksam gemacht hat.

Wenn wir nun zu der Darstellung auf den Münzen zurückkehren, so leuchtet es angesichts der gegebenen Parallelen wohl ohne

¹ *Quarterly Statements of the P.E.F.*, Januar 1931, S. 22 ff.

² KOHL und WANZINGER : *Antike Synagogen in Galilaea* S. 40, Abb. 76.

³ KOHL und WATZINGER a.a.O. S. 51, i.

⁴ *Orte und Wege Jesu* S. 153 und entgegen KRAUSS: *Synagogale Altertümer* S. 439.

⁵ a.a.O. S. 192.

⁶ a.a.O. S. 154.

⁷ Z. D. P. V. Bd. 46 S. 22.

Weiteres ein, dass die gewölbte Konstruktion in der Mitte nur einen Thoraschrank darstellen kann. Die horizontalen Linien deuten sicherlich Fächer an und die beiden Punkte im mittelsten Fach zwei im Schrank befindliche Thorarollen. Übrigens mussten nach Angabe des Talmud mindestens zwei Thorarollen vorhanden sein.

Bei der von SUKENIK in Beth Alpha ausgegrabenen Synagoge wurde eine Apsis gefunden, die zweifellos dem Thoraschrank als Aufenthaltsort diente. Säulen, wie die auf der Münze befindlichen, mögen die Apsis von dem übrigen Teil der Synagoge abgetrennt haben; es sei darauf hingewiesen, dass auch sonst Abbildungen von Thoraschränken von Säulen¹ flankiert sind. Andrerseits wollen wir es aber nicht von der Hand weisen, dass die Säulen einfach den Tempel bezw. die Synagoge andeuten sollen, in die man beim Hineinsehen den Thoraschrank erblickt.

Der Verfasser dankt Herrn Dr. SUKENIK für Überlassung einer Photographic von Nr. 4.

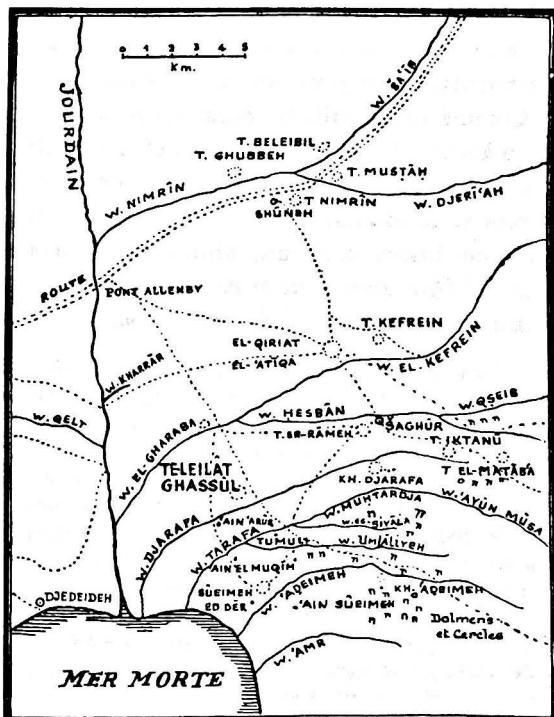
¹ z.B. Pekiin, siehe SUKENIK a.a.O. S. 24.

NOTES SUR LE GHÔR

ALEXIS MALLON S. J.

(JÉRUSALEM)

Mettant à profit les quelques loisirs que nous laissaient les fouilles de *Teleilât Ghassûl*, nous avons, M. NEUVILLE et moi, exploré



plusieurs points du Ghôr oriental. Le travail a été continué, principalement au point de vue géologique et préhistorique, par le R.P. KOEPPEL, Docteur de Tübingen èssciences naturelles. Quelques-uns des résultats de ces premières recherches sont portés sur le diagramme ci-joint, lequel corrige et complète celui que nous avons publié précédemment.¹

I. GÉOGRAPHIE ET SITES

Sur les strates épaisses d'argile et de sable, fond de la mer au temps du *diluvium*, les torrents qui descendaient des Monts de Moab jetèrent les deltas plus ou moins larges et épanouis qui couvrent aujourd'hui le Ghôr. En même temps, l'érosion commençait son oeuvre et creusait les nombreux wadys qui sillonnent la plaine: *Wady Nimrin*, *Wady Gharaba* avec ses deux grands affluents *W. Kufrein* et *W. Heshan*, *W. Djarafa*, *W. Tarafa* avec trois affluents *W. Muhtardja* lequel se prolonge dans la montagne par *Wady 'Ayūn Masa*, *Wady es-Siyala* et *W. Umlāiyeh*, *W. 'Adeimeh*.² Les deux premiers sont tributaires du Jourdain, les trois autres aboutissent à la Mer Morte. Comme on le sait, les eaux de ces wadys sont captées pour l'irrigation à leur arrivée dans la plaine, elles ne parviennent à la mer ou au fleuve que par exception aux jours de grandes pluies.

Trois sources jaillissent dans la partie sud: '*Ain 'Aras*, avec les restes d'un ancien bassin construit, semble-t-il, à l'époque arabe, avec les pierres d'*ed-Deir*, abondante et potable formant une minuscule oasis où le jardinage prospère³; '*Ain el-Muqīm*, trop pauvre pour

¹ *Biblica*, XI, 1930, p. 4. Deux corrections, *Wādy 'Ayūn Mūsa* comme partie supérieure de *W. Muhtardja* et de *W. Tarafa*; *W. Djarafa* aboutissant à la Mer Morte et non au Jourdain, constatation faite par le P. KOEPPEL.

² Tous ces noms dont deux sont nouveaux, *W. es-Siyala* et *W. Umlāiyeh*, sont consignés ici d'après les indications des bédouins de l'endroit et selon leur prononciation usuelle. On voit que cette prononciation détaille toutes les syllabes. Nous n'avons relevé que les wadys qui ont des noms, il en existe bien d'autres de moindre importance.

J'ai dit ailleurs que *Gharaba* (nom générique *gharab*) est le nom du *populus euphratica* qui abonde dans le wady ainsi appelé (*Biblica*, XI, 1930, p. 229, note 1). Ce nom revient fréquemment sur les lèvres des bédouins à cause du chemin de *Sueimeh* et de *Ma'in* qui le franchit. *W. Tarafa* (*Taraf*, "Tamaris") est le prolongement de deux affluents, *W. Muhtardja* et *W. es-Siyala*.

³ La ruine d'*ed-Deir* à l'Ouest de *Sueimeh* nous fut indiquée par Mr. HEAD,

être exploitée; *'Ain Saeimeh*, au Sud-Est de la ruine de même nom, légèrement saumâtre, presque aussi abondante que *'Ain es-Sultan* à Jéricho. Elle a été captée par les *Gharwärneh* de l'endroit et amenée par un canal qui traverse les berges adoucies de *W.* *'Adeimeh* jusqu'aux champs de culture qui constituent une de leurs principales richesses.

Négligé et presque déserté depuis la fin du Moyen Age, le Ghôr oriental fut autrefois beaucoup plus peuplé que de nos jours, comme en témoignent les nombreuses ruines qui en jonchent le sol. Dans *W. Nimrin*, c'est *Tell el-Medes* dit aussi *Tell Tawil*, avec son village byzantin, dont une opinion fait "Béthanie au-delà du Jourdain"¹; *Tell Nimrin* près de *Shuneh* actuelle, Bethennabris des auteurs grecs, qui florissait aussi au Moyen Age arabe; *Tell el-Beleibil* dans *Wady Sa'ib*, sans doute Beth Nimrah biblique; *Tell Mustâb* au confluent de *W. Sa'ib* et de *W. Djerîrah*, site important où apparaissent des arasements de remparts et en surface les débris d'une civilisation de la fin du Bronze I²; enfin le plus ancien, *Tell Ghubbéh* sur la rive Nord de *Wady Nimrin* à l'Ouest de *Shuneh*, très plat et usé, très défiguré aussi par les cultures qui le recouvrent périodiquement presque en entier, de même civilisation que *Teleilat Ghassul* (affleurements de murs, silex taillés, débris de mortiers, céramique), remontant donc aux débuts des temps historiques.

Comme la nature même des lieux le laisse supposer, le maximum de densité s'affirme dans les oasis, riches en eaux, de *W. Kufrein* et *W. Hesbân*. Signalons seulement les ruines bien connues de la première: *Tell Kusrein*, Abel Sittim de la Bible, et *el-Qiriyat el-*

insp. ceutre du "Department of Antiquities" de Transjordanie. C'est une construction rectangulaire dont il ne reste que les fondations. Comme l'indique le nom et quelques pierres sculptées, c'était probablement un couvent d'époque byzantine.

Dans une visite à *Wady Kharrâr*, autre endroit proposé pour Béthanie au-delà du Jourdain, nous avons remarqué sur la hauteur un dépôt considérable de pierres taillées provenant évidemment d'ailleurs. On nous a assuré qu'elles avaient été apportées du côté de *Sæimeh*, donc certainement de la ruine d'*ed-Deir*. D'ailleurs elles étaient destinées à la construction d'un couvent grec.

¹ *Evangile selon S. Jean*, I, 28. FÉDERLIN, *Béthanie au-delà du Jourdain (Tell el-Medesch)*. Paris. Imprimerie Paul Féron-Vrau.

² Sur *Tell el-Beleibil* et *Tell Mustâb*, cf. *Biblica*, X, 1929, p. 96-99; sur *Tell Mustâb*, une note importante de M. RENÉ NEUVILLE, le premier à reconnaître la haute antiquité de cette ruine, dans *JPOS*. X, 1930, 193-199.

'Atīqa dans la plaine, sans doute Abila de l'époque romaine, vaste et très plate, jonchée de tessons de l'époque arabe à dessins géométriques et à glaçure verte, jaune et bleue. Ajoutons aussi *Khirbet el-Gharaba*, à l'Ouest du chemin de *Sueimeh*, petite installation byzantine. Une autre ruine byzantino-arabe, peu connue, s'étale sur la rive Sud de *W. Djarafa*, à poterie byzantine et médiévale (faïences vertes, jaunes et bleues), montrant ça et là des colonnes renversées et des chapiteaux, et mesurant deux à trois mètres d'épaisseur et une centaine de mètres en longueur et en largeur, appelée par les indigènes du nom même de la vallée ou bien *es-Sarabi* "les pierres dressées, les colonnes".

Trois noms dominent la région arrosée par *W. Hesbān*: *Tell er-Rāmeh*, *Shaghūr*, et *Tell Iktanū*. Le premier, bien connu, identifié depuis longtemps avec Beth Haram biblique, désigne le beau tell blanc que couronnent aujourd'hui quelques tombeaux arabes et qui se voit de tous les points du Ghôr.¹ A l'époque romaine, selon l'habitude, la ville déserta la colline incommode et s'étendit dans la plaine, principalement à l'Ouest et au Sud, comme en témoignent les vestiges encore visibles, sous le nom éphémère de *Livias* (ou *Julias*).

*Tell Iktanū*² est situé à trois kilomètres à l'Est, au pied des montagnes, près de *Wādy Hesbān*. Dans une visite rapide en Mars 1929,

¹ Il est étonnant qu'il n'ait pas été aperçu par le Dr. ALBRIGHT qui passa pourtant, dit-il, dans un rayon d'un mille de distance (cf. *JPOS*, X, 1930, p. 193 note 3).

² Le mot *Iktanū* (*Ektanū*) n'est pas arabe, il ne peut guère se rattacher qu'au radical sémitique *qāṭan* "petit." *Alef* prostéthique ne fait nulle difficulté, étant un usage bien connu du parler palestinien; *ū* final (ou *ō*, car les bédouins prononcent plutôt *Iktanō*) peut appartenir au terroir moabite (cf. *Luhitu, Corp. Inscr. Sem. Aram.* 196). Il n'est pas facile de décider quelle est là première radicale *k* ou *q*. Le Dr. CANAAN, bien habitué cependant à entendre parler arabe, a noté la difficulté réelle qui existe à distinguer certaines lettres en Transjordanie telles *ṣ* et *s*, *k* et *q* (*JPOS*, IX, 1929, p. 137).

On sait que les bédouins prononcent toujours le *k* arabe *tṣb*. C'est ce que j'ai constaté moi-même pendant plusieurs mois de séjour dans le Ghôr. Or, jamais ils ne disent "*Itschtanū*," mais toujours *Iktanū*. Par ailleurs le *q* chez eux devient *g* dur (ou parfois *dj*), ce qui n'est pas le cas non plus pour *Iktanū*. La seconde radicale *ṭ* se conforme naturellement à la première.

Ce mot ne suit donc pas les règles de la prononciation arabe. Il constitue une exception, laquelle ne peut s'expliquer que si l'on admet que le terme existait déjà dans le pays avant les Arabes avec la forme qu'il a conservée jusqu'à nos jours.

j'avais reconnu la haute antiquité de cette ruine. Nous l'avons examinée, M. NEUVILLE et moi, avec plus de loisir en 1930. Les débris archéologiques de surface y sont très mélangés et accusent une longue occupation, s'étendant des débuts de l'âge du Bronze jusqu'à l'époque juive. C'est à cette dernière date que la ville fut définitivement abandonnée. Nous n'y avons rien noté ni de romain ni de byzantin.

Les objets les plus anciens se trouvent principalement sur la plateforme inférieure, à l'Est : petits couteaux en silex à dos rabattu, fragments de grattoirs en éventail, lames à arêtes parallèles, tessons variés (décor incisé, fonds plats dont l'un avec dessin), semblables à ceux de *Teleilat Ghassul* ou aux plus anciens de Jéricho.

Les remparts, ceux de la ville comme ceux de l'acropole, sont construits en grosses pierres assez régulièrement agencées extraites apparemment de la colline même d'*Iktanû*. A la plateforme supérieure, des chercheurs de trésors avaient ouvert une tranchée, rejetant sur les côtés la vaisselle estimée sans valeur; la majorité de ces fragments appartiennent au deuxième âge du Bronze. C'est un indice précieux pour la date des remparts. Tout le côté occidental, le plus étendu et le plus élevé n'est qu'un rocher. Le côté méridional est aussi très abrupt. Une moitié à peine de la colline pouvait être habitée à l'Orient. Au premier âge du Bronze, avant la construction des murs, c'était incontestablement une toute petite ville.

La localité était donc habitée au temps où les Hébreux de Moïse campèrent dans la plaine. Elle n'est pas mentionnée explicitement dans la Bible, sans doute parce que, place forte, elle ne fut pas occupée par les Israélites. Mais son existence est, pour ainsi dire, un postulat du contexte. "Le peuple commença à se livrer à la débauche avec les filles de Moab. Elles invitèrent le peuple au sacrifice de leur dieu. Et le peuple mangea et se prosterna devant leur dieu."¹

Ce dieu était Ba'al Pe'or et nous avons dit ailleurs que son sanctuaire pouvait être situé avec vraisemblance à la ruine de *Tell el-Maṭābe'*.²

¹ Num. XXV, 1.

² Biblica, X, 1929, 228-230,

Or, quelques bédouines loqueteuses, errant dans les montagnes, n'auraient pas donné occasion au désordre grave et prolongé que flagelle l'auteur sacré. Il faut nécessairement admettre le voisinage de quelque agglomération qui possédait, sans doute dans un haut lieu, un temple à Ba'al Pe'or, et avec laquelle les Israélites vivaient en paix. *Tell Iktanū* répond à cette exigence.

Shaghār, désigne non seulement le rocher où depuis une vingtaine d'années les bédouins ont construit quelques greniers, mais aussi la plaine qui s'étend à un kilomètre à l'Est de *Tell er-Rāmeh*. C'est là comme le centre de la fraction des 'Adwān qui possèdent et exploitent cette oasis.

Il y eut là, aux siècles byzantins, une installation assez importante. Presque partout, en défonçant le sol, les ouvriers exhument des objets, vases, lampes etc., de cette époque. La construction la plus considérable se voit à un kilomètre à l'Est de *Rāmeh*, vaste rectangle, ceint de beaux murs, avec des chapiteaux, des colonnes renversées, des pierres sculptées, entr'autres une *hermula* qui annonce l'existence d'un cancel, tout cela transformé hélas! en carrière d'où les indigènes tirent, toutes prêtes, les pierres de leurs greniers.

Le terme de *Shaghār* ne fait donc pas double emploi avec celui de *Tell er-Rāmeh* (Livias à l'époque romaine).

Sa coexistence avec ce dernier est très ancienne. Je demandai un jour à un des bédouins les plus intelligents: "Shaghār, c'est peut-être le nom d'un de vos ancêtres? - Oh non, abouna, me répondit-il, nous n'avons pas d'ancêtre de ce nom. *Shaghār*, comme *Rāmeh*, est un nom du temps des fils d'Israël". Ils savent, en effet, que les Israélites occupèrent autrefois leur pays.

Quel terme ancien représenterait *Shaghār*? Philologiquement, *Shaghār* est l'équivalent arabe du grec Σηγώρ, Sèghōr, lequel, on le sait, est la transcription de l'hébreu Šō'ar. Le passage de *s* à *š* est assuré par l'exemple *Gerasa* = *Djerāš*. Déjà, en 1881, CONDER avait proposé cette identification¹, et l'on sait que plusieurs explorateurs anglais et américains de la seconde moitié du siècle passé situaient toute la Pentapole biblique

¹ *Survey of Eastern Palestine*, p. 239.

dans le Ghôr oriental en plaçant notamment Zoar (Şo'ar, Sègor) à *Tell Iktanū*.¹ Il serait donc arrivé là le même déplacement qu'à Jéricho et dans les mêmes circonstances. Désertant l'ancienne colline trop incommodé (*Tell Iktanū*), la ville se serait établie au large dans la plaine tout en retenant son nom, Sèghôr, sous la forme grecque.

A Jéricho le vieux tell a pris un nom tout moderne. A *Shaghûr*, il aurait conservé une appellation qui était sans doute celle des fondateurs. La Bible, en effet, laisse manifestement entendre qu'au temps de Lot, l'ancien nom fut changé en celui de Şo'ar, de même sens.²

La présence d'une seconde ville à *Tell er-Râmeh*, n'infirme en rien cette explication puisque la coexistence des trois noms: *Tell er-Râmeh*, *Shaghûr*, *Iktanû*, comme noms de localités depuis une époque ancienne, est un fait et que ce fait doit être expliqué.

Je n'abordé pas le problème de la Pentapole. Je note seulement que les explorateurs du siècle passé n'avaient située ces cinq villes fameuses dans le Ghôr oriental qu'après avoir envisagé la question sous tous ses aspects, selon la méthode de leur temps, alors néanmoins qu'ils n'avaient pas le moyen de prouver que *Tell Iktanû* remonte à l'âge d'Abraham, et qu'ils ne connaissaient pas la grande ruine de *Teleilât Ghassûl*. Il n'est pas question d'approuver leur thèse dans tous les détails. Ils distinguaient eux-mêmes soigneusement l'application et le principe. Leur point le plus ferme était *Tell Iktanû* où ils situaient judicieusement Ségor (Zoar), et l'archéologie nouvelle n'a rien à leur objecter.

Quant à l'existence du nom de Ségor dans cette région, à l'époque byzantine, elle est attestée par un document contemporain de première valeur, la *peregrinatio Silviae*.³ La noble pèlerine donne des détails précis sur Ségor: Il y a un évêque qui lui a parlé, elle se trouve à six milles de la mer, elle a vu elle-même le rivage de cette mer où, dit-on (*dicitur*), aurait autrefois été plantée la colonne de sel qui aurait figuré la femme de Lot, et elle n'y est plus. Elle

¹ Références dans *Quarterly Statement, Index 1869-1892*, p. 127.

² *Gen. XIX, 20-22.*

³ GEYER, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, 54.

fait ainsi le départ entre ce qu'on dit et ce qu'elle voit. Il peut donc, si l'on veut, rester quelque doute sur l'identification de cette Ségor avec telle ou telle ruine byzantine de ces parages, mais il ne viendra à l'idée de personne qu'il s'agit d'une ville qui n'était pas située dans cette région.

Des monuments mégalithiques, dolmens et cercles ou faux cromlechs, s'échelonnent sur les premières pentes des montagnes depuis *W. Kufrein* (par *W. Hesbān*, *W. es-Siyāla*, *W. Umlaliyeh*) jusqu'au-delà de *W. Adeimeh*, atteignant les falaises orientales de la Mer Morte.¹ Situés loin des chemins, ceux du Sud sont fort bien conservés.

Signalons enfin, pour être complet, un *khirbet* entouré de fortes murailles sur le bord sud de *W. Adeimeh* et un camp romain dans la plaine, aux pieds des rochers.²

¹ Les premiers sont décrits dans *Survey of Eastern Palestine*, ceux du Sud, les plus importants et les mieux conservés par M. RENÉ NEUVILLE dans *Biblica XI, 1930, 249-269.*

² NEUVILLE, *I.c.*

VERGLEICHENDE BESCHREIBUNG EINIGER JÜDISCH-PALÄSTINENSISCHER LAMPEN

ADOLF REIFENBERG

(JERUSALEM)

In der vorliegenden Arbeit sollen einige Tonlampen veröffentlicht werden, deren Ornamentik auf jüdische Herkunft deutet.

Nr. 1, (Abb. 1). Diese Lampe zeigt in besonders schöner Ausführung den siebenarmigen Leuchter, der ja zu einem Symbol des Judentums geworden ist und dessen Darstellung sich nicht nur auf dem Titusbogen, den palästinensischen Synagogen¹ sowie auf den bekannten Goldgläsern, sondern auch auf einer hebräischen Münze vorfindet.²

Unterhalb des Griffes (Krone am Griff!) erblickt man eine Palme, die gleichfalls ein charakteristisches Ornament auf Gegenständen jüdischer Herkunft ist, (Münzen, Synagogen, Ossuarien, Grabdenkmäler etc.) An der Basis der Palme ist auf der rechten Seite ein zweigähnliches Gebilde, das vielleicht einen Lulab darstellen soll, dem dann die Zeichnung auf der linken Seite als Ethrog (?) entsprechen würde. Der Raum zwischen diesen Darstellungen ist rechts und links von je drei Kreisen ausgefüllt, die verschiedene geometrische Muster aufweisen.

No. 2 (Abb. 2). Auf dem Handgriff dieser Lampe befindet sich gleichfalls ein siebenarmiger Leuchter. Bei dem auf der Schnauze

¹ Kapernaum, En-Nabratein, Beth Alpha, Gerasa etc.

² Letzteres trotz KOHL und WATZINGER: *Antike Synagogen in Galiläa* S. 102; man vergleiche z.B. HILL: *Catalogue of Greek Coins*, Band Palestine S. 219 Nr. 56.

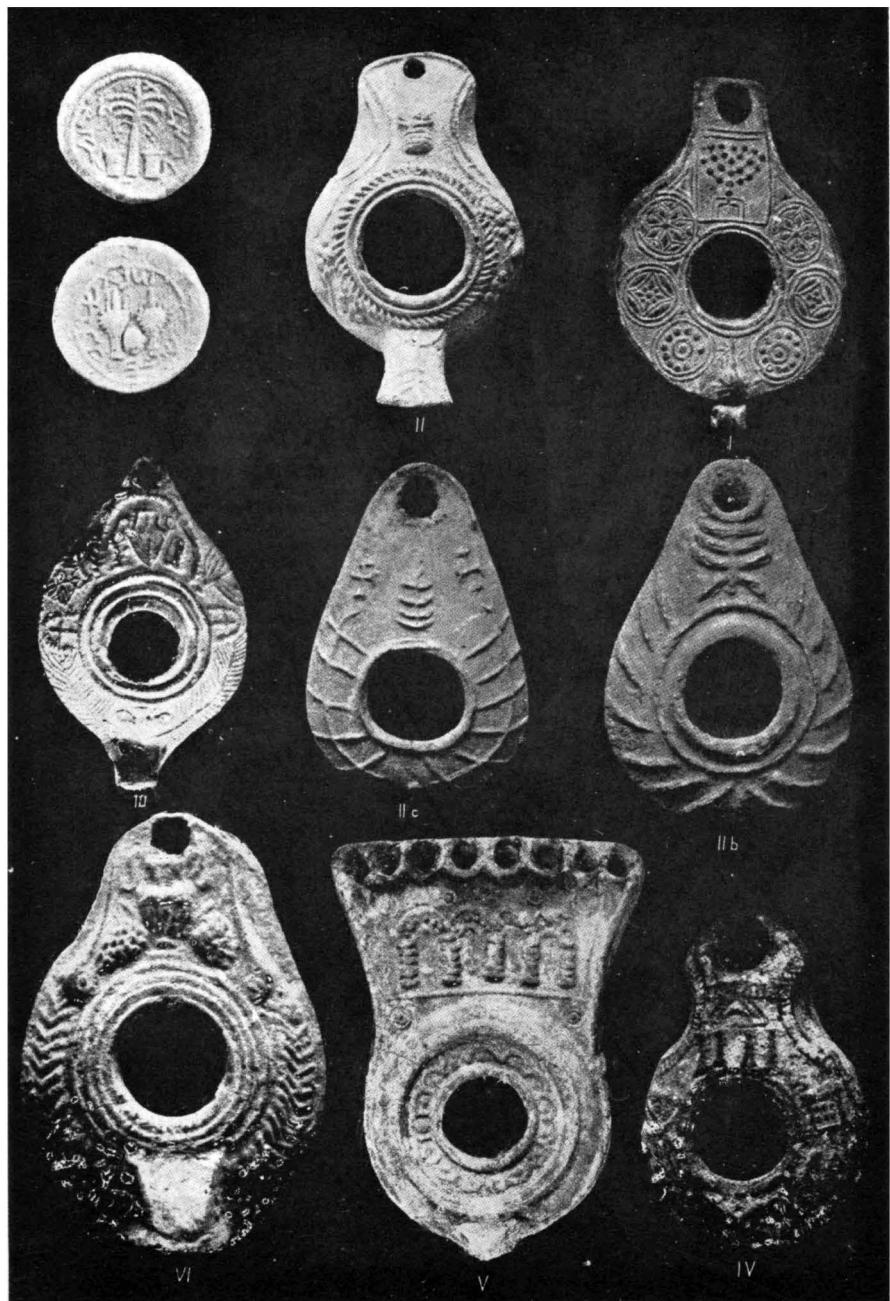
dargestellten Objekt handelt es sich wohl um einen mit Früchten vollgefüllten Korb, wie er sich ähnlich auf Münzen Simon Makkabis vorfindet. (Abb. 2 a). Bemerkenswert ist das Motiv der Weinranke mit Trauben zu beiden Seiten des Oelloches. Die fortschreitende Degeneration des Leuchter-Motivs zeigen die Lampen 2 b und 2 c, (letztere christlich). Diese Lampen, die am häufigsten in Palästina auftreten, sind also wohl sicher spätere Typen als solche des Typus 1 und 2.

Nr. 3 (Abb. 3) Auf der Schnauze befindet sich eine Amphora, die zu beiden Seiten von einer Säule flankiert wird. Amphora und Säulen sind in einen halbkreisförmigen Bogen gestellt. Links von diesem Bogen ist ein siebenarmiger und rechts ein neunarmiger Leuchter dargestellt; beides Gegenstände des jüdischen Kultus. Dagegen befindet sich zu beiden Seiten des Oelloches je ein halbkreisförmiger Bogen, der mit einem Kreuz ausgefüllt ist. Sollte es sich bei diesen Kreuzen nicht lediglich um eine ornamentale Ausfüllung handeln, hätten wir sowohl christliche wie jüdische Symbole auf derselben Lampe; es würde sich also um eine judenchristliche Lampe handeln. Für das merkwürdige Linienornament unterhalb des siebenarmigen Leuchters weiss ich keine Erklärung; vielleicht kann man dazu den von KAUFMANN *Die Ausgrabungen der Frankfurter Expedition am Karm Abu Mina*, S. 102 Abb. 51 wiedergegebenen Verschluss-Stempel vergleichen. Am Henkel dieser Lampe befindet sich wiederum eine Amphora; der Zwischenraum zwischen ihr und den Bögen mit Kreuz ist durch ein palmlabblattähnliches Motiv ausgefüllt.

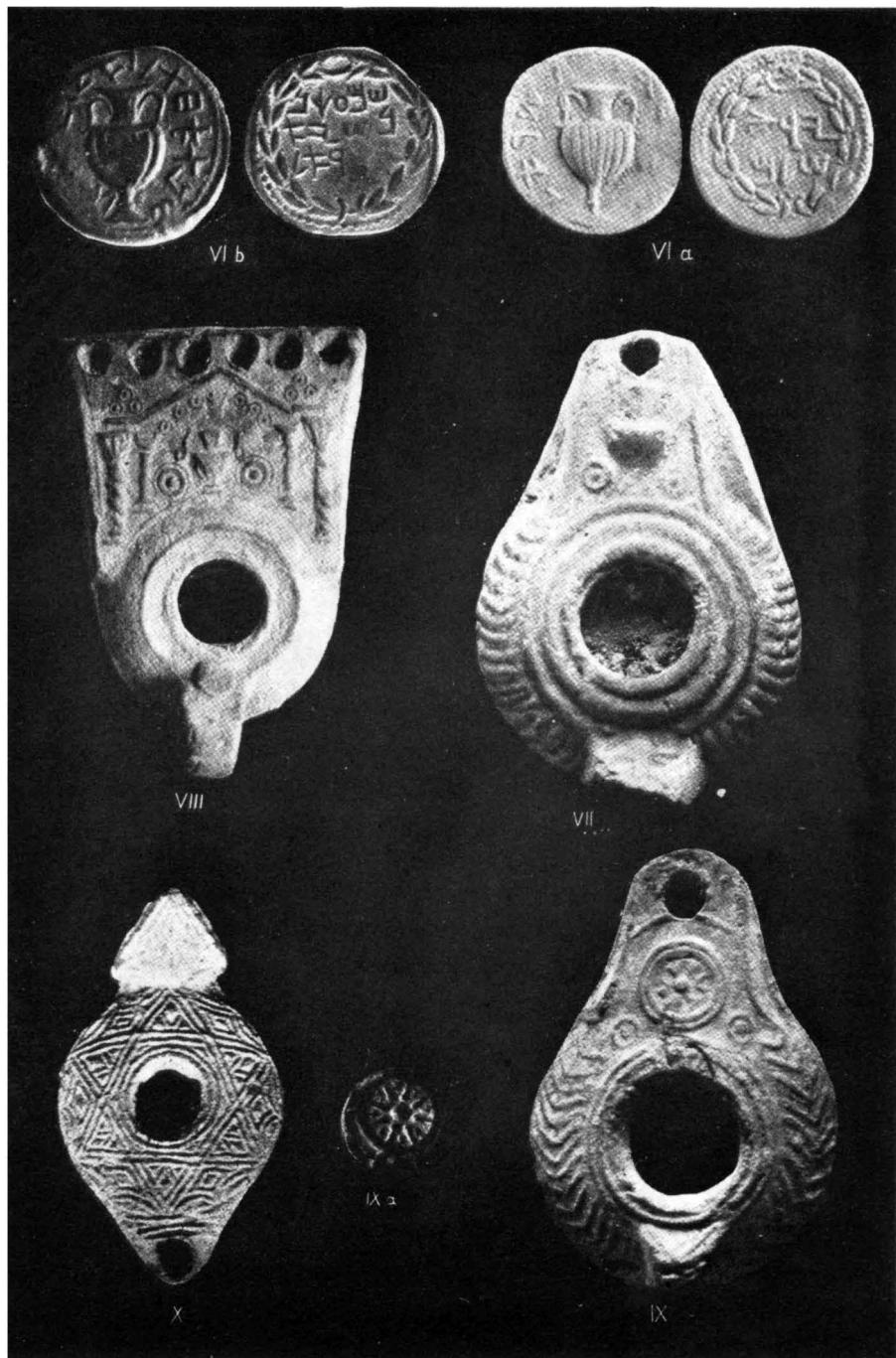
Nr. 4, (Abb. 4). Auf dieser Lampe ist ein tempelähnliches Gebäude dargestellt, das aus vier Säulen besteht, die ionischen ähneln, und von einem Giebeldach bekrönt ist. Rechts unterhalb ist ein quadratisches, zwei parallele Punktreihen enthaltendes Ornament, das einen hakenförmigen Stiel aufweist. Ein ganz ähnliches Ornament wurde auf den Synagogenmosaiiken von Gerasa und Beth Alpha gefunden. Im Falle Gerasas beschreiben es CROWFOOT und HAMILTON¹ als Thoraschrank, während SUKENIK in ihm² eine mit

¹ *Quarterly Statements P.E.F.*, Oct. 1929 S. 216.

² *Tarbiq* Bd. 2.



REIFENBERG, Palästinensische Lampen



REIFENBERG, Palästinensische Lampen

einer Hülle versehene Schriftrolle (Megillah) benebst der Stange, auf die sie gewickelt wird, erblickt. Beide Erklärungen scheinen uns unbeschiedigend zu sein, da zu ihnen der hakenförmige Stiel im Widerspruch steht. (Im Falle Beth Alphas ist er allerdings gerade). Unter diesem Ornament befindet sich ein Ethrog, dem vielleicht auf der anderen Seite ein Lulab in Form eines Palmzweiges entspricht (?). Unterhalb des Ethrogs mit der Krone zum Henkel ist ein Palmbaum, dessen Früchte deutlich zu erkennen sind. Der Tempel soll sicherlich eine schematische Abbildung des einstigen Tempels oder einer Synagoge wiedergeben.

Nr. 5 (Abb. 5). Lampen ähnlichen Typs wurden von BLISS-MACALISTER in Gezer gefunden. GALLING¹ erblickt in diesen durch Halbbögen verbundenen Säulen einen Tempel. Leider war mir das Original dieser Lampe nicht zugänglich, sodass ich auf Grund der Photographie nicht entscheiden kann, ob das zwischen den Säulen befindliche Ornament eine hängende Lampe wiedergibt; in diesem Fall wäre u.U. an das Motiv des Thoraschrankes zu denken.² Der Umstand, dass die Lampe acht Dochtlöcher hat, macht es wahrscheinlich, dass es sich um eine jüdische, für das Chanukahfest benutzte Lampe handelt.

Nr. 6, (Abb. 6). Dieses hier dargestellte, mit zwei Henkeln versehene Gefäß kommt speziell in Verbindung mit Trauben auch auf einem Türsturz von en-Nabraten³ vor. Ausserdem befinden sich derartige Krater auf Türstürzen von Kapernaum, Umm el-Amed, Chirbet Sammuah und Seilûn. Schliesslich sind sie mit den Kratern auf Grossbronzen des zweiten jüdischen Aufstandes zu vergleichen, Abb. (6 a und 6 b). KOHL und WATZINGER⁴ betrachten diesen Volutenkrater als Synagogengerät und zwar als Oelgefäß. Übrigens befindet sich eine vereinfachte Darstellung solcher Volutenkrater auch auf dem Thoraschrein des Mosaiks von Beth Alpha. Eine Anzahl ähnlicher Lampen wurde in Gezer gefunden:

¹ S.P.D.V. Bd. 46, S. 21.

² Näheres darüber in der folgenden Arbeit.

³ KOHL und WATZINGER, a.a.O. S. 164.

⁴ S. 192.

Ferner weist das Museum in Leiden zwei aus Palästina stammende Tonlampen mit Krater und Trauben auf.¹ Selbstredend kommen derartige Amphoren auch auf nicht-palästinensischen Lampen vor; man vergleiche z.B. die allerdings bedeutend zierlicheren Amphoren auf Lampen aus Arles und Knido² [N. 7] (Abb. 7). Auch auf dieser Lampe befindet sich wieder ein Volutenkrater, diesmal aber in Verbindung mit zwei Kreisen (rechts und links), die in der Mitte einen Punkt haben. Vielleicht handelt es sich bei diesen Kreisen um Kränze wie sie sich auf einem Türsturz der Synagoge zu Seilun neben einem derartigen Krater finden:³

Nr. 8, (Abb. 8). Auch auf dieser Lampe tritt uns ein Volutenkrater, diesmal in Verbindung mit Kränzen (?) entgegen, wie wir sie von der vorigen Lampe her kennen. Für das tempelähnliche Gebäude gilt das bei Nr. 4 Gesagte.

Nr. 9, (Abb. 9). Auf dieser Lampe sehen wir ein geometrisches Sternmuster, wie es sich auf makkabäischen Münzen (Abb. 9a) und besonders häufig auch auf Ossuarien vorfindet. Eine ähnliche Lampe ist in Samaria aufgefunden worden. (*Harvard Excavations Tafel 81 x*) (Auf die Bedeutung dieses Ornaments soll hier nicht eingegangen werden).

Nr. 10, (Abb. 10). Auf dieser Lampe befindet sich das Hexagramm („Schild David“) das sich auch in Kapernaum und auf einem jüdischen Grabstein des 3. Jahrhunderts in Tarent vorfindet. KOHL und WATZINGER, a.a.O. S. 185, weisen darauf hin, dass trotz des Fehlens einer literarischen Überlieferung manches darauf hinweist, dass dieses Zeichen in den jüdischen Vorstellungskreis schon im Altertum aufgenommen worden ist.

Eine befriedigende Datierung dieser Lampen aufzustellen ist mangels jeglicher Fundberichte eine Unmöglichkeit. Einige der Lampen ähneln dem römischen Typus, die meisten aber dem byzantini-

¹ JOHANNA BRANTS, *Antieke Terra-Cotta Lampen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*.

² WALTERS Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Lamps in the British Museum, 1914. Tafel XXIV No. 724 und 725 Nr. 8.

³ KOHL und WATZINGER, a.a.O. S. 192.

schen. Ohne uns an dieser Stelle ausführlich über Stilfragen zu äussern, wollen wir nur bemerken, dass die Lampen zwar römisches Provinzialgepräge haben, die verwandte Ornamentik aber den jüdischen Charakter dieser Lampen zeigt. Diese Ornamentik ist eng umschrieben und bezieht sich, abgesehen von den rein geometrischen Motiven in erster Linie auf Kultusgeräte des Synagogendienstes. Die Provenienz der Lampen war mit Ausnahme von Nr. 2 (Nazareth) nicht mit Sicherheit festzustellen; zumeist sollen sie aus Galiläa stammen. Von Nr. 1, 4, 5, 8 und 10 waren mir nur Photographien zugänglich und auch die nur dank der Freundlichkeit der American Colony Stores; ihr jetziger Aufenthaltsort ist unbekannt. Nr. 3 befindet sich im Besitz der American Colony Stores und ist mir zum Zwecke der Veröffentlichung geliehen worden. Nr. 2, 6, 7 und 9 befinden sich in meinem Besitz. Nr. 5 und 8 sind übrigens vom Verf. schon in seiner „*Palästinensischen Kleinkunst*“ veröffentlicht worden.

Meinem Freund, Dr. L.A. MAYER bin ich für mancherlei wertvolle Hinweise zu Dank verpflichtet.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE PALESTINE SECTION OF THE
MUSEUM OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

VOL. I.— THE TOPOGRAPHY AND HISTORY OF BETH-SHAN
by ALAN ROWE, Philadelphia : University Press (Humphrey Milford),
1930. xxii. 62 pp., 58 planches.

VOL. II.— THE FOUR CANAANITE TEMPLES OF BETH-SHAN.
PART II.— THE POTTERY
by G. M. FITZGERALD, *ibid.* III- 43 pp., 10 planches (XLI à LI).

La publication des résultats d'une fouille demande souvent plus de temps et de peine que les travaux sur le terrain. Un long intervalle sépare le premier coup de pioche, voire le dernier, du moment où les documents arrachés au sol sont rendus accessibles au public. Or c'est pour nous un devoir de reconnaître que les Directeurs du Museum de l'Université de Pennsylvanie ont toujours eu à cœur de réduire cet intervalle. Inaugurées en 1921 et successivement dirigées par le Dr C. S. FISCHER, Mr ALAN ROWE, et Mr G. M. FITZGERALD, actuellement en charge, les fouilles de Beisan ont déjà fourni à l'archéologie une documentation considérable. Grâce à la diligence et à la libéralité des explorateurs, qui ont publié les comptes rendus de leurs campagnes dans le *Museum Journal* et ont largement autorisé la publication d'articles de détail dans diverses Revues Palestiniennes, les spécialistes purent suivre au jour le jour le progrès des travaux. Aujourd'hui, sans attendre l'achèvement des fouilles, qui dureront encore de longues années, les directeurs des publications du Museum estiment que le moment est venu de faire le point et de grouper les résultats obtenus dans une synthèse définitive. En effet les couches supérieurs du tell ont été entièrement

déblayées et les travaux limités dans la suite au secteur sud, face au village ; cette façon de procéder a permis de reconnaître les vestiges successifs des occupations arabe, byzantine, romaine et hellénistique, au dessous desquels a été dégagée une large section des niveaux correspondants à la période égyptienne, du XVI^e au XIII^e siècle avant notre ère. Ces deux séries de strates sont séparées par un étage assez bouleversé, et qui correspond aux temps troublés des derniers Ramessides, des Philistins et des Israélites, des Scythes dont le souvenir devait survivre dans le nom grec de la ville, Scythopolis, de l'empire néobabylonien et perse. Le premier volume, dû au labeur de Mr ALAN ROWE, est consacré à la topographie et à l'histoire de Beisan, écrite tant d'après les sources déjà connues et diligemment compulsées, qu'à la lumière des connaissances nouvelles acquises par l'exploration méthodique du site. L'auteur était particulièrement qualifié pour entreprendre ce travail, car en lui l'archéologue et le directeur de fouilles se doublent d'un égyptologue de valeur. C'est, en effet, sur l'horizon de Thoutmès III que s'ouvre l'histoire documentaire de la ville: citadelle merveilleusement placée au débouché de la plaine d'Esdrelon dans la vallée du Jourdain dont elle surveillait les passages, elle fut, dès les premiers temps de la conquête, organisée par les Égyptiens qui en firent un des principaux points d'appui de leur expansion en Asie. Plus tard, Aménophis III compléta l'installation de la place et en confia la défense à une colonie de mercenaires d'origine méditerranéenne qui servirent sous les étendards de l'Égypte. L'abandon de la politique d'intervention par les faibles souverains de la fin de la XVIII^e dynastie marqua un temps d'arrêt dans les entreprises égyptiennes à Beisan qui dut échapper plus ou moins complètement au contrôle de ses maîtres. Avec les souverains énergiques du début de la XIX^e dynastie la ville connut un regain de splendeur: Séti I^{er} y rétablit son autorité et anéantit une coalition qui l'avait un moment tenu en échec. Le récit de sa campagne, daté de l'an I du règne, et tracé en caractères hiéroglyphiques sur une grande stèle de basalte (actuellement au Palestine Museum) a été publié et commenté par l'auteur qui y a joint la description et l'analyse d'une deuxième stèle du même roi,

malheureusement très mutilée, qui a trait à une expédition en Syrie. A ces documents historiques de premier ordre il faut joindre une stèle de l'an VIII de Ramsès II qui étaie complaisamment la titulature et les gloires du monarque à qui Beisan dut d'être à nouveau solidement fortifiée. Il n'est pas jusqu'au faible Ramsès III qui n'y ait signalé son activité : sa statue s'élevait dans la citadelle à côté des stèles de ses prédécesseurs et Mr G. M. FITZGERALD vient de retrouver son cartouche sur un encadrement de porte où se lit le nom d'un de ses officiers, Ramsès-Wesr-khepesh. Cette découverte modifiera peut-être l'attribution par ROWE, dans son livre, d'un autre fragment de linteau inscrit au nom du même personnage à l'époque de Ramsès II. Toute cette longue période de l'histoire de Beisan, qui n'était connue autrefois que par deux ou trois mentions sur des listes de victoire ou un texte laconique du papyrus Anastasi, ainsi que par une obscure allusion dans les lettres d'el Amarna, sort aujourd'hui de l'ombre et est amplement illustrée par la grande quantité des monuments majeurs et mineurs qui en établissent la chronologie d'une façon indiscutable. Parmi ces monuments, les temples dédiés à Mekal, le ba'al cananéen de Beisan et à sa déesse parèdre, ont une importance toute particulière, tant pour l'histoire de la ville que pour celle de l'architecture, pour le développement des idées religieuses et les rapports avec les panthéons étrangers. Aux deux temples construits sous Thoutmès, et dont celui du sud allie les éléments de l'ancien haut-lieu avec l'ordonnance d'un temple proprement dit, succèdent, sous Aménophis III et Séti 1^{er}, une chapelle unique qui se dédoublera à nouveau sous Ramsès II, le sanctuaire du sud étant réservé au dieu, celui du nord à la déesse.

L'auteur les mentionne dans son premier volume, car ils représentent un élément trop important de la physionomie de la ville pour être passés sous silence, mais l'analyse architectonique en sera reprise pour elle-même dans le 2^e volume de la collection, qui est dès maintenant annoncé sous le titre : *The Four Canaanite Temples of Beth-Shan*. A l'occupation égyptienne succéda une longue période chaotique dont la ville ne devait se relever qu'à l'époque hellénistique pour devenir sous les byzantins, une métropole importante de la

Palestine chrétienne. On n'a fait que mentionner très rapidement ici les monuments de cette période : le livre de M. ALAN ROWE, en effet, veut n'être qu'une introduction ; aussi bien cette période nouvelle de l'histoire de Beisan est-elle suffisamment connue par l'histoire, et on saura gré à l'auteur de nous en donner un tableau chronologique détaillé, compilé avec grand soin et où je n'ai remarqué aucune omission d'importance. Il eût, par contre, été difficile de faire tenir, dans un si petit volume, une plus grande abondance de faits, aussi judicieusement critiqués et lucidement ordonnés. Que l'on ajoute à ces qualités l'excellence de l'illustration, excellence à la fois documentaire, ce dont il faut féliciter les fouilleurs, et technique, ce qui revient aux photographes et graveurs, et on conclura que ce premier volume est un modèle du genre.

La précision avec laquelle ont été jusqu'ici dirigées les fouilles de Beisan et la rigueur de la stratigraphie devaient être particulièrement précieuses pour la classification céramique. Avec la période égyptienne, c'est, en effet, tout le développement de la poterie du 3^e bronze que l'on peut suivre pas à pas et à quelques années près. Les explorateurs de Beisan n'ont pas voulu que les archéologues fussent plus longtemps frustrés de cette aubaine, et, avant même que parût la description des temples, Mr G. M. FITZGERALD a publié le catalogue de la poterie (*Vol. II, part II* des publications) dont la classification méthodique et les admirables planches au trait seront particulièrement appréciées des céramistes. Les influences méditerranéennes sur la poterie cananéenne peuvent être suivies avec une précision qu'on avait rarement rencontrée auparavant et qui est de nature à faire faire un progrès considérable à l'histoire de la céramique palestinienne et orientale.

A. BARROIS, O. P.

THE THIRD WALL OF JERUSALEM

by E. L. SUKENIK and L. A. MAYER, Jerusalem : University Press, 1930. 72 pp. et 10 plans.

Avez vous vu Le Mur? Que pensez vous Du Mur? Ainsi commençait, en 1928 si j'ai bonne souvenance, une conférence du

R. P. VINCENT tenue à l'École Biblique. Le Mur en question, qui défrayait alors les conversations du Tout Jérusalem et alimentait les colonnes de plus d'un journal n'était autre que la ligne de fondations mises à jour, sur le front nord de la ville, entre l'hôpital italien et l'École Américaine, par les soins de la *Palestine Jewish Exploration Society* qui fut dans la suite assurée de la coopération de l'Université hébraïque de Jérusalem. Par raison d'hygiène et pour la commodité des voisins, le chantier a été recouvert. Toutefois, grâce à la publication à laquelle collaborèrent les directeurs des fouilles, MM. SUKENIK et MAYER, chacun peut désormais en suivre le cours sans autre fatigue que celle de tourner les pages luxueusement imprimées et se forger à soi-même sa petite opinion, au cas où celle des auteurs ne le satisferait point et où l'on n'accepterait pas l'épithète de *troisième* accolée à cette enceinte avancée de Jérusalem.

Quoi que l'on puisse penser du titre, en effet, on louera les auteurs d'avoir soigneusement distingué ce qu'ils ont vu, (et ce que tout le monde a pu voir au temps où le chantier était ouvert), et les déductions qu'ils ont tirées de leurs observations. La première partie de leur ouvrage, *an account of excavation*, est, comme l'indique le sous-titre, un compte-rendu objectif des travaux et des découvertes, illustré d'excellentes photographies et éclairé de plans donnant le détail et l'élévation de toutes les sections mises à jour. Si la proportion des dessins ne permet pas toujours d'en juger aussi bien qu'un relevé à toute petite échelle qui eût peut-être été désirable pour certaines sections, on constatera du moins que les vestiges de muraille n'ont pas été flatiés le moins du monde, et les descriptions et les planches de l'ouvrage doivent faire désormais autorité. On regrettera toutefois que les changements d'axe de la muraille n'aient pas été traduits en chiffres dans le texte. Ils sont exprimés graphiquement dans les planches, mais la comparaison d'une feuille à l'autre est ardue et la carte d'assemblage est à trop grande échelle pour que les orientements, qui ont pourtant une importance capitale dans l'interprétation des ruines, puissent être lus avec quelque précision.

Car là est la difficulté: que représentent ces fondations? Elles

appartiennent, nous-dit-on, et cela sans aucune doute, à l'enceinte commencée sous Agrippa 1^{er} et dont l'érection fut achevée une trentaine d'années plus tard, au temps de la première révolte. Cette opinion, renouvelée des théories de Wilson, souleva, dès l'ouverture des travaux, une vive controverse. Les auteurs, ne pouvant ignorer les objections formulées par le P. VINCENT dans la *Revue Biblique*, 1927, p. 516 ss., 1928, p. 80 ss., 321 ss., les ont reprises dans leur thèse et se sont employés à les réfuter. Je me garderai bien d'entrer dans le fond du débat, mais si je laisse aux adversaires le soin de défendre eux mêmes leurs opinions, on me permettra de faire remarquer que le problème est assez mal posé: sans doute on est d'accord sur le caractère fruste et hâtif des sections exhumées: mauvaises fondations, lits de pose défectueux, inégalité des matériaux, déviations dans l'axe des sections etc.; ces malfaçons sont mises sur le compte d'une construction obsidionale; fort bien, mais la description de Josèphe suppose au moins, sous le règne d'Agrippa 1^{er}, l'établissement de fondations parfaitement régulières, suivant un plan bien arrêté et l'édification de plusieurs assises qui provoquent son admiration. Ce n'est qu'après que, sous les nécessités du siège, on se mit à bâtir vite et à dépêcher la besogne. Là, d'ailleurs, n'est pas la principale difficulté. L'objection capitale du P. VINCENT, et que le présent ouvrage n'a point retenue, est que le nouveau mur ne saurait être le troisième mur, parce que ce troisième mur existe autre part et que des vestiges importants en ont été suivis, sur un tracé approximativement le même que celui du mur de Soliman, de l'angle nord-ouest à l'angle nord-est de la ville. N'eût-il pas fallu commencer par démontrer l'impossibilité de cette identification, avant d'en proposer une nouvelle?

A. BARROIS, O. P.

Usâmah's Memoirs, "Kitâb al-iqtibâr," by Usâmah ibn Munqidh. Arabic text edited from the unique manuscript in the Escurial Library, Spain, by Dr. PHILIP K. HITTI, Associate Professor of Semitic Literature, Princeton University. pp. 240. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1930.

Usâmah bin Munqidh, 488-584 A.H., i.e. 1095-1188 A.D., was one of the notables of Béni Munqidh, the owners of the fortress Shyzâr, near Hamâ. He was a knight, a hunter and a poet of noble descent, lived at the time of the Crusades and took part in some of the battles. Part of his life he spent at the courts of the Caliphs in Cairo and of Salâh ed-Dîn in Damascus. He came in touch with Baldwin, Bohemund, Rogers and other leaders of the first two Crusades. Among the books which he wrote is one entitled "Kitâb al-Iqtibâr." It has been translated into the French and German and it is now translated by Dr. Ph. K. HITTI (Professor at Princeton University) into English.

The Arabic manuscript has been carefully studied by Dr. HITTI. He adds philological, geographical and historical notes, a detailed preface, an index of proper names, two maps and a plan of the fortress Shyzâr.

The book is divided into three parts: War and Travel, Jokes and Anecdotes, Hunting News.

It describes the state of affairs of the Arab kingdoms and domains generally and particularly conditions in Syria and Egypt at the time of the Crusades. The standing and treatment of women, knighthood and chivalry, education and Arab justice (even in times of war), love of hunting, instincts of animals, a comparison between Arab and European medicine, wedding and funeral ceremonies (as they are still carried on in the Lebanon), are here depicted, making it a valuable source for students and orientalists.

