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# THE PALESTINIAN ARAB HOUSE: ITS ARCHITECTURE AND FOLKLORE

T. CANAAN

(JERUSALEM)

(Continued from vol. XII, p. 247) -

## 5. *The Construction of the House* (el-bnāi)

Peasants employ an architect only in exceptional cases, as when a rich villager wishes to build a large house. Even then the architect is merely a more experienced mason. The *bannā* (mason), who is also called *m'allim*, makes the plan and builds the house. Nearly all *fellāh*-houses are constructed according to one and the same simple plan. Even to the present day many of the houses built by the inhabitants of Gaza, Hebron, Nablus and Djenīn are planned and executed by masons, who, though lacking any theoretical training in architecture, have nevertheless gathered from wide experience much practical knowledge.

As a rule peasants supervise and help in the building of their houses. They themselves employ the labourers ('alā *hsābbum*). Most city dwellers and some *fellāhin* give the work out on contract (*mqāwaleh*). The person who takes the work is known as *mqāwil*. If the building is extensive he employs an overseer, *waqqif*. The building site is known by the term *warṣeh*.<sup>1</sup>

The *m'allim* marks the course of the foundation, which is excavated by the *fū'āl*,<sup>2</sup> the workers, or by the owner and his sons. In case the superficial rock layers are loose (*sahr imqattā'*) or unsound (*sahr ibḥall*) they have to be removed and the excavation continues until a sound stratum is reached.<sup>3</sup> In most villages the foundation trenches are not deep, for the houses are built on the top of a mountain or on a sloping side, where the rock strata are near the surface. Occasionally the trenches are five to ten metres deep. This is especially the case in the old city of Jerusalem.

<sup>1</sup> *Muhīt*, p. 240, gives it the meaning *وَعَدَ الْبَنَيْنَ جَمَاعَةَ الْمُلَبِّينَ وَالْفَعْلَةَ يَشْتَلُونَ*

<sup>2</sup> Pl. of *fā'il*.

<sup>3</sup> Matth. 6<sup>48</sup>; 7<sup>25</sup>; 16<sup>18</sup>; Luke 6<sup>48</sup>.

A proverb compares a handsome young man without character and abilities, to a palace built on a defective foundation and with bad stones:

*lā iğhurrak zēnuh dawer ‘alā qarāruh  
yā qaṣr mabnī ‘ala-r-riḥ umsauwsih ḥdjāruh*

"Do not let his beauty deceive you, but enquire about his (character) and origin (lit. bottom). O (thou that art like a) palace that is built on the wind and whose stones are defective (lit. eaten by moths)!"

When solid rock is exceptionally deep and it is too expensive and dangerous to dig down to it, the trenches are dug as deep as the proposed height of the house. In such cases a firm and hard layer of earth is chosen for the foundation courses. The lower courses are made broader than those built on the solid rock. Another method is to dig at a distance of two to three metres large square holes, two metres square, all along the foundation lines. In these holes thick strong piers (*ṣuma‘*, *ṣam‘āt*) are built. They are joined by strong and broad arches built of *lāṭ*. The top of the arches should not rise, as a rule, higher than the level of the ground. *Lāṭ* are large flat slabs of hard stone. The walls of the building as well as those of the partitions, if there are any, rest on such arches. This description shows the importance which the Palestinian attaches to firm foundations. The excavated earth is 'screened off' (*ibtitkarbal*) by a *kurbāl* (screen) and used for making the mortar. The foundation construction is built of *djabṣeh*, i. e. rubble stones (*djabṣ*) and mortar. The breadth of this wall must be 20—40 cm. more than that of the house wall (*ḥiṭān el-bēt*<sup>1</sup>) and as a rule not less than 120 cm. The peasants insist on using only a good *mūnih* in this part of the work. By *mūnih* is meant a sufficient quantity of lime and good material. Thus one speaks of *mūnit el-bēt* (or *finit*) *ed-dār mūnah*, "the *mūnih* (or mortar) of the house is excellent." Figuratively a person with good character is compared to good mortar, *fintuh mūnah*, "his origin (lit. his mortar, i. e. parentage) is good." In the place of *fineh* one may hear *djableh* (mixture), *djabeltuh ‘āṭleh*, "his mixture (parentage) is bad."