From the two facsimile pages here reproduced one may understand the editor's difficulties. That the work has been carried out by one of Arab origin in noteworthy and matter for pride in the eyes of his fellow Arabs.

ELIAS N. HADDAD

Volkserzählungen aus Palästina, gesammelt bei den Bauern von Bir-Zet und in Verbindung mit Dschirius Jusif herausgegeben von Prof. D. Hans SCHMIDT und Prof. Dr. Paul KAHLE, 2 Bände, pp. xxii+252 [24 plates]. Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1930.

Much attention has in recent years been devoted to Palestinian Arabic and the two volumes before us will count as a useful supplement to the standard works on the language.

The present volume contains variants of *Wandermärchen*, fables, fairy tales, stories from the Arabian Nights' Entertainments as well as from Tutinameh, the Brothers Grimm, and variants of current Arabic, Turkish and Armenian fairy tales (mostly unpublished). The subject matter might have been more fully treated in the way of annotations, explanations, references and commentary, but it was not the authors' intention to be exhaustive. Yet the same care which has been devoted to the excellent vocabulary might well have been devoted to some difficult parts of the texts. Those who have experience in translating a Semitic text into a European language can appreciate the heavy task which the authors set themselves to accomplish.

The selections offer a lively picture of Palestinian peasant life: local expressions, moods, and ideas have, with some few exceptions, been preserved in the translation, and we must congratulate the authors on their achievement. The utmost has been done to make it a useful book. The indexes and the vocabulary have been the object of great care and labour. The vocabulary especially is a notable piece of work, and indispensable to the understanding of the texts.

The contents of the book are: a preface by the two authors; an introduction in which Prof. SCHMIDT depicts the life of the fellâh, his surroundings and his outlook on life; the stories are given in Arabic (transcribed) on one page and annotated, with a literal translation on the opposite page; the paragraphs of each story are numbered consecutively, a great convenience to the student;

the selected texts are divided according to subject matter into cult myths and legends (65-69), stories with an edifying moral (70-82), fables (83 and 84), fairy tales (85-93) and funny stories (94-130); then comes a rhymed story about the *mrábe'* (plougher and reaper working for one fourth of the crop). The last piece is a letter which is in anything but proper fellâh dialect. Yet it is a "document of the time" and, as such, serves its purpose.

The following corrections are by no means exhaustive.

Page 6 : *fi 'ardak, fi dablak* (p. 67 No. 67, § 9) should rather be translated "(I implore you) by your honour and by your hospitality," appealing to the person addressed, instead of the colourless "I put myself under your kindness and under your protection" ("Ich begebe mich in deine Güte und unter deinem Schutz").

Page 6, No. 76, § 9. The translation of *ḥarrúm* as "Verflucht will ich sein" (I'll be cursed!) is not warranted. *vh̄rm* is here "to be unlawful"; it would mean: Never (again) will I do such or such an action.

ia m̄auuad (cf. p. 8, No. 68, § 3) is not "O friend," though it is uttered in a friendly manner. It may be rendered: O ye (who have been) accustomed (to blessing, kindness or the like). The opposite would be *ya bâyeb*, O disappointed one; *ya fâyin* (*n* for *l* ?), O silly, simple one; *ya zâyil*, O thou that art separated (from thy people); a stronger expression, though used in the 3rd pers. sing. only, is: *ha-l-méhîd*, O thou that art seized (by the genii).

P. 24, No. 74, § 8: *uinn̄im billah*, is best translated by "How good God is," rather than "So vertrau ich auf Gott . . ." (Thus I'll put my trust in God). *ui-in-nīm* answers to the European polite conversational phrase, "Very pleased to have met you (made your acquaintance)," in which sense the host is using it, attributing the introduction to God. Compare the usual interchange of politenesses: A. *ismak, bi-l-ḥér*. B. Musa. A. *u-in-nīm*. B. *minnak*. (What is your name (may it be auspicious)? Musa. (How) excellent!) These are also used at introduction.

P. 26, No. 74, § 20: *uit'allalu*, "sich vergnügt hatten" (to amuse themselves) corresponds rather to "they passed the time away with

conversation."

P. 28 No. 74, § 27: *izzalame maš illi. . . . izzalame illi*, "Der Mann ist nicht, der. . . . der Mann ist etwas, der. . ." (That man is nothing, who . . . : that man is something who . . .) misses the point altogether. It should be translated "A man is not he, who. . . but he is a man, who..."

P. 28, No. 75, § 2: *bilka bideh* is a play on words. The translation "findet (weiteren) mit seinen Händen" (he finds (further) with his hands) does not convey any sense. The text means "he holds (it) with his hand," as he is cheating the blind man in taking over and above the measure bought of him.

P. 28, No. 75, § 4: *faz̄at innâs* is better rendered by "The people came to help," rather than "The people gathered together."

P. 28, No. 79, § 1: *bâbharna* should be "we saw" instead of "da sahen wir uns um," (we looked round), a sense which the simple word never has, not even in the original Syriac.

P. 30, No. 76, § 4: *ia m̄bill ir rahmân* (*ia m̄illi-r-rahmân*) cannot be "O, for the abode, (or place) of the Most Merciful! (O Stätte des Barmherzigen!) Here, as elsewhere in the translation, there is a discrepancy between the rendering of the passage and its correct translation in the vocabulary. - The *m̄illi* is the host. Passages like Genesis 18³ ff. and Matthew 26⁴⁰ seem to employ the like idea. Cf. the proverb: *id-déf asir l-imbilli*, "The guest is the captive of the host," i.e. he must consider himself dependent on him, he must do as the host does, or acquiesce in whatever the host does in his honour or wishes him to do, such as eating, drinking, or prolonging his visit.

P. 34, No. 78, § 5: *radii iilbâl*. Cf. JPOS, V, p. 138, note to prover No. 15 (where the remark about *abu šamma* should be corrected in the light of note 1, p. 34 of the volume under review).

P. 36, No. 79, § 9: *râb iishar* does not mean that he himself remained awake ("blieb selbst wach") but that he went (to the neighbour) and spent the evening there.

Footnote 3 of No. 80, p. 40 ("*abu-l-hâfib* ist nur so zu übersetzen. Entweder muss man so auch in Nr. 1 lesen, oder hier etwa

abûna-l-haṭîb, "unser Vater Chatîb") is not clear. The original meaning of *abu* in the words *abu-l-haṭîb* is no more felt in such connexions. No. 1 is wrongly translated, not "der Schech 'Abdalla, der Chatîb," but "der Schech Abdalla-l- Ḥâṭîb," where the name is taken for a title. Thus, the son of a village priest may be addressed as *ia-bu-l-haṭîb*, analogous to the habit of addressing unmarried people as "*abu* so and so," adding the name of their father. Moreover *abûna* is the spiritual title of the Christian priest only, and cannot be applied to a rabbi or a sheikh or a ḥaṭîb.

P. 44, No. 82, note 3 is also understood wrongly : They say ("So steht da. Man sollte erwarten, dass der Vater diese Worte spricht, dass also dastände: "ia ualadi," mein Sohn!"). The suggestion may be logically correct but it does not agree with the common usage in speech. The text is so far in order. This is another Arabism used also in Syria and northern Mesopotamia (Turkish also has a similar construction with the diminutive). A father may address his son or daughter with *yâba*, *ya yâba*, *bâba*, *ya bâba* (the more so, when answering his "*ya bâba*," etc.). Similarly a mother addresses her son or daughter with *yamma* or *mâma*. A grandmother would then say: *sitti*, a grandfather *sidi* (I have heard also *sido*); a paternal aunt: *'anmti* or *'amme*; a paternal uncle *'ammi* or *'ammo*, etc. (In the Aleppo dialect a stranger and a brother are addressed similarly: *haiyo*).

P. 48, No. 84, § 5 does not come under the note 5, page 20. In this case an explanation would be expected.

P. 50, No. 85, § 2: *ia ḥafid issalâme* cannot be rendered by "O du Inhaber des Friedens" (O owner of peace), since it is a variant of *ia mahfûz is-salâme*, "O thou, guarded by health or wellbeing." (The *fâ'il* form has here a passive meaning, like *jarîb* and *qatîl*, which may also take the form *majrûb* and *maqtûl*). With *qatîl* compare *bu 'ul il-atîl u bimši fi jnâzto*, "He murders the person who is killed and walks at his funeral."

P. 60, No. 86, § 12: *allah bér u bâtimto* is rendered "Gott ist gut und das von ihm bestimmte Ende" (capable of two meanings, neither of which come into consideration). "God is the (absolute) good and is the end of the same," would be nearer to the point.

P. 66, No. 86, § 32: *'gibt-lak ilğamal wilgammál uşáhib ilucále,* "Ich habe dir das Kamel, und den Kameltreiber gebracht und den Stellvertreter." (I have brought you the camel, the camel driver and the representative). Here *wikále* is equivalent to *hán*, and is now used in that sense in Egypt, e.g. *wikálet Qaitbái*.

P. 70, No. 87, § 13: *tábúr* is not "Legion," but the Turkish word for "battalion." (The word legion, still surviving in the name el-Lajjún, is the same in classical Arabic, and has been used in the Protestant translation of Mark 5^o Luke 8³⁰).

P. 72, No. 82, § 1: *kál allah u kál hér*, is rendered "Gott hat gesprochen und er hat Gutes gesprochen" (God has spoken and he had well spoken) and in p. 94, No. 93 § 1 it is rendered "Gott hat gesprochen! was er gesagt hat, ist gut" (God has spoken; what he has said is good, or well). The text should have been punctuated: *kál:* "*Allah*" *u kál hér*, He (the narrator) said, "Allah," and said something good.

P. 76, No. 88, § 24: *bidúr hawála libtiár* is not "kam... des Weges mit dem Alten" (he comes along with the old man), but "he goes or walks around the old man." Cf. *dóra*, circumambulation, as in *id-dóra*, i.e. *dört il-i'yáme*, used for the circumambulation of the Holy Sepulchre in the Anastasia. The following *kám hád u kál* "This one said then," or "Now this said," is wrongly rendered "Da drang er (auf ihn) ein und sagte" (He then attacked (him) and said).

P. 78, no. 89, note 1. The translation of this Arabism is correct, but not the suggestion in the footnote, ("ob vielleicht lee ha für la ha steht, und min ha la ha als eine aus dem geschäftlichen Leben bekannte Formel ("Soll und Haben") im Sinne von ganz und gar verwendet ist?"). The technical term "credit and debit," is *min ua 'ala*.

P. 80, No. 89, § 11: the sense is not *cattasíh*, "they tied up his hands (Man fesselte ihn) but the form VII of *ktf* (reflexive and not passive): He crossed, folded his arms (out of respect when saluting dignitaries in the old oriental fashion, still in vogue in Persia and elsewhere).

P. 82, no. 90, § 7: *mīlāk* in not “Eingeweide,” intestines, but lung(s).

P. 108, No. 95, note 1: read *Shābān* for *Shawwāl* (cf. JPOS. II, p. 236, n. 7).

P. 120, No. 98, § 11: The *Proskhumen* is said in Oriental Churches (Greek Orthodox and Uniate, Armenians—Gregorian and Uniate) comes before the pericope of the Epistle and Gospel and not after, as the narrator puts it.

P. 128, No. 103, § 8: *ia bāiii* is no more understood in the sense of “O Väterchen.” It corresponds rather to “O weh!” “Alas!” or the like.

P. 128, No. 103, § 14: *min harārt irrōb* does not mean “with every effort” (mit aller Anstrengung) but the last struggle during the moments before the departure of the soul from the body.

P. 130, No. 104 § 2: *ia rāmīn* is not “O friends!” though it is a beduin complimentary address to friends, who are thereby flattered with the hope of getting *rānīme*, booty. (Its opposite has already been treated above under *ia māuuad*).

P. 132, No. 105, § 1: *cill ma dakk ič-čūz fi-lgarra* is an Arabism for the English “In season and out of season” and the German “Zur Zeit oder Unzeit” (Luther) or “bei jeder (kleinsten) Gelegenheit.” The translation “so oft der kleine Krug an die Gārra stösst” (whenever the little jug would touch the big water jar) is unintelligible.

P. 144, No. 112, § 4: *‘ala id alla u iadha batṭalt ilhērame* does not mean “In die Hand Gottes und in ihre Hand gelobe ich, ich will das Stehlen lassen” (I promise in the hand of God and in her hand to abandon stealing) but “Through God and by her mediance I have (or shall have) discontinued stealing.”

P. 154, No. 114, § 19: *akaf rād*, “Tritt zurück” (step aside) ought to be “Stand over there.”

The text on page 154, No. 114, line, 2 should be *wittafaku* (as correctly translated) instead of *witrāfaku*.

P. 160, No. 117, § 1: *māṣṣre* (though of the same root as *āṣara*, ten) stands for “pregnant” in general, and not for the 10th month of gestation in particular. § 3: *Itkātalū widdāmasu u til-it*

rōsithim, "They quarrelled, cursed each other and got hold of each other and their voices became louder and louder." The difficult verb *dms* vii is left untranslated.

P. 160, No. 118, § 1: *taiithaiialle cauāhad* is rendered "um sich an jemand heranzumachen" (in order to sidle up to somebody). *bile* being "deception," the sense of the verb is rather "in order to deceive somebody." (A striking parallel to this story is given by W. H. CHRISTIE in ZDPV, 1901, p. 85, No. xi).

P. 164, No. 118, § 10: The translation of *tabbit kamh* (a heap? of wheat) is too free. Nor does it give an exact idea as to the quantity involved. The measure of capacity equals two *sæs*, and would be (in the Jerusalem district) about 24 kilos.

P. 164, No. 118, § 1: *suelim min carab ilgarbe* may be also a play on words. It is an allusion to the well known proverb: *ilcarab garab ma bin'arab*, "The beduin are a scab not to be approached."

P. 164, note 5. See E. LITTMANN, *Amtliche Listen der Beduinenstämme*, ZDPV, 1901, p. 30, where this tribe is mentioned as numbering 40,000.

P. 166, No. 118, § 17: *ma očilha, 'ala ſri'ci harām*—"Ich will die Milch nicht essen, (sic!) meinem Genossen gegenüber ist es Sünde!" (I shall not eat it (the milk); it would be a sin towards my partner). The punctuation of this Arabism is wrong and should have the comma after '*ſri'i*'. The correct rendering is: "I shall not deceive my partner with it, it would be a sin." The ending of the story: *tiht ... 'ala baiād witlist 'ala baiād* should have been explained more fully, instead of giving the literal translation which does not indicate the mutual consent.

P. 168, No. 121, § 5 should be punctuated *matbi'e!* being an imperative and not a question, as borne out by the following sentence:

P. 172, No. 123, § 9 *ia fā'le ia tārē* may also be translated by "O ye that committed (things ye should not have done) and that left undone (things ye should have done)."

P. 172, No. 122, § 10: *hannhár ilfādil* means rather "This day remaining (for you to stay with us, or the like)," and not "this precious day (kostbar)," when time is hanging on their hands . . .

P. 178, No. 125, § 3: *tbādalu bilfard*—“sie tauschten die Säcke” (they exchanged the sacks) gives no sense. The meaning of this obsolete Arabism is: They exchanged the one for the other. ‘Sack’ is *fard*, while *fard* means an odd number in contradistinction to an even one.

P. 186, No. 127, § 3: *ma biddiš abi'ha*, “I'll not sell it,” is left untranslated.

P. 186, No. 128 § 5: *aṣṭāk 'unro* is simply “He died;” not, as translated, “He gave his life for you” (er gab für dich sein Leben). Here as elsewhere the pronoun (poss. 2nd pers. s.) is used pleonastically, out of honour or politeness toward the person addressed (as here) or to attract the listener's attention, or as a verbal mannerism. Compare the ethic dative in English.

P. 198, No. 136, § 17: *gozha labin 'ammha*, should read *gawwazūha*.

P. 198, No. 131, § 3: *uaddetili* is not *u addetini*, “you have given me,” but “you have sent me.” The word *adda* is town dialect.

P. 200, No. 131, § 8: *ma li-lḥinṣān* should read *mal-il-hinṣan*, which would mean “the sickness of . . .,” *mál* being an expression commonly used in Syria and still more commonly in Mesopotamia, but though understood in Palestine it is only used in stereotyped curses, e. g., *ya mál iż-zāfar*—to a donkey.

In p. 200, No. 131, § 9: *kalb* should be rendered “stomach” rather than “heart.”

P. 207: *vbūl* should read *bál*

P. 207: *b-hadd 'ilmi* (as used also in Lebanon) should be “as far as I know,” and not “this has intensified, or quickened, my knowledge.”

P. 211: the *halamāt* of a female are not her jaws but the nipples of the breast or the udder (Cf. No. 106, § 4).

These volumes are to be recommended not only to the Arabist but to all interested in oriental folklore, both of whom will find much that is useful in the copious notes, the indexes and the vocabulary. A number of plates showing scenes from every-day life in Bir Zet add to the book's popular appeal.

A SEQUEL TO MUJIR AD-DIN'S CHRONICLE¹

L. A. MAYER

(JERUSALEM)

Let me thank you for the undeserved honour you have done me in electing me President of the Palestine Oriental Society after so distinguished a predecessor. I would have gladly followed the example established by previous Presidents, of paying tribute to Père Abel's achievements in the fields of science, but I am afraid that you would consider it presumptuous on my part, since most of you are far more competent to appreciate his numerous works on such apparently heterogeneous topics as Biblical Greek and Archaeology of the Crusading period, Coptic Philology and Historical Topography, Excavations and Byzantine Epigraphy, in all of which he has contributed so signally to the advancement of science. I shall refrain, therefore, from any such attempt (and I feel sure that you all agree with me on this point) and shall confine myself to expressing to him our sincere gratitude for steering the ship of our Society right through the rocks which menaced it a year ago. I avail myself of this opportunity also to thank Professor McCown for his devoted work as Editor of our Journal, and to welcome back Dr. Danby, the founder of our Journal, who, in view of Professor McCown's imminent departure, has consented once more to add the editorship of the Journal to his numerous and time-consuming duties. And now let me proceed and put before you the preliminary result of a quest after literary sources bearing on the history of Palestine under the Moslems.

¹ Presidential address, delivered at the Forty-fifth General Meeting of the Society, held on 28th January, 1931.

Mujir ad-din says in the Colophon to his invaluable chronicle (p. 711, bottom):

"And God willing . . . I shall make an addition (*dhail*) to it, in "which I shall mention the events that will happen in Jerusalem "and Hebron and other places from the beginning of the year 901 "to the end of the time that God may will to leave me."

This addition has not been published in the printed text, and ever since I came out to Palestine I have been trying to find it. Manuscripts of *al-Ums al-jalil*, which I have had a chance of seeing in the East, in Jerusalem, Constantinople, and Cairo, end with the year 900, and, so far as I am aware, there are only three MSS. in which portions of the promised *Dhail* exist.

One is the Leyden MS. of the Chronicle, where folios 277^r to 279^v contain an appendix covering thirteen years, the other is a MS. in Oxford, forming part of a codex mixtus, in which the second fascicle represents the end of the Chronicle and a fragment of the *Dhail*,¹ the third is a MS. of the Chronicle written Thursday morning, the 6th Jumādā II. 902, i.e. during the lifetime of the author, now kept in the Khalidiyyeh Library in Jerusalem,² with an additional note on the last page giving the description of the earthquake mentioned below.³

The Leyden text (Or. 339 b. Warn., Cat. cod. arab. II. 85 No. 953) begins after the usual invocation with the following: "And on Thursday afternoon, the tenth of Dhu-l-Qa'da of the year"—let us leave the figure out for the moment—"a severe earthquake "occurred in Jerusalem, Hebron, Gaza, Ramleh, Kerak, as-Salt, "Nablus, and spread so far as Damascus," and so on. The puzzle is the three figures indicating the year. They are written like this ٩ ٤ ٢ which, as is commonly known, stands in medieval Arab script for 952. This date seems to be ruled out by the fact that Mujir ad-din died in 927; on the other hand I have been trying in vain

¹ These two mentioned in Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, vol. II. p. 43.

² The Leyden MS. of the Chronicle has been copied from this one.

³ These three MS. are quoted in the notes to the Arabic texts as L, O and J respectively.

to find information with regard to an earthquake which occurred in either Syria or Palestine in the year 952 of the Hijra (began 15th March, 1545).

The text goes on describing the damage done by that earthquake. High buildings suffered most, Jerusalem and Hebron being specially mentioned; at Nablus 500 men were buried under the ruins. The top of the minaret at the Bāb as-Silsila was damaged, also the madrasa of Qāytbāy in Jerusalem (this madrasa, known as al-Madrasa al-Ashrafiyya, was badly shaken in 1927 also, and some walls on the upper floor had to be thoroughly restored).

From a merely archaeological point of view the complete destruction of Qāytbāy's madrasa at Gaza is of particular interest, the only remnant of this theological academy being a beautiful copy of a Qur'ān now preserved in the Museum of the Supreme Moslem Council in the Haram of Jerusalem. The passage in the *Dhail* and the dedication on the upper margin of the Qur'ān tell us all that is known with regard to this school.

On the night of the eleventh of Muḥarram of the following year there was another earthquake, even stronger than the first.

The next date, written again in figures, occurs on fol. 277^v in a passage beginning with the words: "Then, on Wednesday, the 12th Rabī' I of the year ٩٥٣," and here we are again faced with what we would read as 953, "it occurred again in the morning" etc. Of course, one might think that we have here a chapter of history dealing with the early fifties of the tenth century of the Hijra, written a long time after Mujir ad-din's death, and mistakenly attributed to the famous chronicler. This too seems to be unlikely as in the narrative of the next event, the death of Shaikh Kamāl ad-din Abu-l-Ma'ālī Muḥammad b. Abī Sharif ash-Shāfi'i, the date, 25th Jumādā I 906, is written out in full.

Then follows a long poem by 'Alā' ad-din Abu-l-Hasan 'Ali b. Ayyūb b. Manṣūr, Shaikh of al-Madrasa as-Ṣalāhiyya in Jerusalem. Since it contains no historical information we need not waste time over it.

The next event described in the *Dhail* is another disaster. After an

interval of ten years during which no pilgrim caravan went to Mecca from Jerusalem because of the lack of public security, an arrangement was made with Bedouin by which Palestinians and the people of Hama and other towns should join the Egyptian caravan and visit the Holy Places. When the pilgrims arrived at Jerusalem early in February, 1509, a very heavy snowfall entrapped them in the city. For more than a month Jerusalem remained under snow, cut off from food supplies, with the result that the pilgrims missed the time of pilgrimage and could not perform their religious duty in that year either.

The chapter in which this story is told begins as follows: "Among the events that happened in the year 914 during the Sultanate "of al-Malik al-Ashraf Qānṣūh al-Ghaurī" etc. (fol. 279'). The year is again written out in full. This is the last date mentioned in the text and we have no more parallels to deal with, but they suffice to suggest that there is a sequence and that we shall have to read the first two figures as 902 and 903.

This little palaeographical curiosity might be due to a mere slip of the pen of a careless scribe, who, whilst turning marginal notes into the *Dhail*, copied later events first and a series of earlier events, running consecutively, later. On the other hand it is perhaps possible that the tenth century of the Hijra (at a time when the Mamluk script was being replaced by the Ottoman) some scribes used ⸿ for o, and that the form of o, as we have known it since, a thick dot, (at least in Jerusalem) was not yet generally accepted.

The Oxford text (Bodleian Library, MS. Marsh. 611, fo. 215v ff.) begins as follows: "In the name of the most merciful God. Our "Lord and Master, the Scholar, the Chief Justice, Mujir ad-din "Abu-l-Yumn 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Muḥammad al-Ūmarī al-Hanbali "al-Maqdisī said in his Appendix (*dhail*) to his history, which he "began with the creation of Adam, peace upon him, and finished "with the reign of the Sultan al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. "Qāytbāy: then entered the year 898" etc. The chronicle ends with the accession of Muḥammad b. Qāytbāy in Dhu-l-Qaḍā 901.

A comparison of the Oxford text with the two others shows

that it differs considerably not only from the *Dhail* of which it contains less than one year only—the very year that is omitted in the Leyden MS.—but that its narrative of events between 898 and 900 is an independent version of the printed edition.

These three MSS., representing two independent fragments of the *Dhail*, will be useful for a new edition of *al-Uṣūl al-Jalil* (if and when published), an edition which is one of the first desiderata for a better understanding of Moslem archaeology in Palestine.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ اجْمَعِينَ امَّا بَعْدُ فَإِنْ فِي يَوْمِ الْخَمِيسِ
بَعْدَ الظَّاهِرِ عَاشِرَ ذِي الْقَعْدَةِ سَنَةِ ٩٢ حَصَلَتْ زَلْزَلَةٌ عَظِيمَةٌ فِي
بَيْتِ الْمَقْدِسِ وَالْخَلِيلِ وَغَزَّةِ وَالرَّمْلَةِ وَالْكَرْكِ وَالصَّلَتِ وَنَابُلِسِ
وَامْتَدَّتْ إِلَى دَمْشَقِ وَاسْتَمْرَتْ يَسِيرًا وَسَكَنَتْ وَمَعَ ذَلِكَ لَمْ تُنْزَكِ
فِي الْفَالِبِ يَيْتَأَ عَلَوِيًّا فِي بَيْتِ الْمَقْدِسِ إِلَّا هَدَمَتْهُ أَوْ شَقَقَهُ وَكَذَلِكَ
فِي الْخَلِيلِ وَانْهَمَتْ مَدْرَسَةُ السُّلْطَانِ قَابِيَّاً رَحْمَهُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى بِغَزَّةِ
وَكَذَلِكَ مِنْ مَدْرَسَتِهِ بِالْقَدِسِ الشَّرِيفِ مِنْ نَاحِيَةِ الْقَبْلَةِ وَالشَّمَاءِ
وَالشَّرْقِ وَانْهَمَ رَأْسُ مَادِنَةِ بَابِ السَّلْسَلَةِ وَامَّا مَدِينَةُ^(١) نَابُلِسِ فَقَدْ
كَانَتْ فِيهَا أَعْظَمُ مِنَ الْجَمِيعِ وَهُكُمَ فِيهَا تَحْتَ الرَّدَمِ نَحْوَ خَمْسَائِهِ
إِنْسَانٌ ثُمَّ وَقَعَتْ^(٢) (٢٧٧) لَيْلَةُ الْاَحَدِ عَاشِرُ الْمُحْرَمِ مِنْ عَجَّةٍ دُوِيَّهَا
أَعْظَمُ مِنَ الْأَوَّلِ وَزَالَتْ ثُمَّ يَوْمُ الْأَرْبَعَاءِ ثَانِي عَشَرَ رَبِيعَ الْأَوَّلِ

^١ So in J. L.: مادنه :

^٢ هَلْكَتْ صَرْ [ذَلِكَ] أَنَّهُ [مَدِينَةً] [مِنْ] عَجَّةٍ وَذَالِكَ بِسْرَعَةٍ وَاسْتَمْرَتْ تَهَاهِدَهُ^(١) وَامْتَنَعَ غَالِب... J.:
الْخَلْقُ ... [وَنَصَّ] يَوْمًا فِي الْمَسْجِدِ خَيَامًا وَجَلَسُوا فِيهَا ثُمَّ وَقَعَتْ لَيْلَةُ ...

The last page of this text is in a very bad state of preservation; the dots represent words completely obliterated.

من سنة ٩ وقعت قبل الظهر وسكنت وادركتها بعض الناس دون بعض وقد خرج عن الاحصاء تكررتها في الايام السابقة تارةً ليلاً وتارةً نهاراً حررها الفقير موسى بن فتيان⁽¹⁾ مثل ما كتبه شيخ الاسلام الكجالي بن ابي شريف الحمد الله الذي اطلع من شاء من عباده على ما نشأ من الغرائب وابدع بما اتفق من بديع الصنع عجائب وأي عجائب نحمد الله سبحانه وحده يوجب من فضله المزید ونشهد أن لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له شهادة اخلاص في التوحيد ونشهد أن سيدنا محمدأ عبده ورسوله افضل العالم والمحخصوص بسيادة ولد آدم صلى الله عليه وعلى آله وصحبه وسلم وشرف وكرم وعظم اما بعد فقد وقفت على هذا المؤلف الجامع العجب للرأي والمطرب للسامع فالفيته فريداً في معناه مفيداً لمن عرف منطوقه وفخواه فشكترت مؤلفه قاضي القضاة ما اصداه ودعوت الله له ببلوغ ما يتمناه من صالح دنياه وآخره وقلت مخاطباً

لمن يروم النظر فيه يستفاده

فدونك بجامعة وإن شئت مفرداً ينحو بما يحييه دراً وعسجداً
إذا ضل ذو التحرير في ليل مشكلٍ بتأريخ ارض القدس اهدى له المدا
قال ذلك وكتبه⁽²⁾ الفقير محمد بن محمد بن ابي بكر بن علي بن ابي

¹ From here onwards we are left with L only.

² Crossed out in MS.

شريف المقدسي حامداً مصلياً مسلماً الحمد لله توفى شيخ الاسلام
كامل الدين ابو العالى محمد بن ابي شريف الشافعى في ليلة الخميس
خامس عشرى جمادى الاولى سنة ست وتسعاية من الهجرة الشرفية
بنزله بالمدرسة التنكرية وصلى عليه بعد صلاة الظهر من يوم الخميس
بالمسجد الاقصى الشريف ودفن باملا بالحوش الذى به قبر الشيخ
خليفه المالكى وكانت جنازته حافلة وقد ذكرت مناقبه مستوفياه في
ترجمته آخر هذا الكتاب رحمه الله ورضي عنه وكان اطلاعه على
هذا التاريخ وكتابته عليه في شهور سنة اثنين وتسعاية وصلى الله
على سيدنا محمد وآلـه وصحبه وسلم الحمد لله قال الشيخ الامام العالم
العلامة شيخ الاسلام علام الدين ابو الحسن علي بن ايوب بن
منصور المقدسي الشافعى شيخ المدرسة الصلاحية بالقدس الشريف
من نظمه تعمده الله برحمته واسكته فسبح جنته

يا زاير القدس الشريف لك البشرى
عمدتُ السرى بالعاديات بقصده
حللتُ محلَّ المرسلين وقبلة
معظم أصناف الطوائف كلها
تحنَّ نفوسٍ^(١) العالمين بأسرها

¹ Text : نوس

حنين الوالمات الى صغرى
بها رفع الله الکريم له قدراء
العراق ففاق العالمين بها ظرّا
ومن شرك نزود وازر قد فرّا
فقاق الاراضي غير طيبة والسمرا
وعوض انعاماً عظاماً بها اثرى
رسولاً فأَ كرم بالخليل أباً براً
غدا مطعماً حياً ومتىً لمن مرّا
المقدس واقف النار والنور والبرّا
وجامت يروا من اعواضاً مع الابرا⁽¹⁾
لأحمد حتى امهم ليلة الاما
فإن عجزتم فزيتاً في قناديله يروى
الصلوة والذكر والظهور والاجرا
ورجا المختار ابشر به نفرا
نتيئاً من الادران والذنب والوزرا
فعظم محل الحشر والنشر والاسرا
محظ خط ايام لتقديسهم ظهرها
به آثاره آية كبرى

نحو الى اوطانها ثم طيبتها الحلي
مهاجر ابرهيم ذي الخلة التي
فسبحان من اسرى اليه به من
الي ربّه وافي اليه مهاجرا
فبارك فيه ثم بارك حوله
فووض ابناءَ كراماً وابنيا
وصار ابا للناس طرّا والانبياء
وسن قرى الصيفان يالاك من فتى
فسد اليه العيس وانزل بربعه
فكم خايفِ كم عايلٍ زار مقترأ
به جمع الله النبيين كلّهم
وقال النبي اسوه فصلوا به
قطوباك بل بشراك ان كان همك
بدعوة بانيه سليمان فارغ البنا
فترجع منه مثل يوم ولادة
ويحشر فيه الخلق والنشر بعده
هبوا صدق ثم ربعاً مباركاً
 محل لتكليم الكلم وموطن التجلي

على الخلق طر قبل كفرهم جهرا
 واولاد اسرائيل يعقوب والقرآن
 فيما فوز من اعطى به مسلماً قبرا
 بدی حجر موسى الكليم الذي برأ
 ينادي عظاماً تستجيب له قسراً
 وطف بعشياه ترى البعث والنشراء
 وروض افاح تخجل الشمس والبدرا
 ولا بربا صدا او ترى مقرى
 ورؤض النق والصفدابه ولا اجوى
 بأنفع من اعشابه لا ولا امرا
 ورؤية انوار ترى اي به نتراء
 رسائل عشاق مبللة تقرأ
 بساحتها لا زال خضراء به زهراء
 ولا بدعة حرثم به الاجر والخزرا
 وایاكم تقيلها واسألا غفرا
 المغارة يا زوار كلاء ولا الصخرا
 وتقيله الا بکعبتنا الغراء
 موائد عيسى كن فيه نوازاً
 محاريب داود النبي وآلته
 ومن مات فيه مثل من مات في السما
 فقد سأل الاخذنا من القدس رمية
 وينفح اسرافيل في الصور عند ما
 فسر فيه ايام الربيع بواء(كرا
 (278 v)

شقائق نبات وشياً متميّزاً
 وبرد مياه لا برمالة عالج
 فاشعب بواسط غوطة جلت
 ومارند نهان واعشاب رامة
 تحاربه الافكار من دهش ما به
 وفيه لدى الاسحار والليل مقمر
 رعى الله اسحاراته تقضت حميده
 فبشرامك يا زائريه بسنة
 فلا تلسووا الحجارة فهو بدعة
 ولا تشموا بالقدس من حجره ولا
 فلا حجر في الارض يندب لمسه

بأفعاله او فعل زر حجة صغرى
ومشيأ اذا فارقته بغير قبرى
كفعل الكتابيين اذ ودعوا قبرا
ورمي جمار ثم اذ تحملوا شعرا
المعروف والنهض والطلب السمع والقبرا
فعند قبور الانبياء احدثوا فكرا
الفرقين تحذيرآ لكم نفذوا الحذرا
لابراز⁽²⁾ قبر المصطفى وروى جهرا
ما بينهما ربط ولا تقض يُستبرا
صحيح وافق إِن يكن حجة برأ
لعام فلا اصل لذاك بالاستغرا
ولا قبة الميزان واستكثروا ذكرها
بحطة زحفاً تدخلوا كبني اسرا
لا سبباً سموها بلا حجة تدرى
وقبراً لأم آدم فأسمعوا النكري
بالاقصى وسموا سوق معرفة مكرا
ونصف يعزى الى ابن ابي الحمرا
وتصدية وزورهم فاذهبوا هجرا

^١ ووقفة Text:

وايَاكم التشبّيه بالحج فيه او
وايَاكم فيه طواف بصخرة
ولا عند توديع الخليل واحمد
وايَاكم سعيأ لدا باب حطة
فلا وقفه^(١) الا بنعات فاطلب
ولا بالنصارى واليهود تشبهوا
فقد لعن المختار قبل وفاته
ولا اتخاذ عبد ومسجدأ
ولا نقل التقديس للحج مكمل
فلو حج العالم بقدس فحجه
وزورة ابرهيم بعد محمد
ولا تقصدوا مهدأ ولا باب حطة
ومن اي باب شتم فادخلوا ولا
ولا تسمعوا من سادن او من ور
فقد نسبوا فيه مقاماً الى علي
وعرش البلقيس يوَذْتْ فوقه
وجانب ضلالات به كفرائب
ولا تعلموا فيه سعاعاً ولا مكا
لابراز

(279 r)

ولَا اصل فِيهَا قَدْ نَهَى عَنْهُ يَحْتَدِي
وَبِالْمَسْجَدِ الْأَقْصَى وَبِالْقَدْسِ سَمَّهُ
وَالْيَهُ وَالْيَهُ مَعَ الْمَدْمَعِ سَلَمُ
وَقَلَّ أَيْنَ دَاؤُ النَّبِيِّ وَصَلَاتُهُ
وَأَيْنَ رَهَابِينَ بِهِ وَاجْتَهادِهِمُ
وَأَيْنَ سَلِيمَانَ وَابْنَهُ وَجَنْوَدَهُ
وَأَيْنَ خَابِلَ اللَّهُ ثُمَّ بْنُوهُ أَيْنَ
وَأَوْلَادِ إِسْرَائِيلَ يَعْقُوبَ بْنَ بَخْتَ
حَنِينِي إِلَى الْوَادِ الْمَقْدَسِ مَوْطِنِي
فَلَا بَرْحَتِ السَّاَثِرَاتِ عَوَادِيَا
فَيَارِبُّ⁽¹⁾ إِنْ قَصَّيْتَنِي عَنْهُ رَاضِيَا
وَصَلَّى عَلَى الْمُخْتَارِ ثُمَّ خَلِيكَ الْمُعْظَمَ

وَمَا وَقَعَ فِي سَنَةِ أَرْبَعَةِ عَشَرِ وَتِسْعَاهُ تِسْعَاهُ فِي سُلْطَانَةِ الْمُلْكِ الْإِشْرَافِ
فَانْصُوْهُ الْفُورِي فِي وَلَايَةِ الْأَمِيرِ جَانِ بَرْدِيِّ الْفَزَالِيِّ حَاجِ الشَّامِ
وَنَائِبِ الْكَرْكَ وَالْقَدْسِ الشَّرِيفِ وَبَلْدِ سَيِّدِنَا الْخَلِيلِ وَنَاظِرِ الْحَرَمَيْنِ
الشَّرِيفَيْنِ بِهِمَا إِنْ جَمَاعَةٌ مِنْ بَالْقَدْسِ الشَّرِيفِ مِنْ الْأَعْيَانِ وَغَيْرِهِمْ قَصَدُوا
الْحَجَّ إِلَى بَيْتِ اللَّهِ الْحَرَامِ وَكَانَ الْحَجَّ قَدْ انْقَطَعَ مِنَ الْقَدْسِ الشَّرِيفِ

اكثر من عشر سنين لفساد الزمان وعدم امن الطريق فحضر جماعة من العرب والتزموا بحملهم وإيصالهم الى عقبة آيلة آمنين ليتوجهوا إلى مكة المشرفة صحبة الركب المصري فاعتذر جماعة وناهبوه للحج وانضم اليهم جماعة من اهل مدينة حماه وغيرها قدر أن الثلج وقع بالقدس الشريف في ليلة الاثنين الخامس من شوال الموافق لخامس شباط الرومي واستمر ينزل من ليلة الاثنين إلى صبح يوم الثلاثاء وانقطع ثم نزل عقبه المطر في يوم الأربعاء والخميس والجمعة فأزال معظمه وعزم الحجاج على السفر في صبيحة يوم السبت العشرين من شوال الموافق لعاشر شباط وباتوا تلك الليلة مطمئنين مستبشرين فلما دخل الليل وقع الثلج الغزير واصبح الناس فرأوه على هيئة مرهبة من الكثرة والشدة واستمر ينزل سبعة أيام بلياليها متالية واشتد الامر في اليوم السابع وهو الجمعة وتفاقش حتى تذر على معظم الناس حضور الجمعة ثم يتراويف نزوله بعدها في اوقات متفرقة اكثر من ثلاثة أيام وتواتت (279) الامطار عقبه حتى فات وقت السفر للحج وصار المسجد الاقصى وشوارع المدينة واسطحها في هيئة عجيبة من عجمة وكان ذلك سبباً لانقطاع الحج وعدم سفر القاصدين له وقد (1) وفاة كثيرين (2)

كثير : Text : حدث or كانت There is a word missing: either

من أهل القدس فدفنوا بمشقة زائدة وبعضاًهم لم يصلَّ عليه بالمسجد وبعض الأطفال دفن بداخل المدينة في المكان الذي توفيَ فيه وهدم عدَّة أماكن من الأماقِق وغيرها وهلك تحت المدم واستمرَّ أهل القدس أكثر من عشرين يوماً في شدَّة شديدة من انقطاع السُّبُل وتعطيل المعيش وصادف⁽¹⁾ وقوع الغلام في القمع وغيره من الأقوات وعدم وجود ما يوكل حتى كاد الناس أن يهلكوا وانقطعت العادة بالمسجد الاقصى فاستمرَّ أيامَ لم يسمع اذان ولا صلاة ولا سيمَا في الليل واستمرَّ التبغ في المسجد والشوارع أكثر من شهر وكان ذلك اعجباً واشدَّ ما وقع في سنة تسع وسبعين وثمانمائة فسبحان القادر على ما يشاء وكان الفراغ من تعليق هذه النسخة المدعَوة بتاريخ القدس والخليل عليه الصلاة والسلام تأليف القاضي محير الدين الحنفي المقدسي في اوائل ربيع الآخر من شهور سنة ٩٥٦ على يد اضعف العباد الفقير جبريل الحسيني الحنفي الغزي عني الله عنه وعن والديه والمسلين آمين آمين

TOPOGRAPHICAL RESEARCHES IN THE SHEPHELAH

AAPELI SAARISALO

(HELSINKI)

The area covered by my excursions in the spring 1929 and summer 1930 is contained in the north-western corner of the 21st sheet of the English Survey map with the village of *idnā* as the southern limit and the *wādī es-sūr* as the limit in the east. I begin with the northern part of this area, along the *wādī ed-druseh* from west to east. On the south-western side of the *wādī* there is an artificial mound, called *tell el-beḍā* (the white mound), which is isolated on all sides with steep terraces. The circle of the first terrace from the top is 265 paces. There are cisterns and caves and the debris is strewn with potsherds of the Early Iron I and especially Early Iron II. Owing to the fact that this is the only real tell with biblical remains in the whole area (see the appended list) it might be proposed as the site of Moresheth-Gath, the native place of Micah (Micah 1^{1,14}).¹ For in the Onomasticon of Eusebius, Moresheth-Gath is placed in the eastern vicinity of Eleutheropolis, i.e. *bet djibrin*.²

As to the philological meaning of Moresheth-Gath the first part of the name is apparently employed in order to distinguish this

¹ Since Moresheth-Gath was occupied also in Eusebius' time we should expect Byzantine ceramics on this tell. Although there are none, the neighbouring Byzantine site *b. hōrān* can easily have been called by the name of its deserted neighbour, as was the case all over Palestine in Byzantine times.

² Eusebius, *Onomasticon*: "Morasthi unde sicut Michaeas profeta, est autem iucus contra orientem Eleutheropolcos; Μωρασθη εόντε τῷ Μιχαῖος ἐπαφήνεται, πρὸς ἱερούς Εἰρηθεπόνευς.

gat from that well-known *gat* of the Philistines, which was the native place of Goliath (1 Sam. 17¹). Etymologically the first part *mōrēšet* can be derived from the same stem as the Hebrew *ḥaraṣ*, to plough. In Hebrew this is the only equivalent of different Arabic verbal roots, which have been confused in Hebrew owing to its phonetical development. Most probably the word *mōrēšet* is derived from *ḥariṭa*, to enclose, and means an enclosure as in the name *ḥarōšet-hag-gōyim* (Judges 4²) which has survived philologically, though not topographically, in the modern Arabic name *ḥarītiyyeh*. With the *mem preformativum* a noun can be formed *mahrēšet* from the stem *ḥaraṣ*, which could be reduced to *mōrēšet* on the analogy of *ya'mar yōmar*.⁴

In the neighbourhood of *tell el-beḍā* there are several sites on the Survey map. North of it is the above-mentioned *b. ḥorān*, sloping towards north, a Roman and Byzantine site with hewn stones and cisterns. South of it there is according to the Survey *b. mabbiyyeh*, ("the hidden ruin"), which was hidden also from the present local *fellaḥin*, and *dér el-mūs*, which shows the remnants of a few buildings only, probably of a monastery (*dér*). Farther south is *b. el-qoṭn*, which slopes only to the east. The area abounds in Byzantine hewn stones, mosaics and cisterns. East of this is *b. el-hammām*, the name of which indicates hot 'baths. The local people, however, did not know of any hot springs in the district. The *birbeh* lies on an extensive flat hill, which abounds in cisterns and caves and is strewn with Byzantine mosaics. Its south-eastern neighbour *b. ḥaṭṭōs* is smaller but otherwise of the same type. East of this lies according to the Survey *b. abu es-silāsil*, the name of which was not known by the modern *fellaḥin*. On the northern sides of *wadi ed-druseh* is the *b. kermā* of the Survey, which was pronounced by the local population *b. qarma*. This is a high isolated hill with cisterns and with a Byzantine-Arabic *birbeh* on top of it. The site

¹ The writer is informed by Canon J. E. HANAUER, a student of the folklore of Palestine, that there exists no tradition about Micah among the natives of Palestine. As to the neighbourhood of *bēt djibrīn* I found the following holy shrines (weli): *en-nabi djibrīn*, *al-weli tamīm ed-dārī*, *sēh iibrāhīm*, *sēh ṣa'ēs*, *sēh ṣa'ēb*, *sēh maḥmūd*, *sēh al-hādj sālim*, *sēh az-żawāwi*, *sēh al-'adjamī*, *sēh burāq*.

was chosen for occupation already in the Late Bronze Age.

Though *b. sube* ("of a small lion"; contrast the Survey, according to which the name is *b. subih*, i. e. "of a reddish white colour") lies on a low hill of soft soil, it was also occupied as early as the Late Bronze Age. In the midst of this cultivated hill there is a small *birbeh* with hewn stones. Between these two Late Bronze Age sites there are three Byzantine-Arabic *birab* of *umm burdj*, *b. fatta* and *b. umm suwed*. The first mentioned lies on a high hill, the northern side of which is covered with debris; there are many caves and cisterns. The second lies on a plain ridge. The third covers a lengthy, extensive hill with two hillocks in its western and eastern end, which is cultivated. This lengthy hill is a part of the watershed between the systems of *wadi ed-druseh* and its northern neighbour *wadi en-naṣara* (or, as it is also called, *wadi el-ḥib*). On the southern side of this *wadi* there is *b. umm el-lōz*, a Byzantine-Arabic site, which lies on an elevated top of the eastern end of a ridge. Nearly at the bottom of this *wadi* are traces of a few ruined buildings. This place is called *b. wadi en-naṣara*, the *b. umm el-amdan* of the Survey. From the rest of the names of the northern side of the *wadi* indicated by the Survey *b. seba* was not known by the local shepherds. The most significant of them, *b. kanya* (Survey: *b. qanya*) is a *birbeh* of hewn stones and cisterns, which lies in the midst of a cultivated hill, the ruin area being one hundred paces around. North of *wadi ed-druseh* this is the only one inhabited as early as the Early Iron III period. The other two, *b. imm el-basal* and *b. ribba* are Byzantine-Arabic sites (Survey: *b. il-basal*).

South of *wadi ed-druseh* is the extensive system of *wadi es-serqiye* (the eastern wadi, which emerges to *bet djibrin* from the east). A little north of the village *idna* at *b. djamrarah* it becomes united by two branches, the northern, *wadi el-merdj*, serving as the present road up to Hebron, while the southern, *wadi el-afrandj*, was employed as the basin of the Roman road from Eleutheropolis to Hebron. The situation of *b. djamrarah* is an important one at the junction of the two valleys. This explains the fact that it shows

traces of occupation as far back as the Middle Bronze Age. Still there is here no artificial tell and according to the ceramics there was a gap till the Byzantine period. Its extensive ruin area can be identified with the Gemmaruris of Ptolemy, who mentions it as in Idumaea. (Rel. Pal. p. 804). The rest of the *birab* on the north-eastern side of *wādi es-ṣerqīyeh* are all Byzantine or Arabic sites.

On the south-western side of this *wādi*, *b. sinnabre* (cf. Sennabris) was occupied during the Middle Bronze Age like *b. djamrūrah* along the same *wādi*. Since there is no water here and there are not as good possibilities for agriculture as for instance in the neighbouring *b. qilā*, the occupation of which did not begin before the Iron Age, we suggest that an ancient road from the maritime plain to Hebron created these small Middle Bronze Age settlements along its course. In *b. ṣebraqah*, an extensive site, there are rock-cut tombs with *kōkim* and a small spring. With the exception of this *birbeh*, the occupation of which dates back to the Hellenistic period, all the other five *birab* on this side are Byzantine and Arabic sites.¹ All the valleys mentioned above run from east to west. On the other hand *wādi es-ṣur*, passing their starting points in the east, runs from south to north. At its starting point in the south, near to *wādi el-merdj* is *b. bet naṣif* with its abundant Early Iron II potsherds. Nearly opposite to it, on the western side of the *wādi* is a Byzantine site called *bet naṣib*. In Josh. 15⁴³ *nesib* is named as a city of the Shephelah of Judah, together with *qeṭila*, i. e. *b. qilā*. In the Onomasticon *nesib* is placed nine miles (seven in the Latin) from Eleutheropolis, on the way to Hebron. The biblical name has survived in *bet naṣib* which is not "on the way to Hebron." Since *b. bet naṣif* is the only Israelite site on the way to Hebron and at a distance of seven miles from *bet djibrin*, it can be identified with the biblical *nesib*. Opposite to it, on the southern side of *wādi el-merdj* is the village of *tarqāmīeh* (ταρκωμία). According to its name it was once the leader of a confederation consisting of three villages.

¹ The name of the northernmost *birbeh* was pronounced *abu er-rāwāzin*; cf. the Survey.

Apparently *b. bet nāsif* was one of them.¹

South-east from *tarqāmīeh*, between the Roman and the modern road, towers on its commanding height *b. et-taiyibeh*. On the western end of the ancient site is the actual *birbeh* with a castle-like building, mentioned by MADER, (*Altchristliche Basiliken und Lokaltraditionen in Südjudäa*), as being "auf dem Osthügel der alten Stadt." There is a very extensive area strewn with potsherds south and east of the *birbeh*. The gradually sloping *wādī* south of it is called *bālēt ‘āmer*, in the bottom of which is a good spring. The slope west of the *birbeh* is a rocky hill-side without debris and building stones. The access from *tarqāmīeh* is fairly easy,² without a single crossing of valleys; this may have been used in ancient times as a shorter road to Hebron, especially in the winter time. The site of *et-taiyibeh* (802 m. above sea level) is an extraordinarily good point for seeing distant views—the whole Shephelah as far as Jaffa to the north, and *el-caris*, the Brook of Egypt, to the south. This natural watch-tower is situated in the midst of two valleys used as passes leading from the maritime plain to Hebron, and has a good water-supply from its spring. Building on these facts we can expect to find here traces of an ancient settlement. In addition the name *b. et-taiyibeh*, "the good ruin," hints at an older name with radicals *‘fr*, which sounds too much like the Arabic *‘afrit*, a name of a demon.³

¹ Northwards along the course of *wādī es-sūr* there are the known biblical sites *qe’ilā*—*b. qīlā* and *‘adullām*—*b. ‘id el-mā* (also called *b. ‘id el-minyā*) north of *b. es-ṣēb madkūr*. The ruin still further north, which has no name on the Survey map is called *tāff djbīn nakhār* ("place of a jealous brow").

² From the west, however, along the Roman road the access is very difficult. At *b. djamrūrah* this height with its ruins is to be seen at a short and easy distance, from which I started once on a clear February morning walking up to *et-taiyibeh*. A *sellāh* told me: The ruin is right in front of you (*quddāmak*). But because I had no Survey map or a compass with me, I was lost for a whole day in the zigzag of the many branches of valleys owing to the February clouds which hid the sun, so that I could not get directions from it. Also from the village of *tuffāh*, from the south-east, the access is hampered by deep zigzagging valleys. The importance of *et-taiyibeh* is wholly overlooked in the archaeological description of the Survey.

³ The name *et-taiyibeh* is an abbreviation of *taiyibet el-ism* (*Euonymos*), a name given euphemistically to places, whose names had a bad sound, and at least severa

In the first chapter of Micah mention is made of a town *bet le'ofra* (1¹⁰). Though most of the towns mentioned in this chapter seem to belong to the neighbourhood of Micah's native place, i. e. the district around *bet djibrin*, *et-taiyibeh* is certainly not too far distant, especially since there cannot be found in the list any fixed geographical order (e.g. that they follow the one route from the Shephelah towards Jerusalem, as in the somewhat parallel passage in Is. 10²⁸⁻³²). Also in case *et-taiyibeh—bet le'ofra* should in the light of further identification remain the only town in this list belonging to the Judaean mountains, it is not impossible to suppose that the author was obliged to search for this particular type of name from a little further distance in order to build up this pun: "At Beth-le-Aphrah have I rolled myself in dust" (the Hebrew root 'fr 'afar means dust; cf. the similar pun with Achzib in 10¹⁴).¹

I append a list of the sites studied. I wish to thank Dr. Albright for helping me to identify the pottery and for making suggestions. For abbreviations see JPOS, IX, 1 (1929), p. 37.