<sup>1</sup> Pl. of *ḥet* حَتْ . The classical word being حَاطِنَةٌ and not سَانِتْ (as in Q.S. P.E.F., 1893, p. 195).

Good walls used formerly to have a thickness of 80—120 cm. in order to support not only the weight of the roof but to withstand also the thrust of the vault (*rafs el-*aqd**). Since reinforced concrete construction is now used the walls of the upper stories can be reduced to 23 cm., the minimum allowed by the building regulations of the present government. Houses of the old type, owing to their very thick walls, remained cooler in the summer and warmer in the winter.

The *madjbiliyah* is a circular heap of earth and slaked lime layers, in the proportion of 2:1 or 3:1. The worker who mixes these layers with water to make the mortar, *tineh*, is called *djabbil* (*dabbal*). He works with a *tūriyeh* (a hoe) and *krēk* (shovel). The water carriers are known as *saqqāy* (pl. of *saqqā*). Formerly the water was brought in goat-skins *qirbeh*, (pl. *qirab*).<sup>1</sup> If the builder has no cistern on the site, water must be transported on donkeys.<sup>2</sup> Kerosine tins have in these days replaced the *qirab*. A donkey carries two to three *qirab* or four tins.

Certain kinds of earth are preferred in the preparation of the *madjbiliyah*. The *nārī* sand mixes well with the lime and binds the stones firmly. It requires less lime than the black earth (*trābeh sōdah*), which earth makes also a good but weak mixture. Sand (*raml*) is the best material but is not found in sufficient quantities in the mountainous regions. Red earth (*samaqah*) *tineh* is used only in the *djabsh*, for as soon as such a mortar is exposed to sun and atmosphere it loses its binding properties.<sup>3</sup>

As soon as the material is ready the construction of the house begins. A proverb teaches: *mā biqīm ēd-dār illā hdjārhā umā bis-id er-ridjāl illa sghārhā*, "A house is erected only by its stones and nothing will make men happy (lucky) except their (male) children."

Before describing the plans of the town and village houses and their respective parts and peculiarities, it is best to give the technical expressions used for the various workers and tools, and

<sup>1</sup> Small water-skins are called *si'in*. They are not used in transporting water for building purposes. The large *qirab*, *fahl*, are made in Hebron from rams' skins, hence their name.

<sup>2</sup> Such donkeys are called *hamīr saqqāy*. A water-carrier is also known as *saqqā*.

<sup>3</sup> At present the best work is carried out in mortar composed of one part lime and two parts crushed *mizzi yahūdi* sand.

the various parts of the construction itself. The master-mason, the *m'allim*, who supervises the whole work, builds at the same time the important parts of the building, namely the outer courses, the windows, doors and vault. A proverb teaches: *daggit il-m'allim (i)b'alf ulauw šalaf hā šalf udaggit il-adjir ibkaff*,<sup>1</sup> "The work (lit. stroke) of the master-mason is worth a thousand even if he does it carelessly, while the work of the hireling deserves a slap." In her household work a wife is compared to a mason, *er-radžul djannā uil-marā bannā*, "The man is a collector (of material for the household) and the wife is a mason."<sup>2</sup>

The tools used by a mason<sup>3</sup> are: *mizān maiy* (in Jaffa it is called *fārin*) spirit level, *mizān hēt* (in Jaffa called *sāqūlīh*) plumbline, *zāwīeh* (set-square), *qiddeh* (ruler), a *hēt* wound around a *kurkār*<sup>4</sup> (mason's line), *maṣṭarīn*<sup>5</sup> (trowel), *sāqūf* (waller's hammer). The *mizān hēt* is an instrument enabling the mason to build the courses exactly perpendicular above one other. It is in three parts: *a.* a piece of wood pierced to allow *b.* a thin rope to pass through; *c.* a round weight of brass fastened to one end of the rope. The piece of wood and the weight are of equal diameter.