<i>abu er-rāwāzin</i>	R, B, A.	<i>b. kanya</i>	E I III, H, R, B.
<i>bet 'alām</i>	B, A.	<i>b. qarmā</i>	LB, H, B, A.
<i>bet lām</i>	B, A.	<i>b. harūf</i>	B, A.
<i>bet naṣib</i>	B, A.	<i>b. el-qoṭn</i>	B, A.
<i>burdī bet naṣif</i>	A.	<i>b. qaṣṣah</i>	B, A.
<i>b. 'aṭṭōs</i>	B, A.	<i>b. en-naṣārā</i>	A.
<i>b. bet naṣif</i>	E I II, B, A.	<i>b. ribbā</i>	B, A.
<i>b. el-biss</i>	A.	<i>b. sinnābreh</i>	MB, B, A.
<i>b. imm el-bāsal</i>	B, A.	<i>b. šeraqah</i>	H, R, B, A.
<i>b. faṭṭām</i>	B, A.	<i>b. eš-šerwi</i>	B, A.
<i>b. ḥorān</i>	H, R, B, A.	<i>b. subē</i>	LB, A.
<i>b. el-hammām</i>	E I III, B, A.	<i>b. ṭāwas</i>	B, A.
<i>b. djamrūrah</i>	MB, B, A.	<i>b. tell el-beḍā</i>	E I, II
<i>b. djabr</i>	B, A.	<i>b. et-taiyibeh</i>	E I, II, B, EA, MA, LA.

towns of this name in Palestine can be proved to have originally borne a name with 'pr, see ALBRIGHT, AASOR, VI (1926) p. 35.

¹ As the latest commentary on Micah see JOHANNES LINDBLOM, Micha, Helsinki 1929, esp. pp. 54 ff.

<i>b. umm el-banāzir</i>	B, A. <i>muṣarras b̄ārah</i>	B.
<i>b. umm el-lōz</i>	B, A. <i>umm burdj</i>	B, B-A.
<i>b. ḥaqqah</i>	B, A. <i>umm suwed</i>	B, EA.

About the Roman road system west of Hebron Professor ALT recently made important discoveries, which are to be published in the near future (see ALT, „Das Institut im Jahre 1930” in the *Palästinajahrbuch XXVII, 1931*).

THE THIRD CAMPAIGN AT TELL BEIT MIRSIM AND ITS HISTORICAL RESULTS

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We have already described elsewhere¹ the most important historical results of the first two campaigns of excavation at Tell Beit Mirsim, in 1926 and 1928. The third campaign followed in the summer of 1930, with historical results of even greater significance. Since the details of its organization have been described in the preliminary report in the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*,² we may dispense here with all but the principal facts concerning it. The expedition was undertaken jointly by the Xenia-Pittsburgh Theological Seminary and the American School in Jerusalem, both of which institutions contributed to its support. The writer was director of the expedition, in cooperation with Dr. M.G. Kyle, who has been the patron and the main supporter of this work since its beginning. On the staff were five other foreign scholars: Professors O. R. Sellers and J. L. Kelso, Drs. Nelson Glueck, Aapeli Saarisalo, and Aage Schmidt,³ all of whom devoted themselves in the most loyal and unselfish way to the work of ex-

¹ See the *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (ZAW) 1929, pp. 1-17. Preliminary reports have also appeared in the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, Nos. 23, pp. 2-14, and 31, pp. 1-11. The definitive publication will appear in the *Annual of the American Schools*, while selected groups of material will be treated in special monographs, where a fuller comparative archaeological study is feasible.

² See *Bulletin*, No. 39, pp. 1-10.

³ Dr. Schmidt devoted himself to our work with an energy and industry which it would be difficult, if not impossible, to parallel. I owe a great deal to his interest and his advice.

cavation and recording. Besides the seven foreign members of the staff, there were three surveyors trained in archaeological work, a draughtsman, several volunteer helpers for shorter periods, four skilled Egyptian foremen and assistants, and two Palestinians of the same general class. During the actual excavation, which began June 16th and closed August 16th, we employed an average of nearly a hundred local laborers, with a maximum of 120.

In our methods of excavation we followed, in general, those of Dr. C. S. Fisher, who continued to advise us during the third campaign; nearly all the skilled foremen and assistants were trained by him. We are also under great obligation to the Danish Shiloh Expedition¹ and to Dr. Elihu Grant for loan of equipment. The former, which we had assisted in its first two campaigns, generously reciprocated by placing its material equipment, tents, tables, beds, chairs, etc., at our disposal. The latter lent to us his surveying instruments, which are much better than our own. The weather also proved unexpectedly favorable, and we enjoyed rather cooler weather on the whole than was the case in Jerusalem, though our site is nearly three hundred metres lower than the latter. The relative coolness is naturally due to the fact that Tell Beit Mirsim is much higher than the country to the west, and thus gets the full benefit of the sea breezes.

The work of this campaign was entirely devoted to three areas, two in the south-east, one in the north-west, all contiguous to previously excavated areas. In the second campaign we had excavated an area of nearly a thousand square metres, just inside the city wall and south-west of the East Gate, down to the D stratum (A being the top stratum), which we cleared, but did not remove. In the third campaign we continued working in this area, digging down to bed-rock. Carrying on our work along the inside of the wall, to the south-west, we then began a second area of nearly 2000 square metres, excavated A and B, completed the clearance and removal of the C stratum, and began work on D. The rest of D

¹ I wish here again to express our deep sense of obligation to Mr. H. Kjaer, director of the Shiloh expedition, and to Dr. Aage Schmidt, through whom this generous offer was made.

here, as well as the underlying strata, will be excavated in the next campaign. In the north-west quadrant we continued the clearing of the A level toward the West Gate, but did not attempt to go below the top stratum, especially since the débris is rather shallow here, and would not be so productive of results. In our next campaign we hope to clear the lower strata in this part of the mound.

In 1928 we inferred that there were two strata remaining to be studied, an E level, which seemed to be only a lower phase of D, and an "F" stratum, which remained wholly obscure, and might be composite. Since the average depth of débris remaining to be excavated in this area seemed to be little over a metre at most, our surprise may be understood when we were compelled to distinguish no fewer than five separate strata, F to J, which in some places occupied nearly three metres of depth. It is true that these strata are all thin, but all are separated by continuous burned levels, and show either entirely different walls or just as different types of pottery. The most remarkable fact about our mound is that all the strata are separated by continuous burned levels, marking the destruction of the town by fire. Since we discovered that stratum C is really two strata, separated by a somewhat less clearly defined burned level than usual in this mound, we therefore have no fewer than eleven burned levels, each belonging to a conflagration in which the city was destroyed. The great value of these burned levels for stratigraphic observations is evident; here we are practically never in doubt as to the stratum to which a given object belongs. When compared with other sites, in which stratigraphy is often very difficult and the natural difficulty is complicated by ignorance of the pottery on which all Palestinian chronology rests, our mound is thus unique in importance. Beth-shan is, of course, better so far as the chronology of the Late Bronze is concerned,¹ but most of the Early Iron is entirely lacking there, while the Middle Bronze

¹ We can now refer to the invaluable preliminary volume on the pottery by Fitzgerald, who has succeeded Rowe as director of the Beth-shan expedition. The coming volumes will be of even greater importance for the chronology of the Late Bronze Age, especially of the fifteenth century.

will not be reached for many years, in all probability. For convenience we subjoin a table of chronology, showing our present views, which will be explained and defended below.

	Stratum	Period	Historical Age	Chronology
J	...	EB III ¹	...	Cir. 22nd-20th cent.
I		MB I	XII. Dyn. in Egypt	,, 20th-19th ,,
H				
G			XII.-XIII. Dynasty	,, 19th-18th ,,
F			XIII. Dynasty	,, 18th ,,
E		MB II.	Early Hyksos period	,, 17th ,,
D			Late Hyksos period	,, 17th-16th ,,
C ₁		LB I	Early XVIII. Dynasty	,, 16th-15th ,,
C ₂		LB II.	XVIII.-XIX. Dynasty	,, 15th-13th ,,
B ₁	{ LB II EI I }		XIX-XX. Dynasty (Early Judges)	{ end of 13th cent. to cir. 1150
B ₂			Period of Philistine rule	,, 1150-1000
B ₃			United Monarchy	,, 1000-920
A		EI II	Divided Monarchy of Judah	,, 920-588 (<i>circa</i>).

There are two changes in this table, when it is compared with the results of our second campaign. Most important is the substitution of five new strata for our period "F"; there is no essential modification of our previous chronology for the entire period. Second comes the division of C into two phases, while the beginning of the period

¹ Following is the scheme on which this classification is based :

Early Bronze (EB) I	cir. 3000-2600	Late Bronze (LB) I	cir. 1600-1400
II	,, 2600-2300	II	,, 1400-1200
III	,, 2300-2000	Early Iron (EI) I	,, 1200-900
Middle Bronze (MB) I	,, 2000-1800	II	,, 900-600
II	,, 1800-1600	III	,, 600-300

Aside from the subdivision of the Bronze Ages, this is identical with the scheme which the writer proposed as a modification of the officially adopted one (*Bulletin*, No. 7, p. 9; *Revue Biblique*, 1923, p. 275) in the *Annual*, Vol. IV (1924), p. xi, based on his observations at Tell el-Ful. It has been adopted by a number of archaeologists, including especially Garstang, who employs it at Jericho (QS 1930, 124, note). The scheme adopted by Jirku (ZDPV 53, 138, n. 2) in 1930 is a conflation of the older official scheme (which never was actually used without modification by any expedition) with my classification, and results in some curious chronological errors in describing the Palestinian sites which we visited together in 1929 (*Bulletin*, No. 35, pp. 1 ff.).

is pushed back into the late 16th century. A very slight alteration has also been made with regard to the beginning of A, since we now know that the reoccupation followed almost immediately on the destruction by Shishak, about 920 B.C. Back to D we may claim that an error of over fifty years is hardly possible, while an error of over a century in the previous periods is most unlikely.

Stratum J, the earliest of all, has hitherto been found only in pockets in the rock just inside the city walls, and in scattered débris on the rock, in all parts of the mound so far excavated. No traces of masonry which may definitely be assigned to it have so far been found, and it is not impossible that its houses were largely built of wood. The fact that there is practically no earth in the mound destitute of potsherds and ashes does not prove that the hills of this district were then devoid of timber; it merely illustrates the well-known fact that denudation of rock is exceedingly rapid after the protecting forests are cleared away. The pottery of J belongs to the latter part of the Early Bronze Age, and is in part already close to the transition from Early to Middle Bronze. Dr. Fisher, who possesses an exceptionally good knowledge of the Early Bronze, unhesitatingly dated it to about 2200-2000 B.C. Two excellent sites for the study of the Early Bronze of Palestine, both in the extreme south, are Tell el-Hesi and Bâb ed-Drà.¹ In both of them we have quantities of pottery illustrating the best period of the Early Bronze, about the middle of the third millennium, so that there can be no doubt about the relative lateness of our J stratum. As has been stressed elsewhere, the settlement of the hill-country was later than that of the alluvial valleys and the plains.² The plains of the Negeb were also apparently settled before the hill-country proper.³ It is quite possible that our J stratum really represents more than one

¹ For a brief description of the pottery of Bâb ed-Drà see *Annual*, Vol. VI, pp. 59 f. We hope to publish the pottery collected since 1924 in the near future.

² Cf. *Annual*, Vol. VI, p. 67; JPOS 8, 251; ALT, *Die Landnahme der Israeliten in Palästina*, pp. 17-22.

³ This follows from the results of Bliss's excavation at Tell el-Hesi and especially from the discoveries of Petrie at Tell el-Fâr'âh, still for the most part unpublished.

phase of occupation, but we have no clear evidence yet for more than one.

Strata I and H belong to the period of transition from Early to Middle Bronze, but since they contain characteristic Middle Bronze piriform and elongated, one-handled vessels, as well as carinated bowls, etc., none of which ever occur in J, they must be assigned definitely to the latter. Among survivals from Early Bronze we have degenerate ledge handles, either with or without notches, often folded over, but never true wavy ledge handles. This degenerate type is characteristic of MB I all over Palestine.¹ We also find Early Bronze cooking pots, pattern comb-facing (though very inferior in technique), etc. The typical Middle Bronze piriform vessels with double handles are already found in I-H, but sparingly. In Egypt, as the statistics collected by Junker show, these vases first occur in the twentieth century:² A very interesting type of pottery which comes in at this time is otherwise best known from the "light-blue" city of Jericho—cups or goblets with thin walls, decorated on the outside with alternate bands of straight and wavy combing.³ Similar

¹ Cf. the situation at Jerusalem (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1930, p. 165 f.), at Tell en-Naṣbeh and at Beth-Shemesh. Neither Badè nor Grant has found pottery older than the transition from Early to Middle Bronze in the earliest levels of occupation. The Early Bronze vases discovered by Badè in tombs on the summit of the hill inside the later wall evidently antedate the beginning of organized sedentary life in the site, though they belong to the latter part of the third millennium. Now that we know from Tuleilât el-Ghassûl, Mughâret ez-Zuṭṭîyeh, and Mughâret el-Wâd just what the Chalcolithic (Neolithic) of Palestine was like, it has become impossible to date the earliest pottery so far found at Jerusalem and Tell en-Naṣbeh before EB III, the last third of the third millennium (cf. GJERSTADT, *Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus*, 1926, pp. 302 f.).

² JUNKER, *Die nubische Ursprung der sogenannten Tell el-Yahûdiye-Vasen (Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien, Phil.-hist. Kl., Sitz., 198, 3, 1921)*, pp. 55 ff. 81 ff. It may be added that Junker's thesis was wrong; the origin of the Tell el-Yahûdiye ware in Palestine and Syria is now well established (cf. already BONNET, *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*, Vol. 59, pp. 119-130).

³ See SELLIN and WATZINGER, *Jericho*, pp. 108 ff., especially p. 110 (thin walled cup). In Jericho it represents the last stage before the "red city," which corresponds to our E-D, and is therefore to be placed before 1700; it is thus exactly parallel chronologically to the F and preceding strata. The same kind of incised decoration is common in the period of the Thirteenth Dynasty in Egypt; see, e.g., BRUNTON, *Qau and Badari III* (1930), plates XII-XVIII. Common to Egypt, Jericho, and

pottery is also found in central Syria (excavations of Du Mesnil du Buisson).¹ In our site it extends from I to F, where it disappears. The characteristic cooking-pot of the earlier Middle Bronze also makes its first appearance in I: a large round vessel, with flat bottom, and of extremely coarse ware; a raised band decorated with finger impressions (rope-design) passes around it, a little below the rim, while the space between the band and the rim is dotted with little punctured holes, generally piercing the wall. Where this vessel has been noted in the past, it has usually been ascribed to the earliest period, as at Jerusalem; the writer, however, has long known, both from previous work here and from other sites, especially Tell edj-Djerîsh, that it is exclusively Middle Bronze.² It continues down into E, where it is replaced by a similar vase without the holes, and with the rope-band just below the rim. The total span of this cooking-pot with the holes is, therefore, from about 2000 to after 1700 B.C.; it becomes a most useful means of dating MB I. To illustrate its importance, it may be observed that it does not occur at Beth-shan so far,³ but that it does at Bethel.⁴—Only fragments of masonry from I and H were discovered, and we have as yet no evidence at all with regard to the fortifications of the time.

Stratum G is the first level with well-preserved remains of construction. The city wall of this period was discovered and traced for nearly a hundred metres; it is 3.25 m. wide, but is built of Tell Beit Mirsim are jugs with flaring mouths and our characteristic decoration. The cups of which we have spoken, which form the commonest type with us, do not seem to be found in Egypt.

¹ See now his article in *Syria*, 1930, pp. 146 ff., especially p. 153 and plate XXXII, 8. The unpublished pottery from Salimiyeh is still closer in form to our category. The cupola of Lot, which yielded the pottery in question at Misrifeh, certainly dates from the end of the Middle Bronze, and probably from the seventeenth century.

² Cf. JQR, *loc. cit.*

³ The excavation on the mound has only reached the stratum of Tuthmosis III, i.e. about the second quarter of the fifteenth century B.C., whereas our type of pottery fell into disuse of the Middle Bronze some time before the end. Cooking pots are never found in tombs, a fact which accounts for its apparent absence in earlier ceramic series from Beth-shan.

⁴ See provisionally *Bulletin*, No. 29, p. 10. The full publication of our results is in preparation.

comparatively small stones, and seems to be quite without a revetment. It has no resemblance either to the massive revetment walls of the following age or to the still more massive cyclopaean masonry of such Bronze Age sites as Qurûn Haṭṭîn, Tell Djâbieh, or Irbid. In this level we excavated the entire courtyard of a large house, most of which, however, remains to be explored next campaign. There seems to be a striking similarity between the plan of the G house and that of the E-D "palace" (for which see below). Both are characterised by having a large rectangular walled court, three sides of which are exterior while the fourth (opposite the entrance from the street) gives access, through two doors, to the ground floor of the house proper. The outside entrance of the G house was well preserved, and, to judge from the stone door socket, was provided with a strong wooden door. This type of house would seem to be typical of the Middle Bronze; in the following periods we find entirely different house-plans. In B-A, for instance, the large court, with the outside door, is entirely absent, not only in our site, but elsewhere in Palestine. The court of the G house showed two successive phases of construction, in the second of which the level of the floor was lowered (so !), while one door was closed, and three round constructions of stone and mortar, apparently to hold store-jars, were built lengthwise of the court.¹ The pottery of our G level was very abundant and diversified; it shows the closest analogies to that of the tomb 28 II of Gezer, which contains a number of scarabs characteristic of the early Thirteenth Dynasty.² Because of this analogy the writer immediately assigned G to the early 18th century, though recognizing that it might also belong to the 19th. Entirely independent judgements were then secured from Dr. C.S. Fisher and Père Vincent; the former dated it to the period preceding 1800, while the latter assigned it to the

¹ For photograph see *Bulletin*, No. 39, p. 3.

² See MACALISTER, *Gezer*, Vol. I, pp. 111-141; III, plates xxxii-xlii. For an elaborate archaeological discussion see VINCENT, RB 1924, 161-185. His date of 1800-1600 seems somewhat longer than necessary; the predominance of elaborate curvilinear design on the scarabs, together with the character of the pottery, appears to indicate the Thirteenth Dynasty, i.e., the eighteenth century B.C.

nineteenth century. The close similarity of these three absolutely independent determinations ought to go a long way to convince those who still doubt the value of the ceramic index to chronology, *in the hands of competent scholars.*

Passing over F, which is very much like G, though with an entirely different building level, using new foundations at a higher elevation, we come to E and D. F employed the G fortifications, but the people of E discarded them entirely, and built a new brick city wall, built on a sloping stone revetment of polygonal masonry.¹ The E stratum is rather thin, and the more important buildings of D were round to rest on E foundations, though there were many new constructions of a more flimsy character, which were introduced in D. There can be no doubt that E and D belong to the Hyksos age, about 1700-1560 B.C. It is precisely about 1700 that we find the practise of building massive polygonal revetments introduced into Palestine, as is shown by the "red" wall of Jericho, as well as by the contemporary wall of Shechem.

In the south-east section of the town, the D stratum is very well preserved. It was here, in square SE 22, that we discovered a large, well-built house, which we dignified by the name of "palace,"

¹ Only the stone revetment is preserved, but broken pieces of brick, sometimes nearly complete, were found in Middle Bronze Age débris on the outside of the revetment. Exactly the same kind of wall was employed by the builders of the "red city" of Jericho; see *Jericho*, pp. 54-61, and for the revised chronology, which places this city and wall between 1800 and 1600, see GARSTANG, QS 1930, 128. It is important to note that the pottery of the preceding age is exactly like our material from F and earlier (see p. 26, n. 3), and the pottery of the "red city" corresponds exactly to our E-D ceramic, so that the revetment walls are in any case coeval. Incidentally, our stratification requires a later date for the erection of the Jericho wall — say about 1700. At Shechem (Balâṭah) SELLIN has cleared a somewhat similar, but much more massive revetment wall, which must originally have been surmounted by a brick wall, as at Jericho and Tell Beit Mirsim. The dates given by archaeologists to this wall have varied between 1900 and 1400; the discrepancy being due to the absence of stratigraphic data from the excavation. Welter's subsequent work in 1928 has, however, shown that there were two preceding fortifications, both from the Middle Bronze, so that a comparatively late date for the great cyclopean wall seems to be established. The first of the older walls, ascribed by him to the late Middle Bronze, consists of a stone revetment surmounted by a brick wall, apparently like ours, while the second shows distinct affinity with the Hyksos ramparts in marl.

and where we found the stele of the serpent-goddess. In the third campaign we cleared the rest of the house, disclosing a very interesting plan (see above, on G), which, as we have indicated, goes back properly to the E period. Unhappily, the house seems to have been pretty thoroughly looted at the destruction of the city. However, we found in it, among other things, some characteristic late Middle Bronze pottery, an alabastron, a very fine steatite scarab of the Hyksos period (resembling scarabs of Hayan, as well as of the vizier Hûr),¹ and especially a complete set of game pieces. All the ten faience playing pieces, including five little blue cones and five little three-cornered pyramids,² were found, as well as the ivory die, which was cast in order to determine the moves.³ The set is unique, so Egyptologists may again learn something from Palestinian archaeology. Aside from the complete excavation of the palace, we learned nothing new about the D stratum this year. However, we have cleared a space of nearly 2000 square metres down to the D level, and have struck the adobe brick walls of D at several places, so we shall be able to clear it at the beginning of the fourth campaign—with the prospect of most interesting and important discoveries.

The destruction of D was, as has been indicated in our previous report, very complete, and the city lay in ruins for some time afterwards. The house walls of C are invariably on entirely new foundations. Just how long the site was unoccupied is obscure, but it

¹ Hûr is the high official (of a Hyksos king) whose name is read Hä-al by PETRIE (*Scarabs and Cylinders*, plate xvii, BT-CE). The writing of the name, *H3-r*, i.e. *Hu-r* according to my system, never varies on numerous scarabs belonging to him. To the student of biblical history it is extremely interesting to note that a man with an archaic Hebrew name held the office of *btm b't*, '*m'-r btm*', i.e., "Keeper of the Royal Seal," in the period to which later Hebrew tradition refers Joseph. I hope to return to this subject elsewhere.

² One similar pyramid was discovered in another house of D in our second campaign. An extended investigation showed that the few objects of this type which are in the Egyptian collections of museums have not been explained hitherto, so our discovery is of direct importance to the Egyptologist. The set will be described in an early issue of *Mizraim*. For a photograph of the set see *Bulletin*, No. 39, p. 9.

³ This die is a truncated, four-sided pyramid, exactly like the teetotum, French *toton*. No similar example seems to have been found in Egypt.

was, at all events, long enough to enable squatters to settle in the ruins of the palace, and to burrow holes in the walls. However, since the new inhabitants employed the same system of fortifications as their predecessors, we can hardly suppose that the place was abandoned long. We can now reach a greater degree of precision with regard to the correctness of our previously fixed date for the destruction of D. As we have already said, we discovered conclusive evidence that there were two distinct phases of C, separated by a destruction, accompanied by a conflagration. The second phase is characterized by Mycenaean sherds, which have not so far been found in the first phase. Both phases share the well-known characteristic pottery of the Late Bronze Age, in particular wishbone-handled and base-ring ware. The second phase apparently began not later than the reign of Amenophis III, since we find a steatite scarab of his, with the inscriptions *ntr nfr nb t3w*, *b^c[m]b3st nbt*, *Nb-m3^ct-r^c*, "Good god, lord of the two lands, rising in every foreign country, Nib-mu3^ca-rē^c," just under the burned level of the second phase.¹ Since this scarab had been mounted on a copper ring, part of which we found in place, it follows that it can hardly have been re-used; re-used scarabs are likely to be found employed as amulets or as beads, not as seals. The scarab must have belonged to an official of Amenophis III (1411-1375), and is thus evidence for dating the beginning of C₂ before the end of his reign. Such characteristic pieces as we found in C₁, most of whose pottery was indistinguishable from that of the following phase, show closest affinity with the pottery of the Thutmose III stratum at Beth-shan, as well as with the latest pottery of the pre-Israelite Jericho.² We are, there-

¹ For two exactly similar scarabs, identical with ours in every respect, see HALL, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs*, Nos. 1811-2 (p. 181).

² I wish to express my great indebtedness to Mr. Alan Rowe and Professor Garstang for permission to study the pottery of Beth-shan and Jericho. Mr. Rowe gave me access to all his ceramic material. We must wait until the close of the second campaign at Jericho before making any definite statement about the latest Canaanite pottery at Jericho. Père VINCENT's important paper RB 1930, 403-33, only makes the rarity of Late Bronze pottery more evident than it was before. A 10; C 16, 19, 20 are characteristic Middle Bronze pieces; C 16 has close analogies in our G level. The sherd from a wish-bone handled bowl,

fore, justified in pushing the date of reoccupation, after the destruction of D, back to before the Tuthmosis era, i.e., to before 1500. Since there was, as we have indicated, a period of abandonment, the date of the destruction of D must be pushed back nearly to the time of the conquest of Palestine by Amosis I, in any case. When we add that all the pottery and other datable objects as well as the half-dozen scarabs hitherto found in D, belong to the Hyksos age, and that none can be dated certainly to a later period, it follows that the destruction of this city must almost certainly be ascribed to the Egyptians. It must be recalled that the Egyptian host was already composed mainly of barbarian mercenaries, and that the Egyptians were then presumably more interested in destroying all trace of their hated oppressors than in adding taxable cities to their empire.

Stratum C shows a general shift from building with brick to stone construction. The town was certainly less densely peopled in C than in D, and there was less wealth. But we should be on perilous ground if we maintained that the south-eastern part of the town was characteristic of the entire place. Just what we may expect in another campaign, beyond the limits so far reached in our excavation, may be seen from our two most remarkable discoveries in this level: a stone lion and a stone table of offerings, with three lions in relief around the rim.¹ The lion is of *mizzi* limestone, and is nearly sixty centimetres long; it is represented couchant, with the two front paws parallel and the tail curved over its back. The table of offerings is of a softer limestone, and is not quite thirty centimetres in diameter. In front projects a very conventional lion's head, while the two front legs extend in both directions along the edge of the B 5, is like the corresponding sherds of the Tuthmosis stratum at Beth-shan, and different from the later ones; the pattern became more complex instead of simpler in the second half of LB. The painted pottery of the F type has very close analogies both in the Tuthmosis III level at Beth-shan and, in Tell Beit Mirsim C,₁, while the use of double lozenges and stalactite ornament rapidly disappears after the middle of the fifteenth century. The rest of the pottery discussed by Vincent, and referred by him to the Late Bronze is not very characteristic, and is paralleled both by D and by C. It is a great pity that it is not possible to study the texture of the clay and the technical execution, in which matters Père Vincent is without a rival.

¹ For photographs see *Bulletin*, No. 39, pp. 5, 6.

bowl; the other two smaller lions are represented as extended along the rim of the bowl, behind the larger lion, so that both hind and front legs appear stretched out at full length. In both cases the artistic execution is extremely crude, but entirely local; nothing resembling them artistically has been found hitherto either in Egypt, in Mesopotamia, or in Asia Minor. Like the terra cotta altar-stands of Beth-shan, they belong to a local Canaanite art of a very provincial type. Were we to search for prototypes, we should certainly find them in Egypt, though the lack of the faintest indication of any observance of Egyptian artistic convention obscures the dependence. The two cult objects were found standing on end, about a metre apart, or less, in a vacant area, into which they had obviously been thrown at the destruction of city C. Thanks to the burned level separating C from B, which ran over them, and to the accompanying C pottery, there is no doubt whatever about their date, 1500-1200 B.C. No clue to their exact age, within these limits, was found. They must have come from a Canaanite temple of the C period, which presumably lay just off the edge of our excavated area, and which thus awaits excavation in our fourth campaign. Since the lion is too small to have been one of a pair of guardians of the temple portal, we may safely suppose that it is one of two which originally stood in some relation to the throne of the deity of the temple. One might speculate as to the nature of the divinity, and compare the lion-gods Makal and Ginai, both forms of Rašap, lord of the underworld, especially since Anat, consort of Makal at Beth-shan, was a serpent-goddess, like the goddess of Tell Beit Mirsim in the D period, but it is better to await further discoveries.¹

The most interesting discoveries in stratum C, next to the objects just described, were a series of terra cotta figurines of the Astarte class, belonging to several types, none of which occur at Tell Beit Mirsim except in C. We found several new examples of the well-known Qadeš type, which represents the goddess as a nude woman with spiral side-locks, without a head-dress, and with long stemmed lotus flowers grasped in both upraised hands. The name, which means

¹ I expect to discuss this subject at length in another place.

"courtesan," is known from the fact that it is bestowed upon this Syrian goddess, portrayed in exactly the same fashion, in contemporary Egyptian monuments of the New Empire (1400-1200 B.C.).¹ We also discovered in this campaign two examples of a new type, not hitherto recognized in Palestine, though closely related to the Qadeš one just described. In this new type we have no essential change except that the head is no longer uncovered, but is adorned with a lofty feather-crown. Like Qadeš, who may primarily represent the Byblian goddess, Ba'alat Gubal,² our type is evidently modelled after some popular divinity, worshipped in this form in some important shrine, the identity of which still eludes us. The feather head-dress is most interesting, and enables us to draw some very important conclusions regarding the chronology and diffusion of Astarte types in the Eastern Mediterranean basin. This is not the place for a discussion of the complex material bearing on this question. Suffice it to say that the feather-crown first appears in Mesopotamia, both in Babylonia, Mitanni, and Assyria, about the middle of the second millennium B.C., and is then one of the commonest tiaras of divinity.³ Being previously unknown (except in very remote antiquity) in these regions, it would appear to have been borrowed, perhaps from the north-west. It is true that the appearance of the feather-crown in Asia Minor and Cyprus is apparently somewhat later, but when we bear in mind that our archaeolo-

¹ See the convenient collection of illustrations by GRESMANN, *Altorientalische Bilder zum Alten Testament*, 1927, Nos. 270-2, 275-6. The masculine form *Qadeš*, for *qadîš*, instead of feminine *Qedesah* (*gadišt*), shows that the name is derived from a substantive, not from the adjective *qadeš*, "sacred." In biblical Hebrew the masculine form is used only for the gallus, the eunuch courtesan.

² Cf. ZAW, 1929, 7 f.

³ For the Cossaean period in Babylonia cf., e.g., KING, *Babylonian Boundary Stones*, plates XXI, LIV, LXXXII, XCI; SCHEIL, *Mémoires de la Délégation Française en Perse*, Vol. X, plate XIII, 1; for later representations of the same kind in Babylonia see WEISSBACH, *Babylonische Miscellen*, frontispiece and pp. 16-7. For Mitanni see the forthcoming publication of Tell Halaf by Baron von Oppenheim. For Assyria see ANDRAE, *M.D.O.G.* No. 31, p. 24; ANDRAE, *Farbige Keramik*, pl. 10; SIDNEY SMITH, *Early History of Assyria*, p. 233; BACHMANN, *Felsreliefs in Assyrien*, passim (contrast p. 24, where he takes the feather-crown to be a *Kelchblatt*). The foregoing references do not, of course, exhaust the material now available.

gical material from these regions is still hopelessly inadequate, and that this crown is employed there by ordinary mortals, whereas its Mesopotamian use is mainly divine, the chronological objection can hardly be regarded as serious-as yet.¹ On the other hand, we are now in a position to state that certain "fluted tiaras" belonging to Astarte figurines from Taanach and Megiddo,² and dating from about the seventh century B.C., are really skeumorphic adaptations of the feather-crown. Through Cyprus we can, moreover, trace the feather-crowned Astarte westward to Rhodes and Greece, where the archaic representation of Artemis Orthia is a direct offshoot of it.

The inhabitants of the C city found the upper brick (adobe) wall above the stone revetment quite hopelessly destroyed, and so built a new stone wall, restoring the E-D revetment as an external glacis. Their new wall was 2.50 metres thick where it has been traced on the eastern side; on the west we found in the first campaign a wall 4.50 metres wide, which has not yet been dated, but which must surely belong to the C period. Its unusual thickness may be explained by the fact that the accumulation of débris is slight here, and that the old revetment would thus be low, in comparison with the elevation of the occupation level inside the city, so the wall would have to be correspondingly strong.

The date of the end of C and its destruction by the Israelites cannot yet be fixed precisely, much to one's regret. However, it is possible to establish the date within certain limits. We have already said that the date of C₂ in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries is fixed by the pottery (which contains the types characteristic of the Beth-shan levels in question, and includes, e.g., some

¹ For the feather-crown in Cyprus, Asia Minor, and the Aegean cf. especially HOLLAND, "Mycenaean Plumes," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1929, pp. 173-205; BOSSERT, *Allorientalische Studien Bruno Meissner gewidmet*, Vol. II, p. 281. For the later migration of the Syrian goddess with the feather-crown to Cyprus and the Aegean see the forthcoming publication of Persson's excavations in Cyprus, and the earliest representations of Artemis Orthia at Sparta, published by DAWKINS, *Artemis Orthia*, plates XXX and XXXI, 1-4; *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1930, pl. XI, 1, and p. 298.

² See SELLIN, *Tell Ta'anek*, p. 73; FISHER, *The Excavation of Armageddon*, p. 70. Cf. MACALISTER, *Gezer*, Vol. II, p. 412, and III, plate 220, No. 18.

thirty sherds of Mycenaean ware). The scarab of Amenophis III and a scarab of Ramesside type¹ show the congruence of our non-ceramic material with this chronology. However, we should not have to descend below the middle of the thirteenth century because of these pieces of evidence. Stratum B exhibits, as we shall see, three very clearly demarcated phases, the first of which is pre-Philistine, while the second is Philistine. That this result of our second and third campaigns is not anomalous is shown by the precisely similar observations of Mackenzie at Beth-shemesh, where a pre-Philistine stage was noted, intervening between the period of importation of foreign wares and the first introduction of Philistine pottery.² Phase B₁ at Tell Beit Mirsim is equally barren of tilted horizontal loop handles, Philistine beer jugs and wine craters, etc., and of the earlier wishbone-handled bowls with seam-patterned painting, base-ring biscuit ware, Mycenaean pottery, categories of imported ceramics which abound in C₂. In other words, we have here an abrupt break in the continuity of culture, with a period when foreign pottery was simply not imported, though there was some extremely bad local imitation. This prolonged interruption is characteristic of two Israelite towns of the Shephelah, one in the south, the other in the north. On the coast, at Ashkelon and at Gerar, we find the same break, but without any indication of an intervening hiatus.³ In the north, in Cyprus, Phoenicia, Beth-shan, etc., there is not the slightest indication of an abrupt change or break, but rather every sign of a more gradual transition from LB to EI types in the course of the twelfth century. The ordinary pottery of B₁ is simply a late LB, with no characteristic EI forms whatever. It is true that certain features, such as the bowl with inverted rim, disappear between C₂ and B₁ but this only proves

¹ This scarab shows the Pharaoh smiting a prisoner with the Egyptian scimitar (*bpt*) ; the *wsr* sign (part of the prenomen of Ramesses II) is behind him. For scarabs of the same general type, see HALL, *op. cit.*, pp. 221-2; Nos. 2214-5 and 2217 resemble ours very closely, even to the *wsr* behind the king; cf. also PETRIE, *Scarabs and Cylinders*, plate XL, Nos. 24-5.

² See MACKENZIE, *Annual of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, II, p. 36, etc.

³ See the discussion ZAW 1929, 8 f.

that they vanished from this part of Palestine in the thirteenth century. That there was no interval of appreciable length between the destruction of C and the building of B is proved conclusively by the repeatedly observed fact that the new city walls and the house foundations were both laid in the ashes of the conflagration which accompanied the destruction of C. The introduction of Philistine influence into the Shephelah must be dated roughly about 1150, and cannot be shifted more than twenty years in either direction.¹ The length of B₁ cannot be determined precisely, but the number of grain-pits and the amount of pottery belonging to it warn us against making it too short. The most reasonable estimate would lie between one and three generations. This yields a maximum scope of 1250-1175 for the time of the fall of C, with a probable date in the last third of the thirteenth century B.C.

Despite all that has been written in recent years against the lower date for the Exodus and Conquest, and in favor of a date in the fifteenth century, it is quite impossible for the historian to reconcile the traditions of Israel with a date before the latter part of the reign of Ramesses II, i.e., before 1250. The mention of the defeat of the *people* of Israel by Menephthes before the fifth year of his reign, which fell somewhere between 1230 and 1220 B.C., remains a powerful argument in support of the low chronology. The conquest of the Shephelah by the Israelites must fall about this time, probably after it rather than before, though it is quite impossible to speak with confidence on this point. The fall of C may then, historically speaking, have occurred about 1230-1220 B.C., a date which we have established.²

It has been suggested that C was an Israelite town, and that D was the last Canaanite town on the site. Against this is the evidence of the finds of religious nature in C and B, the former being throughout Canaanite while the latter are very different. Most important of all arguments, however, is that from the social organization. When we compare the massive fortifications of C with the

¹ See provisionally ZAW 1929, 9 f.

² See ZAW 1929, 10 f.

thin walls of B, and remember that the Canaanites were feudally organized, and that the lower class was composed of serfs who were subject to the corvée, whereas the Israelites were under a loose patriarchal organization, where "every man did what was right in his own eyes," the difference becomes obvious.¹ This difference in the relative strength of Canaanite and Israelite fortifications is found in virtually all sites which have been studied (including many un-excavated ones which the writer has visited and studied), so it is by no means fortuitous, nor restricted to our mound. Nor can any one seriously maintain, after studying the Amarna Tablets, that a place of the relative consequence of Tell Beit Mirsim was not a Canaanite city at that time, when the neighbouring towns of Lachish and Keilah, as well as Tell el-Hesi,² were still Canaanite. So far as the argument from the completeness of the destruction is concerned, nothing could be more thorough than the destruction of C. In one area we found nearly a metre of black, ash-filled earth separating the occupation level of C₂ from that of B. The foregoing arguments are only a few of the many which may be adduced, but are the most important.

In the second campaign we distinguished, thanks to many grain-pits which had been built and abandoned at different times, three clear phases in B. In the third campaign we not only found confirmation of this division in new grain-pits, but we also discovered corresponding house-levels and restorations. We have already characterized the pre-Philistine and Philistine phases; the post-Philistine stage (cir. 1000-920) remains to be described. Most of the houses and remains outside of the silos (grain-pits) naturally belong to it. This period was the most prosperous, and exhibits the best constructed houses, the fewest vacant areas; it consequently possessed the largest population, though in this respect far behind the most flourishing period of A. It corresponds historically to the reigns of David and Solomon.

¹ Cf. *Proc. of the Am. Philos. Soc.*, 1930, pp. 448 f., 451 f.

² Tell el-Hesi is certainly not Lachish, though perhaps it is Eglon (cf. *Bulletin*, No. 15, pp. 7-8; ZAW 1929, 3, n. 2). The tablet found there is sufficient proof of the Canaanite character of the town.

Of objects discovered in stratum B during the third campaign, by far the most curious were five figures of the *dea nuda*, one nearly complete and the others more or less broken. Though made from different moulds, all belong to a very clear-cut and sharply differentiated type, which has apparently never been discovered before. The figurines represent a nude woman at the beginning of an accouche-
ment. While different gynaecologists who have examined the figures differ in their interpretation of details, there is general agreement on fundamentals. We have possibly a woman who has borne a number of children, not a primipara—as is hinted by the protrusion of the navel, so exaggerated on all the figurines as to suggest a pathological condition to some physicians. The similarly exaggerated distension of the vulvar region evidently indicates the descent of the child's head and the imminence of delivery. The relative smallness of the breasts presumably is intended partly to accentuate the distension of the womb by contrast. It is most improbable that these figurines represent the *dea Syria* in any of her contemporary aspects, since there is an entire absence of any cult symbolism. They rather portray a normal woman, with braided locks hanging down on the shoulders and three bracelets on each wrist. It would therefore seem that they were merely supposed to hasten parturition by the obscure but efficacious processes of sympathetic magic, and that their superficial resemblance to Astarte figurines is due to their common purpose.

Since rather extensive areas of the A stratum were dug during our first two campaigns, it is not surprising that we have comparatively little new material to describe. We secured important new data bearing on the date of its occupation, as well as on the date of its close. The discoveries this season have established the fact that there was no appreciable hiatus between the destruction of B and the re-occupation in A. The latest pottery of B (below the burned level) is identical with the earliest of A, and the change from Early Iron I to II during the tenth and ninth centuries is gradual. A sherd from B (probably from the end of the period) exhibits the remains of a neatly incised inscription, presumably a proper

name. An archaic *kaf* is perfectly preserved, and proves that the vase on which it was carved (which is of typical EI I texture and appearance) is older than the Gezer Calendar, since the latter has the late *kaf* with the archaic *mem*, which disappeared before the Mesha Stone and the ostraca of Samaria, though still found in Phoenician inscriptions from the reigns of Shishak and Osorkon I (cir. 925-900 B.C.).¹ On a strictly chronological basis of comparison, which naturally has a limited validity, since epigraphic change is not necessarily uniform, our ostracon (better, fragment of inscribed vase) would, therefore, date from before the end of the tenth century—an interesting epigraphical illustration of our pottery chronology. Our reference of the destruction of B to Shishak's invasion (cir. 920 B.C.) will now commend itself to scholars who are wary of a ceramic chronology which they do not understand, but are acquainted with epigraphy.

The end of A was previously connected with the Chaldaean invasion at the close of Zedekiah's reign, cir. 588 B.C. Aside from more general considerations, which in themselves seemed conclusive, our most important piece of evidence was the seal of *Elyaqim* (*Eliakim*) *na'ar Yankin* (i.e., *Yōkin*, an abbreviation of *Yōyakin*), discovered in 1928.² In the third campaign we discovered another jar-handle with a clear impression from the very same seal. A few weeks before, Grant had discovered a similar stamped jar-handle—also from the very same seal, as we determined by careful comparison and measurement. The discovery of no fewer than three of the handles makes it certain that this Eliakim was a person of considerable importance. Hitherto seals of this type have contained the word *'ebed*, "servant," i.e., royal officer," since it is always followed either by the word for king (*ham-melek*) or by the name of a known king (such as Jeroboam, Uzziah); this is the first

¹ The inscriptions of Abiba'al and Eliba'al of Byblos have been published by Dussaud in *Syria*. For a very convenient comparative table of the characters in all early Phoenician inscriptions see DUNAND, RB 1930, p. 328.

² The text reads יְנָקֵן נָעַר מִקְלָה; for philological discussion see ZAW 1929, 16.

occurrence of *na'ar* (נָעַר) instead of 'ebed.¹ What *na'ar* means may readily be found by a perusal of the relevant biblical passages, where it means primarily "youth," then "personal attendant," and finally "steward."² The most striking case is that of Šibâ (Ziba), who is called both "the *na'ar* of Saul" and the "*na'ar* of the family (*bît*) of Saul."³ The references to Ziba and his management of the estate of Saul all belong to the reign of David, and prove conclusively that the latter did not attempt to confiscate the estate of the dead king, even after the death of Ishbaal, but allowed it to remain intact, under the charge of Ziba, Saul's steward. David, however, assumed the right to determine who should inherit it, as appears from the story of Meribba'al (so).⁴ This episode explains our seal.

¹ For full discussions of the meaning of the word 'ebed in these seals see CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, Vol. I, pp. 33 ff.; KAUTZSCH, *Mitt. u. Nach. d. Deutsch. Pal. Ver.*, 1904, pp. 1-14; LIDZBARSKI, *Ephemeris*, Vol. II, pp. 142 ff.; TORREY, *Annual*, Vol. II/III, pp. 104-5. All these scholars agree entirely with regard to the use of 'ebed for "royal officer," but none of them observe that the real explanation is probably to be sought in a very ancient Oriental administrative precedent. In cuneiform inscriptions on seal cylinders of the third and second millennia, *arad šarri*, "servant of the king," invariably has the sense of "royal official," often a very high official indeed. There is, however, another reason for the use of 'ebed in this sense in biblical Hebrew, that the man who entered the royal service was no longer attached to the clan organization, but became "a slave of the king" in a legal sense; see ALT, *Die Staatenbildung der Israeliten in Palästina*, p. 48.

² In the sense of "personal attendant" we find the word *na'ar*, e.g.: in the case of Gideon (Jud. 7: 11), of Abimelech (armour-bearer, Jud. 9: 54), of Jonathan (armour-bearer, I Sam. 14: 1), of Elijah (I Kings 18: 43), of Elisha (Gehazi, II Kings 4: 12, 5: 20). In the last mentioned case Gehazi was the steward of the prophet, over whose affairs he was placed. The sense of steward is clear in several passages, e.g., Ruth 2: 15: דְבָעַן לִבְנֵי הַנֶּגֶב עַל חֲקֹוֹרִים, "And Boaz said to his *na'ar*, who was placed in charge of the reapers." In such passages as Neh. 6: 5 *na'ar* means "confidential man," a sense which is virtually indistinguishable from that of "steward." In Esther 2: 2 we have the plural used with the meaning "royal officer" (like 'ebed): נָעָרִים הַלְּכֹשׁוֹת. The Canaanite sense of *ne'arim*, *ne'arón*, "chariot warriors, nobles," is discussed by the writer in the current volume of the *Archiv für Orientforschung*, but has no bearing upon the use of the word in our period.

³ See II Sam. 9: 9, 16: 1, 19: 18. In the third passage Ziba is credited with fifteen sons and twenty slaves, yet he is called נָעַר בֵּית שָׂאֵל.

⁴ NOTH, ZDPV 1927, 215 f., thinks that the estate of Saul's family became automatically David's property, and that "David selbst bestellt von sich aus einen

Eliakim was the steward of Yôyakin, who must, of course, be the next to the last king of Judah, otherwise called *Yekonyah* (abbreviated to *Konyah*), as first pointed out by Père Vincent.¹ Yôyakin (Joiachin) only reigned three months at the age of eighteen, having mounted the throne after the beginning of the Chaldaean campaign to punish Judah for his father Yôyaqîm's rebellion. After a siege of uncertain duration, Jerusalem opened its gates to the besiegers, who took the young king and the queen-mother Nehuštâ into captivity.² Under such circumstances it is hardly probable that Eliakim was able to administer the royal estates. The solution is evidently that Eliakim was the steward of Joiachin's estate under the reign of his uncle and regent, Zedekiah, who cannot have been considered as *de jure* king by the majority of the people of Judah, since the real king (who had not been deposed by the *'am ha-ares*, but simply taken into captivity, like Manasseh according to post-exilic tradition) was confidently expected to return by the people.³ As is well-known, the exiles in Babylonia continued to date by his regnal years,⁴ and, in view of the close relation between the Jews in Babylonia and Palestine which is attested by Jeremiah and Ezekiel, we may safely suppose that the same custom prevailed in certain circles in Judah. At all events, Zedekiah's position was not so firmly established that he could risk alienating the sympathy of the people by treating the estate of his nephew, who was still monarch *de jure*, worse than David had treated the estate of his enemy Saul.

The seal impression of Eliakim was found this season in the uppermost of three phases of construction, all belonging to A. The second was the continuation of the latest phases of building in most alten Dienen Sauls, Ziba, zum Verwalter dieser Güter." It is most improbable that David would have chosen one of Saul's men to administrate property for himself. The tenor of the narrative in II Sam. 9 shows that, in the view of the author, Ziba was in charge of Saul's estate at the time when he was summoned into David's presence. Public opinion in the Northern Kingdom would hardly have supported David in any high-handed act of confiscation, but it certainly applauded his generous act of confirming Meribba'al in its possession.

¹ Cf. ZAW 1929, 16.

² II Kings 24: 8 ff.; Jer. 13: 18 f.

³ Jer. 28: 1-4; cf. Jer. 24.

⁴ Ezek. 1: 2; II Kings 25: 27.

of the surrounding area. In the middle of our excavated area in the southeast, however, a number of walls had been torn down and replaced by some very inferior construction. It was in one of the rooms of the latter that our second Eliakim stamp was discovered. The circumstances of discovery alone prove that it belongs to the very latest period of the history of Tell Beit Mirsim, and probably from a time when the prosperity of the town was seriously diminished.¹ No other period fits so well as that following the death of Josiah, when recurrent foreign invasions swept over the country, levying their toll of tribute and of devastation. The last ten years before the Exile must have been very profoundly felt by the Negeb, because of the disastrous effects of the Chaldaean invasion of 597, described by Jeremiah and Zechariah.² There is, however, not the slightest basis for Kittel's view that the Negeb was severed from Judah in 597.³ Nor was the Negeb completely depopulated until the final débâcle at the end of the reign of Zedekiah, as our seal impression is alone enough to prove.

We have said above that three successive building phases were distinguished in some parts of the A stratum. Unfortunately, it is impossible to correlate them exactly, since houses were doubtless being repaired or rebuilt every year in some part of the town. It is now certain that there was no destruction of the town, partial or otherwise, at the time of Sennacherib's invasion.⁴ It may eventually

¹ It would not be possible to generalize in this way, if it were not for the extraordinary uniformity of the house construction in A.

² Jer. 13: 18 f.; Zech. 7: 7.

³ *Geschichte Israels*, Vol. III, pp. 45-6. My view of the situation in ZAW 1929, 16 f. was vitiated by an error with regard to the circumstances of the deposition of Joachin, as well as by the idea that our seal should be dated in the reign of Joachin, B.C. 597, instead of after his exile.

⁴ There is no evidence anywhere that Sennacherib destroyed the towns of Judah; cf. DOUGHERTY, JBL XLIX (1930), 166. He may, as suggested by DOUGHERTY, have weakened the defenses of the captured towns. Incidentally, DOUGHERTY has not distinguished between the Bronze Age walls and those of the Iron Age, the latter being no stronger, in general, than our walls at Tell Beit Mirsim. The massive wall of Tell en-Naṣbeh belonged to the Bronze Age, though partly reused by the Israelites. Mackenzie thought that Beth-shemesh was destroyed by Sennacherib, but Grant has found numerous objects which prove conclusively that

be possible to relate some restorations to a more general destruction of houses by an earthquake, such as the earthquake which laid the country waste in the reign of Uzziah, though it does not seem very likely. At Beth-shemesh, for instance, this earthquake may conceivably be the cause of the shift from stratum III to II, but we have nothing comparable at our site.

The objects found in level A this season are generally the same in character as those dug in the first two campaigns. Several inscribed sherds were discovered, all containing a few characters which had been incised on the vase before it was broken, and which generally contain the name of the owner. In the second campaign we discovered two such sherds, one reading **מִזְבֵּחַ**, "bath" (liquid measure), the other **וְעָזִיאוֹן**, i.e. probably 'Uzziyau (Uzziah). This year we found three incised names in the A stratum: **[חִזְקִיָּה]** (Hizqiyau, Hezekiah) on one sherd; **גֵּרֶבֶל** (probably—Gera¹ stands for Ger-baal) on three sherds; **מְנַחֵם** or **נוֹחֵם** (Menahem or Nahum) on three sherds. The script is invariably of the eighth or seventh century. We have mentioned above the inscribed sherd from the tenth century. Only two new jar handles with the royal stamp were found this year, making four in all, three of the later "winged roll" type, and one of the earlier four-winged scarab type.² All belong to the Hebron district. Fifteen Astarte figurines of the "pillar" or "snowman" type, which represents the Phoenician *dea nutrix*, the special protectress of nursing mothers (and naturally also of women in child-birth) were discovered in our stratum, none perfect, and most consisting only of heads. Some of the heads are, however, remarkably well executed, and one, in particular, is not inferior to the best contemporary archaic Greek art (of the seventh and sixth centuries). Since both Judaean and Greek art of this age is derived from Phoenician (Cypro-Phoenician), this would naturally be expected.

the place was not destroyed until the Chaldaean invasion (royal stamped jar handles of the later of the two types, a seal impression of Eliakim servant of Joachin, etc.).

¹ This name occurs in the Bible only in the period before 1000 B.C., but it occurs twice in the ostraca of Samaria, from the ninth century.

² See JPOS 1925, 53.

The usual number of cosmetic palettes and of iron tools and weapons came to light.

We hope to undertake our fourth campaign at this site in a year or two, since there is yet much to learn with regard to the history of the town.¹ For the chronology of pottery the sharp division between strata which is made possible by our ten burned levels is of unique importance; no other site hitherto excavated offers quite such favorable conditions. We also hope to improve our analysis of the social and economic data which may be derived from a more minute study of the material remains. Even without written documents much may be done by refining our methods of investigation. Indeed a small excavation may yield even more valuable results, in certain cases, than an elaborate one, but only if the methods employed are more refined than those which can be used by the latter, because of its size and the amount of work which falls to the lot of its director. There is, moreover, always the chance of an important epigraphic discovery which may throw direct light on problems of biblical literature and history lying outside of the domain of unwritten monuments.

In conclusion we wish to express our gratitude to the Director of Antiquities, Mr. E.T. Richmond, for his help and encouragement during the progress of the third campaign. To him, as well as to his assistants, Mr. C. Lambert and Dr. L.A. Mayer, we are under great obligations.

¹ There is nothing of consequence to add to the discussion of the identification of our site with Kiriath-sepher given ZAW 1929, 2-3.

BOOK REVIEWS

Salomo und die Karina. By H. A. WINKLER. Volume IV of the Veröffentlichungen des Orientalischen Seminars der Universität Tübingen, pp. XI + 209, Stuttgart, W. KOHLHAMMER, 1931.

Much has been written about Oriental folklore in general and Palestinian in particular. But the works on Arabic talismans and demonology are not numerous. Winkler treats in a masterly way an old, but still existing phase of Arabic superstition, namely the *Qárineh*. The book is divided into four main chapters. The first gives the text of fifteen talismans dealing with the *Qarineh*. In the second chapter the Arabic Mohammedan ideas about this female demon and her diverse names are analysed. The third describes the parallel beliefs among the non-Mohammedan nations, while the last chapter gives in detail the sources of this superstition. If every department of oriental superstition and folklore could be treated in the same exhaustive way our knowledge of the influences of the ancient East on present ideas and practices would become more accurate.

A few additions and variations in the text of the Arabic talismans will help to their better understanding. Of talisman 3, described by Winkler on pp. 4-15, the present writer possesses five varieties. The fifth of these corresponds exactly to the fourth and will not further be referred to. The original form of this talisman is a square piece of paper in which the printed part measures 51×34.5 cm. The writing runs in four perpendicular columns, each 7.5 cm. broad. Each column is bordered on its two longitudinal sides by vertically

running writing which describes: a. the talisman found on the neck of a ewe which played with a wolf, who was unable to hurt her; b. ايات الجاة ; ايات الحسابة . c. ايات النصر , the “verses of victory”; d. ايات الشفا , the “verses saving a person from the snares of tyrants”; e. ايات الفتوح , the “verses of success” (victory, lit. opening), and f. ايات الشفاعة , the “verses of healing.” On plate V, fig. 3 of *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin im Land der Bibel* a photographic reproduction of the first part of this talisman, the so-called —السبعين عهود السليمانية— the seven oaths (contracts) of Solomon—is given. The columns are as a rule cut longitudinally and stuck to each other to form a scroll, but often it is carried as a whole in a square case. Such a scroll was in the possession of Winkler. Each of the four varieties—which will be referred to hereafter as I, II, III, IV—shows certain special characteristics. Only the most important differences will be given. Winkler seems to have known only I.

Winkler's version:

page line

- 5 ١٤ IV inserts after واني الاولاد the words **وهم لا يعرفوني**
- 17 I, II, III, IV give **فانسفها** (shatter, smash) instead (Winkler). The last words means “to attack her with the evil soul,” and not “ich schade ihr mit dem bösen Blick.”²
- 17 IV adds **تسقط الاولاد** (“aborts” the children) after the word **فلانة**.
- 20 IV gives **منيه** (his spermatic fluid) instead of **بوله** (his urine), which rendering gives a more correct meaning.
- 6 ١ IV puts instead of the seven first words of the sentence

¹ الحسابة comes from الله حسيب.

² For the differences between “the evil eye” and “the evil soul” see *Dämonenglaube im Lande der Bibel*, pp. 42, 43.

؟ فيقولون فلان لم يحب و لم يلد :

ونس لهم و نسلهم (their descendants), IV و نسائهم (their wives) after اولادهم.

7 IV adds after the last word of the line:

له ياني خذ على العهود و ان من كتبها او علقها في محله او في مكان يعيه او شراه او على بحنته او على اولاده او بناته لا اقربه بشيء ما دامت العهود معلقة عليه و تنفع في السفر والحضر وفي كل مكان اني اعاهدك ان لا اقرب من علقت عليه والله على ما اقول وكيل

"O prophet of God ! take upon me that oath (written assurance) that if written or hung by any person in his house or in the place of his sale and buying or on his animal or on his sons or daughters, I will not suffer to befall him any (evil) so long as these seals (lit. oaths) are hanging on him. They have value also in the journey and in residence and in every place. I make a covenant with you that I shall not approach anyone on whom they are suspended. And God is the guarantor of all that I say."

This sentence is of great importance as it describes the various objects which may be attacked by the *Qarineh*. The "book" of St. Cyprian, which will be described later, goes into more detail. A part of it runs:

ثم اسالك ان تحفظ كل من يحمل هذا الكتاب او يقرأه او يسمع كلامه او يضعه في بيته او حقوله او يعلقه في عنق مواشيه او يضعه في اي محل كان

كتاب حجاب (amulet) instead of (book).

¹ As the malicious actions of the *Qarineh* on the male person are described one must read *yuhabbil*, *yuwallid*.

The last word is often used for the first and it well explains the meaning of the word **كتاب** in St. Cyprian's paper.

- 8 3 IV gives **الوال** instead of **الوالى**.
- 9 4 IV adds **على ماء جد** after **الارض**.
- 19 IV substitutes **بار** for **بر** (I, II, III).
- 20 IV substitutes for the sentence which begins after **العهود** and ends in line 21 with the word **فلك** by
لَا في ماله ولا في عياله ولا في خلا ولا في ملا ولا في سفر
ولا اقامة ولا في بدو ولا في حضر ولا في دهر ولا في نوم
ولا في رقاد.

".... neither in his possession nor in his family, not in the open country nor in the desert, not during a journey nor during his stay, not among Bedouin nor among settled people, not during a long period of time nor during sleep."

The seven *'ahid* are followed by four paragraphs. Although they have nothing to do with the *Qarineh* they constitute an important part of the talisman. They are: 1. **السبعين ايات المنجيات**, the "seven saving verses"; 2. **فائده للقبول والعطف**, an effective amulet for love and sympathy; 3. the Verse of the Throne, and 4. **استغاثة لتفريح الكروب**, a prayer to relieve grief.

There are several orthographic mistakes in the Arabic text. **قيضة؛ قبضاها** (p. 6, line 4) should be **قبضاها؛ قيضة** (p. 6, line 5). **(اغبس)** = black, I, II, III, IV; (p. 5, line 20) **اغبس** (I, II, III, IV); **واسط** (p. 9, 4) **واسط**; (I, II, III, IV). Winkler gives the correct translation of the last two terms, but keeps the wrong

Arabic words. The translation of الف الف (talisman No 4, p. 18), which is pronounced 'alf 'alf and not 'alif 'alif, means thousand, thousand, and not the letter ل, which letter might be the abbreviation for Allah. *Witsib* (not *witsih*, 189, 8) means to shout aloud, but Littmann gives the translation of *witsib* "zerschmelzest und zergehst." I heard instead of *şarşara* (190, 28) *ihsarâra(h)* "with a small stone." *sahra* (190, 38) should be *sâhra(h)*; *la 'abziki* (191, 48) does not mean "zertrennen" but "I shall geld you," and it should be *la 'abziki* "I shall damn you to disgrace."

The seals (*bâtim*, pl. *bawâtim*) which follow each 'abd differ in the several variations of the talisman. For the explanation of the signs of the "seven seals" (p. 9, line 13 and 14) I refer to *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin*, pp. 112, 113. In the *bâtim* of the third 'abd the letters م ل ك ل ط ي ف stand for ملک لطیف.

It is interesting to notice that the places indicated by es-Siyûti (Winkler, p. 18) as inhabited by demons (*el-Qarinch*) are also mentioned in Christian exorcistic formulae. In *Adjâzmâtârî*, p. 195, we read:

يا من سقطت من السموات انت و جميع الارواح الشريرة المختصة بك مع كل روح شرير خبيث روح البذخ روح الخبث والشر روح ليلي ونهارى روح نصف النهار روح مسائى روح نصف الليل روح خيالى روح وارد مستقبل ان كان في يابسة تسعى وتوذى وتغير عقل الانسان او في مكان مياه وان كان في غابات او في قصب وان كان في الشعاب او في الطرقات او في البحيرات او في الانهار او في البيوت او في الحضيرات او في الجهات

In the book of St. Cyprian the following places are mentioned: ان كانوا مكمنين في حديد او بحر او تراب او هواء او نار او في اي عنصر كان او شيء يؤكل او يشرب او في جسم حي او ميت او في خلقة حساسة او غير حساسة ان كانوا في بر او بحر او في الجو او في العمق.

I may add to the fifteen talismans of Winkler several others.

The four more important are:

1. حِرْزُ الْجَوْشِنْ (which affords protection against all demons, misfortunes, ailments, etc.) says of *el-Qarineh*:

ونافع من القرينة التي تأتي الاطفال وللمرأة التي لا تعيش اولادها فانهم يعيشون وتبعدهم^٢ القرينة ببركة حملها هذا الدعا وهي حامل. اذا ولدت تعلقه على المولود فانه لا يصبه مكروه ولا ضرر ويحفظ ويكون في امان الله تعالى.

"It is helpful against the *Qarineh* who comes to babies and to the woman whose children do not live. And it (the talisman) will drive from them the *Qarineh* through the blessed wearing of this prayer during pregnancy. As soon as she gives birth to a child she should hang it on the new-born. No grievance or misfortune will befall him from the *Qarineh*. He will be protected and rests in the mercy of the heavenly God."

2. كتاب القرينة، "book of the *Qarineh*," gives on كتاب مار كبريانوس الشهيد (according to another variation),³ "the book of St. Cyprian the Martyr." The book of *el-Qarineh* mentions St. Rochus—as well as Christ and other Biblical characters—as the protector against this evil spirit. The passage of *kitâb el-Qarineh* in which this demon is mentioned reads:

.... كن مع من يحمل هذا الكتاب واطرد عنه الارواح الشريرة وانقذه من كل عين رديئة ومن مضادة الارواح الخبيثة في نفسه وجسده واقواه واعماله ومن كل الامراض الرديئة ومن يد القرينة بنومه ويقظته.

".... be with him who carries this book and drive away from him all evil spirits and save him from every evil eye and from the

¹ It is a booklet of 32 pages, 8×5 cm., printed in Cairo by Ahmad Fatuh.

² It should probably be *وبتعد عنهم*.

³ Printed in Jerusalem in the Franciscan printing press. In the older editions one may read on the bottom of the second page "(printed) at the expense of Francis Antôn Albinâ in Jerusalem." The newer editions bear on the top of the first page "perfumed with incense at the tomb of Christ."

opposition of the mischievous spirits in 'his soul, body, words and deeds and from evil illness and from the hands of *el-Qarineh* during his sleeping or waking.'

3. A second talisman of St. Cyprian called **صلادة**¹ **القديس كبريانوس**² "the book of the prayer of St. Cyprian."³ It is believed "to help the bearer against *el-Qarineh*, the misfortunes of the night and troubling dreams"

(تنفع حاملها من القرينة ومن طورى الليل والاحلام المزعجة)

This talisman, which differs completely from the previous one, gives an excellent idea about the places supposed to be inhabited by demons, the occasions and the different ways of attacking a human person. While the evil eye, sorcery and different classes of *djinn* are mentioned repeatedly in the text in no place—except on the title page—is the name *el-Qarineh* found.

4. Two popular exorcistic formulae which speak also of the evil eye (*el-één*) resemble the formulae given by Winkler under number 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 (pp. 27-32). They show some differences from those enumerated above.

While the beginning of the first talisman says definitely that the king Solomon met the evil eye in the wilderness (العين العيونية) we later find it³ talking to the prophet Mohammed and giving him—and not Solomon—the oath. This part of the text runs:

"She said: O, Mohammed, the son of 'Abdallah,
take upon me an oath by God,
that as long as the stone is deaf,
and (as long as) the Almighty is worshipped

¹ While Cyprian is written with a ك on the title page, in the text it is always spelled with a ق.

² Edited by the nun *el-hidjeb* Hanneh Tūmā of the Greek-Orthodox convent Dér es-Saiydeh at Şaidnāyā. It is a copy of the prayer found in the booklet *كتاب تاريخ البتول في قرية صيدنaya* 1924, pp. 25-29.

³ The evil eye is always spoken of in the feminine.

I shall not betray that one who prays to the heart of the beloved Mohammed!"

It is interesting to note the list of the objects which the evil eye haunts:

"I go (to injure) the new-born child,
to the industrious young man.

I go to (injure) the horses in their race-grounds,
to the camels while under their loads,
to the cows while under their yokes,
to the cattle while in their resting places (at midday)!"

The second formula begins with the following:

"We have surrounded (protected) ourselves by the tablet and
the pencil (Sûrah LXII, LXIII, 1; LXXXV, 22),
and by the throne and what it carries (i.e. the Almighty),
and by the ten words which Mohammed said on the mountain.
May no creeping animal creep upon us
and no stranger (attack us),
and no 'araq or wine (tempt us)
until the sun rises¹
and salutes the beloved Mohammed!"

The last part of this talisman mentions again the prophet Mohammed. Several verses of the Qoran are inserted at the end.

Ibn el-Hadj el-Talmasâni el-Maghribî² describes *el-Qarineh* as "causing her companion (the inhabited person), be he a man or a woman, to beat with his hand and foot and to fall into convulsions, his mouth becomes distorted, his mental faculties go and he does not move." This description, as well as the explanation of Imm es-Şubyân in *muhîl* (p. 40) as *es-ṣara'*, restricts the activities of this evil demon to convulsions, epilepsy and apoplexy.

Some rare names of *el-Qarineh*, not mentioned by Winkler, are *el-ubt* and *es-ṣaqiqah* (sister). The latter expression is generally used for migraine, but is also employed for *el-Qarineh*. *Aṣ-ṣiqq* is a kind of *djinn* whose body is according to el-Qazwînî half human and

¹ The sun is one of the strongest means of driving the evil spirits away.

² *Kitâb șumâs el-'anwâr ua Kunîz el-asrâr*, p. 84.

half demoniacal. The monkey is believed to be a *siqq* (*muhīl*, p. 1107). *Imm el-lēl* stands with greatest probability, as Winkler says, for *el-Qarineh* and the owl, which bird is also called *imm el-barāb* (the mother of ruin). It is greatly detested and much feared, for it is believed that the malicious demons prefer to take its shape. The ancient Arabs believed that the owl belonged to the sphere of the unlucky planet Saturn, which is the cause of all woes.

The following Palestinian belief supports the idea that the *Qarineh* is the "Doppelgänger" of man, and may at the same time explain the terms *es-saqiqah* and *el-ubt*. God created Adam and Eve in one and the same person. The one half was the male, the other the female part. As time went on they separated, each half keeping its own characteristics. Hereafter the female part refused to subordinate herself to the male, for in its pride it argued that it was created from the same earth and in the same way as Adam. Therefor God cast her out of the Garden of Eden. Driven by jealousy against Eve, who was created from Adam's ribs and who took her place in Paradise she married *Iblis* and begot the *djinn*. She still lives as the *Qarineh*, and continually tries to revenge herself in killing and injuring Eve's descendants, especially the females.¹

The *quranā'* of the Quran stand for supernatural beings. The idea that *القرين هو الشيطان المفروت بالانسان* (the *qarin* is the devil attached to a man)² is a deeply rooted belief in Arabic history and in present superstition. It was even believed that every *ṣāfir* (poet, from the same root as *maṣ'ūr* = insane) had a demon-companion. That *qarin* means also an earthly companion is clearly seen from the expressions still in use: *qarin* = husband, *qarineh* = wife. But the general use is for a demon. A *hadīt* transmitted by Ibn Mas'ūd says "to every human being is an angel and a demon given."

This excellent book is recommended not only to the student of Arabic superstition but to all interested in Palestinian folklore.

T. CANAAN

¹ *Dämonenglanze in Lande der Bibel*, p. 48.

² *Muhīl*, p. 1702.

ERIC PEET, *A comparative Study of the Literatures of Egypt, Palestine and Mesopotamia (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1929).* — London, Humphrey Milford, 1931.

C'est un recueil de trois conférences tenues à la British Academy en 1929. Par le fait même on comprend qu'il ne s'agit pas ici, comme le titre pourrait le faire croire, d'une étude méthodique et technique des littératures d'Egypte, de Palestine et de Mésopotamie, comparées entre elles dans toutes leurs manifestations. L'auteur lui-même avoue dans la préface qu'il est rarement facile de trouver un titre qui convienne exactement à ce genre de publication. Aussi prend-il soin de préciser l'objet de ces conférences et d'en fixer les limites : La littérature égyptienne comparée rapidement et sommairement aux littératures biblique et babylonienne; comparaison qui écarte la question des dépendances possibles et des influences réciproques et se borne à envisager l'aspect esthétique et littéraire des œuvres étudiées.

Eric Peet est un Egyptologue et la substance des trois conférences qu'il nous donne est fournie par les documents égyptiens. S'il entr'ouvre l'horizon sur la Bible et sur les cunéiformes de Babylone—parfois aussi sur la Grèce classique—c'est uniquement pour mieux apprécier l'Egypte et lui fixer sa place dans le cadre de la pensée humaine en Orient.

La première conférence traite des œuvres de fiction et du genre narratif et descriptif, la seconde de la poésie et du genre lyrique, la troisième des ouvrages sapientiaux et du genre didactique et parénétique.

Ces trois "Lectures" donnent une idée exacte et assez complète des ces trois sortes de production qui caractérisent la pensée égyptienne principalement au Moyen et au Nouvel Empire. Naturellement,

l'auteur reconnaît et proclame ouvertement la superiorité des textes bibliques; non seulement pour le fond de la pensée et la hauteur des idées mais aussi pour la beauté et la noblesse du style, supériorité incontestée sur tous les peuples de l'Orient et qui constitue la gloire la plus pure d'Israël.

Les quinze premières pages de ce petit livre sont consacrées à des remarques générales sur les conditions dans lesquelles nous sont parvenus les documents qui nous révèlent la littérature de l'Egypte ancienne, conditions qui expliquent en partie pourquoi elle est encore si peu connue. Les Saintes Lettres nous sont familières depuis notre enfance, et elles ont exercé, directement ou indirectement, sur toute l'humanité une influence de haute éducation morale qu'on ne saurait exagérer.

Les œuvres littéraires des anciens Égyptiens avaient sombré dans le naufrage qui engloutit autrefois la civilisation de ce grand peuple. Le hasard des fouilles nous en a rendu seulement quelques épaves; pièces incomplètes, fragmentaires, anonymes, relevant d'un monde d'idées pour nous encore plein d'obscurités. Faites par des spécialistes, enfouies dans les revues d'égyptologie ou de grandes publications, les traductions de ces textes dans les langues vulgaires n'avaient pas encore été adaptées à la haute vulgarisation. Le travail commence et les conférences de Peet, en Anglais, y apportent une heureuse contribution.

Alexis MALLON, S.J.

‘ATTĀRAH ET NAŞBEH AU MOYEN AGE.

F.-M. ABEL O. P.

(JÉRUSALEM)

Le Cartulaire du Saint-Sépulcre contient plusieurs répliques d'une charte renouvelant en faveur de cette église les donations qui lui furent faites par Godefroy de Bouillon dès le début du XII^e siècle.¹ On y rencontre une série de villages ou de hameaux situés dans la région de Ramallah. Ce sont les casaux de *Ainquine* (‘Ain Qinia), *Armotie* (Kh. Arnutieh), *Kefreachab* (Kefr ‘Aqab), *Kefredil*, *Bubin* (Kh. Bubin que nous avons découvert près de ‘Ain ‘Arik), *Hubin* (Kh. Rûbin dans les mêmes parages), *Aram* (er-Râm), *Kalandie* (Qalandiyeh), *Beitligge* (Beit Lidjeh près de Tell el-Fûl), *Birra* (el-Bîreh), *Subahiet* (Kh. Subiyeh à l'ouest de Ramallah).

La liste porte ensuite *Ataraberet*, *Uniet*. La moitié du premier de ces noms concerne évidemment le Kh. ‘Attâra au pied sud de tell en-Naşbeh. Que faire de la seconde partie: *beret*? Dalman interprète le tout par: «Atara bei Bire», c'est-à-dire ‘Attarah près d’el-Bireh.² Albright maintient la lecture comme une preuve de l'étroite union de Beeroth et d’Ataroth et un argument pour l'identification de Beeroth à tell en-Naşbeh.³

Rien de tout cela. Il faut en revenir à la solution proposée par Clermont-Ganneau qui a élucidé plusieurs points de cette liste.⁴ Le premier copiste dont dépend le relevé des chartes subséquentes a mal coupé par inadvertance les deux noms en question. L'élément

¹ DE ROZIÈRE, *Cartulaire du Saint-Sépulcre*, Nos 29, 53, 54, 144.

² *PJB*. 1914, p. 17.

³ *Annual of the American School of Oriental Research*, Vol. IV, p. 108.

⁴ *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, t. II, p. 92 s.

beret, qui est pour *beit*, est à rattacher au second nom et l'on obtient ainsi *Atara*, *Beit Uniet*, ce qui dissipe toute obscurité au sujet du second nom et met fin à toutes les fausses interprétations auquelles il a donné lieu.¹ On obtient ainsi *'Attárah*, et *Beituniá* qui sont tout à fait en situation.

Atara était encore habitée au Moyen Age, comme on peut s'en rendre compte par les noms des fellahín qui figurent parmi les villains du Saint-Sépulcre dans un acte de 1160, où ce village s'orthographie *Aithara* et se trouve en compagnie des localités citées plus haut.²

L'ordre de Notre-Dame de Montjoye, fondé en 1180 par un comte espagnol du nom de Rodrigue, a laissé peu de traces en Terre Sainte en raison de sa durée éphémère. Tout ce qui nous intéresse à son sujet se réduit aux propriétés qui lui furent attribuées en Palestine dont plusieurs dans la ville d'Ascalon et aux environs et deux points au nord de Jérusalem sur lesquels je voudrais insister ici. Ces derniers sont contenus dans cette phrase d'une bulle d'Alexandre III du 15 Mai 1180 :

*locum ipsum Montis Gaudii, in quo jam dicta domus vestra sita est, extra muros civitatis Iherusalem, Cannasaba, cum terris quas dedit vobis rex Balduinus etc.*³

La Montjoie dont il s'agit dans ce passage ne doit pas être confondue avec Néby Samwil qui, jouissant du même titre, appartenait aux Prémontrés. Celle-là était proche de la ville sainte et se trouve

¹ ROEHRICHT, *ZDPV*, t. X, p. 204 a proposé *Kesr Uriyeh* qui n'a rien à faire ici avec le texte. Si l'on rencontre les leçons *Urniet* et *Urinet*, cela vient de la manie des copistes d'insérer un *r* dans les mots ; cf. *beret* pour *beit*. Le no 54 du Cartulaire a la bonne leçon : *Uniet*, le *t* final étant la transcription ordinaire du *h* dans la désinence *eh*. Dans son *Additamentum aux Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, le docte historien, no 74, n'a pas saisi la correction de Cl.-Ganneau qu'il approuve cependant en décomposant les nos en question de cette manière : *Atara*, *Bereth*, *Uniet*. Or Bireh est déjà citée sous la forme *Birra* ; de plus cela ferait 22 casaux pour une liste qui en annonce 21. Conder, *QS.*, 1890, p. 32 propose *el-Beituni* près de Néby Samwil, mais ce point n'a jamais appartenu au Saint-Sépulcre.

² *Cartulaire de Saint-Sépulcre*, no 55 (an. 1160).

³ DELAVILLE LE ROUX, *L'Ordre de Montjoye*, *Rev. de l'Or. Lat.*, t. I (1893), p. 52.

mentionnée par Théodoric en 1172 à propos des débuts de la vallée du Cédron. Il y avait là à deux milles au nord de Jérusalem «une petite église où, au premier aspect de la cité, les pèlerins, envahis par une grande joie, ont la coutume de placer des croix et de se déchausser.¹» La distance indiquée nous conduit au *rās Mesharef*, sur le Scopus, au point où la route de Naplouse atteint la plaine de Sha'fāt.

C'est donc non loin de là que le nouvel Ordre dut éléver sa maison et son église. Il y a tout lieu de croire que nous devons à cette circonstance les ruines médiévales que possède le village de Sha'fāt et qui jadis attiraient plus qu'aujourd'hui l'attention des voyageurs, étant mieux conservées. Guérin a décrit les restes de l'église (*el-Keniseh*), du couvent (*deir el-Mahrouk*), de son puits (*bir ed-deir*) et de son *birkeh*.²

Il était dans les constitutions du nouvel ordre de la Montjoie d'avoir des oratoires dans les lieux solitaires à quelque distance des villes. Une autre installation relevant de lui s'appelait *Cannasaba*. Dans ce nom, nous reconnaissons avec Röhricht³ le tell en-Naṣbeh sous le forme *Khân en-Naṣbeh*. Ce khân médiéval est donc le précurseur du Khân Abū Skandar situé au pied du tell près de la route.

¹ *Theodorici. libellus*, éd. Tobler, p. 6, 92.

² *Judée*, t. I, p. 395.

³ *Regesta Regni Hierosol. Additam.* p. 37.

ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS OF GAZA. V.¹

L. A. MAYER

(JERUSALEM)

BAZAAR STREET

10

FOUNDER'S TEXT. 730 A.H. Inscription embedded in the western rear wall of the Main Mosque, part of it forming the lintel of the—now blocked—entrance door to the Mosque from the Bazaar Street.² Four slabs of marble, the second of which is a modern restoration; between the third and fourth a slab is missing. Dimensions, measured on squeeze, excluding the missing portion, 408 + 71 by 33 cms. Two lines of elegant Mamluk naskhi, full diacritical points, numerous vowel signs, many differentiating marks and ornaments filling the intervening spaces. Pl. IV, fig. 1.

(1) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ إِنَّا يَسْرُ مَسَاجِدَ اللَّهِ مِنْ آمَنَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ وَأَقَامَ الصَّلَاةَ وَاتَّأَذْكَرَهُ وَلَمْ يَغْشَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ أَمْرٌ بِإِنشَاءِ هَذِهِ الْزِيَادَةِ الْمَبَارَكَةِ بِالْجَامِعِ لِمَعْوَرِ ذِكْرِ الدَّلَاءِ

¹ Continued from Vol. III. 69 ff., Vol. V. 64 ff., Vol. IX. 219 ff. and Vol. X. 59 ff.

² In the same street is the old entrance to the Khān az-Zait.¹ Since Djemal Pasha widened the main street of Gaza and laid it through the Khan, this gate has been closed and is no longer in use.

^{3,4} Modern restoration.

[عالي مولانا السلطان الملك الناصر ناصر الدنيا والدين محمد [بن
السلطان الشهيد الملك المنصور قلاون^١] خلذ الله تعالى ملكه
بإشارة ا

(2) لمقر الأشرف العالى المولوى الأميرى الأجلى الكبيرى
العسى النصيري الحترى الخدومى الجا^٢ هدى المرا^٣ بطى
المثاغرى المؤيدى الناصرى المنصورى السيفى مولانا ملك الامراء
تنكر الناصرى كا[فل الملك الشرفة بالشام المحروس أعز الله
أ] نصاره وكان الفروع^٤ منه في شهر المحرم سنة ثلاثين وسبعين مائة

.... Qur'an IX. 18 up to 'but God.' Ordered the construction
of this blessed annex to the Mosque that prospers by the worship
of God the Exalted, our Lord, the Sultan al-Malik an-Nâṣîr Nâṣîr
ad-dunyâ wa-d-din Muḥammad, son of the late Sultan al-Malik
al-Mâṣûr Qalâūn, may God the Exalted make his reign eternal;
under the direction of His most Noble and High Excellency, our Lord,
the most Magnificent and Great Amir, the Supporter, the Victorious,
the Honoured, the Well-Served, the Defender of the Faith, the
Warrior at the Frontiers, the Warden of the Marches, the Helped
by God, the Victorious,⁵ Saif ad-dîn, our Lord, King of the Amirs,
Tânkîz (officer) of (al-Malik)an-Nâṣîr, Viceroy of the noble provinces
of Syria the protected, may God make his victories glorious. It
was completed in the month of Muḥarram of the year 730 [began
25th October, 1329].

¹ The first line of the missing portion, cf. the commentary.

²⁻³ Modern restoration.

⁴ The second line of the missing portion, cf. the commentary.

⁵ For an-Nâṣîrî al-Mâṣûrî.

Line 1. Of the annex mentioned in the text only the door is visible in the Bazaar Street. What it consisted of may be seen on the sketch plan published by Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches*, vol. 2, p. 384.

The portion in brackets has been restored according to three texts set up by Muhammad b. Qalāūn a few years earlier.¹

Line 2. The anomaly of having a title placed between the honorary surname composed of *ad-dīn*, in this case in its abbreviated form *as-saifi*, and the name proper, is not without parallel, rare as it is. The same is to be found in the titles of Salār, called in a historical text *al-maqarr... as-saifi malik al-umara'* Salār *al-maliki an-nāṣiri*.² A similar case occurs in an inscription at Qalansuwa, dated 737: *as-saifi 'aun al-umma kahf al-milla dāu* (?) *ad-daula Qausān an-Nāṣiri*.³ In this connexion the title of 'Alī al-Māridīnī might be quoted, who is invariably called 'Alā' *ad-dīn Amir 'Alī*,⁴ as well as the titles of the Governor of Gaza, Badr *ad-dīn Amir Mas'ūd b. al-Khatīr*⁵ and of Salār's son 'Alā' *ad-dīn Amir 'Alī*.⁶

The missing portion of the second line has been restored on the basis of *CIA. Egypte*, I. p. 224, where Van Berchem quoted the title of Tankiz from this inscription, which must have been intact when he saw it in the early nineties of the last century. In view of the first word following the gap, the end of the missing part could have read only either أَنْصَارَهُ [أَنْصَارَهُ] or عَزَّ[أَنْصَارَهُ].

For the quite unusual الفروغ instead of الفراغ I have no explanation to offer.

¹ *CIA. Jérusalem, Haram*, No. 173, p. 120 [721 A.H.], No. 174, p. 120 [726 A.H.], No. 282, p. 421 [728 A.H.]. In the last mentioned inscription the name of Qalāūn is followed by the *relatif as-Šālihi*.

² Nuwairi, Ms. Leyden, s. a. 705, fo. 29 v.

³ Inscription mentioned in *CIA. Jérusalem, Ville*, p. 289. The full text will appear shortly in my *Saracenic Heraldry*, s.v. Qausūn.

⁴ Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, MS. Berlin, s.v. Tānyaraq, fo. 55 v, l. 3 b, s.v. Muḥammad b. Kujkun, fo. 145 v, l. 16, s.v. Malik Āṣ, fo. 165 v, l. 13; *Tuhfa* s.v., Photo-MS. in the Caetani-Collection, Rome, from the MS. Paris, fo. 224 v.; *CIA. Egypte*, I. p. 665 f.; Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 43.

⁵ Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, p. 213, l. 9.

⁶ Nuwairi, l.c., s.a. 708, fo. 47 v, l. 8.

JĀMI^c ASH-SHAM^A.¹

II

FOUNDER'S TEXT.² Slab of marble, now used as lintel. The inscription is incomplete, the left hand portion of the slab having been broken off. Dimensions measured on squeeze 152 by 27 cms. Two lines of elegant Mamluk naskhi framed in a narrow floral scroll, full diacritical points, no vowel signs, many differentiating marks and ornaments filling the intervening spaces. Pl. IV, fig. 2.

(1) بِسْمِهِ . . . إِنَّمَا يَعْمَلُ مَسَاجِدَ اللَّهِ مِنْ أَمْنَ يَأْتِهِ اللَّهُ وَالْيَوْمُ
الْآخِرِ وَأَقَامَ الصَّلَاةَ وَاتَّأَذْكَرَ كَاهَ وَلَمْ يَخْشَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ فَعَسَى أُولَئِكَ
أَنْ يَكُنُوا مِنَ الْمُهْتَدِينَ أَمْرٌ بِإِنشَاءِ هَذَا الْمَبَارِكِ [. . .]

(2) مَرْضَاتُ اللَّهِ وَاتِّبَاعُ سَنَةِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ الْعَبْدِ الْفَقِيرِ إِلَى اللَّهِ تَعَالَى
سَنجَرُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ الْجَاوِلِ <الْمَلْكُ النَّاصِرُ>³ نَائِبُ السُّلْطَانَةِ الشَّرِيفَةِ
بِالْأَعْمَالِ السَّاحِلِيَّةِ وَالْجَبَلِيَّةِ بِغَزَّةِ الْمَحْروَسَةِ أَعْزَّ اللَّهُ أَنْصَارَهُ بِتَارِيخِ
[ذِي] الْحِجَّةِ سَنَةً [أَرْبَعَةَ] . . .

... Qur'ān IX.8 . . . Ordered the construction of this b[lessed building?] . . . the servant yearning for God the Exalted, Sanjar, son of 'Abdallāh al-Jāwli, Governor of the Noble Sultanate in the Provinces of the Mountains and the Maritime Plain in Gaza, the protected, may God make his victories glorious. On the date of [Dhu]-l-Hijja . . .

The inscription being obviously not in situ, it is impossible to say, which of the numerous buildings erected by Sanjar in Gaza it refers to. Nor can the date be satisfactorily restored, as the now missing letters might have completed the last word to أَرْبَعَةَ as well as to

¹ At the corner of the Ḥārat an-Najjārīn. I was unable locally to obtain any satisfactory explanation why this mosque is called the "Mosque of the Candle."

² Mentioned by van Berchem, *CIA. Egypte I*, p. 220.

³ The words in brackets are incised above the name.

أربعين^١, either figure being potentially possible, as Sanjar was Governor of Gaza—as is known—from 711 to 720, and for a second time under al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Isma‘il in the forties. Despite this ambiguity, it is much more likely that the date was 714 than 743 or 744 for the following reason. The name of the month must have been followed by the word سنة. It is obvious that the latter was just at the beginning of the missing portion, and that the next word was placed on a higher level in the same line. But if we read أربعين we are bound to add one more word for the unit, because in 740 Sanjar was not yet Governor. Now it is not very likely—although not impossible—that the text on the lower level would be two full words ahead of the one in the upper level in the same line, and I venture to suggest that we consider the year 714 as the date of this inscription.

SHAIKH ‘ALĪ AL-MUGHRABI

12.

FOUNDER'S INSCRIPTION. 786 A.H. Inscription on the lintel of the entrance door. Marble slab, dimensions measured on squeeze 163 by 25 cms. Two lines of provincial Mamluk naskhi in low relief. Many diacritical points, practically without vowel signs, a few ornaments in the intervening spaces. Pl. V.

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
أمر ما بإنشاء هذه المكان المبارك العبد
القدير إلى الله تعالى شاهين بن عبد الله الكجكى مقدم القصر
الشريف إنا

(2) أوقف جميع البيت والقاعتين جوار المدرسة وجميع الحوش
ظاهره وباطنه المعروف بالجوبانى وجميع الحاكورة وما فيها المجاورة
بالمدرسة وقفًا صحيحاً شرعاً في سنة ستة وثمانين وسبعين مائة

... Ordered the construction of this blessed place, the servant yearning for God the Exalted, Shāhin, son of 'Abdallāh al-Kujukī, Commandant of the Noble Castle. He founded as a valid and legal waqf the entire house and the two halls near the madrasa and the entire court (yard) inside and outside, known as al-Jubānī, and the entire garden with everything that is in it, adjacent to the madrasa, in the year 786 [began 24th February, 1384].

Line 1. The word أَمْرٌ is followed by لِ which could be joined to the verb to make it read أَمْرَنَا, a combination obviously impossible in this instance. Presumably we shall be on safer ground in assuming that these two letters are only a dittography of لِ in بَانِشَاءٍ and that the dot of لِ is purely ornamental, just as the one above the بِ in the same word,¹ or the one to the right of the هِ in هُنَّا, or the dot below القُصْر at the end of the line, to quote only those in the first line.

Line 2. جُوار instead of بَجُوار is not unusual. The word الحوش is perhaps not correctly read, the second half of it looking much more like شن or شن, but حوش being the only word that makes sense in this connexion, it seemed advisable to leave it inspite of the difficulty arising out of the next word. How should one understand the "outside" of a "court"?

I3.

FRAGMENTS of an ENDOWMENT TEXT. On each side of text No. 12 and on each side of the door in the third row of stones below the lintel is a slab of marble with a fragment of an inscription, mentioning immovable property forming part of an endowment for the benefit of a school and qubbeh. The character of the script and ornament, the flatness of the relief, the nature and height of the stones all prove that these fragments are not in situ, and although the beginning, and possibly the end too are missing, there can be hardly

¹ This dot cannot be interpreted as belonging to the بِ in بَانِشَاءٍ, because the latter has a dot of its own clearly visible on the photograph below the هِ of هُنَّا.

any doubt as to the object of the endowment: it is obviously Shāhīn's madrasa itself.

The texts¹ are distributed as follows: *A* to the right and *B* to the left of the lintel, *C* to the right and *D* to the left of the door. *A* and *B*, *C* and *D* being identical, only *B* and *D*, the most legible fragments, are being reproduced here.

B

(1) وَقَاتَ عَلَى الْمَدْرَسَةِ

[2] وَعَلَى الْقُبَّةِ

D

(1) وَالظَّاهُونَةِ وَالدَّكَاكِينَ ? وَ

(2) الْمَعْرُوفَةُ بِالسَّجَاعَةِ

B: ... as an endowment for the benefit of the madrasa and the qubbeh.
D: ... and the mill and the shops... in Sajā'iyya.

The Sajā'iyya is the south-eastern and lower quarter of Gaza, where some of the smaller monuments are situated, such as the Ibn 'Uthmān-Mosque, the Mosque of Ibn Birdibak (now called al-Mahkama) and the Bath. This was the commercial, and to a certain extent residential quarter as opposed to the north-western and higher quarter, where the residence of the Governor was located, the Main Mosque, the biggest caravanserai and other buildings of a more or less official character.

14.

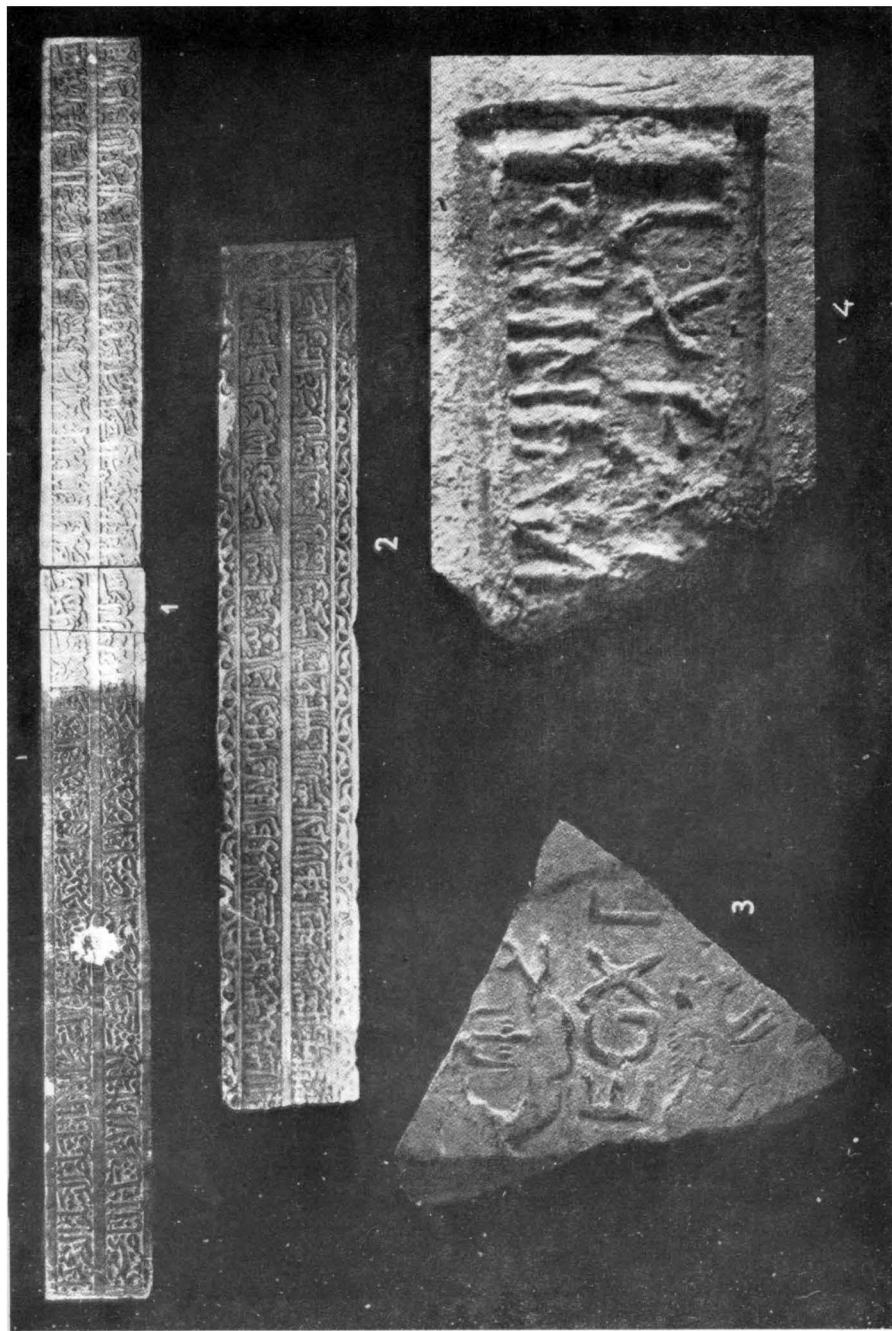
FOUNDER'S TEXT. 821 A.H. Inscription above the lintel of the entrance door. Marble slab, dimensions measured on squeeze 104 by 32 cms. Three lines of text of the same character as Nos. 12 and 13. Pl. V.

(1) بِسْمِهِ .. أَمْرٌ بِإِشْأَاءِ هَذَا الْمَدْرَسَةِ الْمَبَارَكَةِ وَالْبَئْرِ الْمَعْرَفَةِ

المقر السيف شاهين

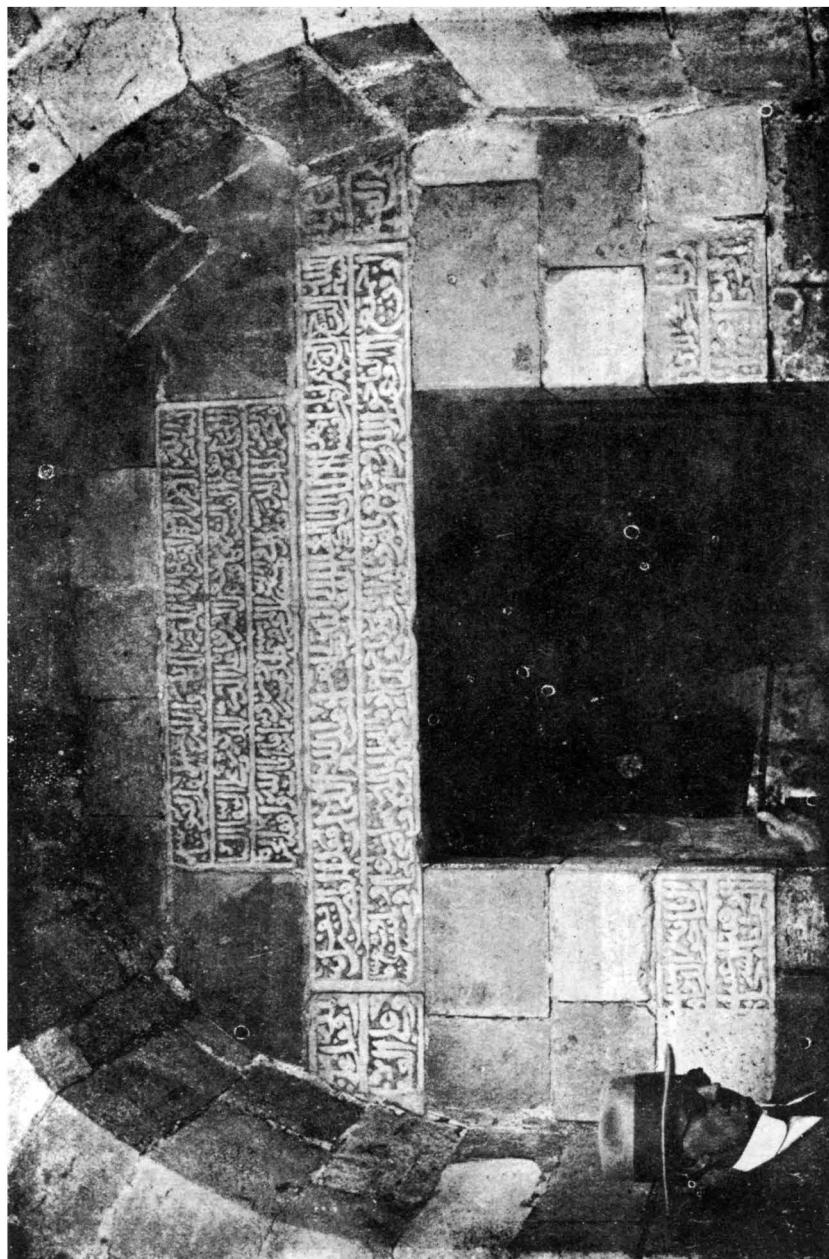
¹ Cf. Pl. V.

² Perhaps the المروفين as suggested to me by Mr. St. H. Stephan.



1-2. L. A. MAYER: Arabic Inscriptions of Gaza. V.

3-4. A. REIFFENBERG: Römische Legionsiegel.



I...A. MAYER : Arabic Inscriptions of Gaza. V.

(2) الْكَعْكِي مَقْدَمُ الْقَصْر الشَّرِيف كَانَ وَجَعَلَ الْبَئْرَ وَقْفًا
عَلَى الْمَدْرَسَةِ الْمَذْكُورَةِ وَعَلَى السَّقَايَةِ الشَّتَاءِ

(3) وَالْحَوْضُ دَاخِلَ الْمَدْرَسَةِ وَذَلِكَ فِي مُسْتَهْلِكِ شَهْرِ اللَّهِ الْمُحْرَمِ
سَنَةِ اَحَدِ وَعِشْرِينَ وَثَمَانَ مائَةِ اُثَابِ اللَّهِ وَاقِفَةِ الجَنَّةِ

... Ordered the construction of this blessed madrasa and the bountiful well, His Excellency Saif ad-dīn Shāhin al-Kujukī, formerly Commandant of the, Noble Castle. He made the well a waqf for the benefit of the afore-mentioned madrasa and for the reservoir for the winter rains and for the cistern inside the madrasa. This was (done) on the 1st of the month of God Muḥarram 821 [8th February 1418], may God give the endower (life in) paradise as a reward.

NOTES DE PREHISTOIRE PALESTINIENNE¹

R. NEUVILLE

(JÉRUSALEM)

V.- NOTE COMPLEMENTAIRE SUR TELL MOUSTAH²

Au cours d'un nouvel examen, en Février 1931, du flanc occidental de *Tell Moustah*, en compagnie du Professeur Garstang dont les fouilles à Jéricho étaient quelques jours après couronnées du plus remarquable succès, nous avons découvert deux nouveaux vases en céramique, dans la couche supérieure précédemment décrite.³

¹ Voir *J.P.O.S.*, X, 1930, pp. 64-75 et 193-221.

² Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 193-199.

³ La céramique est extrêmement abondante à *Tell Moustah*, comme me le faisait remarquer le Prof. Garstang et comme l'a signalé le R.P. MALLON (*Biblica*, 1929, p. 99); aussi est-il assez surprenant de trouver sous la plume du R.P. ABEL qu'elle y est "rare" (*Revue Biblique*, 1931, p. 215); du moins cite-t-il "une belle jarre peinte" provenant de ce site, mais sans aucune référence qui permette de faire plus ample connaissance avec ce document.

Encore plus déconcertant est-il de lire, quelques lignes plus bas, "qu'on peut se demander si un pareil site dominé par la pente d'une montagne a jamais contenu une agglomération de quelque importance et si sa destination n'a pas été simplement de recevoir les morts de l'installation voisine (*Tell Bileibil*) dès l'origine." Singulière nécropole, en effet, que cette couche archéologique homogène épaisse de plus de trois mètres, où abondent les foyers, la poterie, les instruments en silex, les pilons, les broyeurs, les vases en calcaire et en basalte, tout, enfin, jusqu'aux débris de cuisine, tout excepté les tombes ou les morts! Ma modestie se plaît à croire que le R. Père n'a pas lu, quoiqu'il la cite, la note dans laquelle j'avais signalé tous ces vestiges. Au surplus, j'ai laissé *in situ* les soubassements de murs en pierres qui sillonnent toute la plateforme et qui n'avaient pas échappé

Ces vases étaient debout, le plus petit reposant dans le goulot de l'autre, en guise de bouchon, tous deux intacts sauf une oreillette qui manque au premier.

Celui-ci (pl. II, A), d'une fine pâte alumino-ferrugineuse rose avec particules calcaires blanches, est recouvert d'un engobe rouge mat. Entièrement fait à la main, son galbe et ses proportions en font un petit chef-d'œuvre. Toutes proportions gardées, la forme est celle de la grande jarre déjà décrite¹; mais ici, le col, très resserré à sa naissance, s'ouvre largement et les anses horizontales ondulées sont remplacées par deux minuscules oreillettes verticales,²

au P. MALLON (*Biblica*, *id.*, p. 97).

Non, le fait que le site soit "dominé par la pente d'une montagne" n'est pas suffisant, devant des éléments aussi positifs, pour voir une nécropole dans des ruines qui sont manifestement celles d'une ville. La "vulnérabilité" du site avait d'ailleurs déjà été signalée par le P. MALLON (*ibid.*, p. 98) et je m'étais même permis de mettre en doute (*J.P.O.S.*, 1930, p. 199) les conclusions qu'il en tirait, quoique les siennes fussent plausibles et n'allassent pas à l'encontre de l'évidence.

Je crois devoir encore relever une petite erreur qui semble s'être glissée dans le très instructif compte-rendu de l'*exploration* du R. P. ABEL. À la fin du paragraphe qui concerne uniquement *Tell Moustah* et les grottes voisines (p. 215), il y a un renvoi à une note ainsi conçue: "Nous n'avons rien à ajouter à la notice historique qui a été consacrée à ce site (sic) dans *R.B.*, 1910; p. 543-545...." Or, dans les pages visées, il n'est fait *aucune* mention de *Tell Moustah*, pas même une simple allusion. Peut-être le renvoi en question s'applique-t-il à l'avant dernier paragraphe (qui concerne *Tell Bileibil*), car rien n'était connu de *Tell Moustab* avant la monographie publiée par le P. MALLON en 1929 (*Biblica*, 1929, pp. 96-99). Précédemment, le *Survey of Eastern Palestine* (p. 237) avait simplement consacré une ligne de texte à ce site; c'est fin 1928 que j'en reconnus le caractère archéologique (*J.P.O.S.*, IX, 1929 p. 121) et que je le signalai à quelques archéologues, notamment au P. Abel et au P. Mallon. Ce dernier, n'a pas manqué l'occasion de le reconnaître très loyalement (*Biblica*, *id.*, p. 97, note 3).

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 196 et fig. 6.

² Parfois destinées à la suspension à l'aide d'une cordelette, les minuscules oreillettes du Br. I étaient souvent aussi destinées à la fixation du lien qui maintenait en place la peau ou le tissu qui recouvrait l'embouchure du vase (Renseignement obligamment communiqué par M. F. A. C. Schaeffer). D'ailleurs, il semble difficile d'expliquer autrement les oreillettes verticales qui, sur des jarres parfois très grandes, accompagnent les anses habituelles, qui seules sont assez fortes pour permettre la préhension ou la suspension; des exemplaires de ce curieux type à anse et à oreillette à la fois ont été trouvés notamment à *Telelat Ghassoul* (cf. MALLON, *Les fouilles de l'Institut Biblique Pontifical dans la vallée du Jourdain*,

percées avant la cuisson. La hauteur de ce vase est de 11 cm. et son plus grand diamètre ne dépasse pas 85 mm..

La facture du deuxième vase (pl. II, B) est beaucoup moins bonne. La pâte, toujours alumino-ferrugineuse mais de couleur rouge-clair, plus grossière, mélangée de particules calcaires blanches et grises, est cependant très régulièrement cuite sur toute son épaisseur. Elle est recouverte, à l'extérieur, d'un léger engobe rosé, qui n'a réussi que médiocrement à masquer ses rugosités. Convexe sur la moitié supérieure, mais à épaule plus tombante que le petit vase ou la grande jarre, le corps de celui-ci est nettement concave sur sa moitié inférieure; c'est ainsi que la ligne venant du fond atteint par une courbe régulière et non brisée le bord des anses.

Ces anses, en effet, ne sont pas rapportées, mais font corps avec le vase. Horizontales et non ondulées, légèrement relevées, elles mesurent 13 cm. de longueur le long du vase et 3 de largeur. Quelques traits verticaux et parallèles sur leurs bords constituent la seule décoration, avec deux petits mamelons (visibles pl. II B, à droite) plantés à la naissance du col, bas et à peine évasé.¹

Ces deux vases se rangent, avec la céramique et les pièces en silex précédemment trouvées dans le même horizon archéologique, dans la culture que nous avons nommée Cananéen² et qui marque la fin du premier Age du Bronze. Comme dans l'industrie contemporaine d'*Et-Taouamin*,³ la minuscule oreille subsiste à *Tell Moustah*, mais en nombre infime, tandis que l'anse horizontale, ondulée ou non, prédomine.

Les dernières recherches ont encore donné plusieurs couteaux bifides à arête centrale enlevée, ainsi que le fragment qui manquait au grand "racloir en éventail" précédemment décrit.⁴

Rapport préliminaire de la deuxième campagne, dans *Biblica*, 1930, p. 145 et pl. III, no 4).

¹ Les vases à mamelons, dits féminins, ne sont pas rares en Palestine à l'âge du bronze. On les trouve aussi en Europe, jusqu'en Belgique (J. SERVAIS et J. HAMAL-NANDRIN, *Catalogue sommaire de la section préhistorique du Musée archéologique liégeois*, Liège 1929, p. 76, fig. 50).

² J. P. O. S., X, 1930, p. 205 ss..

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72 et fig. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 194 et fig. 4.

VI.- LA STATION ACHEULEO-MOUSTERIENNE D'ABOU HOUREIREH

A quelques centaines de mètres à l'ouest de la route qui relie Bersabée à Gaza, dominant la rive droite de l'ouadi *esh-Sheria*, s'élève une colline en forme de tell, surmontée d'un ouely. Quoique la plupart des cartes la qualifient de "tell," cette éminence est cependant entièrement naturelle et les débris de l'activité humaine qui la couvrent ne remontent pas au delà de l'Age du Fer.

Elle ne semble d'ailleurs pas avoir jamais été un lieu d'habitation, cette colline, du moins pour les vivants. Les nombreux tessons qui la recouvrent proviennent, en effet, d'un curieux rite funéraire, qui se perpétue actuellement encore et qui consiste à déposer, sur les tombes, des poteries, le plus souvent brisées ou devenues inutilisables, parfois même de simples tessons.¹

Ce n'est donc pas sur le "tell" que réside l'intérêt archéologique de ce site. C'est au pied septentrional de la colline qu'il faut aller chercher des vestiges plus archaïques de l'activité humaine. Là s'étend une petite station acheuléo-moustérienne, la plus typique et une des plus basses de la région côtière palestinienne (70 m. au-dessus du niveau de la Méditerranée).

Les pièces sont toutes en silex. Les galets de l'ouadi *esh-Sheria* ont sans doute fourni à l'homme paléolithique toute la matière première nécessaire à la fabrication de ses outils. Ceux-ci sont pour la plupart profondément cacholonnés, résultat d'un long contact avec les sables rouges, aujourd'hui fixés et mélangés de limon, qui recouvrent cette région.²

¹ Il se pourrait que cette coutume fut fort ancienne. A *Teleilat Ghassoul*, nombre de sépultures d'enfants datant du premier Age du Bronze étaient recouvertes de fragments de jarres, parfois même d'une nappe de tessons (cf. *Biblica*, 1930, pp. 13 et 136).

² Sur cette curieuse formation, analogue au loess, cf. G.S. BLAKE, *Geology and Water Resources of Palestine*, Jérusalem, 1928, p. 24.

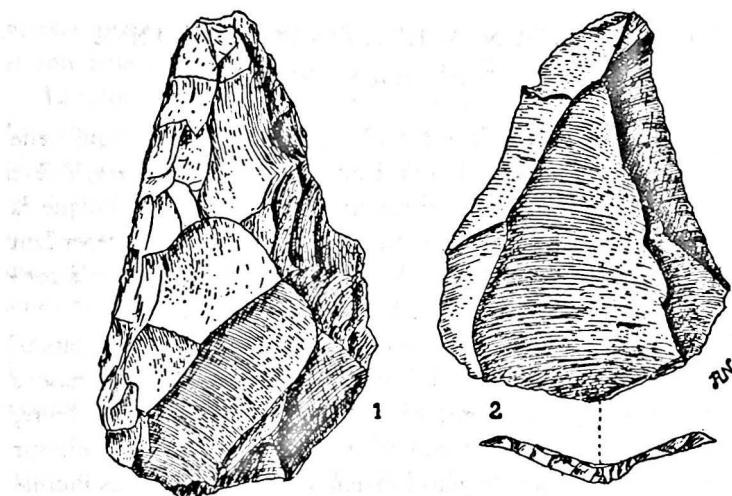


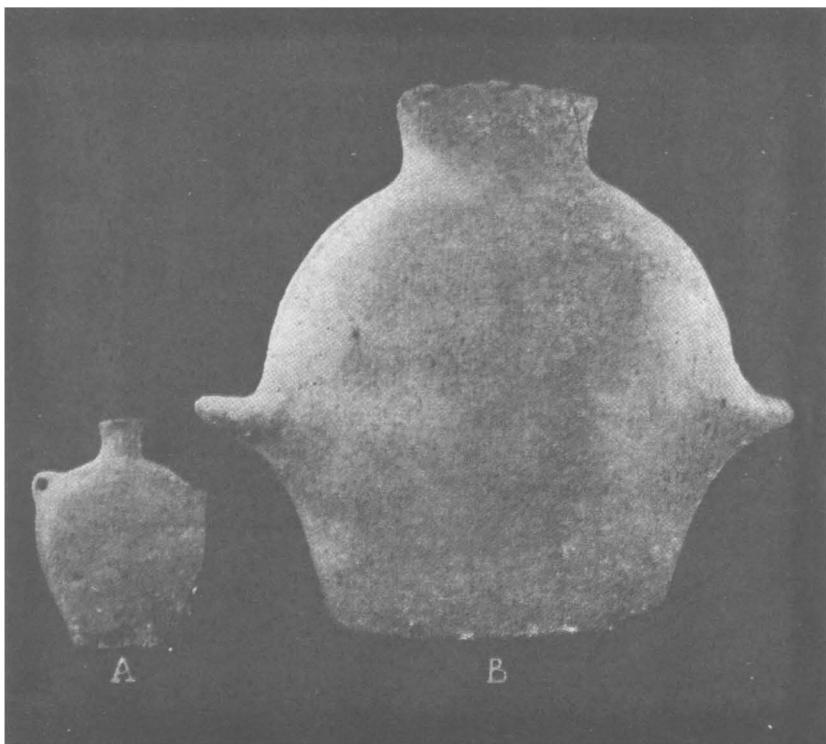
Fig. 13.—ABOU HOUREIREH. Petit biface(1) et pointe de type moustérien (2).
($\frac{2}{3}$ gr. nat.)

L'industrie se compose de coups-de-poing, de petits galets à éclats alternatifs, de nuclei et de pointes du type moustérien. Les coups-de-poing (fig. 13, n° 1) sont petits, de 7 à 10 cm. de longueur, du type des petits bifaces du niveau DI de la grotte d'*Oumm-Qatafa*.¹ Les pointes (fig. 13, n° 2), sans retouches latérales, mesurent de 4 à 8 cm.; leur plan de frappe à facettes multiples dénote un stade plus évolué qu'à *Oumm-Qatafa*, rappelant l'outillage, à plus forts bifaces cependant, de la station galiléenne d'*Ain Moussa*.² Mais c'est surtout dans les dunes de *Ramleb*³ que l'on trouve l'industrie la plus ressemblante à la nôtre; là-bas, cependant, les éléments paléolithiques sont entremêlés de pièces de toutes les époques, tandis qu'à *Abou Houreireh* l'industrie paraît des plus homogènes et les probabilités de mélanges des plus réduites.

¹ Cf. R. NEUVILLE, *L'Acheuléen supérieur de la grotte d'Oumm-Qatafa*, dans *L'Anthropologie*, 1931, p. 38 et fig. 14 n° 3.

² Cf. *Revue Biblique*, 1930, p. 552 ss.

³ J.P.O.S., IX. 1929, p. 119.



TELL MOUSTAH A) Petit vase à oreillettes; B) vase à mamelons (visibles à droite, à la base du col).

($\frac{1}{4}$ env. gr. nat.)



Vue de la grotte d'Oumni-Qatafa, creusée dans un banc très épais de dolomite.

RÖMISCHE LEGIONSZIEGEL

ADOLF REIFENBERG

(JERUSALEM)

Eine ganze Anzahl von Ziegeln mit Stempeln der zehnten römischen Legion sind in und bei Jerusalem gefunden worden.¹ An dieser Stelle seien drei derartige Ziegel beschrieben, von denen der erste infolge seiner Inschrift besonderes Interesse darbietet.

Nr. 1. Das vorliegende Stück (Taf. IV. 4) trägt den bisher auf Ziegeln noch nicht aufgefundenen Beinamen der Legion "Antoniana." Die Inschrift lautet:

L X F A N

T O N I N I A N [A]

wobei das N der oberen Reihe zu ergänzen ist, das letzte N der unteren Reihe verkehrt ist und das letzte A der unteren Reihe überhaupt fehlt. Zu lesen ist die Inschrift selbstverständlich:

L (egio) X F (retensis) ANTONINIAN[A]

Denselben Beinamen hat die Legion auch in der Inschrift Corp. III. n. 3472. Ausserdem findet sich der Beiname auf der Inschrift einer heute als Laternenträger fungierenden Säule des Bazars im Hofe des Grand New Hotels.² Auf dieser Ehreninschrift für M. Iunius Maximus ist das Wort „Antoniana“ (sic!) in unbeholfener Schrift später hinzugefügt worden. Die Legionen hatten den Beinamen „Antoniniana“ in der Zeit zwischen Caracalla und Elagabal getragen. Da auf dieser Säule zwei Augusti erwähnt sind, mit denen entweder

¹ Aufzählung der bisher bekannten Typen bei THOMSEN, *Die lateinischen und griechischen Inschriften der Stadt Jerusalem und ihrer nächsten Umgebung*, S. 130 f.

² Literatur darüber bei THOMSEN, a. a. O., S. 23.

Caracalla und Geta oder aber, falls das Wort Antoniana später hinzugefügt wurde, Severus und Caracalla gemeint sind, ist es zweifelhaft, ob die ursprüngliche Inschrift aus den Jahren 211-212 oder aber aus den Jahren 198-209 stammt. Unser Ziegel datiert jedenfalls aus der Zeit zwischen Caracalla und Elagabal, also aus den Jahren 211-22. Mithin ist er ein weiterer Beweis dafür, dass die zehnte Legion noch im Anfang des dritten Jahrhunderts, und zwar mindestens im Jahr 211, in Jerusalem stationiert war.

Der Stempel (von innerer Bosse zu innerer Bosse gemessen) ist 3,5 cm hoch und bei Berücksichtigung des fehlenden Teils ca. 7,5 cm lang.

Nr. 2. Im Zusammenhang mit dem obigen Legionsziegel möchte ich auch die Photographie (Taf. IV. 3) eines Ziegels mit Galeere und Eber geben, wie er ähnlich von Germer-Durand (RB. Bd. 1 (1892), S. 384), E. Michon (RB, Bd. 9 1900, S. 263 ff. und H. Vincent (RB, Bd. 7, 1910, S. 263 ff.) veröffentlicht worden ist. Bei dem von uns vorgelegten Exemplar sind Eber und Galeere auf einem Stück erhalten und insbesondere ist auch die Galeere deutlicher erkennbar als auf der Zeichnung Michons. Betreffs der Symbole Galeere und Eber vergleiche man Michon a.a.O.

Nr. 3. Eine beträchtliche Anzahl Varianten von Legionsstempeln sind bisher veröffentlicht worden. Folgende auf dem Bruchstück eines Thonrohres befindliche Variante (gleichfalls in meinem Besitz) ist neu:

¶ X J

Länge des Stempels 3½ cm, Höhe 1½ cm.

Berichtigung zu der Arbeit: *Vergleichende Beschreibung jüdischer Lampen* von A. REIFENBERG (Vorige Nummer dieser Zeitschrift.)

Abgesehen von einigen Druckfehlern ist besonders ein sinnstörender auf S. 66, Zeile 5, zu berichtigen: Hinter Knido gehört ein Absatz und statt N. 4. muss es heißen Nr. 7, (Abb. 7).

NOTES SUR LE GHÔR

II. LA VIE ÉCONOMIQUE

ALEXIS MALLON S. J.

(JÉRUSALEM)

De la simple énumération des ruines faite précédemment (p. 55-62), il résulte que le ghôr oriental jouissait à l'époque byzantino-arabe d'une prospérité qui n'est plus aujourd'hui qu'un souvenir. C'est avec l'occupation turque, semble-t-il, que cette région, ainsi que bien d'autres, fut désertée de sa population sédentaire et abandonnée au pillage des tribus nomades.

Aujourd'hui le ghôr oriental est partagé en deux parties inégales : au Sud un groupe de *Ghawârneh*, au Nord la tribu des *'Adwân*.

Les *Ghawârneh* cultivent la petite oasis de *Sueimeh* près de la Mer Morte. Ils se rattachent à la tribu des *'Awâzém* (عازم) dont le centre est à *Ma'in* où réside habituellement leur Cheikh *Aba Sitty*, fils et successeur de Cheikh *'Aly Abu Windy*. On nous a dit qu'ils comptent actuellement une vingtaine de tentes. Aux pieds du tell de Beth Iesimoth, ils se sont construit quelques greniers avec des matériaux tirés des ruines.

Les *'Adwân* se divisent en trois fractions (*'asâier*) : *'asîrat Sâleh* à *Wâddy Nimrin*, dont le chef, Cheikh *Sulṭân*, est reconnu comme cheikh de toute la tribu, *'asîrat Ninr* à *Wâddy Kefrein*, *'asîrat Kâid* à *Râmeh*.

Etablis dans le Ghôr depuis à peu près deux siècles, ils se disent originaires du Nejd et regardent comme fondateur de leur tribu un certain *Fowzân Ibn es-Suweit*, de la tribu *Defir*.¹ La descendance de

¹ CONDER, *The Survey of Eastern Palestine*, p. 291.

ce cheikh se chifferait aujourd'hui par 6 à 700 personnes, mais avec toute sa suite la tribu forme un groupe de plusieurs milliers d'âmes. L'hiver, ils restent dans la plaine, l'été ils transhument généralement sur les hauteurs autour de *Hesbān*. Leur principale richesse consiste en troupeaux de petit bétail, moutons et chèvres. Ils sont aussi cultivateurs. A *Šāneh*, à *Kefrein*, à *Šaghūr*, un jardinage méthodique produit de beaux résultats; la tomate, l'aubergine, et une culture nouvelle, la banane, y réussissent à merveille. Le blé et l'orge constituent le fond de l'alimentation. Ils sont cultivés dans toute la partie de la plaine qui peut être irriguée, c'est-à-dire pratiquement du pied des montagnes jusqu'au chemin de *Ma'īn*, vers le milieu du ghôr. L'espace irrigable dépassant de beaucoup la quantité d'eau disponible, l'emblavage est triennal et se fait par zones. Terre alluviale et chaleur, ces deux facteurs de l'agriculture joints à l'irrigation sont les garants de moissons comparables à celles d'Egypte. Même avec leurs méthodes primitives et défectiveuses, ces bédouins arrivent à tirer du sol le grain qui leur est nécessaire à eux-mêmes et un surplus considérable qu'ils vendent en Palestine.

Le ghôr oriental n'est pas un désert, il pourrait être un jardin. Aussi bien y retrouve-t-on les traces d'une culture ancienne beaucoup plus intense que celle d'aujourd'hui. Une simple remarque suffit à le prouver. Il n'existe de nos jours qu'un seul moulin qui est aménagé dans les ruines d'un ancien et ne fonctionne que depuis une vingtaine d'années. Or, pour ne parler que du seul *Wādy Hesbān*, on peut y compter les ruines d'une douzaine de moulins disposés en série sur la rive Sud, datant des époques romaine, byzantine et arabe.¹

¹ L'aqueduc de ces moulins, considérés isolément ou en série, est appelé *Šaghūr* par les indigènes, dénomination qui s'étend à la région des jardins et des ruines byzantines. Le même nom est aussi connu à Naplouse où existent des moulins semblables. Il semble donc bien qu'il soit arabe d'origine. L'équivalence philologique avec Séghôr grec que j'avais notée ici même (p. 60) ne prouve pas nécessairement une dérivation. La coïncidence peut être fortuite. De ce fait, il ne résulte rien contre la valeur géographique de la "Peregrinatio Silviae" quand elle parle d'une localité de ces parages que les guides appelaient Ségor.

MUSIL (*Moab*, 342-344) écrit *Šaghūl* au lieu de *Šaghūr* (شغور), mais c'est apparemment une faute comme *Maṭiba* pour *Maṭbe'* (مطابع) et 'Adeimi pour 'Adeimeh

Ajoutons à cela le grand et magnifique pressoir dit *Mensef aba Zeid*, maintenant abandonné dans une lande inculte. Il faut conclure de là que les récoltes étaient alors beaucoup plus abondantes qu'aujourd'hui.

Après les premières pluies, en Novembre, tout le ghôr recommence à verdoyer et jusqu'en Avril une végétation intense le transforme en une immense prairie. Alors il reprend une animation et une vie inaccoutumée. L'hiver sévissant dans les montagnes, tout ce qui le peut descend dans la plaine en quête des bienfaits du printemps. Migrateurs habituels, les *Beni Sakhr* arrivent avec leurs grands troupeaux de moutons et de chameaux. L'hiver dernier (1930-1931), ils étaient là avec leur cheikh *Mithqâl Pacha* et dressaient une quarantaine de tentes aux environs de *'Ain 'Aras*.

Les gens de Madaba descendirent aussi avec leurs troupeaux de moutons et s'installèrent aux pieds des montagnes, à l'Est de *Sueimeh*. Plus près du Jourdain avaient pris place, dès le mois de Novembre, les marchands du Nejd et de la Syrie du Nord, qui chaque année ravitaillent l'Egypte en chameaux. Partout vie et mouvement, le ghôr oriental pendant l'hiver est une des régions les plus animées de la Palestine.

III. TELL RAS EL 'AIN

C'est le nom d'une ruine située sur un petit promontoire immédiatement à l'Ouest de *'Ain Daq* et de *'Ain Nu'eimeh*. Nous la reconnûmes, Mr. Neuville et moi, le 15 février 1931, au cours d'une exploration des environs de la source. Nous ne sachions pas qu'elle ait été jamais signalée.

Formé par le confluent de la vallée au Nord et d'un petit torrent qui descend de la montagne méridionale, le promontoire porte un

(عنبة) au même endroit. Musil ne décrit pas directement cette région, il en parle accidentellement à l'occasion de sa visite à *'Uyûn Mûsa*.

Le sens du mot *ṣaghîr* est donné par le P. ABEL, *Revue Biblique*, 1931, p. 219. Dans le même article, le P. ABEL mentionne les sépultures mégalithiques d'*El-'Adeimeh*, sans nulle référence (p. 226). Cette grande nécropole n'est pourtant connue que par la belle description de Mr. NEUVILLE dans *Biblica*, XI, 1930 p. 239-265. M. NEUVILLE s'était fait scrupule de citer l'avis du P. ABEL au sujet du camp romain de la même région (p. 261, note 1).

petit plateau favorable à une installation fixe. La ruine s'affirme par des arasements de murs en plusieurs points, par des fragments de vaisselle diverse et par des silex taillés. La poterie que nous avons recueillie en surface montre des fonds plats, des oreillettes horizontales, des cols évasés ou à bords épaisse, des dessins au pointillé. Nous avons remarqué aussi un vase en basalte fragmentaire.

La planche ci-jointe reproduit quelques-uns des silex taillés les plus caractéristiques: une tête de flèche (1) et une belle pointe à retaillé oblique (5), deux éléments de fauille (2, 4), une lame-scie (3), un perçoir sur bout de lame (6).¹

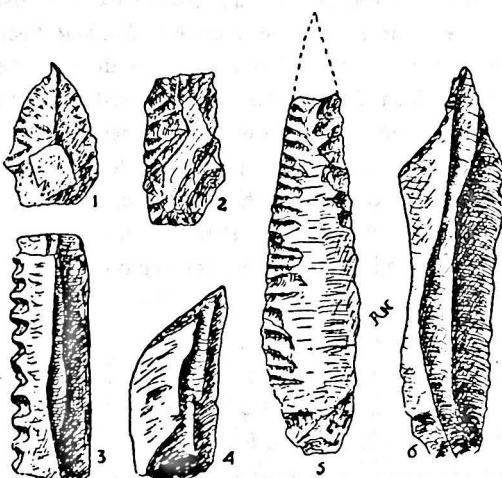


Fig. 1.- TELL RAS EL-'AIN.- Silex taillés. Gr. Nat.

1. Tête de flèche à retaillé plate.- 2. Élément de fauille.- 3. Lame dentelée.- 4. Élément terminal de fauille.- 5. Pointe à retaillé oblique.- 6. Perçoir sur bout de lame.

Dessin de M. R. NEUVILLE.

Comme on le voit, ces débris annoncent une civilisation de la seconde moitié du premier âge du Bronze et d'une grande partie du deuxième.

¹ 1, 2, 4, 5, collection R. NEUVILLE; 3, 6, collection Institut Biblique.

Quelques vestiges semblables sont aussi épars sur le plateau oriental du côté de la source et sur les pentes qui s'élèvent vers la falaise rocheuse au Sud.

Au cours de la même excursion, longeant la rive Nord de la vallée, laquelle on nous a nommée *Wâdy Sfây*, nous avons atteint la gorge abrupte par où elle débouche dans la plaine. Au pied de la montagne, nous avons noté quelques monuments mégalithiques en mauvais état de conservation. Dans une visite antérieure, M. Neuville avait recueilli des éléments moustériens devant les grottes à mi-hauteur.

GÉOLOGIE DE LA GROTTE D'OUMM-QATAFA¹

DR. L. PICARD

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(JÉRUSALEM)

Comme complément à la publication par M. R. Neuville de ses fouilles dans la grotte d'*Oumm-Qatafa*,² je crois intéressant de donner sur la géologie de ce site les détails qui ne trouvaient pas leur place dans une relation surtout archéologique.

Mes recherches dans la grotte d'*Oumm-Qatafa* n'ont été entreprises qu'en Décembre 1928, alors que les fouilles étaient déjà terminées et la grotte recomblée en partie; mais les notes prises par M. Neuville ont pu suppléer de façon très heureuse aux observations devenues impossibles. Parmi ces notes, il faut signaler en premier lieu la coupe longitudinale de la grotte (fig. 1).

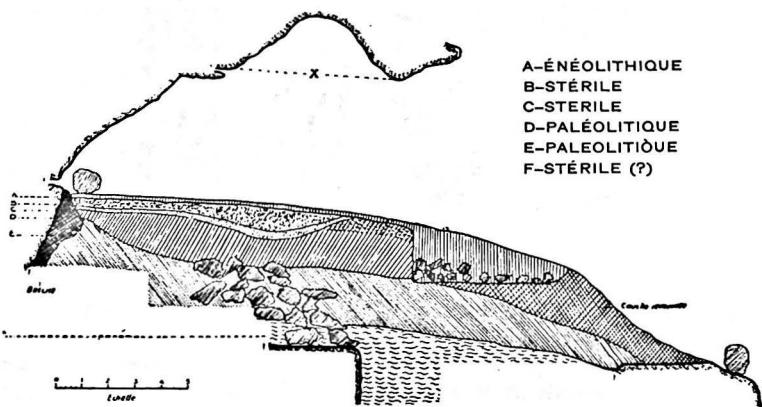


Fig. 1. Coupe longitudinale de la grotte d'Ounim-Qatafa

¹ Traduction de l'Allemand par le R. P. MULLER, des Missionnaires d'Afrique.

² RENÉ NEUVILLE, *L'Acheuléen supérieur de la grotte d'Oumm-Qatafa (Palestine)*, dans *L'Anthropologie*, XL1, 1931, pp. 13-51; R. NEUVILLE et A. MALLON, *Les débuts de l'âge des métaux dans les grottes du désert de Judée*, dans *Syria*, XII, 1931, fasc. 1.

Les déterminations des différentes sortes de roches ont été faites au Laboratoire Géologique de l'Université Hébraïque.

I.- LES CONDITIONS GÉOLOGIQUES ET GÉOGRAPHIQUES DES GROTTES DANS L'OUADI KHAREITOUN

Comme la plupart des cavernes de Palestine, la grotte d'*Oumm-Qatafa* est creusée dans des roches dolomitiques. Les puissantes masses de dolomite sont répandues surtout dans les formations du vieux tertiaire (Eocène) ou dans le Crétacé moyen (Cénomanien-Turonien). Dans le cas présent, il s'agit de couches de cette dernière époque, dont les fossiles portent les caractères du Cénomanien. Les autres grottes de l'*ouadi Khareitoun* sont également situées dans le même horizon dolomitique et s'ouvrent sur les deux côtés de la vallée, dans un banc de rocher bien caractérisé de plusieurs mètres d'épaisseur. Au-dessus de ce banc se succèdent plusieurs couches plus minces de calcaire et de dolomite qui appartiennent déjà au Turonien. Ce n'est qu'au pied du *Djebel Foureïdis* qu'apparaissent, au-dessus des roches dures abruptes du Cénomanien-Turonien, les roches tendres et blanches du Crétacé supérieur ou du Sénonien, qui dominent les hauteurs vers l'Ouest, dans la direction de Bethléem.

Une visite à la grotte, en partant de Bethléem, nous fournit les observations suivantes: de Bethléem, le chemin, qui passe à côté de *Batou Fakkous*, au-dessus du vieil aqueduc, à droite de l'*Ouadi Kakousah* jusqu'au-dessus de *Oumm-en-Netache*,¹ traverse presque constamment le Sénonien, qui à certains endroits se fait jour sous forme de craie avec, comme fossiles typiques, *Dentalium cretaceum* Conrad et *Baculites vertebralis* Lamark.² Ce n'est que derrière le *Khârbet* que le calcaire commence à devenir plus dur et à être strié de lignes rouges circulaires (Calcaires flamboyants), qui pourraient caractériser le Sénonien inférieur. Déjà avant la bifurcation vers le bassin du *Djebel Foureïdis* on remarque les calcaires durs du Turonien, contenant par-ci par-là des rognons de silex. Ces couches turonniennes, qui occupent tout le versant ouest du *Djebel Foureïdis*, sont

¹ L' "ancient road" de la carte de la *Palestine Exploration Fund*.

² Je renvoie pour la stratigraphie du Crétacé supérieur à mes *Geological Researches in the Judean Desert*, Jérusalem 1931 [“Divan” Library, ou Max Weg, Leipzig].

fortement silicatisées. Des croûtes d'érosion de couleur brune couvrent les roches, dans lesquelles apparaît très souvent le fossile spécifique du Turonien : *Nerinea requieniana* d'Orbigny.

On descend ensuite dans l'*Ouadi Khareïloun* (côté Est) qui, à cet endroit, forme un magnifique cañon. Une suite de calcaires, de minces couches de marnes (avec *Cardium* sp.), de bancs de dolomite et de calcaire-marbre, avec une grande quantité de rudistes, nous conduit à *Mougharet Oumm-Qatafa*.

II.- MOUGHARET OUMM-QATAFA

1) *Les roches de la grotte.*

La partie inférieure de la grotte est formée d'un calcaire semblable à du marbre, riche en *hippurites*, qui correspond absolument au "meleki" des environs de Jérusalem; la partie supérieure de la caverne est creusée dans la dolomite. Dans le marbre à *hippurites* se trouve un banc rocheux particulièrement dur, qui s'avance des parois de la grotte et sépare les couches de remplissage D et E en plusieurs endroits.

2) *Forme et formation de la grotte.*

Dans diverses parties des montagnes de Judée, on peut observer les phénomènes suivants: l'eau de pluie, qui s'est infiltrée à travers de multiples fissures et de petites crevasses dans l'intérieur des roches (et qui, dans les couches du Cénomanien-Turonien, peut pénétrer à des profondeurs considérables) a creusé sur son chemin à travers les entrailles de la montagne une série de cavernes qui, sous l'influence de l'érosion, s'ouvrent aujourd'hui au grand jour sous forme de grottes.

Les roches dolomitiques, plus dures et plus résistantes, se laissent creuser plus difficilement que les couches calcaires; mais aussi, une fois les grottes formées dans la dolomite, elles se conservent plus longtemps que celles creusées dans les formations calcaires. Quant au creusement de la grotte, il s'effectue plus profondément dans l'axe vertical, c'est-à-dire au plafond et au sol; aussi aperçoit-on, vers le milieu du plafond de beaucoup de grottes en dolomite, une excavation plus profonde en forme de coupole (fig. 1, x).

L'eau, très riche en acide carbonique et ruisselant des parois de

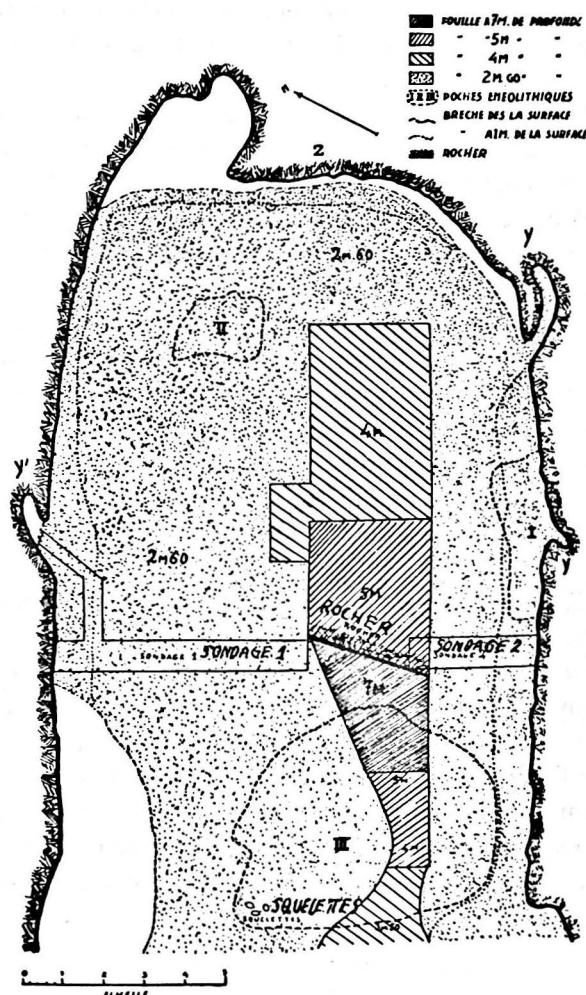


Fig. 2. Plan de la grotte d'Oumm-Qatafa

la grotte, a formé dans le diluvium inférieur (antérieurement à la formation de la couche archéologique D₁), de grandes stalactites qui se sont détachées des parois et qui ont été trouvées dans la couche D₂. La formation de ces stalactites s'explique sans doute par une recrudescence des grandes pluies à l'époque du vieux diluvium in-

férieur, c'est-à-dire par une affluence continue d'eaux riches en acide carbonique. Aujourd'hui, les parois de la grotte sont lisses et sans traces de stalactites.

Mais de ces parois rocheuses une série de blocs se sont détachés. On trouve ainsi un tas de ces blocs de rocher dans la zone stérile F et dans la couche archéologique E, exactement au-dessous de la couple (x) de la voûte; ainsi la formation de cette coupole pourrait être mise en relation avec la chute de ces blocs rocheux. *La grotte paraît donc être plus ancienne que l'époque acheuléenne; quant à sa forme principale, elle est antérieure à la formation de la couche D.* Aujourd'hui, l'agrandissement de la grotte ne se fait plus que sur les parois latérales, où plusieurs crevasses se sont formées et élargies (fig. 2, y).

Quant à la forme primitive du sol de la grotte, on n'a pu relever qu'une excavation vers le milieu.

La grotte s'ouvre à 40 mètres au-dessus des éboulis du thalweg de l'ouadi. Dans aucune des couches A-F de la grotte on n'a trouvé trace de graviers anciens provenant de la rivière. *Donc, même dans le plus ancien Paléolithique, le niveau de l'Quadi Khareïtoun était bien plus bas que l'entrée actuelle de la grotte.¹*

3) Les couches de remplissage de la grotte.

Un profil (fig. 3) du côté nord de la grotte, c'est-à-dire face à l'entrée, et un profil (fig. 4) près de la paroi ouest, c'est-à-dire à gauche de l'entrée, nous renseignent suffisamment sur le caractère des différents sédiments. On peut y remarquer que près de la paroi nord ces sédiments se composent presque uniquement de tuf riche en calcaire, tandis que les sédiments de la paroi ouest sont pauvres en éléments calcaires.

¹ Je renvoie, pour le détail des proportions de la grotte, aux informations données par M. NEUVILLE, dans *L'Anthropologie*, XLI, pp. 18-20.

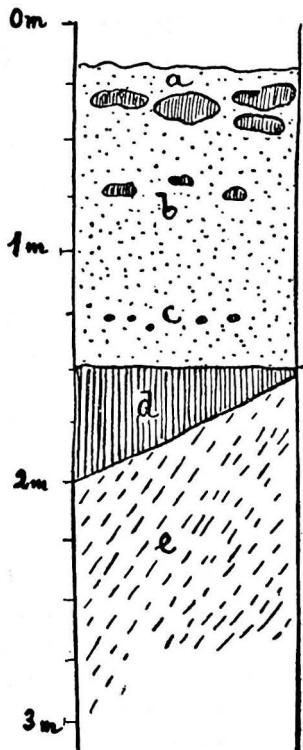


Fig. 3. Coupe verticale à la paroi nord.

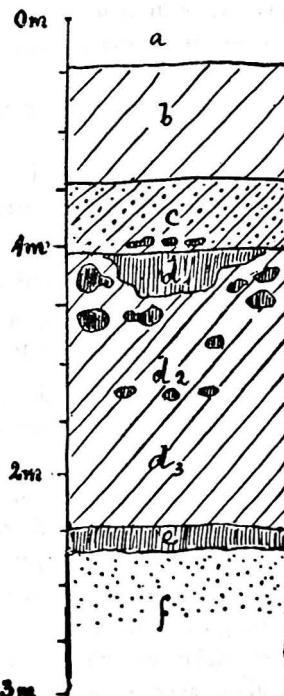


Fig. 4. Coupe verticale à la paroi ouest.

Coupe I. (fig. 3) Profil à la paroi nord :

- | | |
|---|---------------|
| a) paroi rocheuse avec traces de feu; | Couche ar- |
| terre noire renfermant de l'humus 15-20 cm. | chéologique A |
| b) travertin gris, par endroits brunâtre 50 | „ „ „ B |
| c) travertin clair, brun-cacao, avec | |
| quelques blocs rocheux à la base 30 | „ „ „ C |

d1) gros blocs de rocher, quelques rares rognons de silex	120 cm.	Couche archéologique	D
d2) travertin brun-clair, très ossifère, avec quelques rares et petits blocs de rocher			
d3) travertin brun-clair, très peu ossifère			
e) dur banc à rudistes et brèche	15 „	„	D
f) terre grise tendre avec beaucoup d'ossements et de dents	25 „	„	D

Coupe II (fig. 4) Profil à la paroi ouest.

La couche archéologique A avait déjà disparu au moment de mon examen. Les couches B et C n'existaient pas à cet endroit.

a) gros blocs de rocher dans une terre poussiéreuse, argileuse, de couleur brun-clair	150 cm.	Couche archéologique	D
b) terre ossifère, poussiéreuse argileuse, de couleur brun-clair, avec peu de blocs de rocher, riche en petites concréctions phosphatiques et en gros coprolithes			
c) terre riche en phosphate, peu ossifère, avec beaucoup d'éclats de silex, de calcaire et de dolomite			
d) banc de rocher dur à rudistes, ressortant fortement vers le Sud	50 cm.	„	D
e) terre argileuse, peu ossifère, de couleur jaune de chlore, avec des concréctions phosphatiques de couleur brune	200 cm.	„	
f) Aujourd'hui visible seulement à l'entrée de la grotte, une terre brun-cacao, avec concréctions calcaires.	? cm.	„	F

Dans les couches de la coupe I, il s'agit sans doute de calcaire lamellaire pur; dans les couches de la coupe II, de substances argileuses et dolomitiques contenant de l'humus et très riches en phosphate, dans lesquelles la masse principale du calcaire (surtout à l'entrée) a été probablement dissoute.

4) *Composition minéralogique de l'outillage*

Les outils de l'homme paléolithique contemporain de la formation des couches D et E de la grotte d'*Oumm-Qatafa* sont taillés, comme on devait s'y attendre, dans un silex qui a toutes les couleurs, du noir foncé au gris clair. Des rognons de calcédoine (silex concrétionné), avec des globules de quartz, ont également été employés. Quelques rares outils seuls sont patinés.

De l'étage supérieur D proviennent, en outre, plusieurs coups-de-poing qui sont fabriqués en une roche phosphatique silicatée. Une autre pièce est même en phosphate de chaux pur, qui ne pouvait que difficilement être utilisé à cause de son peu de dureté. Une autre exception est constituée par plusieurs sphéroïdes en calcaire.

Dans la couche énéolithique (A) on trouve des meules, des broyeurs et autres objets en calcaire, en marbre à rudistes, en dolomite et en basalte. Le basalte, de même que deux coquilles marines employées comme pendeloques, viennent de très loin (rivage de la mer, nord de la Palestine ou Transjordanie).

L'homme paléolithique de l'*Ouadi Khareitoun* a trouvé la matière première pour ses instruments, qui proviennent aussi bien de bancs de silex que de rognons et de gelets, non à proximité de la grotte, où l'on ne trouve que de la dolomite et du calcaire (du silex simplement en petits rognons), mais dans les étages du Sénonien supérieur, éloignés d'environ 3 km., dans lesquels sont situés, à côté de très puissants bancs de silex, des couches de phosphate caractéristiques. Mais ce phosphate siliceux ne semble pas avoir été employé par l'homme contemporain des étages D₂ et E.

A côté du matériel étranger provenant en partie de régions très éloignées, l'homme de l'époque énéolithique employait aussi, pour la fabrication de ses instruments, des matières premières tirées du voisinage de son habitat.

UNWRITTEN LAWS AFFECTING THE ARAB WOMAN OF PALESTINE¹

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The aim of this paper is to describe the unwritten but well-known laws governing the life of the Palestinian woman. Most of these rules have their origin in wide-spread customs which have been rigidly observed. Immutability is the most striking characteristic of eastern life, and the inhabitants of the Near East may not and dare not deviate from the traditional path of their ancestors. These customs (*‘addeh*, pl. *‘awáyd*) became inflexible laws² and of the most binding character. Their authority was paramount among the ancient Semites and they still are more powerful in Palestine than those grafted on to modern society by mere popular fashions.³ The unwritten laws are practised more strictly among the Bedouin than among the peasants, for the former are bound together within the tribe with strong ties of "brotherhood" (relationship), whereas the villagers have through their long settled condition lost more or less these intimate bonds of clanship, and local unions have taken their place. This social change is still more apparent among the *madaniyah*, the city dwellers, who could with greater facility break loose from the restraints of custom.

¹ This paper was read on March 26, 1931, before the Anthropological and Ethnological Society of the American University, Beirut.

² CHEYNE AND SUTHERLAND BLACK, *Encyclopedias Biblica*, s. v. LAW.

³ Passages pointing to unwritten laws among the Israelites can be traced back very far. Some examples are: "It ought not to be done in Israel" (II Sam. 13¹⁹); "... folly in Israel which thing ought not to be done" (Gen. 34⁷). Cf. also Joshua 7¹⁸; Judg. 19³⁸; 20¹⁰.

In Palestine these regulations are kept more strictly in some districts than in others. The fact must be emphasized that many of them are at present less practised than they were fifty years ago; while others which were once universal are met with, in our period, only in few villages.

I. LAWS BASED ON A BELIEF IN WOMEN'S INFERIORITY.

In many phases of life women are treated as inferior to men. Expressions such as *el-marah min dal^c er-ridjdjal*,¹ "The woman is from a rib of man"; *en-niswān ilbum nuss^c aql*, "Women have but half a brain,"² emphasize this belief. A weak and cowardly man is dubbed *miyl el-marah*, "like the woman."³

At the birth of a boy there is joy, while the birth of a girl is greeted by the disappointed murmur, *bass bint*, "Only a girl!" Some may even curse her for having caused the mother such pain and anxiety. The only consolation the mother hears is, *mā tiz^calīs inṣā' allah hitzainihā ib^caris*, "Be not sorry (lit. angry)! Perchance God may suffer you to adorn her with a bridegroom" (meaning a son).⁴ The father is told of the birth of a son with the words *el-bṣārah el-bṣārah 'adjāk 'aris*, "Good tidings! a son is born to thee."⁵ If a daughter is born the news is broken to him by the formula

¹ Gen. 2²¹. Another expression is, *dal^c el-marah qaṣṭr*.

² Another saying is, *el-marah ndqṣit el-'aql*.

³ A proverb describes unreliable men with the words, *er-ridjāl 'ind hādjithum niswān*, "Men are when needed (as ineffective as) women."

⁴ CANAAN, *The Child in Palestinian Arab Superstition*, JPOS, VII, 160 ff.; KLEIN, *Mitteilungen*, usw., ZDPV, VI, 63. Cf. John 16²¹; I Sam. 4²⁰. In some cases the mother is told that a son is born and the real truth is only broken to her gradually.

⁵ The same expression is used in Luke 2²⁰.

imbārak el-sarīs, "Blessed be the bride," referring to the time¹ when, at her marriage, he will receive the bride-price (*mabr*).² In pre-Islamic times, new-born girls were often left to die. Sūrah XVI 60 reads, "And when any one of them is told the news of the birth of a female his face becomes black (clouded with confusion and sorrow) and he is deeply afflicted; he hideth himself from the people because of the ill-tidings which have been told him, considering within himself whether he shall keep it with disgrace or whether he shall bring it under the dust."³ Many a woman will wear a talisman while she is pregnant, believing that it ensures the delivery of a son. When, however, a family has many sons but no daughters a new-born girl is welcomed and well treated. She is usually named *wahideh* (the "only daughter") or *sitt ibwethā* (the "lady of her brothers").

It is believed that a girl tries not to be born, since she knows the conditions of life awaiting her.⁴ Girls are less pampered and more neglected than boys and set to work at an earlier age.⁵ A proverb runs, *dūr el-banāt barābat*, "Houses (full) of girls are houses in ruin," for in the spreading and perpetuation of the family name, in the holding of property and in the defending of the interests of the clan, it is sons alone who count as an asset. Other proverbs expressing a like idea are: *el-banāt ghalabāt*, "Girls are burdens"; *mōt el-banāt sutrab*, "The death of girls is a blessing";⁶ *hamm el-banāt lal-mamāt*, "Anxiety about girls lasts till (their and their father's)

¹ In pre-Islamic times it was customary for friends to congratulate a father on the birth of a girl, for the daughter was welcomed as an addition to her father's wealth, "because when he gave her in marriage he could add to his own flocks and camels, those paid to him as her *mabr*." وكانت عرب الجاهلية اذا ولد لاحدهم بنت تقول "هنيأ لك النافقة" اي المغطية مالك لان اباها كان يأخذ مهرها (حيث المخط وجوه) (٢١٠٤)

² See DALMAN, PJ, xiii (1917), p. 30.

³ See also Sūrah VI 152; XVII 33.

⁴ CANAAN, JPOS, VII, 163.

⁵ A similar spirit is apparent in the Old Testament, Ps. 172^{3,5}. In the Revised Version we read "children" instead of "sons." The American as well as the Jesuit Arabic translations of the Bible give بنون.

⁶ Really "a concealment of shame and difficulty." An old Arabic proverb is موت البنات من المكرمات.

death"; *mātāt wlitak¹ min ṣafāwit nitak*, "Your girl died because of your good character"; *tikbar ḥaiyeh walā tdjib bnāiyeh*, "May she grow to be a serpent² and not give birth to a girl"; *el-bint imma djabrbā willā qabrbā (kas(i)rhā)*, "Either a girl is treated well (and married) or interred (broken)";³ *el-walad in līrib fi ḫarāb el-fāydeh min warāb*, "A boy—even if he plays with his own dirt⁴—gain issues from him."⁵

To have no children was the greatest misfortune which could befall the father, and still more the mother, for it was not until she had become the mother of a son that the wife attained her full dignity in the household,⁶ and was in some degree protected against the hardships of polygamy. By sons alone is the family continued; daughters are lost to father and family through their marriage. The word *ibn* (son) has the same root as *banā* (to build). Building⁷ is figuratively applied to having male children in several passages in the Bible.⁸ When a peasant intends to marry he is often heard to say "I would like to open a house,"⁹ meaning, as it did with the old Semites,¹⁰ "I intend to build a family." "May God make your house prosper"¹¹ is an expression wishing prosperity to a house by the increase of its male children.

¹ A polite term for a Mohammedan woman (Hava).

² The serpent is the symbol of cunning. Demons often take the shape of serpents (Gen. 3¹ ff.).

³ The proverb *ṣabāb eṣ-ṣuqq ḥaqṣ ᷣabāb eṣ-salabeh għalabeh*, "The morning of the girl (lit. "slit," i.e. vagina) is a good omen, while the morning of the boy (lit. "thread," i. e. penis) means difficulty," tries to improve the miserable condition of the female sex.

⁴ It is believed that only insane children play with their own dirt.

⁵ There are also proverbs which point to the contrary, but they are few: *umm el-bandī btimši 'ala ḥabat*; *niyāl man ghazalat kittānhā uljebat banāthā qall ḷubyanhā*; *riżq el-banāt akħar minn riżq eṣ-ṣubyan*.

⁶ I Sam. 1⁶ ff.; Gen. 16⁴; 30¹ ff.

⁷ *banā 'alā 'arūsib* means to have intercourse with his bride (*Muhῆt* p. 131), probably because he builds through this act his house, his name. *Muhῆt* gives another explanation. *Lelatu bindi'ihā* means the wedding night.

⁸ Ruth 4¹¹; I Sam. 2²⁶; II Sam. 7²⁷; I Chron. 17¹⁰⁻¹¹; I Kings 11¹⁸.

⁹ *biddi aʃtaħ bēt*.

¹⁰ Gen. 18¹⁰.

¹¹ *Allah i'tammir bētak*.

In case a childless woman intends to adopt a child she passes the child through the upper slit of her shirt, while another woman receives the child from below, simulating in this way the act of delivery. This custom was formerly more prevalent in Palestine than at present. I have found knowledge of it in northern, central and southern Palestine.

In vowing a fourth, or a half, or a whole boy to a *weli*, the fourth, half or whole value of the *diyeh* (blood-price) must be paid to the saint; but with a girl, her price is reckoned not on the basis of the *diyeh* but on the *mahr* (the bride-price) which is much less. The wedding of the girl cannot take place until the vow is fulfilled.¹

A father is advised to settle his daughters before the sons are married. Sayings expressing this idea are: *dauwir labintak qabl ma (i)dauwir la 'ibnak*, "Search out (a husband) for your daughter before you look (for a bride) for your son"; *zauwidj ahl ed-dâr qabl er-rdjâl*, "Marry the inhabitants of the house (that is the daughters) before the men (sons)." A girl has no right to choose her husband or to refuse the one found for her, for "if a girl is left to choose her husband according to her own judgement she will either take a drummer or a piper."²

While a man marries to perpetuate the family's name, honour and influence, a girl is married to relieve her family of care and responsibility. Of a girl who is betrothed it is said, *alla ithannan 'aléhâ*, "God had mercy with her." Similar ideas were prevalent among the ancient Hebrews and Arabs.³ As of old (cf. Leah and Rachel) fathers prefer to give first their eldest daughters in marriage, and certain families adhere strictly to this rule.

Brides are still bought.⁴ Among the lower class the word

¹ CANAAN, *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries*, p. 183.

² *in dasarûl-bint 'ahâtîrhâ yâ btâhud tabbâl yâ zammâr*.

³ A *hadît* says 'azrârukum 'uzzâbukum, "Your most wicked are the unmarried." See also I. GOLDZIHER, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, p. 187 (n).

⁴ The same custom is revealed in the Old Testament: Deut. 22^{28, 29}; Ex. 22^{16, 17}; Ruth 4^{9, 10}. For the conditions in Arabia see W. R. SMITH, *Kinship and Marriage*, Chapter III.

haqqhbâ' (her price) is used instead of *mahr*. A girl is the property of the whole family. If she is sought in marriage the father may decide for her, for as a maiden she is—and this was true of all Semites—under his sole control. If the father is dead the girl's eldest brother gathers together all near male relatives, and her marriage depends on their decision,² and to this she must submit. Her consent is asked, but this is only a formality and usually her views carry no weight. Mosaic law attached no importance to the girl's preferences and recognized (Ex. 21⁷) the father's right to sell his daughter into bondage, with the evident intention that she should become the wife of her master or her master's son.³ The girl's consent is, however, nowhere suggested.⁴ The father or guardian has the right to give again in marriage a widow or a divorced woman. It often happens that at birth a girl was designated as the bride of a boy, generally a relative. This was done either directly or during the act of cutting her umbilical cord. The former is known under the name of *'atîyet ed-djôrah*, "the gift of the (delivery) pit,"⁵ the second as *maqtâ' surrethâ 'ala ismuh*, "her umbilical cord is cut on his name."⁶ In reading the *fâtihah* the future of the girl was sealed;⁷ she was no longer free and had no other alternative than blindly to accept her destiny. Nobody dared to ask for her hand until her "birth-bridegroom" set her free.⁸

¹ See also KLEIN, l.c., p. 89.

² O. S. EL-BARGHUTI, *Judicial Courts among the Bedouin of Palestine*, JPOS, II, p. 59.

³ Jewish Encycl., vol. XII, Woman. See Deut. 22¹⁶; Gen. 21²¹; 24^{ff.}; 29²⁸; 34¹²; 38⁴; Judg. 14^{1ff.}; I Kings 2¹⁷; Matth. 22³⁰; Mark 12²⁸; Luke 20³⁶. Consult also Jewish Encycl., Daughter.

⁴ Encycl. Biblica, p. 2942.

⁵ *Ed-djôrah*, (the delivery pit), which is unknown in this sense to *mûhit*, is the space between the body of the delivering woman, who is sitting on a special chair (the delivery chair), and the ground.

⁶ This custom was known in Palestine as well as in Syria.

⁷ Reading the *fâtihah* is not only the religious part of the official betrothal ceremony, but it seals the whole action.

⁸ CANAAN, *Die Brautwahl in Palästina*, Das Heilige Land, vol. 75, pp. 24 ff. As I had no opportunity of looking over any proofs of this article, several mistakes in the transcription were left uncorrected.

The right of a young man to marry his paternal cousin is an old Oriental custom.¹ An Arabic proverb says, "The cousin takes (the bride) down from the mare,"² which means that if she should be given to a stranger, a cousin has the right even at the last moment to take her down from the mare during the wedding procession and marry her himself. The Bedouin say, "Her binding and release are in the hands of her cousin."³ Another proverb teaches: *illi bitharrâhâ ibn 'ammâbâ (i)bîthram 'al-gharib*, "The girl who is desired by her paternal cousin is forbidden (in marriage) to a stranger."⁴

Some families will give their daughters only to members of certain families, to those of the same social standing, and never to a strange family. Such are *'Abd el-Hâdi*, the *Barâghî* and the *Djaiyâyseh*.⁵ The *Barâghî* (pl. of *Barghûti*) give their daughters to members of the *Djaiyâyseh*, to the chiefs (*'umarâ*) of *el-Masâ'id* (of *Ghôr el-Fârah*) and *el-'Ueisât* (in *Bir Ma'în* and *el-Burdj*) Bedouin, to the *shîb* of *Abû Kîsh* (near Jaffa) of *'arab el-Uhîdât* (near Gaza) and of *'arab Bani Djarm* (near Jaffa). The most honourable family of *el-Barâghî*, Dâr Zâhir, will not marry their daughters to any stranger whatsoever, not even to any one of their kin.⁶

Some Bedouin tribes on the eastern boundary of Trans-Jordan and in the Sinai Peninsula have a custom by which the young man, having first gained the girl's consent, then asks the consent of the father. As a rule the father enquires only whether the daughter is willing, and after the question of the *mahr* is settled the young man is free to take his bride. No religious ceremony takes place. The girl runs away and is followed by her lover. When he catches

¹ Gen. 24⁴; 28².

² *iñ el-'amm biṭayib 'an el-faras*. See also EL-BARGHUTI, I.c., p. 69.

³ *'aqdâh u hallâh 'ibid ibn 'ammbâ*. See also MUSIL, *the Manners and Customs of the Rûwala Bedouins*, p. 137.

⁴ Still another proverb used in the same sense is: *ez-zâl 'idâ iṭharrâh abluh bibrâm 'adž-djâmi'*, "The oil which is wanted by its owners is forbidden to be given to the mosque."

⁵ Klein, ZDPV, vi, 85, gives the families *Tâqân*, *Abû Ghôs* and *Samhân*.

⁶ I owe this information to the kindness of Mr. O. S. B.

her a simple wedding ceremony takes place between them alone and, in the words of the ceremony, before God who is their witness. She sits upon a stone while he takes his place upon a heap of earth. She addresses him.

*anā qā'id 'alā ḥadjar niṣhad yā rabb el-baṣar
inni 'obid li ḍakar 'alā sinnit allah u rasūluh*

"I sit on a stone! and be thou, O Lord of the human race, witness that I take to myself a male, according to the laws of God and His prophet."

The young man answers:

*wanā qā'id 'alā ḫ-tarā niṣhad yā rabb el-warā
inni mābiḍ li marah 'alā sinnit allah u rasūluh*

"And I sit on the earth; and be thou, O Lord of the universe, witness that I take to myself a wife according to the laws of God and His prophet."

The pair then break into two parts a piece of straw (*qaṣaleh*). This act has been thought to be symbolic of unity, for since the broken straw cannot be made whole, neither can their union be severed. In reality they are not yet united, for if the young man cannot perform his marital function the girl is free to return to her father's house.¹

A wife must greet her husband in respectful terms, such as *yā sidi* (O my Lord, master), *yā ibn 'ammi* (O my cousin, i.e. husband), *yā abū NN.* (O father of NN.). On the other hand a husband may greet his wife in one of two ways: using a dignified term as *yā bint 'ammi*, *yā umm NN.*, or in a more casual fashion as *yā bint en-nās* (O daughter of people), *yā marah* (O wife) and *wali*. The

¹ This last condition is seldom fulfilled. In the Ḥanādjreh tribe (Gaza) the following is the customary procedure in returning a wife to her parents. The husband who, because of his impotence is forced to divorce his wife, agrees with his father-in-law on the sum of money which must be paid to him. A trustworthy person must guarantee the payment. The respective parties gather in the tent of the *śib*. The husband or his legal representative throws a piece of straw on the *śib* with the words, "Take O *śib*! this is the *qaṣaleh* of the girl." The *śib* throws the same to the father of the girl, repeating the same words. The wife is now free to go back to her father's house.

last expression is one of contempt. Still more vulgar are the expressions used by the lower class and Bedouin when they speak of their wives, *ib'id ḥannak* (*adjall sānak*, *adjall qadrak*, *i'izzak*) *marati*, all mean the same thing, namely, "my wife who is below your honour, dignity." Some politer terms are *ahl bēti* (the dweller of my house), *umm 'awlādi* (the mother of my children), *marati* (my wife),¹ *harimi* (my woman),² (*i*)*īālī*, *aylti* or *ēlti*, (my families, family). The expressions *es-sitt* (the lady) and *ubti* (my sister)³ in referring to a wife are rare. The male members of the three above-named families speak of their wives as *es-ṣéhāt* (pl. of *es-ṣéhah*).

The married woman is completely under her husband's control. She becomes his property.⁴ In some places we still hear the expressions *māli*, *halāli* (my property, my granted right), used for the wife because the husband acquired her by purchase.⁵ The words *'amlak*, *'imlāk*, for "marry, marriage," are derived from the same root, which means "to possess, to become the owner, to rule over."⁶ A proverb says, "He who pays his money can have the Sultan's daughter for his bride."⁷ The money given at betrothal is the purchase-money paid to the former proprietor, the father. The father's and husband's authority was and still is supreme; the life and the property of all the members of the family are in their hands and they are accountable to no one for their actions. They alone have the right to chastise.⁸

¹ The expression *zawdjalī*, *qarīnatī* (my wife), *šarīkat hayātī* (the partner of my life) are used only by educated people and in literature.

² Women subject to one man (Hava, 112).

³ I vividly remember how an old Christian peasant of Bêt Djälā became angry with my father for calling my mother *yā ubti*. He argued, "What God made lawful to you do not declare unlawful."

⁴ See BERTHOLET, *Kulturgeschichte Israels*, p. 113. For the conditions in Arabia before and after Islam see W. R. SMITH, I.c. 76, 77. Consult also Sūrah, IV 33.

⁵ Although *بَنِي* and *بَنِي* are, after the rise of Islam, used more or less as synonyms, they had different meanings in pre-Islamic times; W. S. SMITH, *Kinship and Marriage*, p. 76.

⁶ *Muḥit*, p. 2004; Hava, p. 726.

⁷ *illī bibnūt fāsuh bint es-sultān 'arūsuh*. See also Gen. 34¹².

⁸ By this immemorial law Abraham was free to kill his son, the King of Moab to cause several children to be burned to Moloch, and Jephthah to offer his daughter to the Lord. Gen. 21¹⁰; Judg. 11³⁴⁻⁴⁰; II Chron. 28⁸; 33⁶.

Certain proverbs recommend kindly treatment of womenfolk: "Woman is a good and precious trust";¹ "Kindness to girls is better than forsaking them"; "None save the filthy beats a woman."²

Women perform the lowliest duties. Thus in the villages grinding wheat is done by women, and in the towns it is the duty of the humblest and youngest female servant.³ Women fetch the water in the villages;⁴ in the towns the male water-carriers belong to the lowest class. While *fellâḥât* carry their burdens on the head, Bedouin or semi-Bedouin women consider this degrading and carry their loads on the back.⁵ With rare exceptions the man rides while his wife walks behind, carrying her load.

Woman's inferiority is well seen in her rights of inheritance and dowry, the value given to her testimony and in matters of divorce. Conditions are different in the spiritual sphere. A careful study of the position of woman in the earliest periods of Islam, and in the teachings of its founder, reveals no real obstacles to the religious development of woman. In the spiritual life there could be neither male nor female. *Awliâ* belong to both sexes, though male saints are the more numerous. The development of mysticism (Sufism) within Islam gave women their great opportunity to attain the rank of sainthood. Among the Palestinian shrines which I have visited and examined personally, 13.2 per cent. were dedicated to female saints.⁶ Of these, 60 per cent enjoy a great reputation as compared with 31 per cent of the males.⁷ *Darwîsât* are still known

¹ It may also be translated: "The woman is a (precious) trust (in the hands) of the good man."

² *el-marah udâ'it el-haiyer; adjr el-banât walâ hadjrhum; mā buqrub el-marah illa-l-barâ.*

³ The utter humiliation of the virgin daughter of Babylon is portrayed by the command, "Take the millstone and grind meal; uncover thy locks, make bare thy leg, uncover thy thigh." Is. 47². Compare also Judg. 16²¹; Lam. 5¹⁸ where men are humiliated by doing such work (JPOS, XI, 17 f.).

⁴ Gen. 24^{14, 17}; John 4^{7, 16}.

⁵ The Bedouin tribe et-Turkmân is an exception to this rule.

⁶ In Biblical times one also met with "inspired" women: Ex. 15²⁰; Judg. 4⁴; II Kgs. 22¹⁴; Neh. 6¹⁴; Luke 2³⁶.

⁷ CANAAN, Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine, pp. 235 ff.

in Palestine. They are respected and their orders executed. These facts do not justify Kobelt's and Perron's statements that among the Arabs there are no female saints, or only very few.¹

The same applies to the evil spirits. It is interesting to notice that in a list of 120 springs drawn up by the present writer 57 are supposed to be inhabited by females. If we omit cases of holy men whose spirits still haunt springs and cases where the sex is not specified, we find that 80 per cent of the spirits are female.²

Another exception to the rule of woman's inferior status is the naming of a person, a family or a sub-tribe after some outstanding woman. The Qoran, Sûrah xxxiii 5, ordains, "Call such (as are adopted) the sons of their (natural) fathers."³ Many exponents of the Qoran believe that this verse applies not only to adopted children but to children generally, and therefore they argue that the name of the father and not that of the mother should be connected with the names of the children. A married Palestinian woman will, as a rule, to the last moment of her life, call herself by the name of her father and not by that of her husband; e.g. Fâtmeh 'Abdallah, 'Abdallah being the name of her father and not Fâtmeh Mohammed, if her husband's name is Mohammed. The reverse applies in magic rites and the writing of talismans, where a person's name must be written or uttered together with that of his mother and not with that of his father. The reason for this is the Oriental belief that only the mother can be determined with absolute certainty.⁴ This belief is not peculiar to Palestinians but was familiar among the ancient Babylonians, Egyptians and Hebrews.⁵

Occasions where women gave their names to persons, families

¹ See the references in GOLDZIHER, *Mohammedanische Studien*, II, 299.

² To this group belong three springs which are believed to be inhabited by female saints.

³ CANAAN, *Haunted Springs and Water Demons*, JPOS, I, 162,

⁴ After Sale.

⁵ CANAAN, *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin in Lande der Bibel*, 105, 106.

⁶ FRAZER, *The Golden Bough*, part VI, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, pp. 384 ff. 395 ff.; SMITH, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, pp. 52-66.

and sub-tribes are well known throughout Arabic history.¹ Such women played an important part in the history of that person or tribe. Examples showing the continuation of this custom at the present time are:

<i>Members of the tribe</i>	<i>Appellation</i>
el-Maṣḥālah (near Nablus)	'ahū Sabḥah
ed-Daṣdījeh (near 'Ammān)	„ Ḥaṣfah
eṣ-Ṣāleḥ, a subtribe of el-‘Edwān	„ Sēḥah
en-Nimr, „ „ „ „ „	„ Muhrāh
el-Ḥāmid, „ „ „ „ „	„ ‘Amṣah
el-Hersān, „ „ „ Banī Ṣalḥar	„ Falwā
el-Ḥwēṭāt tribe	„ Ṣalḥah
es-Sirdiyeh tribe	„ Dībeh
Banī Aṭraš (Druses of Ḥaurān)	„ Baldjā
The inhabitants of ed-Ḍāḥriyeh	iḥwet Naṣrah
el-‘Azāzmeh tribe (Negeb)	'ahū Širah

Such women were as a rule the sisters of leading *śiħb*. Whenevèr the warriors of a tribe go to a *ghazā* they boast about such women saying “*'anā 'ahū ...*”. Not only among the Bedouin, but also among the peasants and town-dwellers we meet with family and personal names derived from female names. Such are the families: Nazhah, Qarāh, Qassisiyeh, Sārah, Rahīl (all in Jerusalem), Hasnā (Jerusalem and Ṣaffā), Zarīfeh, Abū Ḥaḍrah (Jaffa), el-‘Idēh (Ramallah and Bir Zēt), Manneh (Haifa), Abū Sārah, Abū ‘Aisēh, (Mazra‘et banī Murrah), Ḥaḍrā (Ṣafad, ‘En ‘Arīk), Abū Ḥilweh (Mazāre‘ banī Zēd), Abū Mdallaleh (‘Annābeh), Abū Ḥamdiyeh (Abū Qaṣṣ), Wardeh (‘En ‘Arīk, Bir Zēt), Abū Ṣubhiyeh (Dēr Ibza‘), ‘Anṣarah (Rafidiā).

It is customary in Dēr Ghassāneh and in some other villages to call every coward “Abū Lēlah.”

¹ In pre-Islamic times we meet with the king ‘Amr, who was called “the son of Hind.” The *ḥalīfeh* ‘Omar ibn el-Ḥaṭṭāb and Ma‘awīah ibn abū Safiān were called ‘Omar ibn Ḥantamah and Ma‘awīah ibn Hind respectively. Ibrāhim the son of the *ḥalīfeh* el-Mahdi was known as Ibrāhim ibn Šaklah. Other examples are Tamīm abū Ruqīah (for Tamīm ed-Dārī), al-Miqdād ibn Zur‘ah (al-Miqdād ibn Ma‘dī Karib), Masrūq abū ‘Āisēh (Masrūq ibn el-Adjda').

II. LAWS OF SECLUSION

While the *fellâhât* and the Bedouin women move freely about and do not hide or veil themselves, the Mohammedan women of the cities (*madaniyât*) have their special quarters which no strange man may enter. This also used to be a rule with most Christians but it was never strictly observed. The windows, particularly those of rooms assigned to the women, looking towards the street have wooden lattices (*ša'âri*) to prevent inquisitive outsiders from seeing anything within. Balconies and especially flat roofs are surrounded with parapets from one to one-and-a-half metres high, made of clay tubes.¹ If a strange man would enter a house he must knock on the door and call out several names of God (*yâ hâfiż*, *yâ laṭif*, *yâ sâttâr*, *yâ sâṭir*) adding the words "give way" (*dastîr aṣṭâl târiq*) as a warning to women within. He must then wait a little until the way is clear; and he is then called in.² The present writer knows men who boast, "My wife never left the house except to be carried (to her grave)."³ A proverb says, "Her youth is gone in her seclusion."⁴ Some believe that the duties of a woman end at the threshold of the door⁵ (*‘atbet el-bêt*).⁶

A Bedouin tent is usually divided into two parts: one for the men (the reception room for public entertainment, *es-ṣuqqâh*) and the other reserved for the women, *el-mâhram*. They can hear and, by peeping over the dividing curtain, *es-sâhab*, can often see what is going on in the men's section.⁷ The same conditions seem to have prevailed in the time of Abraham.⁸

¹ Judg. 5²⁸; Cant. 2⁹ and probably II Kings 1².

² Originally this only held good for the wives of the Prophet, Surâh xxxiii 53.

³ Marâti ‘umrâhâ mâ tarkat el-bêt illâ maḥmûleb. See also *tâhrîr el-mar’ab*, p. 17.

⁴ râh šibâbâ fi maḥbâbâ.

⁵ *tâhrîr el-mar’ab*, p. 27.

⁶ In Biblical times women often had their own quarters in the innermost part of the house, to which no man had access (Judg. 15¹; 16⁹). Among the more wealthy and influential people, women had a separate house (Sam. 13⁷; I Kings 7⁶; II Kings 24¹⁶; Esth. 2^{3,14}).

⁷ The Bedouin et-Turkmân, who live between Haifa and Nazareth, afford an exception to this rule.

⁸ Gen. 18⁹⁻¹⁶.

Noteworthy is the strictness with which the women of the families el-Barâghî, 'Abd el-Hâdi and edj-Djayâyseh used to be guarded.¹ Until fifty years ago a woman of these families was born, lived and died without ever leaving the region of her house in the daytime. In such cases women did not need veils (*burqu'*) or an *'izâr*. When they wished to visit their female relatives or a sick member of the family, they left the house late in the evening when darkness had already set in and the roads were deserted. Even then they covered their heads with the cloak (*'abâyeh*) of their husbands. In these villages men never mentioned the names of girls or women, but referred to them as "the eldest sister (or daughter) of . . .," "the wife (or widow) of . . ."

When a Mohammedan townswoman leaves the house she must wear the *'izâr*² and veil³ (*mandil*).⁴ Thirty years ago girls in towns wore an *'izâr* when but seven years old. The rule is not now enforced before the thirteenth year. A proverb heard in Nablus says, "The woman is judged (whether good or bad) by her *'izâr*, and the year by its *'adâr*, the month of March."⁵ Another saying is,⁶ "She that has no *'izâr* should slit a wrapper (and use the sheet as an *'izâr*)."⁷

¹ Although these families live in villages they are, as a rule, not called *fallâhin* but *qarâyyîn*, for they do not engage in agriculture.

² While the *'izâr* is cut of one piece of white sheeting, the *mlay(ah)* is made of two pieces of black cloth, sewn together behind.

³ I cannot understand why modern and highly educated writers (like es-sayid el-'amîr 'Ali el-Hindi) still speak so highly of the veil.

⁴ The following different types of veil were formerly used:

a. *mandil ghaṭâ' widjî* hangs down from the head and covers the face.
b. *mandîl latmeh* was worn in cold weather to cover the head. It was fastened below the chin.

c. *mandîl qundûq ('undu')* covered also the head but was fastened behind the neck. It is called by some *mandîl šâṭhab* or *qamṭâb*.

The last two types were not real veils. The black veil used at present is known as *baša*.

⁵ CANAAN, *Der Kalender des palestiniensischen Fellachen*, ZDPV, XXXVI, 266-300; *el-marâh ib 'izârbâ uis-saneh ib 'adârbâ*.

⁶ *illî mâlhâ 'izâr btaftuq el-malhafeh*.

⁷ The veil was known in ancient times, but was probably worn as an occasional ornament (Cant. 4^{1,3}; 6¹) by betrothed maidens in the presence of their future husbands (Gen. 24⁶⁵) or when concealment of the features served dubious ends (Gen. 28¹⁴).

In some towns (e.g. Gaza) the veil hangs down from the eyes to the chest. At times a moustache-like nose-veil suffices. Such veils, which are especially common among the Bedouin, are occasionally adorned with silver coins. In the villages around Nablus the *sellahât* wear a *qumbâz* (*qunbâz*) over their clothes. It hangs down from the head, covering the entire body; and, when speaking with a strange man, a woman must keep her hands hidden beneath it.¹ Only the face is to be seen. This *qumbâz* takes the place of an *'izâr*. Some use an *'abâyeh*, cloak, instead. Till about forty years ago Christian women living in cities were also compelled to veil themselves.

Peasant women enjoy greater privileges of movement and freedom, using neither the veil nor the *'izâr*. Exceptions are the families of 'Abd el-Hâdî ('Arrâbeh), el-Barâghtî (Dêr Ghassâneh), ed-Djayâiseh (Kûr) and Abû Ghôs (Qariyt el-'Inab²) who muffle and conceal their women. It is improbable that Hebrew women wore *'izârs* either before or after marriage, since they seem to have been recognizable in public like the present-day *sellâhâti*.³

The actual Moslem religious laws were not so strict, and the women of the earlier periods of Islam enjoyed considerable freedom; but unwritten laws, arising out of established custom and habit, are exceptionally severe. The writer has witnessed the insulting of veiled women (both in Hebron and Nablus) because their fingers were visible. Unless he has an important reason a man may never speak to a strange woman: if he breaks this rule, he is usually rebuked and rebuffed. If he is forced to do so, e.g., in order to ask his way to someone's house or to the village guest-house, he must hail her as "my grandmother" (*yâ sittî*), "my mother" (*yâ ummi*), my aunt (*yâ 'amî*, *yâ bâltî*), "my sister" (*yâ ubti*), or "my daughter" (*yâ bintî*),⁴ expressions signifying blood-relationship, and therefore

¹ The Qôran does not enjoin these rigid regulations. See Sûrah xxiv 31; AMIN QASIM, *tahrîr el-mar'ah*, p. 66 ff., gives many proofs from the *hâdiç* to support and explain this verse.

² These villages were the capitals of former districts, ruled by these families.

³ Gen. 12¹⁴; I Sam. 1¹². The Hebrew women of Biblical times seen, in general, to have been as restricted as their sisters of to-day.

⁴ Some say, *yâ mastûrah*, *yâ w(a)liyeh* or *yâ hurmeh*.

respect and untouchability. It is a punishable offence for a stranger to enter the women's apartment of a tent.

It is unseemly for a stranger to go directly to another's house in a strange village. The person he seeks may be away. The stranger must go first to the guest-house where, after being served with coffee, he enquires about the person he wishes to see. This man is called and may, if he wishes, take the guest to his house. On the other hand no decent female stranger will go to the guest-house. As soon as she enters the village whoever meets her takes her to his house where the women take care of her. This rule, now no longer strictly observed, was especially true of the villages to the north of Ramallah. Those lying to the south differ in that the housewife may accept and entertain the guest in her husband's absence.¹ She offers him coffee and prepares food. In some districts the woman must take the first morsel in the presence of the stranger, who follows her example. This act is to ensure *el-'amán lal-haram (ḥarim)*, that is, keeping the laws of morality and respect.² When the stranger has finished his meal he is sent to the *madáfeh* (guest-house) to spend the night.

"When guests come to a Rwála Bedouin and find him absent, his wife says, "See, O guests, the shepherd (i.e., lord) of the house is absent."³ She takes them into the section of the tent reserved for the men, and when the guests are seated fuel and burning coals are brought. They are given the canister, coffee beans, water and the coffee pots. Then, without entering into any conversation, the woman returns to her own compartment.⁴

Among certain tribes the laws of hospitality give the wife of the Bedouin whose turn it is to entertain the guests, permission to fulfil this obligation even in his absence, for to entertain a stranger

¹ *Nauar*, gypsies, and *el-Barāmkeh*, who are regarded as the lowest class of society, go to the *madáfeh*.

² Partaking of food is also called *mailaha*, "to partake in eating salt," viz. to come together in friendship. A proverb says, *in málah ṣálah*, "As soon as he partakes of salt (i.e. food) he makes peace."

³ *tarákum yā díñf rú'i l-béti mā hū hādir*.

⁴ See also A. MUSIL, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, p. 232.

is an honourable duty which no Bedouin will evade. No sooner does such a woman hear of the arrival of a guest than she goes to the main tent and addresses the *séb* or *qâdi* with the words, "May you have good health" (*djâlak el-âfieh*).¹ He answers "May God keep the comers in good health" (*haiy allâh el-lâfi*).² She replies, "What do you say of a girl whose husband is absent, but whose turn it is to honour the guests? By God! no one takes the food except myself, else I shall be divorced from the head of my husband."³ She goes to prepare food, and the young men of the tribe, her children or servants, carry it to the common tent. If she has any sons the eldest one present carries the bread, for the bread is always brought by the host himself. When the food is served by the host himself it is the duty of the most important or the oldest guest to take the best part of the meat, namely, the upper part of the thigh (*es-şadâh*), put it between flat cakes and hand it to the father of the house with the words, "This is for the lady⁴ of the house."⁵ If the guests fail to pay her this honour, the house-wife looks upon it as an insult or unpardonable negligence. This custom once ruled throughout Palestine, but it is found now only in some villages in the Hebron district and among some Bedouin in the Negeb.

A peasant girl, whether Mohammedan or Christian, once she is betrothed may neither speak to her betrothed nor meet him on the road.⁶ If he visits her parents and she has not had sufficient warning to leave the room, she must jump out of the window; this is easy, since most of the village houses are low and one-storied.⁷

In Hebron the young married and betrothed girls go on *hamîs*

¹ *Kâfir el-âfieh* means also "receiving many guests," i. e. generous (Hava, 477).

² A Bedouin salutation.

³ *mâ qâlak sî fatât ba'lhâ ghâyb ua ikrâm ed-dâf min dôrkâ uallah mâ yâbuç el-aşâ gheirî uillâ 'akûn (i)mtalluqah min râs djözi.*

⁴ Literally, "the shepherd (f.)."

⁵ *hâdîh larâ'yt el-bêt.*

⁶ Gen. 24⁶⁵.

⁷ Among the Rwâla and Fuqarâ, the young bridegroom may visit his sweetheart and talk to her (MUSIL, JAUSSEN, SAVIGNAC).

*el-'amwât*¹ ("the Thursday of the Dead")² to the cemetery of eš-Šuhadâ and dance. Unmarried men are allowed to look on at a seemly distance.³ In family festivals, such as weddings and circumcisions, the village women assemble and dance among themselves,⁴ but never with the men.⁵ An exception to this rule is seen in certain villages of the Acre district, especially in el-Bassah, where women may dance with men. In some Bedouin tribes a girl, who must be agile and supple,⁶ dances and leads a row of men with a sword, setting the rhythm. The men try to touch her and so shame her (*iṣaiybū 'aléhā*); while she has the right to hit the aggressor with her sword, even if it wounds him. Among the Bedouin of the Jaffa district, if the girl's clothes are touched by one of the men and she fails to strike him, she is replaced by another girl.

Professional female dancers are a feature of the luxurious town life and were formerly unknown among the villages. Dancing girls are, therefore, looked down upon and their profession is not considered respectable.

Even in funeral processions women may not mix with men. They join in the funeral dance, which is held in the cemetery, at a seemly distance from the men. When the latter withdraw they assemble around the grave, lament, dance and cry aloud. When the burial is over the women assemble alone in the house of the deceased. In visiting the tomb in the following days, as well as on *hamis el-'amwât*, they always go alone.

¹ Also called *hamis el-bêd*.

² This falls fourteen days before the Good Friday of the Eastern Church.

³ *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine*, p. 217.

⁴ GUSTAV ROTHSTEIN, *Moslemische Hochzeitsgebräuche in Lîstâ bei Jerusalem*, PJ, VI, 117.

⁵ The probability is that the same custom held among the ancient Hebrew women when with song and dance (Ex 15²⁰, Judg. 16²⁷; 21¹⁰ ff.; I Sam. 18⁶ ff.) they played their part on occasions of public rejoicing; they danced together in groups as the *fellâhit* still do in the *zâffeh* of the bridegroom, without mixing among the men.

⁶ Called *hâšiyeh*. See also DALMAN, PJ, XIV, 44-47.

III. LAWS OF ETIQUETTE

A woman should never precede a man or enter a house before him. She must not take a more honourable seat.

A woman may cut her hair only in case of a spreading disease of the scalp; for the ornament of a woman is her hair (*zinat el-marah ḥārḥā*).

She should never uncover her hair (*iṭfarri'*) in a man's presence. A married Bedouin woman may not let a stranger see her mouth.

No woman should suckle her child in the presence of a stranger: It is believed that even wild animals are ashamed to look on a woman whose breasts are exposed. If a tiger attacks a woman and she exposes her breasts with the words, "I am a woman, O Abū Muhammed,"¹ it will turn aside in shame and go away.

She may never lie down or stretch herself in a man's presence, not even before her father or brother.

A respectable woman should never accept a gift from a stranger. An Arabic proverb says;² *el-bint el-ghaddāy 'absan min el-walad el-laqqād*, "The girl who loses (what is given to her, especially money) is better than the boy who (continually) finds (money or other objects)," for a girl who pretends that she is continually finding objects of value is probably trying to hide the fact that she is receiving gifts from strangers.

On no account may she wander alone at night beyond the limits of the village. Even during the day she is never permitted to leave the village alone unless on the way to adjoining vineyards or gardens.

Formerly a *fellāhah* while journeying was not allowed to ride on a donkey, mule or horse, but only on a camel. The Banī Zēd follow this rule, but elsewhere it is almost obsolete.³

A bride should on no account mount a stallion during her wedding procession. She may not laugh or even speak during the wedding ceremony. She should not raise her eyes to look at the

¹ *hurmeh* (or *hrēmeh*) *yā abū Muhammed*. *Abū Muhammed* is one of the tiger's names. Tiger stands here for any wild animal.

² *el-ghaddāy* is not known in this sense in *muhīt el-muhīt*.

³ I owe this information to the kindness of Mr. O. S. B.

bridegroom when he lifts up the veil from her face. On this occasion she must wear clothes chosen by her relatives: she is permitted no choice.

A woman is not allowed to slaughter an animal¹ (sheep, goat, cow, etc.²).

It is a disgrace for a peasant woman to smoke.³ Bedouin women, on the other hand, may smoke a pipe or cigarettes, and those of the city the 'arkileh.

In some places we find laws imposing a rigid distinction between the dress of girls and married women. In Bethlehem, Bêt Djâlâ and Bêt Sâhûr only married women wear the *ṣaqueh*.⁴ The girls of most villages of the Ramallah district wear at times a *qudleh* (sometimes called *'irueh*). This is a large piece of silver or a gold coin hanging in the centre of the forehead and fastened to the edge of the *'raqiyeh*, the head cap. After marriage they replace this coin with a row of other coins (*saffeh*) fastened along the edge of the head cap. They also wear a *znâq*, a silver chain with coins fastened to both sides of the head-dress above or on one side of the ears, hanging down to the chest.⁵ In the same district the girls used formerly to wear more often a *ṣakkeh* instead of a *qudleh*. While the coins of the *saffeh* are of the size of a Turkish *medjideh* and are fastened close to each other and perpendicularly, those of the *ṣakkeh* are smaller and lie flat and loose. In the villages of the Nablus district the row of coins of the *saffeh* hangs down to the chest from the head-cap in two rows, each one lying in front of an ear. In the villages of the Ramallah district they come only as far as the ears.

¹ I owe this information to the kindness of Mr. O. S. B.

² Chickens were formerly killed by circumcised women, but this custom has disappeared. Previously, many of the girls coming from Egypte were circumcised. To-day this practice has also died out.

³ An exception to this rule are *el-darwîsât* and *eṣ-sâbât* who may sometimes be seen smoking.

⁴ It is a stiff cylindrical head-dress covered with coloured cloth and decorated with one or several rows of silver or gold coins.

⁵ This *znâq* is also worn by the married women of the Bethlehem district. It hangs down the chest and is fastened to two projections of the *ṣaqueh*.

Among the Bedouin the girls, as a rule, wear no veil, while married women wear a complete veil which hangs down to the chest leaving only the eyes uncovered. A widow ('azabeh¹) should not wear any ornaments; but if she wishes to remarry she is free to put an ornaments and wear fine clothes.

A respectable woman conceals from every man her necessity of performing natural needs, as well as her state of impurity. Although a menstruant is allowed by religious law to break her fast during the month of Ramadân, she will still abstain from food in the presence of a stranger in order to hide her condition.

She will not take any food in the presence of a strange man.² In some Bedouin tribes she is not even allowed to take food until the male members of the family have finished their meal.³

Only on occasions of great sorrow and lamentation, such as the death of a near relative, should a woman let her hair hang loose.

If a man has two wives each of them possesses him one day in turn. Each has the sole right (*haqqhâ*) to cook for him on her appointed day.⁴

Every man is expected to visit his female relatives (sisters, father's sisters, mother's sisters, the daughters of his brother and those of his sisters) on every important feast. To visit his male relatives on such occasions is not so important.

Wearing nose-rings and tattooing lips and chin are characteristic only of women.⁵

The bride, in some Bedouin tribes of Transjordania, must run off as soon as the people of the bridegroom arrive to take her. She pretends again to run away when the procession reaches the "wedding tent" of the bridegroom. He follows and brings her back. If the bride does not act according to this custom she is des-

¹ In colloquial Arabic "*zab* (or '*azbah*) stands for a man (or a girl) who is not married, while in classical Arabic it means one who has no wife (or husband) whether unmarried or a widower (or a widow). The above expression '*azabeh* stands for a widow.

² See also DALMAN, PJ, XIII, (1917), p. 30.

³ QASIM 'AMIN, *tahrîr el-mar'ah*, p. 16.

⁴ *léléh hón u léléh hón*, "One night here and one night there."

⁵ Men are never seen with such ornaments or marks.

pised and called *rabagh*,¹ that is, "drunken in her passions and love." This dramatic act of simulated resistance by the bride and the bringing of her back by the bridegroom² is doubtless a remnant of the marriage by capture³ common among the pre-Islamic Arabs.⁴

A dead woman should not be buried until her male relatives, even if they live in another village, have been notified.

IV. LAWS GOVERNING THE PROPERTY OF WOMEN

Girls and wives, as we have seen, are the property of their fathers or husbands. Whatever is brought to the home by the husband is his own property. His wife has the free use of all things but cannot dispose of anything except for what is needful for the upkeep of the house or for daily food. She must ask for every penny required for buying her clothes, and the like. An old saying is *el-ṣaqleb uil-madjnāneh ʿind dżəzħā bil-mūniḥ*, "The intelligent and the foolish (wives) are (kept) by their husbands for their daily food." Another proverb is *bidimtik (i)bluqmetik*, "Your service is for your morsel."

Nevertheless there are customs illustrating the fact that a woman can acquire property and be protected in her ownership by law. Everything which the bride brings with her from her father's house, her portion of the dowry, her wedding presents, (*i*)*nqūṭ*, remain her own property. No one, not even her husband, may touch them. Therefore, following the wisdom of a proverb, a bride tries to get all she can from her paternal home, for "whatsoever comes not with the bride will not follow her" (*illī mā biylla c ma c el-ṣarūs mā bilhaqħā*).

¹ *rabagħa* means to lead a luxuriant life.

² BURCKHARDT describes a similar custom among the Bedouin of the Sinaitic Peninsula.

³ Judges 24^{10,19}; Deut. 21^{10ff.}

⁴ See المراة العربية في جاهليتها وأسلامها، عبد الله عفيفي، II, p. 32.

^{*} Gen. 20¹⁸.

If a young man breaks off his engagement, the betrothed girl may, if she wishes, keep all his presents. She may also keep the wedding clothes made up to that time and paid for from the small part of the money given to her by her father, a sum originating from the "purchase money" paid.

Everything earned by girls and women by their own initiative is also theirs. They are usually very diligent and industrious, doing needlework and peasant embroidery, keeping chickens, goats or a cow, selling eggs or milk, cultivating vegetables, and doing services for others.¹

The Mohammedan religious law gives the bride the right to take all the *mahr*, but custom deprives her of the greater part of it. Peasants and Bedouin usually allow their daughters only a quarter of the "purchase money."² According to the old Hebrew practice, the daughters received nothing of the *mahr* even when the father was wealthy.³

Women generally lose their right of inheritance. In many villages sisters are appeased by presents from their brothers. This is generally settled when the girl leaves the paternal home at her marriage, and is called *radweh* and *mrādāh*. Among the Bedouin the right of inheritance belongs only to the sons, no family property falls to the widow or daughters. Whenever a Bedouin divorces his wife and sends her home he gives her a camel and sometimes, if she is pregnant or has a child, he adds a sack of flour.

¹ The same custom existed in Biblical times, for women appear to have been treated as minors, especially in matters of property. Apart from their female slaves, who were given to them by their fathers (Gen. 20¹⁶), women held little or no property. The presents they received from the bridegroom formed the nucleus of the small personal property they were able to gather (Gen. 16¹; 24^{63, 69}; 29^{24, 29}; 34¹⁷).

² JPOS, II, p. 59.

³ Gen. 9⁶; 31¹⁸ ff.; Ex. 17^{11, 14}.

V LAWS GOVERNING WOMEN DURING THEIR MONTHLY PERIOD

A widespread belief is that the soul of every animal is in the blood. In Deuteronomy 12²³ we read, "The blood is the life."⁴ Therefore blood in general and human blood in particular has supernatural powers and is dangerous. If a person loses some of his blood he loses also a part of his soul. This idea was deeply rooted in Semitic belief and religious procedures. Many customs observed by the present inhabitants of Palestine can be explained by this belief.

During menstruation and after childbirth a woman is said to be impure (*wishah, nidjeh*)¹ and therefore dangerous. This idea was shared by most nations of antiquity. At such a time a woman is surrounded by injurious demons, through whom she may consciously or unconsciously do much harm. It is beyond the scope of this paper to go into all details connected with the dangers of menstrual blood, yet the consuetudinary laws regulating the conduct of such a woman should be described. After childbirth a woman should not enter any holy place (shrine, mosque or church) until forty days have elapsed. The Biblical law regards the mother as unclean for forty days after the birth of a boy and eighty days after the birth of a girl. Only after the expiration of the period of uncleanness could she make her offering of purification.² This varying degree of impurity is still recognized by some inhabitants of Palestine: after the birth of a son the mother is considered to be impure for forty days, and after that of a girl for sixty days. The Djaiyâseh isolate a woman in a room after childbirth. All utensils used by her, dishes, spoons, knives, towels, and the like are not used by others and she is not allowed to do any work.³

According to Palestinian practice no such woman is allowed to visit another woman in child-birth or any sick person, until forty days

¹ Menstrual (Lev. 15^{19,20}; 25³⁰; Is. 30²²) as well as puerperal flow (Lev. 12) was regarded as unclean.

² Lev. 12¹ ff.

³ Both customs are nearly extinct.

after childbirth have elapsed. If two such women chance to meet, they should not speak to one other unless the forty days are expired : otherwise she who speaks first runs the risk of losing her child.¹ If these rules are broken the illness of the sick person is aggravated, for she is said "to press upon him" (*btikibsh*).² No coitus should take place during this period or the child begotten will be leprous³ (*bitjardam*). During her period of uncleanness no respectable woman will step over the clothes of a child, for the child will become ill and begin to waste away. Formerly no woman was allowed to mount an animal while unclean. If she was obliged to do so she should place a small sack of earth on the animal's back before mounting.

A middle-aged woman after her menopause is free from bleeding and so is said to be clean (*tâbrâh*). Such a *qâl'âh* plays an important role in popular medicine as well as in folklore.

It may be added here that women in general are believed to be much more dangerous than men. Thus every women with blue eyes or teeth set apart is thought to possess an evil, injurious eye. Old women are, as a rule, also dangerous. A proverb says, "The slyness of women has conquered the cunningness of *ghilân*."⁴

VI. LAWS GOVERNING WOMEN IN RAID AND FIGHTS

A woman has, as a rule, no right to carry or handle such weapons as swords, daggers (*slâh 'abiad*) or fire-arms (*slâh nâri*), but whenever quarrels occur she may be found spurring on the men of her party with fierce words or songs. The attacking men boast and shout, "I am the (or your) brother, O . . ." (giving the name of the sister). "For your eyes, O . . ." (the sister's name).⁵

¹ EIJUB ABELA, ZDPV, VII, No 44, p. 88.

² CAI VAN, *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin in Lande der Bibel*, 36 ff.

³ The same belief exists in the Talmud (PREUSS, *Biblisch-Talmudische Medizin*, 139).

⁴ *hial en-niswân ghalbat hial el-ghilân*.

⁵ Generally a famous woman of the tribe is meant, who gave her name to the tribe.

She often takes an active part in the fight by throwing stones at the enemy. No man is on any account allowed to attack or strike a woman: if he breaks this rule he is despised as a coward. The women of a besieged party are allowed to move freely, carrying food and water even through the lines of the enemy. A proverb says, *taridet el-qōm lā titṣāḥā walā titlāḥā*, "The fleeing woman of the enemy is neither fought with nor spoken to."

The custom of *el-‘utseh* still exists among some Bedouin tribes. In raids the noblest and most courageous girl of the tribe mounts a camel and takes a central position in the camp. The young men and warriors, all fully armed, pass and ask her to lead the raid. She remains motionless and silent until the most valiant group of the tribe arrives, which group she chooses as her protector (*haiyālet el-‘utseh*). The camel is allowed to rise and the girl rides on, stimulating her party by fiery songs and speeches. As soon as the place of battle is reached the camel sits on the ground, the rider upon its back continuing to excite her people. Should her division retreat, she reproaches them with cowardliness and blames them with scorching words for leaving her to fall a captive in the hands of the enemy.¹ A tribe whose *‘utseh* is once captured has no longer the right to replace her. At present only the Rwalā, a Bedouin tribe of Syria, has an *‘utseh*. In the *ghazā* (raids) most of the Bedouin do not capture women, although they plunder everything they may find in and around the tents. If women are ever carried away they are not imprisoned or enslaved,² but are subsequently sent back to their people with due respect. Marriages with such captives take place only with their consent.

¹ Such a girl is also called *‘utset el-hōdadj*, since the camel on which she mounts has a domed litter. The Liātneh Bedouin assured me that some Bedouin tribes of Transjordania still have an *‘utseh*.

² See also JAUSSEN and SAVIGNAC, *Costumes des Fugara*, p 40.

VII. LAWS CONCERNING IMMORALITY

The Arabs of the Near East are renowned for their high moral character. This is especially true of the inhabitants of villages and of the Bedouin.¹ Bauer is wholly mistaken when he writes that the Orientals do not trust in the morality of their wives and men.² Purity of character is nowhere so marked as among the *fellâhîn* and Bedouin. Dalman³ supports this judgement. How deeply a husband is afflicted whose wife is alleged to be unfaithful is shown by the proverb,⁴ "O, if I had only gone on a journey and were wounded (and killed) by weapons, that I might not hear people say: your beloved has gone to others."⁵ Old and well-known customs protecting woman's honour have become inflexible laws. Should a woman fail or fall in any way, strict measures are taken by the male members of the family to "guard their honour" (*yhmt al-ṣarafshum*). If a man worked side by side with a strange woman, or met her on a journey or was forced to spend the night with her in the same place, he "entered into fraternal relation with her" (*bithdâwâ*). This was done in the following way. He addressed her: "Thou art my sister as (entered) in a treaty with God (i.e. God's protection). May God be the opponent (the enemy) of the treacherous one."⁶ She then repeats the same words.⁷ No one

¹ If a Bedouin surprises his daughter, sister or wife doing an unlawful act he kills her on the spot. No one will reproach him, nor is he punished.

² *Volksleben in Lande der Bibel*, p. 101.

³ *Der palästinische Islam*, PJ, XIII (1907), p. 29. See also الموري. ولس ديرالله، سیور البوسلي، p. 109.

⁴ *yā rētnī ruht safrah uindarabt slāh walā iqālū habibak 'ind ghērak rāh.*
⁵ There are several proverbs instilling respect for a woman's honour; e.g. 'iksir djâh miyeh walâ tiksir djâh weliyeh, "Break the dignity (honour) of a hundred (men) but do not break the dignity of a girl!" il'ab u 'âzîr uil-'ard miš dâzîr, "Play and frequent (visit in a friendly way) but (do not forget that) the honour (of a girl) is not free (and left unprotected)!" illî btitqâ'ad mā btituâ'ad, "The girl who sits in company (with men) does not make rendez-vous."

⁶ 'intî 'uhî jî 'ahd allah uil-hâyn qabiluh allah.

⁷ The woman naturally says 'ahûyé instead of *uhî*.

would ever break the laws of morality after such a "fraternity bond," and the woman was absolutely protected. In case they had to spend the night in close proximity, a sword was placed between them. It pointed to the fact that blood would be shed if the man committed any immorality. The peasants formerly used a sword or a gun.

The parents of the bride do not feel at ease until the honour of their daughter, that is, her virginity, has been established. In some parts of the country this used to be declared the first morning after marriage by hanging on the door of the bride's room a handkerchief or her shift stained with the blood¹ issuing after the first coitus.² In other districts the bridegroom announces the successful completion of the first act to his friends who are assembled outside the house. These declare the honour of the bride and the potency of the bridegroom by prolonged shouting.³ Disgrace befalls the bride who is not found to be a virgin. Early in the morning she is sent back to her parents. The relatives, who are greatly dishonoured, have then one paramount duty—to wash away this shameful stain as quickly as possible. The ways in which this is done are described later.

Whenever it was ascertained that a girl had had unlawful relations with a man, she was put to death. Only if the girl was raped will her relatives spare her. In that case the violator and child are killed.⁴ Although the Turkish law stringently forbade such an action, it was nevertheless practised till about fifteen years ago. The father, brothers and husband of the victim would hold a family council to decide formally upon her fate. I have heard of several cases where death was pronounced and executed. Only the shedding of the victim's blood washes away the stain and atones

¹ Often the parents of the bride keep the blood-stained cloth as a token and proof of their daughter's virginity.

² Cf. Deut. 22¹⁷, "And, lo, he hath given occasion of speech against her saying, I found not thy daughter a maid; and yet these are the tokens of my daughter's virginity; and they shall spread the cloth before the elders of the city."

³ Sometimes a white flag is hoisted as a sign of the bride's virginity. See CANAAN, *Light and Darkness in Palestine Folklore*, JPOS, xi. No 1.

⁴ Cf. Deut. 22²⁸⁻²⁹.

for the great humiliation suffered by the family.¹ The woman who defiled the name and honour of the family was, if possible, put to death. Such a sentence was formerly very common, especially if the girl belonged to an important and influential family.

There are other ways of reconciliation.² A man who accuses a woman of unchastity and fails to give conclusive evidence is punished very severely. In some Bedouin tribes³ he may forfeit his hand. If he seeks and in good time finds the protection of some influential person, he is forced to give ten camels to the girl or woman whom he has insulted.⁴

If a man meddles with a girl he is required to swear that he did not touch her and to prove the truth of his oath by the testimony of five credible witnesses known as *din u hamseh*, "religion (ceremony) and five." Moreover he must pay the father fifty pounds⁵ on entering (*dableh*) as well as on leaving (*bardjeh*) his house. If the girl was of a low social rank, a smaller amount was paid. In case of rape the man was condemned to pay double the amount of the girl's dowry and to take her as his wife. If, however, she was of a better family he had to beg for forgiveness (*djâhab u wadâjhah*) and provide from two to four girls for the men of his victim's family. Such girls, given as ransom and without any dowry, are, as a rule, treated very badly and are continually humiliated (*yudallâ'û*). Instead of girls, however, their respective dowries may be offered. If a girl in Transjordania offers herself to a man, the latter must bring a witness to testify that he did not touch her until after formal marriage, and he must pay her dowry. With some Bedouin the man may in such a case escape punishment, but the girl, who is called *dalîbah*,⁶ is killed as soon as she is caught. In Palestine she

¹ The Old Testament also orders death in such cases (Deut. 22^{20, 21}; Ez. 16⁴⁰; John 8⁵⁻⁷).

² See also EL-BARGHUTI, *Judicial Courts among the Bedouin of Palestine*, JPOS, II, pp. 57, 58.

³ Rwalâ Bedouin.

⁴ See also MUSIL, l. c., p. 240.

⁵ Practically less is paid, although negotiations begin always on the basis of fifty pounds.

⁶ Or *tamûh*.

used to be killed by her relatives. The ravishing of a widow is generally punished in proportion to the importance and social standing of her family. The attacker must pay her dowry and marry her.

If a man assaults a woman in broad daylight or near human habitation and she calls for help (*séhet ed-duhá, saiyyáhet ed-duhá*), the life of the offender is at the mercy of her relatives for three and one third days. If he escaped death the following punishments were customary, though at present they are much less strict:

1. He must surrender all his weapons.
2. He must give as many camels or sheep as could be set in a row from the place of rape to the girl's house. His friends and the elders of the village act as arbitrators and the number of animals is reduced until it is brought within his capacity of payment.
3. Four girls or their dowries must be handed over.
4. A *djáhab u wadjáhab*¹ must be offered, and
5. He must leave the village for a number of years.

If the offender could prove that he did not touch the girl until after a legal union, he was allowed to marry her and the girl was said to be *tóhhá qadid u barazhá badid*, "Her garment is torn and her pearls are scattered." Still worse is the *hadjseh*, when a man attacks a woman in the night. Among some Bedouin, the ravisher was compelled to pay two hundred camels, three girls and four men. The latter could be released by their respective *mahr*.

VIII. LAWS CONCERNING THE MURDER OF WOMEN

Many unwritten laws among the Palestinian Bedouin and peasants still prevalent aim at protecting the life of the woman. Any stranger who dares to touch a woman is despised and considered a coward. The fact has been repeatedly mentioned that women are regarded as "untouchable." This is especially true of their "honour" and life.

¹ For the explanation of the Arabic expressions see EL-BARGHUTI, l. c.

An unintentional murder of a woman used always to be avenged, still more an intentional murder. When a woman kills a man his relatives try to kill a male member of the woman's family, but not a woman. Blood can be atoned for only by shedding blood (*mā biymḥi ed-danim illā ed-damm*)¹ and therefore the custom of '*abd et-tār*' still prevails in Palestine. A person who does not avenge the murder of a relative, male or female, loses his dignity and is regarded by the members of his tribe or village as having no self-respect. A proverb teaches, "Only a person whose uncle (the brother of his mother) is bad leaves the *tār* unavenged" (*mā biutruk et-tār illā radiy el-hāl*). This blood revenge, however, is disappearing in proportion as the authority of the government is increasing. Some families regard a dead member, whether a man or woman,² as equal to four members of the murderer's family, whatever its social position may be. Such families are el-Barāghī and el-'Amrī (Dūrah).³ The delivery of four brides or their dowries by the murderer's people saves the life of the culprit.⁴ The "blood-price," *ed-diyeh*, is paid by the murderer and his male relatives. It is distributed among the men of the murdered person's family. Women are concerned neither in paying a *diyeh*, nor in taking any part of it, not even if the murderer or the victim is a woman. The murder of a pregnant woman imposes upon the murderer a twofold *diyeh*, that of the woman and that of the child.⁵

A murderer may go to the house of an important person and enter directly into the women's apartment, imploring the protection of the most influential one among them, and putting his *qāl* around her neck. The male members of such a family are bound to offer the fugitive every help and support. If a man in a fight or *ghazā* killed one or more men of the family of a rival tribe and he seeks full protection for his life, he throws himself at the feet of the most influential woman of that family, covering his body with her

¹ An Arabic verse runs: بسفك الدماء يا جاري تحقن الدماء وبالقتل تنجو كل نفس من القتل

² الموري بولس سيرور البوليسي; عوالي العرب, p. 154.

³ Heard from the Bedouin of Transjordania.

clothes. No person whatever can then do him any harm.¹ The Bedouin call such a person *manqūs* (pl. *manāqis*).² He loses his honour.

To conclude: The women of the East, who, on the one hand, are relegated by custom to a lower plane than men and consequently suffer many injustices, enjoy, on the other hand, by virtue of the same body of traditional law, a great measure of respect and protection, and many of the unwritten laws which have grown up around her serve effectively to protect her honour, personal property and life.³ This dual function of the traditional law affecting women seems to be a legacy from the earliest days of Semitic civilization.

¹ Jael's action in killing Sisera (*Judg.* 4¹⁸ ff.) after he had put himself under her protection is thus quite inexplicable in the light of present Palestinian customs. The only possible explanation, if we assume any correspondence between the customs then and now, is that, driven by national enthusiasm, Jael deliberately transgressed Oriental laws.

² Originally this act meant, doubtless, that the refugee put himself under the protection of the woman's most sacred parts, her generative organs.

³ H. RATTRAY, *Country Life in Syria*, 1876, p. 49, is mistaken in saying that the aged, the sick, mothers and grand-mothers are, as a rule, treated very badly. In reality, the respect paid to the aged and the sympathy shown to the sick are characteristics strongly developed among Oriental peoples. The affection between mother and children grows intensely strong. In her son, the mother finds steadfast support. By him she is loved with the truest and most reverential affection. A proverb expresses filial love in the beautiful words, "May a hundred eyes weep, but not one eye of my mother" (*mit 'en tibki uald 'en immi*). It is therefore easy to understand what a calamity it is to an Oriental wife if her children, and especially her sons, die or if she is childless (*Gen.* 30¹⁻⁸; *I Sam.* 1⁹).

BEITRÄGE ZUR HISTORISCHEN GEOGRAPHIE UND TOPOGRAPHIË DES NEGEB

ALBRECHT ALT

(LEIPZIG)

I. DAS BISTUM ORDA.

Während die Mosaikkarte von *Madaba*, nach THOMSEN's ansprechender These, ein Werk erst des ausgehenden sechsten Jahrhunderts n. Chr.¹, das Innere Palästinas in der Hauptsache mit den Vignetten und Namen biblischer Orte füllt, verzeichnet sie in den südlichen Grenzgebieten des Landes weit überwiegend nichtbiblische Punkte, so vor allem die Stationen der Küstenstrasse nach Ägypten und die Reihe der Kastelle vom Toten bis zum Roten Meer, aber auch zahlreiche Dörfer in dem Raume zwischen Gaza und Beerseba. Der Grund für diese verschiedene Behandlung der Landschaften ist nicht schwer zu erkennen. Am wichtigsten waren dem Autor des Mosaiks ohne Zweifel die durch die biblische Geschichte geheiligen Orte, und wo sie ausreichten, um die verfügbare Fläche des Kartenbildes zu füllen, da hat er auf andere Eintragungen gern verzichtet. Dort im Süden aber gab es nur wenige biblische Stätten, deren Lage ihm aus dem Onomastikon des EUSEBIUS oder aus anderen Quellen bekannt war. Um nun keine größeren Lücken lassen zu müssen, nahm er die Karten seiner eigenen Zeit zur Hilfe, die ihm natürlich auch sonst als Grundlage für sein Werk dienten, und trug aus ihnen die Vignetten und Namen moderner Orte in die biblisch leer bleibenden Flächen ein.² Wie nützlich diese Inkonsistenz für uns ist,

¹ *Byz. Zeitschr.* 29/30 (1930), S. 597 ff.

² Das gleiche Verfahren ist z. B. in der Darstellung des Jordangrabens nördlich von Jericho und wäre auch im nördlichen Philistäa zwischen Asdod und Jamnia zu beobachten, wenn der Mosaizist hier nicht aus Versehen oder aus Mangel entsprechender Vorlagen unterlassen hätte, den eingetragenen Ortvignetten die Ortsnamen beizufügen.

habe ich schon an anderer Stelle einmal betont¹: "sie beschert uns ein bei aller Unvollkommenheit noch dankenswertes Siedlungsbild für eine Teillandschaft Palästinas, über die sich das Schrifttum der Zeit so gut wie ganz ausschweigt" und über die uns - füge ich jetzt hinzu - auch aus früheren und späteren Perioden nur sehr spärliche Nachrichten vorliegen. Um so mehr wird es sich empfehlen, bei Untersuchungen zur historischen Geographie und Topographie des palästinischen Südens, des Negeb der Bibel, von den Angaben der Mosaikkarte auszugehen.

Unter den Orten, mit denen der Autor den freien Raum zwischen Gaza und Beerseba gefüllt hat, tritt einer durch die Breite seiner Vignette besonders hervor: O r d a. Seine fünf Türme und zwei Tore stellen ihn zwar noch längst nicht auf eine Stufe mit den viel grösser und eingehender abgebildeten Städten der Nachbarschaft, vor allem nicht mit dem mächtigen Gaza, aber auch nicht mit dem bescheidenen Elusa oder mit dem durch sein Mauerrechteck als Kastell gekennzeichneten Beerseba, lassen ihn aber immerhin als den Vorort seiner näheren Umgebung erscheinen. Seine ungefähre Lage ergibt sich aus der Stellung zwischen den schon von CLERMONT-GANNEAU und ABEL zutreffend identifizierten Nachbarorten Seana (jetzt *chirbet sīḥān*) und Photis (*chirbet ḡīṭs*)²; denn dadurch wird Orda, sofern sich der Autor keine wesentliche Verzerrung des Kartenbildes hat zu schulden kommen lassen, an die Hauptverkehrslinie von Gaza nach Beerseba versetzt, genauer noch in die Gegend des Überganges dieser Linie über ihr grösstes Hindernis, die tiefe Talrinne des *wādi esch-scherī'a* bei dem Heiligtum und Brunnen von *ābu hrēra*.³ Dass ein Ort in dieser günstigen Verkehrslage zum Mittelpunkt seiner Umgebung werden konnte, leuchtet wohl ohne weiteres ein; dagegen muss die Entscheidung der Frage, welche der dortigen Ruinenstätten dem

¹ ZDPV 52 (1929) S. 112.

² CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Recueil d'arch. or. 2* (1897) S. 172; ABEL, JPOS 4 (1924) S. 115 f.

³ Dass die Ortsreihe Seana - Orda - Photis auf der Mosaikkarte eine Linie bildet, die Gaza nicht mit Beerseba, sondern mit Elusa (*el-chalasa*) verbinden zu sollen scheint, ist lediglich die Folge einer seitlichen Verdrängung der Reihe nach rechts (Süden) durch die in der Hauptsache dem Onomastikon des EUSEBIUS entnommene Legende zu Gerar (über diese vgl. ZDPV a. a. O. S. 112 f.).

Orda der römisch-byzantinischen Zeit entspricht, der noch kaum begonnenen archäologischen Untersuchung vorbehalten bleiben.¹

Die Mosaikkarte steht aber mit ihrem Zeugnis für Orda nicht völlig allein; bestätigend und weiterführend treten die Angaben zweier nur wenig älterer Dokumente ganz anderer Art hinzu, die von den Bearbeitern der Karte bisher, soviel ich sehe, nicht berücksichtigt worden sind und ihnen um so leichter entgehen konnten, da sie in der gelehrten Überlieferung der neueren Zeit förmlich verschüttet waren. Die eine dieser Urkunden ist der uns in den Akten des Konstantinopolitanischen Konzils vom Jahre 536 erhaltene Brief einer Synode, zu der sich 518 die Bischöfe der drei Teilprovinzen von Palästina in Jerusalem vereinigt hatten; unter den 33 Unterschriften befindet sich hier auch die eines Στέφανος ἐπίσκοπος ΟΡΑΩΝ.² Das zweite Dokument sind die Akten einer Jerusalemer Synode vom Jahre 536; zu ihren 49 Unterzeichnern gehört ein Στέφανος ἐπίσκοπος ΑΡΔΩΝ.³ Dass es sich in beiden Fällen um das gleiche Bistum und sehr wahrscheinlich sogar um den gleichen Bischof handelt, ist offenbar den Anfertigern der alten lateinischen Übersetzungen dieser Akten infolge der kleinen Unterschiede zwischen den griechischen Schreibungen des Ortsnamens nicht bewusst geworden; sie schreiben das eine Mal *Stephanus episcopus Oranus*, das andere Mal *Stephanus episcopus Aradorum*, vermutlich um den unverstandenen Namen ΑΡΔΩΝ dem besser bekannten biblischen Arad anzugeleichen. Die Folge war, dass die Urheber der neueren Ausgaben jener Konzilsakten auch in den griechischen Text der Unterschriften von 536 die entstellte Form APAΔΩΝ statt der überlieferten ΑΡΔΩΝ setzten und so den Zusammenhang mit dem ΟΡΑΩΝ des Synodalbriefes

¹ Einstweilen liegt ausser den unzureichenden Notizen des Survey of Western Palestine III S. 394. 398 f. nur die Nachricht ALBRIGHTS vor, dass der *tell abu hrēra* für eine grössere Siedlung des Altertums archäologisch nicht in Betracht kommt (BASOR 17 [1925] S. 6). ABELS Identifikation von Orda mit *chirbet umm 'ādre* (etwa 4 km westlich von *tell abu hrēra*) beruht lediglich auf dem lautlichen Anklang der Namen, der als Beweis nicht genügt; sie wäre aber archäologisch nicht ausgeschlossen.

² LABBÉ, *Sacrosanta concilia V* Sp. 1164 (ich zitiere nach der mir allein zugänglichen Venetianer Ausgabe von 1728); HARDUIN II Sp. 1345; MANSI VIII Sp. 1074.

³ LABBÉ V Sp. 1261.

von 518 verdunkelten.¹ Hatte doch auch der grosse HADRIAN RELAND, dem noch die echte Lesart APΔΩΝ vor Augen lag, unter Berufung auf den lateinischen Text die Identifikation des Bischofssitzes von 536 mit dem biblischen Arad empfohlen² und LE QUIEN in richtiger Erkenntnis des Zusammenhangs diese Gleichsetzung auf den Bischofsitz von 518 ausgedehnt.³ Und dabei ist es bis zum heutigen Tag geblieben, obwohl kein anderer Beleg für ein Bistum von Arad beizubringen war⁴ und auch der archäologische Befund an der Stätte von Arad (*tell eṣrād*) nichts aufweist, was für eine besondere kirchliche Bedeutung des Ortes spräche.⁵

Nachdem uns nun aber die Mosaikkarte von *mädeba* ein ganz unabkömmliges und kaum anfechtbares Zeugnis für die Existenz eines grösseren palästinischen Ortes mit dem Namen OPΔΑ in dem gleichen Zeitalter bietet, haben wir den Schlüssel zum Verständnis der divergierenden Genetivschreibungen in jenen Synodalurkunden in der Hand: sowohl OPAΩΝ als APΔΩΝ sind offenbar nur Verschreibungen für das zu erwartende OPΔΩΝ. Dass in dem einen Falle A statt Δ geschrieben oder gelesen ist, bedarf bei der Häufigkeit der Verwechslung gerade dieser Buchstaben in den Handschriften keiner weiteren Begründung; und wenn in dem anderen Falle A für O steht, so genügt der Hinweis, dass diese beiden Vokale in den spätantiken Inschriften Syriens und Palästinas oft mit einander vertauscht sind.⁶ Damit erhöht sich die Zahl der Belege für Orda auf drei, und wir lernen aus den kirchlichen Dokumenten, was uns die Mosaikkarte ihrer Natur nach nicht lehren konnte, dass nämlich Orda mindestens im sechsten Jahrhundert, vermutlich aber auch

¹ HARDUIN II Sp. 1417; MANSI VIII Sp. 1171.

² *Palaestina ex mon. vet. ill.* (1714) S. 574. Der Synodalbrief von 518 blieb dabei unberücksichtigt.

³ *Oriens Christianus* III (1740) Sp. 729 f.

⁴ EUSEBIUS kennt Arad in seiner Zeit nur als Dorf (Onom. 14, 2 KLOSTERMANN). Doch vgl. unten S. 215 ff.

⁵ Die Mauerlinien, die MADER auf dem *tell eṣrād* richtig beobachtet hat (*Altchristliche Basiliken und Lokaltraditionen in Südjudäa* [1918] S. 225), stammen schwerlich von einem Kirchenbau, sondern viel eher von einem Zwischenkastell des römischen Limes (vgl. *PJB* 26 [1930] S. 43 ff.).

⁶ Vgl. z. B. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Recueil d'arch. or.* 3 (1899) S. 247.

schon früher Sitz eines Bischofs war.¹

Aus dieser kirchlichen Rangstellung des Ortes ergibt sich uns aber sofort eine weitere Frage. Denn es war im christlichen Altertum durchaus nicht so, dass Bistümer an beliebigen Punkten errichtet wurden, wo immer ein Kreis von Gemeinden der neuen Religion entstand. Ihre Bildung erfolgte vielmehr so gut wie überall in unmittelbarem Anschluss an die vorgefundene politische Gliederung der Gebiete, selbst um den Preis, dass dann die Sprengel der einzelnen Bischöfe nach Umfang und Seelenzahl sehr ungleich ausfielen und dass auch die Bischofssitze nicht immer gerade im Mittelpunkt der Sprengel lagen. So wollte und sollte in Palästina wie anderwärts vor allem jede autonome Stadt für sich und ihr Territorium einen eigenen Bischof haben, und die meisten altpalästinischen Bistümer waren städtisch in diesem Sinn, unter ihnen so grosse wie die des gebirgigen Binnenlandes, in dem ja das Städtewesen nie richtig geblüht hatte, und so kleine wie die der Küstenebene vom Karmel bis zur ägyptischen Grenze, die seit jeher ein guter Keimboden für städtische Entwicklung gewesen war. Aber auch die der Munizipalverfassung entbehrenden Domänengebiete konnten als Bistümer organisiert werden, selbst wenn ihr Umfang hinter dem der städtischen Territorien zurückblieb, und Palästina bietet für diesen Fall vermutlich mehr Beispiele, als man bisher erkannt hat, besonders im Jordangraben. Die Feststellung eines antiken Bischofssitzes ist daher niemals nur eine topographische Angelegenheit, sondern hat zugleich historisch-geographische Bedeutung und kann erst dann als endgültig gesichert betrachtet werden, wenn der Nachweis des von Hause aus profanen Territoriums gelungen ist, das als historisch gegebenes Substrat für die Bildung des betreffenden Bistums gelten darf. Wir müssen jetzt also fragen, wie

¹ Nebenbei sei erwähnt, dass das in GEORGIOS CHRYSOKOKKES' *Syntaxis Persarum*, einer auf orientalischen Quellen beruhenden astronomischen Schrift von Jahre 1346, für Palästina genannte OPTON (Text bei ISMAEL BULLALDUS, *Astronomia Philolaica* [1645] Tabulae S. 231) mit unserem OPAA nichts zu tun hat. Es entspricht vielmehr, wie die angegebenen Koordinaten zeigen, *el-urdun*, der arabischen Bezeichnung der Provinz Palaestina Secunda, die sich auch bei byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibern gelegentlich verwendet findet (vgl. z. B. THEOPHANES, *Chronographie* 300,30 DE BOOR).

es in dieser Hinsicht um Orda bestellt ist.

Dass Orda eine Stadt im römischen Sinn gewesen wäre, ist uns nirgends direkt bezeugt und wird, soviel ich sehe, auch durch kein indirektes Anzeichen nahegelegt; seine bescheidene Ortsvignette auf der Mosaikkarte von *mädeba* spricht sogar entschieden dagegen. Dann bleibt nur die Annahme übrig, dass es der kirchliche Vorort eines Domänengebiets war. Dazu würde nicht nur jene Vignette, sondern auch der allgemeine Charakter der Landschaft um *abu hrera*, in der wir, wie oben bemerkt, nach den Eintragungen der Mosaikkarte Orda zu suchen haben, sehr gut stimmen. Vor allem aber kommt in Betracht, dass wir in der frühbyzantinischen Literatur eine ganze Reihe unzweideutiger Belege für die Existenz einer grossen Domäne im Gebiet zwischen dem Mittelmeer und Beerseba zur Verfügung haben und durch nichts verhindert sind, die Gegend von *abu hrera* und damit von Orda in diese Domäne einbezogen zu denken. Ich meine den sogenannten *saltus Gerariticus* und darf besonders darauf hinweisen, dass dieser nach einer runden Angabe in EUSEBIS *Onomastikon* 25 römische Meilen (37 km) südlich von Eleutheropolis (*bēt dschibrīn*) gelegen haben soll, was zu der tatsächlichen Entfernung von Orda, wenn dessen Ansetzung bei *abu hrera* zutrifft, fast exakt passen würde.¹ War also der *saltus Gerariticus* der Sprengel des Bischofs von Orda? Die Identifikation jener profanen und dieser kirchlichen Grösse scheint in der Tat verlockend; wir dürfen sie aber nicht vollziehen, bevor wir zwei andere mit jener Domäne zusammenhängende Gegebenheiten gewürdigt haben, die zu abweichenden Schlussfolgerungen führen könnten.

Da ist erstens das Zeugnis des GEORGIOS KYPROS aus der letzten Zeit der römischen Herrschaft in Palästina, der den *saltus Gerariticus* nebenher als das Gebiet von Barsama bezeichnet, was auf die Vermutung führt, dass dieser Ort den Vorort der Domäne bildete.² Barsama aber ist uns außerdem als ein Kastell am limes Palaestinae

¹ *Onom.* 60,8 KLOSTERMANN. Dass *abu hrera* nicht südlich, sondern südwestlich von *bēt dschibrīn* liegt, macht nichts aus, da EUSEBIUS die Zwischenhinmelsrichtungen nicht unterscheidet. Über andere Belege für den *saltus Gerariticus* vgl. ZDPV 52 (1929) S. 105 ff.

² *Descriptio orbis Romani* 1027 GELZER; vgl. ZDPV a. a. O. S. 110.

bekannt und muss auf dessen Linie etwa halbwegs zwischen den Nachbarkastellen Menois (*chirbet ma'�* bei *chan janis*) und Beerseba gesucht werden, also in der Gegend des *tell el-färe'* und damit rund 15 km südwestlich von der angenommenen Lage von Orda bei *abu hrera*.¹ Dann ergibt sich nicht nur eine bedeutende räumliche Entfernung zwischen diesen Orten, sondern auch eine zunächst bedenklich aussehende Spannung zwischen dem, was wir von Barsama wissen, und jenem, was wir von Orda vermuten. Warum sollte der Bischofssitz des saltus Gerariticus nach Orda verlegt worden sein, wenn dessen Vorort Barsama war? Täten wir da nicht besser, das Bistum Orda von dem saltus vollkommen getrennt zu halten und den Bischofssitz des saltus vielmehr in Barsama anzusetzen? Ich muss mich schuldig bekennen, diesen letzteren Vorschlag vor nicht allzu langer Zeit, als mir das Problem des Bistums Orda noch nicht bewusst geworden war, selbst gemacht zu haben.² Über seine Unsicherheit konnte ich mich allerdings schon damals nicht täuschen. Denn nirgends tritt in unseren Quellen ein Bischof auf, der durch seinen Titel ausdrücklich als der von Barsama bezeichnet wäre, und auch sonst fehlt für ein Bistum Barsama jeder Beleg. Als weiteres Moment der Unsicherheit kommt hinzu, dass wir nicht wissen, seit wann Barsama die Stellung des Vororts im saltus Gerariticus einnahm, die ihm GEORGIOS KYPRIOS, also gerade nur der Allerjüngste unter den hier in Betracht kommenden Autoren, zuzuschreiben scheint. Ein alter Zustand braucht das nicht gewesen zu sein; jedenfalls kennen wir Barsama für frühere Zeiten nur als Grenzkastell gegen die Wüste, und es ist durchaus möglich, ja wohl fast wahrscheinlicher, dass der saltus Gerariticus, wenn er sich schon bis in jene Grenzmark erstreckte, doch seinen Vorort ursprünglich weiter im Binnenland hatte.³ Rekonstruieren wir aber einmal hypothetisch eine Situation,

¹ Vgl. PJB 26 (1930) S. 54 ff. An Stelle des *tell el-färe'* bringe ich jetzt auf Grund einer neuen Untersuchung die 7 km ostsüdöstlich von ihm gelegene *chirbet el-fär* für das Kastell in Vorschlag.

² ZDPV a. a. O. S. 110. 113 f.

³ Eine allgemeine Regelung für diese Dinge gab es natürlich nicht und konnte es auch nicht geben, da im einzelnen Falle die besondere Situation (bei dem saltus Gerariticus die Überschneidung der Domäne durch das Limesgebiet) das Verfahren bestimmte. Die angenommene sekundäre Verlegung des Vororts der Domäne

in der das Verwaltungszentrum der Domäne noch von dem vorgeschobenen Militärposten getrennt war, so erklärt sich uns auch die Errichtung eines Bischofssitzes abseits von dem Kastell ganz von selbst: er fiel dann eben mit dem Verwaltungszentrum zusammen und entsprach gerade so dem Bedürfnis, das bei der kirchlichen Einrichtung eines Domänengebiets befriedigt werden musste; bei der späteren Verlegung der Domänenverwaltung nach dem Sitz der Militärbehörden mochte der Bischof an der alten Stelle verbleiben. Solange eine derartige Rekonstruktion des Hergangs für möglich gelten muss, braucht uns die scheinbare Konkurrenz von Barsama an der Auffassung des Bistums Orda als der kirchlichen Organisation des saltus Gerariticus nicht irre zu machen. Denn dass Orda in der angenommenen Lage bei *abu hr̩ra* mit in erster Linie für das ursprüngliche Verwaltungszentrum des saltus in Betracht kommt, wenn dieses überhaupt abseits und zwar binnenwärts, also nördlich von Barsama zu suchen ist, bedarf nicht der Ausführung.¹

Es gibt aber eine zweite Konkurrenz für Orda als Bischofssitz des saltus Gerariticus, die insofern noch schwerer ins Gewicht fällt als sie unmittelbar aus urkundlichen Angaben erwächst. An dem ökumenischen Konzil von Chalkedon im Jahre 451 hat nämlich laut den Präsenzlisten ein Bischof Markianos "von Gerar" teilgenommen, und es versteht sich nach seinem Titel von selbst, dass man in ihm das geistliche Oberhaupt des saltus Gerariticus erkennen muss, zumal da sein Name zwischen denen anderer palästinischer Bischöfe steht.² Nach dem Kastell Barsama wäre mit der Unterstellung der Domänen von Palästina unter die Verwaltung des kommandierenden Generals der Provinz in Zusammenhang zu bringen, von der uns ein Inschriftenfragment aus Beersba Kunde gibt (vgl. PJB a. a. O. S. 74 ff.).

¹ Wenn diese Auffassung zutrifft, so ergibt sich aus ihr ein bedeutsames Argument zugunsten der Ansicht GELZERS, dass die palästinischen Ortsverzeichnisse bei GEORGIOS KYPROS als Statistiken der politischen Bezirke aufzufassen seien (*Byz. Zeitschr.* 1 [1892] S. 280 ff.; ZDPV 17 [1894] S. 36 ff.; 18 [1895] S. 100 ff.) und gegen SCHLATTER, der in ihnen Listen der Bistümer sehen wollte (*Zur Topographie und Geschichte Palästinas* [1893] S. 46; ZDPV 18 [1895] S. 78 ff.). Denn wäre die letztere Anschauung richtig, so müsste hier der Bischofssitz Orda an Stelle des jungen Verwaltungszentrums Barsama genannt sein.

² In den Präsenzlisten der 1., 2. und 6. Aktion sowie in den Unterschriften der 6.: LABBÉ (Ausgabe von 1728) IV Sp. 853. 1197. 1464..1483; HARDUIN II Sp. 57. 277. 459. 472; MANSI VI Sp. 569. 944; VII Sp. 121. 141.

Diese Bezeugung eines Bistums Gerar ist natürlich für die Sicherstellung der Tatsache, dass der saltus Gerariticus kirchlich selbständige organisiert und nicht etwa einem Nachbarbistum angegliedert war, von grösstem Wert. Aber wenn nun der saltus das Bistum Gerar bildete, sind wir dann nicht doch wieder gezwungen, das Bistum Orda ausserhalb der Grenzen dieser Domäne zu suchen, da sich für die Annahme ihrer kirchlichen Zweiteilung kaum ein triftiger Grund geltend machen liesse¹? So plausibel jedoch dieser Einwand zunächst klingen mag, so wenig dürfte er das Richtige treffen. Zur Beurteilung des Tatbestands muss vielmehr in Betracht gezogen werden, dass in der christlichen Periode Palästinas, wie ich anderwärts gezeigt zu haben glaube, eine Ortschaft mit dem Namen Gerar überhaupt nicht mehr vorhanden war; nur in abgeleiteten Bezeichnungen, vor allem in dem offiziellen Ausdruck saltus Gerariticus, lebte der alte Name noch fort.² Es war daher ein Archaismus und Biblianismus, wenn man das Bistum des saltus geradezu das Bistum von Gerar nannte, genau wie wenn man andere Bistümer in Palästina und Arabien als die von Zabulon und von Sodom titulierte. Auf die Dauer haben sich diese künstlichen Bezeichnungen nicht zu behaupten vermocht; die beiden soeben genannten treten nur in der Liste der Bischöfe auf, die an dem ersten ökumenischen Konzil in Nikaia 325 teilnahmen, das Bistum von Gerar wie gesagt nur in den Akten des Konzils von Chalkedon 451. Da die Bistümer jedoch mindestens bis zum Beginn der islamischen Zeit fortbestanden, ist natürlich zu fragen, welche modernen Namen ihnen später an Stelle der archaischen und früh veralteten beigelegt wurden. In Bezug auf das Bistum des saltus Gerariticus kann die Antwort auf diese Frage meines Erachtens nicht zweifelhaft sein; denn die hier allein vergleichbaren Bischofslisten der Jerusalemer Synoden von 518 und 536 weisen nur einen einzigen Bistumsnamen auf, der für den saltus

¹ Es wäre nur eine sehr entfernte Möglichkeit, dass innerhalb des saltus wieder der Kastellbezirk von Barsama für sich als Bistum eingerichtet gewesen sein könnte. Das müsste dann wohl das Bistum Gerar sein, und für das Bistum Orda bliebe der nicht militärisch verwaltete Teil der Domäne übrig. Für wahrscheinlich könnte ich eine solche Zweiteilung aber nicht halten.

² ZDPV a. a. Q. S. 107 ff.

und damit als Ersatzname für Gerar in Betracht kommt: das Bistum Orda, das seinerseits vor 518 niemals genannt wird. Dann löst sich aber die scheinbare Konkurrenz zwischen Gerar und Orda als Bistumsnamen in ein verständliches historisches Nacheinander auf, und es steht somit auch von dieser Seite kein Hindernis mehr der Behauptung entgegen, dass Orda vermutlich von Anfang an der Bischofssitz des saltus Gerariticus gewesen ist.¹

Auf die Bedeutung dieses Resultats für unsere Kenntnis der kirchlichen Geographie Palästinas soll hier nicht weiter eingegangen werden; hingegen möchte ich in aller Kürze noch auf die Schlussfolgerungen hinweisen, die sich aus ihm für die politisch-historische Geographie und Topographie des Negeb ziehen lassen. Grundlegend ist dafür die gewonnene Einsicht in die territoriale Identität des Bistums Gerar-Orda mit dem saltus Gerariticus und in die ursprüngliche Funktion von Orda als Vorort des saltus. Das vervollständigt unsere Vorstellungen von dem Umfang dieser Domäne in der erwünschtesten Weise. Denn während wir bisher nur das weit nach Süden vorgeschobene Limeskastell Barsama durch das Zeugnis des GEORGIOS KYPROS als Bestandteil des saltus Gerariticus kannten, erhalten wir jetzt mit Orda einen Haftpunkt für unsere Anschauungen von der Erstreckung der Domäne in das palästinische Binnenland und zwar an einer Stelle, die wegen der Funktion von Orda als administrativem und kirchlichem Vorort noch nicht einmal als der nördliche Grenzpunkt wird betrachtet werden dürfen. Dann legt sich der saltus Gerariticus, über dessen Zugehörigkeit zu der Teilprovinz Palaestina Prima die Angaben der antiken Literatur keinen Zweifel lassen,² mit seiner von Südwesten nach Nordosten gerichteten

¹ Dass dieses Bistum für uns erst im Jahre 451 (als Bistum von Gerar) sichtbar wird, entscheidet natürlich nicht über sein wirkliches Alter; es wäre aber gut denkbar, dass die bischöfliche Organisation der Domänen in Palästina wie anderwärts später erfolgte als die der Stadtgebiete, die nach dem Ausweis der Bischofsliste von Nikaia 325 schon zur Zeit Konstantins zwar noch nicht ganz vollendet, aber doch weit fortgeschritten war.

² Dass LE QUIEN a. a. O. das von ihm nicht erkannte Bistum Orda zur Palaestina Tertia rechnen wollte, beruht lediglich auf der unrichtigen Identifikation mit Arad. Die Bischofslisten von 518 und 536 sind nicht nach den Teilprovinzen angeordnet.

Hauptachse Bärsama-Orda in voller Breite vom Wüstenrande an zwischen die Gebiete der Städte und Domänen an der Meeresküste von Gaza bis Raphia und die Grenze der Palaestina Tertia, jenseits deren der Kastellbezirk von Beerseba und der Distrikt der Stadt Elusa die nächsten Nachbarn sind; im Nordosten berührt er sich unmittelbar mit der südjudäischen Hügellandschaft, die EUSEBIUS den Daromas zu nennen pflegt, d. h. mit dem ausgedehnten Stadtgebiet von Eleutheropolis.¹ Er stellt also ein sehr beträchtliches Territorium dar, das manches seiner Nachbargebiete, besonders die auf seiner Westseite, an Umfang übertroffen haben wird und darum die Konstituierung als besonderes Bistum mindestens ebenso sehr wie jene verdiente; um so weniger überrascht es, dass sich die Schriftsteller des ausgehenden Altertums mit ihm so vertraut zeigen.

Nun wäre es natürlich sehr zu begrüßen, wenn man von diesen Ergebnissen sogleich zu einer zuverlässigen Ortsbestimmung für jene frühere Stadt Gerar gelangen könnte, die ihren Namen dem saltus Gerariticus und seinem Bistum vererbt hat. Ich muss jedoch vor übereilten Schlüssen in dieser Richtung warnen und möchte mit dem oben Ermittelten keinen weiteren Beitrag zu der allzu schnell fertigen und darum erfolglosen Behandlung geliefert haben, die dem Problem der Lage von Gerar bis in die neueste Zeit widerfahren ist. Wenn uns in der hier besprochenen Gruppe spätantiker Urkunden Orda als der älteste erkennbare Vorort des saltus Gerariticus entgegengetreten ist, so haben wir damit - das sei ausdrücklich betont - den unmittelbaren Anschluss an jene frühere Periode, in der die Stadt Gerar ihre Umgebung beherrschte, noch keineswegs erreicht; die Möglichkeit besteht durchaus, dass bei oder seit der Umwandlung des Gebiets in einen saltus, deren Datum übrigens erst noch bestimmt werden muss, eine einmalige oder sogar wiederholte Verschiebung des Vororts eingetreten war, wofür ja auch die Verdrängung des alten Namens Gerar durch den neuen Orda zu sprechen scheint. Doch braucht es sich dabei andererseits ja nicht um einen Ortswechsel auf grosse Entfernungen zu handeln, und so wird aus den hier charakterisierten

¹ Von da aus versteht es sich, dass EUSEBIUS a. a. O. die Lage des saltus Gerariticus durch eine Entfernungsangabe von Eleutheropolis aus über den Daromas hinweg bestimmt hat.

Verhältnissen des späten Altertums vielleicht doch so viel geschlossen werden dürfen, dass bei der Suche nach der Lokalität von Gerar die Nachbarschaft von Orda, d. h. die Talrinne des *wādi esch-scherī'a* und ihre Umgebung, mehr berücksichtigt werden muss, als es neuerdings in der Regel geschehen ist.¹

ANHANG

EIN BISTUM ARAD IM MITTELALTER?

Oben S. 207 musste betont werden, dass es für die bisher angenommene Existenz eines Bistums Arad in der byzantinischen Periode Palästinas keinerlei stichhaltige Zeugnisse gibt. Dem ist jedoch ergänzend hinzuzufügen, dass später, also in der arabischen Zeit, wenn nicht in Arad selbst so doch in seiner nächsten Nachbarschaft für kürzere oder längere Dauer Bischöfe residiert zu haben scheinen. Das folgt, wenn ich recht sehe, aus den eigentümlichen Angaben einer vorläufig nicht genauer datierbaren, frühestens aber dem Mittelalter entstammenden griechischen Beschreibung der Bistümer Palästinas, die sich durch ihre ganze Anlage deutlich als eine Weiterbildung der griechisch und lateinisch überlieferten, erst von GELZER in ihrem historischen Wert erkannten Liste der 25 Suffragane der Patriarchen von Jerusalem aus der Zeit vor den Kreuzzügen erweist.² In jener Beschreibung ist nämlich an drittletzter Stelle ein Bistum Pharan oder Kadis genannt, dessen Mittelpunkt ein 4 römische Meilen von Malaatha, 20 Meilen von Hebron entferntes Dorf bildete und zu dessen Sprengel dte nicht näher bezeichneten

¹ Ist dies vielleicht das Tal "in Gerar," an dem nach SOZOMENOS (*Hist. eccl.* VI 32,8; IX 17,4 HUSSEY) das Kloster des Silvanus lag? Vgl. zu diesem auch JOHANNES RUFUS, *Plerophorien* Kap. XLVIII, wonach es sich bei einem Dorfe Aphtha (= JOSEPHUS, *Bell. IV* 3,8 § 155 NIESE) "im saltus" befand (*Patrologia orientalis* VIII [1912] S. 100. 177 ff. NAU).

* Die Bistümerbeschreibung ist abgedruckt bei GREGORIOS PALAMAS, *Hierosolymias* (1862) S. 378 ff. Anm.; um ihre historisch-geographische Interpretation hat sich bisher meines Wissens noch niemand gekümmert. Vgl. einstweilen meine Bemerkungen ZDPV 54 (1931) S. 171 ff.; über die zugrundeliegende Bistümerliste GELZER, *Jahrbücher für prot. Theol.* 12 (1886) S. 570 f.

Ländereien in der Umgebung dieses Dorfes gehörten.¹ Da fast nirgends in dem ganzen Verzeichnis ein Bischofssitz so wie dieser durch Entfernungsangaben mit anderen Orten in Beziehung gesetzt ist, entsteht die Frage, was wohl den Verfasser in dem hiesigen Falle zu einer so ungewöhnlichen Gestaltung seiner Aussagen veranlasst haben mag. Die Antwort ergibt sich aus der nicht weniger auffallenden Tatsache, dass genau die gleichen Entfernungsangaben – noch dazu in fast völlig gleicher Formulierung – schon in einem viel älteren Werke zu lesen sind, nämlich in dem *Onomastikon* des EUSEBIUS, der mit ihnen die Lage von Arad in der ihm geläufigen Art geographisch bestimmt.² Also hat der Autor der Bistümerbeschreibung hier – und nur hier in seinem ganzen Werk – eine direkte Anleihe bei EUSEBIUS gemacht; darum heben sich die Worte so stark von dem Schematismus der übrigen Teile der Aufzeichnung ab. Infolgedessen könnte man geneigt sein, diesen Passus einfach für ein wertloses Füllstück zu halten, das der Verfasser nur deswegen aus EUSEBIUS herübergenommen hätte, weil er aus Eigenem über das betreffende Bistum nichts zu sagen wusste und sich doch nicht mit der blossen Nennung des Bistumsnamens begnügen wollte. Bei genauerer Erwägung zeigt sich aber, dass dieser scheinbar so naheliegende Gedanke doch sehr unwahrscheinlich ist. Denn nicht nur hat sich der Autor in einem anderen Falle tatsächlich auf die Nennung des Bistumsnamens beschränkt³ – und was er dort tat, hätte er ebenso gut hier tun können – ; sondern vor allem wäre auch gar nicht zu verstehen, wie er ausgerechnet auf das von ihm gebrachte Zitat aus EUSEBIUS verfallen sein sollte, wenn er nicht schon im voraus über die Lage des gemeinten Bistums Bescheid gewusst hätte. Er benennt ja dieses Bistum gerade nicht mit dem Namen, zu dem bei EUSEBIUS die zitierten Entfernungsangaben gehören, nicht Arad, sodass man annehmen könnte, er sei eben durch den Namen dazu geführt worden, die Angaben des *Onomastikons* über Arad

¹ Ich setze den ganzen Wortlaut her: Ἡ Φαρὲν οὐ περὶ Καΐδις κοιμηθεῖσα ἀπὸ τετράποδου ομηρίου Μαικαλέων ἀπέχει, τὰς δὲ Χεβρόνιν ἀπὸ εἰκοστοῦ, τοῦ δὲ ἐνορία τὰ πέριξ σύντοτε χωρίσ.

² *Onom.* 14, 2 f.

³ Bei dem ganz an das Ende der Reihe verschlagenen Helenopolis, dessen Lage wahrscheinlich schon im Mittelalter nicht mehr bekannt war.

heranzuziehen. Das Bistum heisst bei ihm vielmehr Pharan oder Kadis, und wenn er diesen Namen im *Onomastikon* nachgegangen wäre, so hätte er ganz anderes Material für seine Anleihe bei EUSEBIUS gefunden.¹ Die Rechnung geht also nicht auf, und die Dinge müssen demnach wohl auf einem verwickelteren Wege zu dem Bestand gekommen sein, der sich in der späten Bistümerbeschreibung niedergeschlagen hat.

Um die Entwicklung richtig zu rekonstruieren, werden wir von der Tatsache ausgehen müssen, dass der Autor hier wie überall in seinem Werk von jener knapperen Liste abhängt, die lediglich die Namen der palästinischen Bistümer verzeichnet. Diese aber bietet in allen uns erhaltenen Fassungen an der entsprechenden Stelle nur den einen Namen, den auch unser Autor noch an den Anfang setzt: den Namen Pharan. Damit ist ein historischer Ansatzpunkt sogleich gewonnen; denn wir wissen, dass schon in byzantinischer Zeit das Städtchen Pharan (*firān*) auf der Sinaihalbinsel seinen eigenen Bischof hatte.² Es bestätigt sich also auch hier, was von der mittelalterlichen Bistümerliste durchweg gilt: sie kennt nur noch den Restbestand hierarchischer Organisation, der in der arabischen Zeit von dem voll ausgebildeten byzantinischen System übrig geblieben war. Wenn nun aber der Verfasser der ausführlicheren Bistümerbeschreibung den von jener Liste gebotenen Namen Pharan zwar übernimmt, aber alsbald mit dem so viel weiter im Norden gelegenen Kadis, dem biblischen Kades (*en kdes*), in eines setzt und dazu noch eine aus EUSEBIUS geschöpfte Ortsbestimmung für den Bischofssitz fügt, die weder Pharan noch Kadis, sondern das noch viel nördlichere Arad (*tell erād*) betrifft, so ist wohl klar, dass er selbst bei dieser Zusammenstellung nicht an örtliche Identität der von ihm genannten Punkte gedacht hat. Aber auch eine rein willkürliche Kombination vom grünen Tische aus wird man in dieser Zusammenstellung räumlich weit getrennter Orte erst sehen dürfen, wenn sich ergibt, dass kein sachlicher Zusammenhang zwischen

¹ Pharan: *Onom.* 166,12 ff.; Kadis: *Onom.* 112,8 ff.

² Vgl. LE QUIEN a. a. O. Sp. 751 ff., der freilich die Bischöfe vom Sinai mit denen von Pharan zusammenwirft; MORITZ, *Der Sinaikult in heidnischer Zeit* (1916) S. 10 f. 58 ff.

ihnen denkbar ist. Da verdient vor allem der Umstand Beachtung, dass die mittelalterliche Bistümerliste und mit ihr unsere Bistümerbeschreibung neben Pharan noch ein zweites Bistum auf der Sinaihalbinsel kennt: das auch sonst gut bekannte, noch heute bestehende Klosterbistum vom Berge Sinai.¹ Dass neben dieser jüngeren Gründung das alte Bistum Pharan dauernd existiert haben sollte, auch nachdem der Islam in der dünnen nichtmönchischen Bevölkerung zur Herrschaft gekommen war, ist von vornherein unwahrscheinlich. Wenn also trotzdem das Bistum Pharan weiter in den Listen geführt wurde, dann jedenfalls nur titular; seine Bischöfe waren an dem alten Sitz überflüssig geworden und mussten sich anderswo in der Patriarchaldiözese von Jerusalem einen neuen Wirkungskreis suchen. Sobald wir aber mit der Möglichkeit einer Verlegung des Bistums Pharan in dem angegebenen Sinne rechnen, verstehen wir auch, wie der Autor der späten Bistümerbeschreibung, statt sich mit der Nennung des nur mehr titularen Bistumsnamens zu begnügen, ihn mit Orten in ganz anderen Gegenden verknüpfen konnte; er korrigiert damit nur die ihm vorliegende Bistümerliste auf Grund der Schicksale, die das Bistum Pharan in neuerer Zeit erfahren hatte, und so gewinnen seine zunächst so seltsam klingenden Angaben nicht nur einen guten Sinn, sondern für uns, die wir von diesen Vorgängen sonst keine Nachricht haben, sogar einen besonderen historischen Wert.

Wo residierten dann die Bischöfe von Pharan? Unser Autor nennt neben Pharan zuerst genau so titular Kadis. In dessen Gegend aber bestand während des arabischen Mittelalters gewiss kein Ort mit christlicher Bevölkerung, der als Sitz für einen Bischof in Betracht kommen konnte. Dann wird dieser neue Name des Bistums nicht mehr sein als ein Archaismus und Bibliasmus, zu dem es ja gerade in Palästina - freilich aus sehr viel älterer Zeit - manche Parallelen gibt.² Trifft diese Auffassung zu, so ist aus dem Namen Kadis nur zu schliessen, dass der neue Sprengel der Bischöfe von Pharan am Südrand Palästinas lag. Dort war in byzantinischer

¹ Vgl. MORITZ, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Sinaiklosters im Mittelalter* (1918).

² S. oben S. 212. Auch HIERONIMUS erwähnt die „Wüste Kades“ als bekannte Grösse (*Vita S. Hieronimi* Kap. 25; MIGNE, *Patrol. Lat.* 23,2 Sp. 41).

Zeit Elusa das südlichste Bistum im Binnenland gewesen; ihm hätte damals, wenn diese künstlich-altertümelnde Bezeichnung überhaupt schon verwendet worden wäre, der Name Kadis am ersten zugestanden. Seitdem aber war die sesshafte Kultur in dem ganzen Grenzgebiet südlich von Beerseba zusammengebrochen und die Bevölkerung dem Nomadentum und dem Islam anheimgefallen.¹ Darum gab es im Mittelalter keine Bischöfe von Elusa mehr; die Bistümerliste enthält den Namen nicht, und unsere Bistümerbeschreibung rechnet Elusa (schon in der arabischen Namensform *chalaṣa*) sogar ausgesprochenermassen zu dem Sprengel der Bischöfe von Gaza.² Wenn also jetzt ein Bistum am Südrand Palästinas mit dem Namen Kadis geschmückt wurde, so ist von vornherein klar, dass wir sein Zentrum noch weiter im Norden, also noch weiter abseits von dem biblischen Kades, suchen müssen. Damit aber erschliesst sich uns nun ganz ungezwungen das historisch-geographische Verständnis für die Aussage der späten Bistümerbeschreibung über dem Sitz der Bischöfe von Pharan-Kadis. Denn indem der Autor die Lage dieses Bischofssitzes durch die dem *Onomastikon* des EUSEBIUS entnommenen Angaben über Arad bestimmt, versetzt er den tatsächlichen Sprengel des Bistums genau dorthin, wo aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach im Mittelalter wie heute wieder die Südgrenze der sesshaften Kultur Palästinas lag: in das Gebiet der letzten Ausläufer des jüdischen Gebirges gegen die Bucht des *wādi el-milh* hin, und es erklärt sich wohl nur aus der Rücksicht des Verfassers auf die offizielle Benennung des Bistums Pharan-Kadis, dass er den wirklichen Bischofssitz durch das Zitat aus EUSEBIUS zwar geographisch fixiert, aber nicht mit Namen nennt.³ In der byzantinischen Zeit hatte diese Gegend, soviel wir wissen, kein eigenes Bistum gehabt, sondern vermutlich den Bischöfen von Elusa unterstanden, soweit sie politisch zu der Teilprovinz Palaestina Tertia, und den Bischöfen von Eleutheropolis, soweit sie zur Palaestina Prima gehörte.³ Es war also eine Neuerung,

¹ Vgl. JPOS 8 (1928) S. 202.

² Das Bistum von Gaza umfasst nach dieser Beschreibung außer seinem eigenen alten Sprengel noch die von Gerar-Orda und Elusa, das Nachbarbistum von Anthedon zugleich die Sprengel von Sykamzon, Menois, Raphia und Bitolion.

³ Eine genaue Feststellung der Provinzgrenzen ist mit unseren Mitteln kaum möglich; doch darf man vermuten, dass die ganze Bucht östlich von Beerseba

wenn sich später die Bischöfe von Pharan-Kadis, nachdem sie ihren alten Sitz im fernsten Süden verloren hatten, dort niederlassen durften; ein Sprengel für sie musste aus den Territorien der alten Nachbarbistümer—wenn Elusa nicht mehr bestand, wenigstens aus Eleutheropolis, soweit dessen Gebiet in Betracht kam—erst ausgeschieden werden. In der Tat gibt unsere Bistümerbeschreibung für Eleutheropolis in der fraglichen Richtung eine Grenze an, die hinter dessen altem Besitzstand beträchtlich zurückbleibt: "das grosse vom heiligen Abraham herabkommende Tal," also das Tal von Hebron (*wādi el-chalil*), soll seine Südostgrenze sein, während ehemals das Stadt- und damit doch wohl auch das Bistumsgebiet von Eleutheropolis nach den Aussagen des EUSEBIUS noch über dieses Tal hinweg mindestens bis zum hohen Ostrand des Gebirges übergegriffen hatte.¹ So bleibt tatsächlich für das Bistum Pharan-Kadis in der Gegend von Arad genügender Raum ausgespart, und es zeigt sich an diesem Punkte wie auch sonst, dass der späten Bistümerbeschreibung ein durchaus sinnvolles, gewiss nicht frei erfundenes System hierarchischer Neuordnung zugrundeliegt, was um so mehr betont werden muss, da gerade hier bei der Abgrenzung der Bistümer Eleutheropolis und Pharan-Kadis gegen einander keinerlei Berührung im Wortlaut stattfindet.²

Dann wäre nur noch zu fragen, welchen Ort in jenem Raume die Bischöfe von Pharan-Kadis zu ihrem Sitz gemacht haben mögen.

ebenso wie dieses selbst zur Palaestina Tertia gehörte, während sich für die Orte auf dem Gebirge aus ihrer Verbundenheit mit Eleutheropolis (s. nächste Anmerkung) die Zugehörigkeit zur Palaestina Prima ergibt. Hätte es hier von früher her ein eigenes Bistum gegeben, so wäre die spätere Verlegung des Bistums Pharan ebendahin kaum zu erklären.

¹ Vgl. *Onom.* 86, 20 f. (*Esthemo*); 92, 15ff. (*Ziph*); 108, 1 ff. (*Jether*); 108, 8 ff. (*Jettan*).

² Für die Abgrenzung gegen das andere Nachbarbistum Gaza käme es darauf an, die in der Beschreibung des letzteren genannten Kastelle zu identifizieren. Eines von ihnen heißt Ason oder Ausan; wenn dies dem inschriftlich bekannten Kastell Asoa und weiterhin dem biblischen Jesua (*Neh.* 11²⁰), also dem jetzigen *tell es-sa'we* oder einem Nachbarort entspricht (vgl. ALBRIGHT, *JPOS* 4 [1924] S. 152 Anm. 3; ALT, *PJB* 26 [1930] S. 68 Anm. 3), so hätte der (erweiterte) Sprengel von Gaza noch die Bucht von Beerseba mit umfasst; für Pharan-Kadis bleibt dann die Bucht von *tell el-milh* und das nördlich angrenzende Gebirge.

Dass das Zitat der Bistumsbeschreibung aus EUSEBIUS auf Arad führt, entscheidet noch nicht unbedingt für den diesem entsprechenden *tell erād*, der sich nach seinem archäologischen Oberflächenbefund schlecht dafür eignen würde; der Verfasser konnte zu jenem Zitat auch greifen, wenn er einen Ort in der Nachbarschaft von Arad als Bischofssitz kannte, über den er bei EUSEBIUS keine speziellen Angaben fand. Ich würde in erster Linie an die grosse, durch die Reste dreier byzantinischer Basiliken ausgezeichnete Dorfruine von *el-eksefe* (7 km von *tell erād*) denken, die allem Anschein nach bei EUSEBIUS wiederholt unter dem Namen Malaatha erwähnt ist und die ich für das zivile Gegenstück zu dem gleichnamigen römischen Limeskastell (*tell el-milh*, 6 km von *el-eksefe*) halte.¹ Malaatha wird von EUSEBIUS mit keinem biblischen Ort identifiziert und hat infolgedessen kein eigenes Lemma in seinem *Onomastikon*; darum mochte es dem Verfasser der Bistümerbeschreibung, wenn er einmal den Bischofssitz von Pharan-Kadis mit Worten des EUSEBIUS geographisch bestimmen wollte, als die beste Lösung erscheinen, dass er die Aussagen über das benachbarte Arad zu Hilfe nahm, in denen Malaatha doch auch eine Rolle spielte. Doch wie dem sei, auf jeden Fall ist es höchst bemerkenswert, dass wir durch seine Angabe — und einstweilen nur durch sie, soviel ich sehe — ein spätes Bistum in den östlichsten Kastellbezirken des südpalästinischen Limes kennen lernen, die in der byzantinischen Zeit kirchlich noch nicht selbstständig organisiert gewesen waren.² Als militärische Grösse hatte der Limes seit dem Einbruch der muslimischen Araber alle Bedeutung verloren; aber die rechtliche Sonderstellung seiner Bezirke als Staatsländerien wirkte offenbar auch dann noch lange nach und konnte später zum Substrat einer kirchlichen Neuordnung werden, von der wir nur nicht wissen, wann sie stattfand und wie lange sie bestehen blieb.

¹ PJB 26 (1930) S. 49 f.; über die Kirchenruinen besonders MADER a. a. O. S. 225 ff.

² IJB a. a. O. S. 79 Anm. 2. Nach der oben erwähnten Angabe der Bistümerbeschreibung über die Südostgrenze des Bistums Eleutheropolis wird man außer Malaatha auch den Kastellbezirk von Chermula (*kirmil*) aus dem Gebirge zum Sprengel der Bischöfe von Pharan-Kadis rechnen müssen.

THE MOUNTAIN SANCTUARIES IN PETRA
AND ITS ENVIRONS¹

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I

HISTORY OF PREVIOUS RESEARCHES

In three lengthy publications edited by BRUENNOW and DOMASZEWSKI, DALMAN and KENNEDY, who all worked in Petra several times, the reader will find details about the history of the exploration of Petra, also a list of the scholars who have visited these places, a report of their work and bibliographies of their publications.² For the present a brief survey of the state of our

¹ In the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, 1927, p. 187-208 and in a lecture at the Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists at Oxford, 1928, I put forward some observations on the connexion between the high places of Petra and the Biblical cult places, especially the legendary Mount Sinai (*The Site of the Biblical Mount Sinai*. Also published in pamphlet form in Paris, Copenhagen and Leipzig, 1928).

At this Congress I was invited to join an English archaeological expedition to Petra, which was sent out the following year by the munificence of the Hon. Henry Mond, M.P. and which worked about two months at Petra.

² R. E. BRUENNOW und A. v. DOMASZEWSKI: *Die Provincia Arabia*. Bd. 1 Strassburg 1904. [532 pages text with photographs, figures and many plates; in 4to.] 3. Abschnitt *Petra*. p. 124-428. Verzeichnis der Besucher von Petra p. 192-194.—Bibliographie 481-510.

G. DALMAN: *Petra und seine Felsheiligtümer*. Leipzig 1908, [364 pages and a map in 4to]

The same author: *Neue Petraforschungen und der heilige Felsen von Jerusalem*, Leipzig 1912 [172 pages in 4to with index to both volumes]. Here quoted as *Petra I* and *Petra II*.

knowledge of the famous mountain city up to 1925 may suffice. A review of what had then already been done will show at the same time what we had to do, and what remains to be done in the future.

Since the publication of Kennedy's book in 1925, the majority of the monuments of Petra, which were not hidden in the sand, have been studied, numbered, catalogued and more or less completely described.

The great public buildings in the bottom of the valley were certainly situated on both sides of *Wádi Músá*¹ and with Brünnow, Dalman or Kennedy at hand one has a good guide to the different constructions and monuments in the surrounding mountains.

Excavations having never before been carried out at Petra, the aim for our and all future work would necessarily be:

1) to excavate and thus bring more archaeological material to light;

2) to explain the already known material, mainly rock-carved, to try to understand the purpose of the vast variety of different rock-constructions, to distinguish between profane, sacred and sepulchral monuments, between dwelling-places, sanctuaries, tombs, etc.;

3) to trace the historical development of all this, to fit Petra, its monuments and the people who created them, into the frame of ancient oriental history, to ascertain what was late Arab, Byzantine, Roman, Nabataean and Pre-Nabataean. The bulk of the Petra monuments have hitherto mainly been looked upon as dating from the same period, but it is now time to bring historical perspective into the picture, to define what is of earlier and what of later date.

Along these three lines there was much to be done when the Mond Expedition of 1929 reached Petra; and there still remains much

Sir A. B. W. KENNEDY: *Petra, its History and Monuments*, London 1925. [88 pages text with index, plates and Air Plane Survey. Chapter II, Bibliography pp. 20-28; 4to].

¹ *Petra*, Von W. BACHMANN, C. WATZINGER und TH. WIEGAND, Leipzig, 1921, (Wissenschaftl. Veröffentlichungen des Deutsch-Türkischen Denkmalschutz-Kommandos herausgegeben von Th. Wiegand, Heft 3 *Petra*) [94 pages in folio] P. 1-17: *Die Lage des Städtegebietes von Petra* by Th. Wiegand.

to be done. We hope to have brought our knowledge of Petra some steps forward; but we are far from believing that all problems are solved. There is still much to be done at Petra before its problems, all of them important for the ancient history of the Semites, are exhausted.

A full account of the excavations of the expedition will be given elsewhere. Here we deal only with the sanctuaries.

It was necessary from the thousands of rock-constructions to omit those which evidently had a secular purpose, to select such as were in some way connected with cult, and out of these to select the real sanctuaries. To this task the present writer devoted much of his time in Petra.

Interest in its mountain sanctuaries has drawn many scholars to Petra, but at the same time this interest has burdened science with a multitude of sanctuaries which in reality do not exist.

The ambition of the scholars was mainly to find more sanctuaries than their predecessors had found; and (in hopes of *babšiš*) the local Bedouin guides willingly helped: they are always prepared to meet a demand, by showing imaginary places of cult or whatever else may be sought for. This sanctuary-search culminated in Brünnow's and Dalman's work.

Brünnow and Domaszewski worked in Petra twice and dealt mainly with the beautiful rock-carved façades of the numerous tombs, and but little with monuments of cult and sanctuaries. They count 57 "nabatäische Heiligtümer," 16 "Opferplätze," 72 "Nischen und Altäre," and 13 "Römische Heiligtümer und Tempel."¹

Dalman visited Petra six times. His chief aim was to study "scine Felsheiligtümer." Very carefully he tells how to find them, numbers them in the text and on his map, describes, photographs and measures them, and he, therefore, was the chief authority in whose work I mainly was interested.

¹ *Provincia Arabia* 1904: *Verzeichnis der einzelnen Gräber und Bauwerke* S. 195-418. Tabellarische Übersichten II S. 528. Compare DOMASZEWSKI; *Die historische Entwicklung der Grabformen und Beschreibung der sonstigen Bauten* S. 137-191 especially II, *Heiligtümer* S. 173-174.

He crosses out Brünnow's "Heiligtümer" and gives another definition of "Heiligtum," which results in 60 "Heiligtümer" (S. 67), 69 "Opfermahlstätten" (S. 89) and a vast multitude of other sacred places.¹

Much in Dalman's work is most praiseworthy, and in most respects he is a good guide to the rock-cuttings at Petra: but he takes us to 60 sanctuaries and 69 "Opfermahlstätten" of which scarcely ten are, in reality, places of cult.

Out of his 129 places of cult, at least 100, and probably 120, should be left out of account.

It is necessary first to have a clear conception of the purpose and shape of a real sanctuary; and the present writer devoted much time to comparing the different kinds of rock-cuttings with the various types of ancient sanctuaries and shrines known elsewhere. Yet although doubtful about much of Dalman's "Felsheiligtümer," it was essential to seek out and study those which he had identified and which, in spite of his description, had nothing to do with cult.

In any religion and in any country it is not always easy to make a sharp distinction between a real sanctuary and a place that is holy in certain respects. A house may contain a cross, crucifix or other holy symbols, yet it is not therefore a church. In certain localities in Christian countries the country-side shows an abundance of crucifixes or images of saints which give the places a measure of sanctity; but only those places where a community joins in worship can properly be called sanctuaries.

With the ancient Semites and the Arabs this difficulty is still greater.

First, in the time of the primitive natural cultus, the sanctuaries in Arabia were natural stones, rocks or peaks. Secondly, in the ancient Arabic and Semitic cultures the religion was not, as is the

¹ It is a pity that DALMAN introduces the Greek expressions *triklinium*, *biklinium*, *stibadion* or *sigma* for the rock-cut "sitting" or "lying" places of Petra. If foreign words must be used for such benches or seats, Arab terms would have been more convenient.

case in modern European culture, an appendix to secular life, one element among many others; but the basis of the whole life, penetrating and saturating the whole civilization.

With the ancient Semites the religion was mainly cultus; and the exterior cult followed man from the cradle to the grave, hallowed his work and filled his house as well as public buildings with an abundance of religious forms, symbols, images and formulae, so that it becomes very difficult to distinguish between sacred and profane.

The Nabataeans and their predecessors at Petra were true Semites. The main Nabataean deity was *Dusara* and his symbol a rectangular stone twice as high as it was broad. This name and this symbol, carved in the living rock or in a stone, are to be found everywhere within Nabataean dominions, in the towns and in the desert, in public and private houses, in the roads, in the tombs and in the rock-carved dwelling places, varying in size from a few centimetres, to several metres.

The *Dusara*-symbol corresponds to the cross of the Christians; yet it is not only the sign of Nabataean religion but also of Nabataean civilization. It is the Nabataean seal which he stamps upon all his work and on every place of his route, more frequently than he stamps the name of the God himself, because the majority of Nabataeans were probably illiterate.

Real images of the gods from the time of the Semites are hardly to be found at Petra, but besides the *Dusara*-symbol we find the crescent and other holy symbols. Even where many such *sacra* are found together it is often difficult to decide whether we have a sanctuary or not. The present writer agrees with Dalman that it is difficult to give "allgemein gültige Vorschriften für die Herrichtung der Heiligtümer" (Petra I p. 68); yet he is guilty of treating as sanctuaries many obviously secular constructions which had no sacral purpose at all.

We must suppose that the Nabataeans at Petra in the earliest time carved their dwelling places or "houses" as well as their roads, cisterns and other utilitarian constructions, out of the living rock. This is confirmed by DIODORUS and by the numerous rock-carved

houses, which have no sacral purpose and certainly formed the oldest Nabataean town there.

We know that later on the Nabataeans and the Romans built ordinary houses of masonry and a walled city in the bottom of the valley, not of mud or brick but of large natural stones, quarried from the surrounding rocks. Obviously the enormous heaps of great hewn-stones in the ruins of the city (which is supposed to have had some 20,000–30,000 inhabitants) covering the whole area of the valley, were all taken from the surrounding mountains. Therefore nearly everywhere in the Petra mountains and in places where formerly there were rock-carved places of cult ("high places") and dwelling places, enormous stone-quarries are to be found which have taken away masses of the rock and spoiled portions of the "high places" and dwelling places. Often the ancient rock-hewn town in the mountains disappeared to furnish material for the city in the valley.¹

Among these various rock-cuttings Dalman seeks and finds sanctuaries almost everywhere. Some of his "Heiligtümer," even one to which he attaches much importance, are merely quarries or natural rocks, others are caves, ordinary houses or resting places, and the like. But to him almost any ordinary "eating place" (*Mahlstätte*) becomes an "*Opfermahlstätte*"; almost any block of stone becomes an altar; ordinary steps or seats become places for offerings to the gods (*Weihgeschenke*); common niches in the caves or houses, used as shelves, become places for setting up idols; ordinary bowls or pots become cups for sacrifice (*Spendedeschalen*), just as potsherds of any kind must have belonged to sacrificial vessels (*Scherben von Opferschalen*).

According to him even the very necessary water reservoirs in the dwelling places have a ritual purpose (*Ablutionsbassin*) and

¹ In the time of the walled city it seems that the tombs were not built of stone, but cut into the rock outside the city. It was natural to have the graves outside, just as at Cairo and Jerusalem the graveyard of the city, or the city of the dead, is found in the neighbouring hills.

Therefore the former rock-city of the living in the Petra mountain was transformed to some extent into the city of the dead.

even such practical devices as the small perforations in the soft rock (which modern visitors also, when they are going to stay for some time, are often obliged to make in a cave in order to hang up something) are in his opinion used to hang up offerings to the deity (*zum Anhängen von Weihegaben*).¹

Sir A. KENNEDY is not so interested in sanctuaries; he generally accepts Dalman's explanation but, practical engineer as he is, he can not help pointing out the practical and secular purpose of many of the rock constructions.

II

SUPPOSED PLACES OF CULT

An exact examination of all the sanctuaries identified by Dalman would require a volume as great as Dalman's first book on Petra.² Only a few examples, taken from part of the book, can be given here.

“Erstes Heiligtum von *el-habis*” (Petra I p. 230-232) is to Dalman of great importance:

“Ich stehe nicht an diesem ungewöhnlich primitiven Heiligtum seine besondere Bedeutung beizumessen. Es war das Heiligtum des Akropolis von Petra . . . hier konnte der älteste Sitz der Gottheit gelegen haben” (p. 232).

“Dass die älteste Kultstätte Petras auf der Akropolis lag und in dem primitiven Heiligtum ihres Nordgipfels (No 375-378) wiederzuerkennen ist, darf man vermuten. Es war dort durch Abarbeitung der Felskuppen ein grösserer Platz hergestellt worden, auf dem man sich die teiernde Menge einer kleinen Stadt wohl denken kann” (p. 64-65).

¹ See for instance *Petra* I p. 129, 137, 140, 209, 211, 232, 242, 244, 255, 258, 259, 273, 274, 275, 277, 315, 320, 321, 322, 339.

² In the second part of his first book *Petra und seine Felsheiligtümer* (2^{te} Teil—Rundgang durch die Felsheiligtümer, S. 103-354) DALMAN describes 30 different localities containing sanctuaries, some of them even five, and one (*ed-Dér*) seven sanctuaries. 28 of these I have examined as carefully as time allowed, one (*I Ed-dara* p. 103-115) I have only seen from the distance, the 16th (*unterhalb Umm el-bijárd*, p. 225-229) I did not succeed in finding, but his own account makes me doubt whether the sites described are truly sanctuaries.



Fig. 1. A quarry on el-Habis (DALMAN abb. 170); (according to DALMAN)
“Mittelfelsen des Heiligtums”

This locality, which I saw 1927 and examined carefully two years later, has nothing to do with cult. I found no evidence at all of sacral purpose. The steps, the cave and the niche-basin are primitive accommodations for the stone-cutters, who quarried the rock on all sides, leaving a fraction of the summit remaining (the “altar” of Dalman). Hence the vertical cuttings with the horizontal surface below, which Dalman supposes to be “*Opfer – oder Spenderstätte des Heiligtums*” with room for the congregation at the foot.

On the western side of the slope the route for bringing down the stone is still distinctly visible and marked with enormous heaps of broken stones.

The next place of cult “zweites Heiligtum von *el-habis*” (p. 232-239) is a real one.

“Erstes Heiligtum von *es-Siyyagh*” on the following pages (p. 239-241) is a little terrace with several holy symbols, whereas “zweites Heiligtum von *es-Siyyagh*” p. 241-246, which I visited several times, is an ordinary dwelling place.

Here a later quarry (as in so many other localities) has spoiled parts of the original rock-constructions.

The work of the stone-cutters is apparent, passing from west to east over the whole plateau; but what remain are ordinary dwelling places, with some religious symbols.

It is difficult to understand why "eine völlig roh gelassene Oberfläche . . . als Opferstätte zu denken ist" or why an ordinary water basin (for Dalman *Abolutionsbassin*) and an ordinary niche "die kultische Bedeutung des Aufstieges beweist."

Climbing up to *ed-Dér* (Der Weg zu *ed-Dér* on the next pages p. 247 ff.) we come to *Qatîr ed-Dér* (p. 253-255), an overshadowed, cool, picturesque and very romantic terrace, where the water drops from the rock above and is gathered in several basins. This is a natural resting place for every one climbing up to the splendid outlook from the top of the mountain, but not for that reason necessarily a sanctuary ("Das *Tropfheiligtum*," p. 253). According to the customs of the Nabataeans we should at such a place expect to find Dusara-symbols and the ordinary memorial-inscriptions (*graffiti*) on the rock wall. There are indeed such inscriptions and such symbols; but there is also a Christian cross and yet you would not for that reason call it a church. The water in the basins need not be holy water ("Weihwasser") or have a sacral purpose (*sakral Zweck*); in these parts of the country, where water is very scarce, you may also use it for drinking.

On the summit of the rock (*ed-Dér*) there is no water and on your way up to it (about one hour's climb) you will find no water. There is abundant evidence that this route was very frequently used in antiquity, and thus the *Qatîr* was a natural resting place for the thirsty wanderer, a sort of inn where the precious water was gathered and preserved for drinking.

An ordinary inn has also room for guests. At the ancient Nabataean *lukanda* or *manzil* this room is to be seen in the big cave at the entrance of the terrace. It has resting places on three sides ("das zum Heiligtum gehörende Triklinium") and such conveniences as are common in Petra (niches and "*Doppellöcher*"; according to Dalman, "zum Anhängen von Weihegaben"). It is very probable that the water basins were used in antiquity to irrigate

a little garden, as suggested by *Musil*.

Musil also mentions "die kesselförmige Ebene *Umm Zeytūn*" on the way to ed-Dēr: "In der Nordostecke dieser Ebene erhebt sich südlich von der Treppe ein 4m hoher Felsklotz mit einem Opferaltar (Fig. 100 bei *Musil*). . . 50 Schritte südlich von diesem Opferplatze führt eine im Felsen gehauene Treppe zu einer Klause. Einige Schritte südöstlich von der Treppe sieht man eine Klause mit drei Kreuzzeichen und einer nabatäischen Inschrift.

Durchschreitet man die Ebene von der Treppe nach Süden, so gelangt man nach 50



Fig. 2. Opening of the Qāttār ed-Dēr after Kennedy
Fig. 28.

Schritten zu einer anderen Treppe, die zu einigen Klausen führt, bei denen sich auch ein grosser Saal befindet. Ihnen gegenüber sieht man am Ostrand der Ebene eine dritte Treppe, die auf eine ziemlich hohe Kuppe führt wo ein ähnlicher Opferplatz zu sehen ist" (*Arabia Petraea*, II 1. p. 136-138). Dalman has a description of this locality, entering into more detail (Die Klausenschlucht p. 255-262). He criticises his predecessor rather sharply. On the whole *Musil's* description is more consistent with my diary than is Dalman's description, even after his corrections in

Petra, II, p. 30¹

But Dalman does not criticise the two places of sacrifice, although there is no evidence that they have been used for sacral purposes. The former (Dalman, Erstes Heiligtum der Klausenschlucht p. 256-259) belongs to the ordinary, numerous, open-air benches and seats which are thought by the same author to be places of cult.² The latter (by Dalman, Zweites Heiligtum der Klausenschlucht, p. 259-262) is quite clearly a water-reservoir. The walls are somewhat damaged but a pipe leading from the best preserved of them indicates the practical purpose of the construction (to be seen at Abb. 202, Opferplatz p. 260).

From Dalman's point of view this pipe, which Fig. 3 Opposite view of Qattâr ed-Dér. (p. n.) conducted the water to the inhabited place below, cannot, of course, be accounted for. "Durch die Mitte der kaum 0,50 m. hohen Rückwand führt eine Rinne, die aber keinem praktischen Zwecke dienen



¹ DALMAN p. 255: "Der Name *umm eq-Zitâne*, den Musil angibt, ist mir fremd geblieben." P. 258: "Musil hat hier über einer Treppe eine Klause und dann noch eine dreiteilige Klause mit drei Kreuzzeichen gesehen. Die Kreuze habe ich nicht bemerkt. Von 'Klausen' kann aber hier nicht die Rede sein."

Nor have I heard the name *umm eq-Zitâne*, but my Bedouin guides knew the name *wâdi Zitâne* for the wâdi here. In the house cut in the rock (Dalman p. 261, Abb. 264, Kammergruppe) there is not one cross but (as Musil states) three crosses.

² For instance "fünf von Brünnow übersehene Opfermahlstätten" auf dem Plateau el-Farasa-West (p. 200-205). There is no evidence that any of those five constructions has been used for sacral purposes.

könnte"; but both of these supposed "places of sacrifice" represent very practical and necessary secular arrangements which are generally

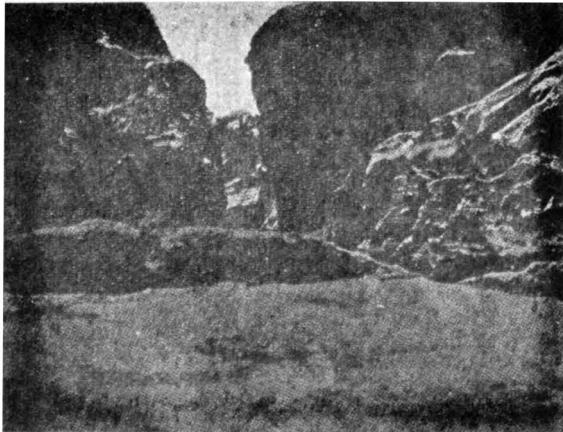


Fig. 4 [Abb. 202 in Dalman] According to Dalman "Opferplatz"; in reality a Water-basin.

to be seen in the rock-cut houses at Petra. The rooms in the rock are ordinary, rock-cut houses or dwelling places. In the Petra-mountains some thousands of such common habitations can be found.

The ruins of the large plateau on the summit of *ed-Dér*, which Dalman divides into seven groups (*ed-Dér*, p. 262-281), originate from various periods of the history of Petra. We find here an abundance of rock-carved dwelling places with their usual niches and Nabataean symbols, and also remnants of some real buildings. To understand their full significance excavation is necessary, as well as on *al-Hublah*, on *'Atif* and on other rock plateaus.¹ Owing to

¹ Excavations on the beautiful plateau in the mountains south of the Petra valley, now called *brābet en-Nmér* (Dalman *Petra I*, zweites Heiligtum von en-Nmér p. 212-214), would certainly give a good result. In a room, carved into the southern rock and entered from the north, we find on the southern wall, opposite to the entrance, a recess or niche with a depression (not two) representing a Dusara-symbol (not made to give room to a statue, as Dalman asserts). An inscription tells us that an "image," *salam*, of "the god" *ilaha* (king) 'Obcidat, once *osr* had its place here. The northern plateau belonging to this mausoleum was

the fine outlook to the West, *ed-Dér* must always have played an important part in the protection of the caravan-city in the valley.

Petra was a natural stronghold which needed few artificial fortifications, but was in great need of "observation-posts" with guard- and watch-houses. Remnants of such guard-houses built of masonry are still to be seen at the best points of vantage, on the summits of the mountains *Hubta*, *Aṭuf*, *Nmér* and *Habis*, and some of the ruins on *ed-Dér* certainly originate from such watch-houses.

The writer has visited *ed-Dér* several times. It is, of course, possible that excavations will bring sanctuaries or cult-places to light, but none of the ruins or constructions, which can now be seen there, can with certainty be defined as sanctuaries.

Of Dalman's seven groups six are not places of cult. But we have to reckon with the possibility that the first of them, with the famous splendid rock-cut façade, may eventually be found to be a temple or shrine. These gigantic, rock-carved façades are generally explained as temple-façades. But the interior behind the façades generally provokes disappointment and does not look like a place of cult. It is a characteristic feature of all the Petra rock tombs with vertical rock-carved façades that the façades are formed like the front of a house, thus giving the exterior of the grave the aspect of a mansion for the dead. The most splendid and famous of these rock façades, *Haznet Fārōn*, the Corinthian tomb and the façade of *ed-Dér* form, to my mind, no exceptions to this rule even if these façades look more like a fine public house, a palace or perhaps a temple.

The tombs are tombs and not houses, even if the façade looks like the entrance to a house; and thus the possibility cannot be denied that the interiors behind the gigantic rock façades in question are in reality tombs even if their fronts look like the entrance to the house of a king or the temple of a god. The present writer therefore believes that the theory advanced by Dalman (in his second Petra-publication,

formerly a kind of richly cultivated park and still contains remnants of buildings and masses of hewn stones. In my diary I have noted down several places there, which to my thinking promise a rich harvest to excavators.

1912) that the rock-carved rooms or halls behind those splendidly decorated façades are graves, most likely royal graves,¹ is the more correct. But if this "Heiligtum" on *ed-Dér* is "changed" to a grave, Dalman's seven groups of sanctuaries from *ed-Dér* will all disappear, for the supposed "altar" in the so-called "temple court" before this questionable "temple," is no altar. The position of this "altar" is unaccountable, as Dalman himself remarks.² Dalman's statement that its corners "nach den Himmelsrichtungen weisen wie der Saal des Tempels," could not be verified. According to my compass the "altar" has no orientation at all. Nor could I find on the surface of the "altar" "einen um etwa 0.07 m erhöhten Rand von 0,25 m Breite, welcher rings herum läuft" (p. 272). Around this "altar" and elsewhere on the eastern side of the *Dér*-plateau heaps of hewn stones and marks of a stone-quarry are to be seen. Stone-cutters have here spoilt the original shape of the plateau and only left this block,³ because it contains veins of very soft sandstone and therefore was useless for their purpose.

The steps north-west of the block are only the beginning of the staircase, leading to the top of the rock and the monument with the urn; but it is now partly damaged. This staircase is at present damaged at the south-east part of the block, but it continues upwards after a while.

¹ G. DALMAN: *Neue Petra-Forschungen*, Leipzig, 1912 II, Chaznet Fir'ôn ein vermutetes Königsgrab, p. 59-78. Der Zweck und die Zeit des Baus p. 76: "In Petra müssen die in den Felsen gehauenen Fassaden von Felsenkammern als Gräber in Anspruch genommen werden, sofern etwas Anderes nicht wirklich erweisbar ist. Auch die genaueste Nachahmung von eg-gerra (*Hazne*) in Petra, das sogenannte korinthische Grab, war ein Grab und kein Tempel, und das ihm ebenfalls nahestehende Dér-Heiligtum sollte gewiss den Eindruck eines Grabdenkmals machen ... Es wäre möglich dass in eg-gerra (*Hazne*) zum ersten Mal die volle Form der Tempel-Fassade auf ein Grab angewandt wurde (According to Dalman, p. 77 in pre-Roman time, 1st century A.D.) und dass alle anderen Tempelfassaden auf den Grabbauten Petras erst von da ab datieren."

² Petra I, p. 272: "Die Stellung des Altars seitab vom grossen Tempel, zu dem er doch gehören muss, kann wunder nehmen. Der Opfernde schaute nach Südost, also am Tempel vorbei, nicht nach ihm."

³ MUSIL also interprets this block as an altar (*Arabia Petraea* II, Edom I, Wien, 1907, p. 137-138, fig. 108-110, p. 143).

The plan of this paper compels me to stop now after going through some fifty pages or a seventh of Dalman's chief work on Petra. I may add that of the five sanctuaries at *Mēṣrah* mentioned by Dalman (p. 261-299) only one is quite certain, two are certainly not places of cult, and two remain uncertain; of the four sanctuaries at *Maṭāḥah* (p. 300-308) only one possibly represents an altar, whereas all the six "Heiligtümer" below *el Hubtah* (p. 314-322) can with absolute certainty be defined as ordinary, secular rock-houses.

Anybody who has worked at Petra knows how difficult investigations are. The fantastic natural rock-formations, peculiar to Petra, often require a long examination before it is possible to distinguish between natural forms and artificial formations. Moreover many generations and peoples have, during thousands of years, inhabited the Petra mountains, and new rock-cuttings have incessantly been mixed with the ancient constructions, so that it is not easy now to see what is early and what is later work. Finally torrents of rain and earthquakes have caused disturbances in the soft sand-stone and confused together things which had originally nothing to do with each other.

During our stay at Petra in 1929 I noticed, for instance, that heavy precipitations had taken place in the rock-constructions on the northern side of *el-Habis* since my visit to Petra in the spring of 1927. In the *Mēṣrah* mountains also parts of the rock had

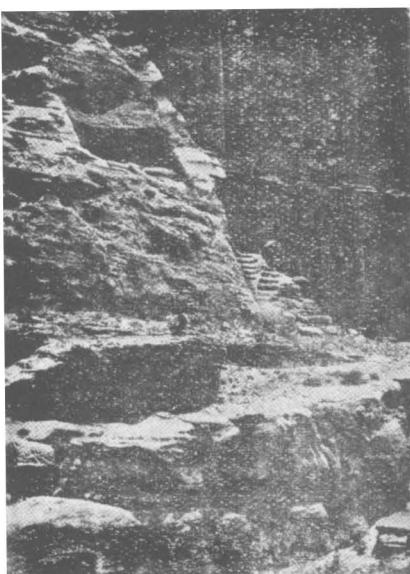


Fig. 5. Supposed altar on Ed-Dér (D. N.)
certainty be defined as ordinary, secular rock-houses.

fallen down, probably during the great earthquake in the summer of 1927, which also struck Petra.

Although Prof. Dalman admits (*Petra II*, p. 58) that there are still riddles at Petra, he gives the reader the impression that the main work on "Felsheiligtümer" is done. There is still much to be done. We are only now at the beginning. The present writer can endorse the words of Sir A. KENNEDY (*Petra*, p. 27):

"Dr. Dalman's work was done and very thoroughly done, in a number of visits which he made with a large party within the years 1896 to 1907. This principal volume being published in 1908, he had already before him in writing it, and in fact also during at least some of his visits, the works which had been already done by Brünnow. Indeed, without that work his own work would have been very greatly more difficult than it was. One cannot help regretting that in spite of this fact the author seems to take a positive delight in finding as many mistakes, or alleged mistakes, in Brünnow's work as he possibly can, and spend pages over minute and rather fierce criticisms of matters which are not of the slightest importance."

[*To be continued*]

NOTE

(By Prof. G. DALMAN, *Zu D. Nielsen, "The Mountain Sanctuaries in Petra"*)

Es ist erfreulich, dass die Heiligtümer von Petra, denen ich einst meine Aufmerksamkeit widmete, jetzt auch von anderer Seite genauer beachtet werden. Meine Absicht war ehedem, alles in Petra erkennbare Material sakralen Charakters möglichst vollständig und genau zu beschreiben und damit Anderen die Möglichkeit zu geben sich selbst ein Urteil zu bilden. Die mir zugeschriebene Meinung, Definitives zu leisten, hat mir natürlich fern gelegen. Natürlich kann das Urteil Anderer gelegentlich von dem meinen abweichen, darum ist nichts dagegen einzuwenden, wenn der sakrale Charakter einzelner Stätten jemandem weniger sicher scheint als einst mir. Nielsen gegenüber muss ich nur darauf aufmerksam machen, dass

die Bezeichnung „Heiligtum“ bei mir auf alle Stätten sakralen Charakters angewandt wird, während er ihn, wie es scheint, auf öffentliche Opferstätten beschränken möchte. Er gibt z. B. S. 158 zu, dass bei *qaṭṭār ed-der* Gottheitssymbole und Inschriften an der Felswand angebracht sind (vgl. meine Abb. 194) und bemerkt dabei, dass auch ein Kreuz da eingezeichnet sei, weshalb man den Ort doch keine Kirche nennen werde. In Wirklichkeit ist dort ein Kreuz absichtlich in ein heidnisches Gottheitssymbol eingegraben (Abb. 193), gewiss nicht ohne die Absicht, damit dem sakralen Symbol, und damit der ganzen Stätte, den heidnischen Charakter zu nehmen. Selbstverständlich hat das hier in allerlei Becken gesammelte Wasser auch dem Durst der Wanderer gedient. Eine Ableitung zu Bewässerungszwecken fehlt aber. Das von MUSIL und NIELSEN vermutete Bewässerungsgärtchen müsste in seiner Verbindung mit dem Wasserbecken nachgewiesen werden, was bisher nicht geschehen ist. Ist es wirklich so unwahrscheinlich, dass die bei Petra einzige Tropfstelle als eine Gabe der Gottheit betrachtet wurde und deshalb einen sakralen Charakter erhielt?

Ein blosser Steinbruch ist nach N. (S. 157) das von mir auf *el-habis* beschriebene Heiligtum. Was mich veranlasste, die künstlich geformte Spitze der Akropolis von Petra als Heiligtum anzusehen, war der stehengelassene, mit einem Aufgang versehene Rest dieser Spitze, wie ihn meine Abb. 169, aber nicht ebenso die von N. wiedergegebene Abb. 170, zeigt. Man hat dort nicht nur Steine gebrochen, wozu es unnötig war hier hinaufzusteigen, sondern man hat durch den Abbruch irgend etwas erreichen wollen. Was dies sein sollte, müsste gesagt werden. Dass die Spitze auf der Oberfläche roh gelassen wurde, erscheint N. als mit meiner Theorie unvereinbar. Aber wenn die Hügel spitze schon vorher sakralen Charakter hatte, wäre dies ebenso verständlich wie bei dem heiligen Felsen des Tempelplatzes von Jerusalem. Nach NIELSEN (JPOS, VII, S. 187 ff.) wäre das am rückwärtigen Fuss desselben Hügels gelegene Heiligtum, das ich ebenfalls vermass, photographierte und beschrieb, das historisch wichtigste „Sinai-Heiligtum“ von ganz Petra.

Ein blosser Rest von Steinbruch wäre nach N. auch der „Altar“

bei *ed-der*. Aber die jetzt nicht mehr ganz erhaltene Formung seines Steines lässt sich nun einmal durch Zufall nicht erklären. Zu der Grabfassade von *ed-der* steht er in keiner Beziehung, aber er könnte zu einer sakralen Gruppe gehören, die vor der Entstehung derselben bestand. Als nicht sakral gelten N. unter anderen die Triklinien von *el-bubta*, denen ich wegen der Gottheitssymbole in ihrer Nähe sakralen Charakter zuschrieb. Man wird doch solche Symbole nicht ohne weiters christlichen Kreuzen, besonders nach der Denkweise von Protestant, gleichstellen können. Die Frage scheint mir zu sein, ob nicht in Petra Veranlassung vorlag, dass besonders die von ausserhalb zu den Festfeiern seiner Götter Kommanden, Mahlstätten vorfanden, bei denen sie ihre Opfermahl abhalten konnten. Man kann auch fragen, ob Opfermahlstätten nicht Reinheitscharakter tragen mussten und deshalb nicht ohne weiteres in jedem Privathause statthaft waren. NIELSEN beanstandet, dass ich für die verschiedenen Formen der Mahlstätten nicht arabische, sondern lateinische Termini anwandte. Aber die heutigen Araber haben dafür keine festen Ausdrücke, weil sie eine derartige Einrichtung von Mahlstätten nicht kennen. Ausserdem ist die Frage, ob diese Formen nicht auf hellenistisch-römischem Einfluss beruhen und gar nicht spezifisch arabisch sind. Da NIELSEN S. 161 eine von mir als Spendeplatz gedeutete Felsplatte, die nur an einer Seite einen kaum 50 cm hohen Rand hat, als „in Wirklichkeit ein Wasserbecken“ gedeutet wird, ist Veranlassung, daran zu erinnern, dass wenn man für Petra 180 mm (d. h. halb so viel als in Jerusalem) durchschnittlichen Winterregen annimmt, diese im Mai in einem offenen Becken schon voll verdunstet waren, wenn man das Wasser nicht in eine Zisterne einschloss. Eine Zisterne habe ich in dieser Gegend auch nachgewiesen (Abb. 197). Aber keine Verbindung mit jener höher liegenden Platte, die als Wassersammler gar nicht eingerichtet ist, ist erkennbar.

Da es N. scheint, dass die Zahl der in Petra verzeichneten Objekte nur ein Ertrag der an Araber gezahlten Trinkgelder sei, erwähne ich zur Ehre meines lieben arabischen Begleiters Ḥmēd, der nicht mehr leben wird, dass von solchem bakhshisch bei ihm nie

die Rede war.¹² Im Übrigen hoffe ich annehmen zu dürfen, dass jede zutreffende Beschreibung der in Petra sichtbaren Reste alt-peträischen Lebens ihren Wert behält, auch wenn der eine oder andere in der Deutung hie und da andere Wege geht.

THE SITE OF TIRZAH AND THE TOPOGRAPHY OF WESTERN MANASSEH

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Few problems in the topography of Palestine have proved so elusive as that of the location of Tirzah. And yet the material is not at all complex. The ancient name has completely vanished, and the literary indications are so vague that they assist us but little. We shall see that the problem can only be solved by the employment of the method of elimination, which is so often successful in the solution of topographical questions.

Tirzah was an important place, and must be represented by a large and favorably situated mound. It was a Canaanite royal city, mentioned Jos. 12²⁴ at the end of the list of such cities conquered by the Israelites. It was selected by Jeroboam as his residence, apparently after some vacillation, since he first resided in Shechem (cf. I Kings 12²⁵; 14²⁷), and is then said to have gone to Penuel on the eastern side of the Jordan Valley.¹ Since Jeroboam's main preoccupation was the consolidation of his state, which was particularly threatened from the north, where Rezon had successfully rebelled and had founded a new kingdom in Damascus, as well as from the east, where Ammon and Beth-rehob had either just revolted or were threatening rebellion, he may well have been influenced by strategic considerations in choosing the site of his capital. Penuel

¹ For the identification of Penuel with Tulūl ed-Dahab, first proposed by MERRILL, *East of the Jordan*, p. 390 ff., see provisionally *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 35, p. 12 f.

was in a central location, but was unfavorably located from the standpoint of military requirements, except with regard to its relation to Ammon, since a chariot-road ran eastward from it, north of the Jabbok valley, into the heart of Ammon, midway between Gerasa and Rabbath-ammon. But it lay well to the southeast of a line connecting Damascus with the geographical centre of Israel, in Western Manasseh, and was also too far from the Plain of Sharon, conquered by David, but in constant danger of being annexed by the Phoenicians or the Philistines. Both military necessity and political expediency would, therefore, urge the choice of a residence in Western Manasseh, at a point commanding at least one important strategic chariot road, and presumably north of a line from Shechem to Penuel, i.e., northeast of Shechem.

Tirzah remained the capital of the Northern Kingdom under Nadab, Baasha, Elah, and Zimri, a period of over forty years, but was abandoned by Omri, after Zimri had burned the royal palace. One important reason underlying Omri's selection of his new capital, Samaria, is evidently that he was oriented politically toward the west rather than toward the east. The transjordanic dependencies of Israel were, except for Moab, all hopelessly lost by this time, but the Plain of Sharon was still in its possession. Since the time of Jeroboam, the Israelites had been engaged in fighting a defensive war against Philistine encroachment on the southern border of Sharon, at Gibbethon, which played the same rôle on the southwest that Ramoth-gilead played later on the northeast. Omri was, in fact, with the army at Gibbethon when Zimri revolted against Elah. The Plain of Sharon, with its rich grain-lands, praised by Ešmûn'azar king of Sidon in the fifth century B.C., and with the even more desirable caravan-route running north along its eastern edge, was a prize worthy of a prolonged conflict. The southern part of it fell eventually into the hands of the Philistines, to whom it belonged in the time of Sennacherib, but Dor remained a province of Israel to the end of the monarchy. Omri's alliance with the Phoenicians, cemented by the marriage of his son Ahab to the Tyrian princess Jezebel, was evidently partly intended to protect Sharon from Phoeni-

cian encroachment.

The town of Tirzah is probably never mentioned in any later source, and seems to disappear from history after its partial destruction about 880 B.C. Two apparent exceptions to this statement must be considered. It occurs in the Hebrew text of II Kings 15^{14,16} as the starting point of Menahem's march against Samaria, in the course of which he destroyed the town of "Tipsah," because it declined to open its gates to him. But in 15¹⁴ both basic recensions of the Greek text, G^A, and G^B, have Θερσίλα (Θαρσίλα) instead of תְּרִזָּה. BUHL (*Studien zur Topographie des nördlichen Ostjordanlandes*, p. 11 f.) and others have maintained that this Tharsila is the town of Batanaea mentioned in this connection by EUSEBIUS (*Onomasticon*, ed. Klostermann, p. 102, 5).¹ The modern name of the latter is Tesil, in a district which was then in Syrian hands, since the frontier between Damascus and Israel remained for most of the time south of the Yarmûk. The place which Menahem destroyed (v. 16) is called תְּרִזָּה in the Hebrew text, Θερσά in B, Ταρφως in B^{LUC}, and Θαιρά in A. The tendency of Tirzah to come into the text here is illustrated by its appearance in the B recension, while all the others have something else. The common view is that B^{LUC} offers the best reading, and that we should correct תְּרִזָּה to תְּפֹעַה, Tappuah. In favor of this emendation it has been pointed out that there is very little difference between *waw* and *samek* in the preexilic script. Unfortunately for this suggestion, the *waw* would not be written in the name תְּפֹעַה until after the Exile, when it would probably appear in the Aramaic form, which could not be confused with *samek*. Whatever may have stood here originally, it was hardly either Tirzah or Tappuah. Menahem is said to have devastated this place and all its territory from Tirzah (v. 16). Here the Hebrew and Greek (B) recensions agree in the reading, which is, therefore, probably correct and explains the intrusion of the name Tirzah into the two preceding passages. However, this passage does not prove that Tirzah was still in existence, since districts frequently continue to bear the name of their principal town even after the destruction

¹ THOMSEN, *Loca Sancta*, p. 67, s. v. Θαρσόν.

of the latter. Illustrations from antiquity as well as from modern times come immediately to mind. If the reading Tirzah is correct for the third place-name mentioned in our passage, it follows incidentally that the second name is not Tappuah, since Tappuah was situated south of Shechem,¹ while we have seen that Tirzah must have been northeast of the latter.

The other later mention of Tirzah does not appear in the historical books but in Canticles (6¹), which praises its beauty. While such praise may not mean much, it is true that it establishes the existence of the town at the time when the poem in question was composed. The parallelism with Jerusalem naturally shows that Tirzah was then the capital of the Northern Kingdom, and that the poem was composed between 920 and 880 B.C. Most of the poems of the Song of Songs doubtless date from the age of Solomon and immediately afterwards, despite the well-known fact that they were not written down until the Persian period or even later.

Aside from some absurd suggestions, the only serious identifications of the site of Tirzah which have yet been proposed are with the modern villages of Ṭullūza and Teyāsīr.² The latter is based on an erroneous combination of Eusebius, and has nothing to commend it, toponymically or archaeologically. The former is primarily based on a fancied similarity of name, and lacks archaeological support. The name *Tullūza*, as a matter of fact, represents Aramaic *Tūr-lōzā*,³ "Almond Mountain," just as the modern name *Tūl Karem* stands (by dissimilation) for Aramaic *Tūr-karmā*, "Vineyard Mountain." We have an exact parallel in the modern North Syrian name *Dellōzā* for Aramaic *Dér-lōzā*, "Almond Convent" (LITTMANN, *Zeitschrift für Semitistik*, Vol. I, p. 170). For Aramaic *ל* instead of *ר*

¹ See ELLIGER, ZDPV 53 (1930), 291 ff., who identifies Tappuah with Hirbet Maḥnah el-Fōqā, following ALT. The identification is perhaps correct; in any case Tappuah cannot be far from this site.

² Cf. ELLIGER, ZDPV 53, 293, n. 1.
³ KLEIN has happily identified Tullūza with Talmudic מִלְחָמָה, *Tūrlūṣā*, pointing out that *samek* and *zayin* interchange frequently in Palestinian Aramaic place-names.

in Palestine see NOELDEKE, *Syrische Grammatik*, 2nd ed., p. 33. How anyone could have combined two names which do not have a single consonant or vowel in common is obscure. It may be observed, however, that Tullūzā and Teyāsīr are both northeast of Shechem, and are quite satisfactory from this point of view. In this respect they are better than the writer's former attempt to locate Tirzah somewhere southeast of Shechem—an effort which failed to yield a single possible site, after repeated visits to different parts of the region.¹

An extended search by the writer through the region northeast of Shechem was completed in 1930 with the conviction that the only site in this region suitable for identification with Tirzah is Tell el-Fār'ah.² Tell el-Fār'ah is located about eleven kilometres straight northeast of Nāblus, and about fifteen kilometres by road. It stands in a remarkably fine location, both for water-supply and for defence, just to the south of 'Ain el-Fār'ah, one of the largest springs in Palestine, and the source of the perennial stream of Wādi Fār'ah. The deep-cut stream-bed encircles the mound on the northwest, west, and south, while another valley, not so deep, isolates it on the northeast and east. The mound is slightly over 300 metres long by more than 200 (not 300, as given PJB 23, 36) in width. It has thus about the area of Megiddo, and half again that of Jericho and Tell Beit Mirsim. Such comparative statistics with regard to the extent of mounds often enable us to form an adequate general idea of the relative importance of the towns which they represent.

The surface of the mound has been very much denuded in places, evidently because of the almost complete disappearance of the city wall along the southern side, where a perpendicular rock-scarp made a strong wall quite superfluous. This denudation has brought with it a great deal of mixing of sherds, and we find

¹ Cf. *Bulletin*, No. 19, p. 7.

² My study of Tell el-Fār'ah was made possible by a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies, for the purpose of continuing the work on Palestinian topography and surface archaeology begun while I was director of the American School in Jerusalem.

pottery of every age on the surface of the mound. On our latest visit we identified characteristic sherds from the Early-Middle Bronze (decadent ledge handles and typical pot rims of MB I, cir. 2000-1800 B.C.), from the Middle-Late Bronze (MB II, cir. 1800-1600), Early Iron I (1200-900), and from the transition to Early Iron II (tenth and ninth centuries). Numerous scattered sherds of Roman, Byzantine, and Arabic date showed that there had been some occupation during those periods, as might be expected from the favorable situation of the mound. Best represented of all the early periods is, beyond doubt, Early Iron I, representing the period of the Judges and the United Monarchy of Israel. The pottery evidence suggests, but does not prove, that the site was abandoned in the ninth century B.C.

Little masonry is visible. Short exposed sections of a megalithic city-wall appear at intervals along the edge of the mound, especially in the north, and evidently mark the line of Bronze Age fortification. The acropolis was situated at the western end, which is the highest and most easily defended part of the mound, as well as the part which lies nearest the spring—a most important consideration.

It will have been seen that our description of Tell el-Fârâh agrees throughout with the requirements which have been outlined above for the site of Tirzah. The site is large, well-situated, and easily defended; it was occupied during the Bronze and Early Iron Ages, and seems to have been abandoned in the same century in which Tirzah was destroyed. The situation is even better strategically, since it lies on the direct road from Shechem to Beth-shan and Damascus, and commands the approach to Syria from Shechem in the most effective way. Furthermore, it lies at the head of Wâdi Fârâh, which has always been the main road from Shechem to the mouth of the Jabbok where it joins the road running north of the river into Ammon. The western and southern connections are equally good. From the strategic point of view, Tell el-Fârâh was a much better site for the capital of Israel than was Samaria, though not so large, and in a much more secluded location. We shall see below that valuable corroborative evidence for this identification may

be secured from a study of the approximate situation of the Manassite clan of Tirzah, i.e., the district of which Tirzah was the capital.

There is, however, a serious obstacle to the identification of Tell el-Fārah with Tirzah—or rather an obstacle which appears serious at first sight, but which vanishes on closer examination. DALMAN and others have identified Tell el-Fārah with Ophrah (**עָפָרָה**), the home of Gideon (PJB 8, 31 f.), partly because of the apparent suitability of the site from the standpoint of the biblical story of Gideon, and partly because of the similarity of the names. The phonetic resemblance is, however, quite illusory, since the Hebrew place-name *Ofrāh* appears regularly in Arabic as *Afrāh* (like *Hadjleh* for *Hoglah*, *Sarāh* for *Sorāh*, etc.), which is invariably replaced by the euphemistic *Taiyibet el-Ism*, shortened to *et-Taiyibeh*.¹ We shall see presently that our Ophra also appears under the same modern name. Moreover, the name Tell el-Fārah, "Mound of the Elevated Ridge," is not uncommon in different parts of Palestine, and is invariably applied to an elongated hill of the form called **جَبَلٌ** in Arabic.² The consonantal transposition which has been assumed is, therefore, quite unnecessary, though not in itself impossible. The writer has hitherto accepted the identification, as has ALT (PJB 21, 34; 23, 36), but the archaeological and topographical difficulties are serious. First, we should hardly expect Ophrah, which is only mentioned as a village of the Israelite period, to exhibit so imposing a mound, which must in any case represent a Canaanite baronial residence ("royal city"). Secondly, it is not likely that so secluded a place as Tell el-Fārah was seriously exposed to the danger of Midianite raids, as was undoubtedly true of Ophrah. The inference that Ophrah was situated within striking distance of the Midianite camp near En-harôd (**إِنْ دِجَلُودْ**)³ is hardly justified, in view of the extremely vague nature of the topographic references

¹ See *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, IV, 130 f. (with references to previous work); VI, 35; ABEL, RB 1923, 93 f.; ALT, PJB 1926, 68 f.; 1927, 40; SAARISALO, JPOS XI, 18 f.

² This term is found in the classical Arabic lexicons as well as in the modern dialect of southern Palestine.

³ Cf. WEIDENKAFF, PJB 17, 18 ff.

to Ophrah. The Midianites entered Manasseh from the northeast, by way of Beth-shan (Jud. 6³³) and the Valley of Jezreel, just as was the case with Arab forays under Turkish and early British rule. Jud. 6⁴ explicitly states that their razzias extended in the direction of Gaza. If, as we believe (see below), Ophrah corresponds to modern et-Taiyibeh, on the edge of the northern Plain of Sharon, Gideon was very much exposed indeed to the Midianite danger, and his only hope was to surprise and rout the Midianites before they reached Sharon, i.e., while they were still in Jezreel. News of their crossing the Jordan would spread like wild-fire through Israel, heralded by beacon fires on every hill, so Gideon had ample time for hasty preparation.

We have now exhausted the biblical evidence, and are ready to turn to the evidence from the ostraca of Samaria. The ostraca provide exceedingly important data bearing on the topography of Manasseh, as is now well-known. Individual towns have been identified by ABEL and the writer, while contributions have also been made by DUSSAUD, KLEIN, and NOTH.¹ The geographical distribution of the clans was first studied by the writer, and has recently been reexamined by NOTH, with important corrections of the results previously attained by the writer. However, we were both prevented from achieving much success by the preconceived, but entirely baseless idea that the district of Abiezer must center in Tell el-Fārah. The writer maintained that the ostraca are documents belonging to the fiscal service of Israel, probably in the reign of Ahab, and represent memoranda written by deputy tax collectors, to indicate the source of each jar of wine or oil forwarded to the palace at Samaria. Since only districts and towns of Western Manasseh are mentioned on the ostraca, it appeared to the writer quite clear that this tribe formed an administrative unit, which he identified with the third administrative district of Solomon, (Arubbōt, Sôkô, and all the land of Héfer). Since this district contained Samaria, the latter served as its capital, as well as the capital of the

¹ See RB 1911, 290 ff.; JPOS 1925, 38 ff.; Syria, 1926, 9 ff.; ZDPV 50, 211 ff. Cf. also JACK, *Samaria in Ahab's Time*, Edinburgh, 1929, p. 68 ff.

entire Northern Kingdom. NOTH, following ALT, who discovered some interesting Egyptian parallels, maintained that the ostraca were memoranda of shipments of oil and wine from various crown properties to the court at Samaria. The Egyptian parallels, though interesting, do not prove that the similar Hebrew formulae belong to the administration of crown property, since the Egyptian formulae were themselves naturally modelled after the system which prevailed in the state fiscus. We must remember that Egypt was a large country, several times as extensive as Israel was in the ninth century, and that the crown properties were extremely large and widely scattered. If the single prefecture of Western Manasseh had so many royal estates, we should have to assume that there was a most elaborate double organization for each prefecture of Israel, one for the state fiscus, and the other for the intendant of the local crown estates, the *רַבָּי* of the king's house.¹ However, the strongest argument against NOTH's view is that the ostraca of the fifteenth year of the king differ from those of the ninth and tenth years in being grouped according to tribal districts, which bear the names of Manassite clans already well-known from the Bible. Why the royal estates should be grouped according to districts as well as according to towns in the tribe of Manasseh is not clear, whereas the district is a perfectly normal administrative division.

In the list of Manassite clans given in Jos. 17 (which is much more accurate, though less complete, than the independent list found in I Chr. 7¹⁴⁻¹⁹), we have six major clans (districts), Abiezer, Heleq, Ašri'el, Šekem, Hefer, Šemida^c, as well as five subdivisions of Hefer, to wit, Mahlah, No'ah, Hoglah, Milkah, Tiršah. The four major clans Abiezer, Heleq, Šekem, and Šemida^c appear in the ostraca, and two of the minor clans, No'ah and Hoglah. Hefer is naturally missing because it was already replaced for administrative purposes by its subdivisions; that it was a large district follows from the words "and all the land of Hefer" (I Kings 4¹⁰). Ašri'el has generally been supposed to be missing in the list, but there can be little doubt that the additional district name *Srr* or *Srq*

¹ See JPOS XI, 124 ff.

(the reading is doubtful, and the last character may just as well be *alef* as *reš* or *qof*, according to the traces) should be corrected to *Sr'īl*, i.e. *Sir'el* or *Sre'el*, the *alef* in the biblical form of the name being prosthetic (cf. *Kezib* and *Akzib*, etc.).¹ This leaves only the three minor districts *Mahlah*, *Milkah*, and *Tirṣah* which do not appear in the ostraca. If we can locate *Hefer* and secure some idea with regard to the geographical relation of the sub-clans mentioned in the ostraca, we shall be much further advanced toward the solution of the problem of *Tirzah*.

The pivot of our topographical arrangement is the fact that *Haşerōt*, *Qôşô*, and *'zb*, all towns south and southwest of Samaria, were in the district of *Heleq*. *Šekem*, like *Tirṣah*, was a Canaanite enclave which was incorporated into the tribal organization, and hence preserved its old city name. The town of *Yst* (*Yaşit*), northeast of Samaria and west of Tell el-Fâr'ah, was in *Hoglah*, as *Noth* has pointed out; *Geba*^c, mentioned with *Yst*, and also northeast of Samaria, was presumably in the same district. *Tirṣah*, the sister of *Hoglah*, cannot possibly be located southwest of Samaria, as the writer once supposed, since the two sisters would then be completely separated by *Šekem* and *Heleq*. As already observed, both *Noth* and the writer have been hypnotized by the identification of Tell el-Fâr'ah with *Ofrah* of *Abiezer*, and so have tried to locate *Abiezer* in the headwaters of the *Wâdi Fâr'ah*. The writer should have followed his own identification of *Almatôn*^a with *Amâtîn* (for *Almâtin*, *Anmatîn*, by dissimilation), and his very hesitant suggestion that *Ophrah* is *et-Taiyibeh* and that *Elat-par'ôn* (the pronunciation is doubtful) is modern *Far'ân* (popular etymology). The enigmatic name *Til*, belonging to another town of *Abiezer*, is then modern *Till*, which can hardly represent an ancient name *Tell* (which would appear as

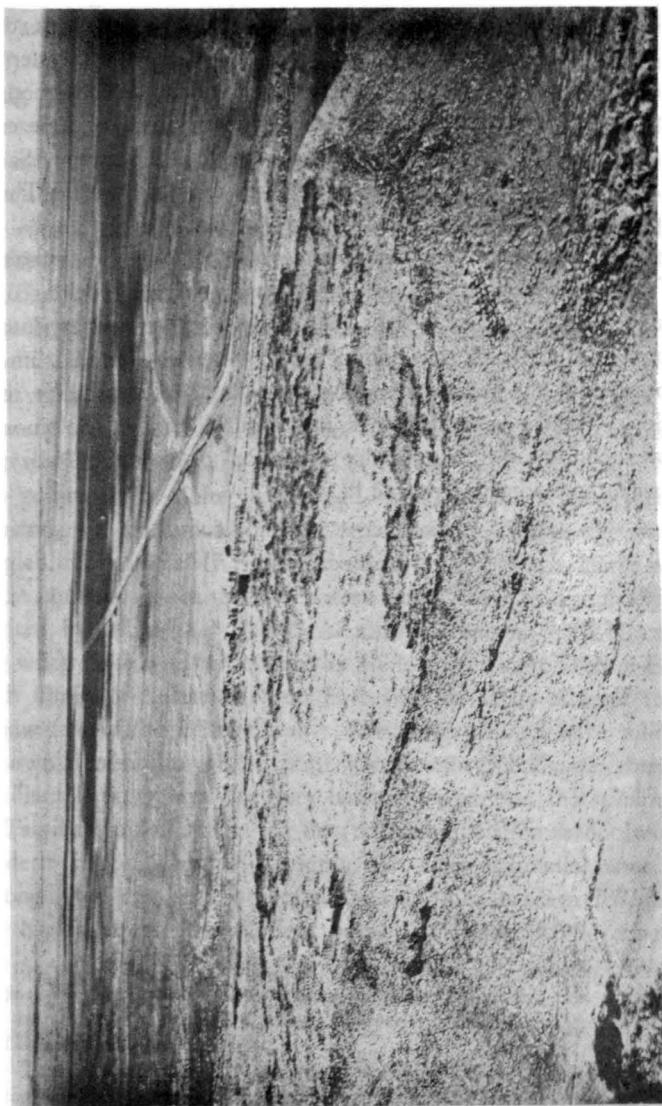
^a See JBL 46 (1927), 161–8. By the side of *Yisrâ'el*, which stands for **Yisre'el*, originally *Yasir'el*, we have the Assyrian transcription *Sir'ild'a* for the gentilic. Cf. the parallel name *נִירֵא*, vocalized *Serâyah* in later times. The vocalisation *Asr'el* is naturally not original.

^b The place-name *Almatôn* (sometimes vocalized *Elmattan*, though it is difficult to conjecture what so extraordinary a compound of two familiar words may mean) also occurs in the Shishak list (MUELLER, *Egyptological Researches*, Vol. I, pl. 84, line 126), but probably belongs here to a town in southern Palestine.

Tell in Arabic), but which may easily be a haplological form. With these identifications we obtain an Abiezer extending from west of Šekem to south of Ṭūl Karem, and including the entire southwestern corner of Manasseh. The district of Šemida^c, which was contiguous to Abiezer and Ḥeleq, then occupies the territory north of Abiezer and northwest of Ḥeleq and Ḥoglah, i.e., the region between Samaria, Šōkō, and Arubbōt, with doubtful extension northward. The location of Aśriel (=אַשְׁרֵל) remains entirely obscure.

The method of elimination now forces us to locate the "whole land of Ḥefer," to which Ḥoglah and Tirzah (Tirzah) belonged, east and north of Yst and Geba^c. Tell el-Farāh falls necessary into the region of Ḥefer, and the identification of it with Tirzah is imposed because of the lack of any other archaeological possibility in this region. It may be added that the third district of Solomon then extended from the eastern edge of Sharon to the Jordan Valley, as the writer previously supposed.¹

¹ See JPOS 1925, 28-31. ALT may, however, be right in holding that Shechem was incorporated into the Solomonic district of Mount Ephraim.



'Tell Hamad. Vue aérienne obligéamment communiquée par le Général Clément-Grandcourt.

(Cliché de l'aviation française en Syrie)