After finishing an outer course (*midmāk barrānī* or *m. hārdjī*)<sup>6</sup> the mason begins to build the inner one (*midmāk djuwānī*, *m. dāḥlī*); the walls of all houses formerly consisted of rows of two courses (*saff*, pl. *suff*). At present but few houses are built with an outer course and a thin *djabsh* on their inner surface (*hadjar iblaqtah*). The stones of the *laqṭah* are generally made of *nārī* rubble. The corner-stones (*hadjar ez-zāwīeh*, pl. *hādjār ez-zāwīeh*) of each outer course are the first stones to be placed in position. A *hēt* is stretched from the upper edge (*siffet el-hadjar*) of the outer face of one corner-stone to the upper edge of the corresponding corner-stone on the other side. Such stones, which mark the direction of the whole course, are known as *wada'at*.<sup>7</sup> Large stones

<sup>1</sup> A variation heard in Nazareth is *darb il-m'allim (i)b'alf ulauw kānat talf*.

<sup>2</sup> Another proverb with the same meaning is: *er-radžul djallāb uil-marā dūlāb*, "The man is the bringer (of the goods) and the wife is the spinning wheel." *Dūlāb* means also the cupboard for storing household goods.

<sup>3</sup> In some parts of northern Palestine, as well as in the Lebanon, a *bannā* (mason) is also known as *mi'mārī*.<sup>4</sup> Both terms are unknown to *muḥīt*.

<sup>5</sup> Fig. 4 gives the greater part of the details.

<sup>6</sup> This term is also used for the few stones used in paving the floor and placed, at the beginning of the work, at various places in the floor to indicate the level and inclination of the floor. The expression is not known to *muḥīt*.

are supported by smaller ones, spalls (*ṣuhaf*, *kalḥāt*),<sup>1</sup> to keep them in the proper vertical position. A stone which does not stand in the desired position is adjusted with a *malqāqah* (Gaza), which is a trowel made all of iron. A proverb describing how small deeds may accomplish great actions, says: *haṣueh* (or *ṣarārah*) *btisnid hadjar*, "A small stone supports a large one." The core of the wall, i. e. the gap between the outer and the inner courses, is made of small rubble stones and mortar, *rakkeh*, or more correctly, *djabshēh*. In Ramallah it is known also by the word *ṭarḥ*. The person who does this part of the work is the *djabbiṣ*.<sup>2</sup> The rubble stones used in the *djabshēh* are: *djabṣ*,<sup>3</sup> *ṣuhaf* (large irregular spalls) and *ṣarār* (smaller stones). The last fill the gaps between the *ṣuhaf*. A complete row of stones, i. e. the outer and the inner courses with the filling in between, is known as *kallīn*. The stones are built in such a way that the joints (*ḥall*) of one *midmāk* will not fall in the same line with those of the upper or lower ones. This bonding<sup>4</sup> is known as *qaṭīc* *ḥall* (breaking joints). The *māllim* and the *djabbiṣ* have *sanā'iyyeh*, assistants, who hand them stones, hold the *qiddeh*, arrange the mortar, and perform other subsidiary tasks.

Mortar is carried by the *taiyāneh* on wooden boards, 30 × 40 cm., the *nqīr*. The *nqīr* is carried on the head or on the shoulders with the arm stretched out, the forearm bent inwards and the hand leaning on the chest. The mortar-carriers are seen running to and from the *madjbūliyah* to the building. A handful of dry earth is spread on the *nqīr* before every fresh load, to prevent the *fīneh* from sticking to the wood. In towns kerosine-tins have replaced the wooden *nqīr*.

The larger stones are carried by an *‘attāl*<sup>5</sup> (stone-porter) who wears on his back a *burda’ah*. This is a sack of coarse canvas

<sup>1</sup> *Kalḥāt* كُلْخَات (pl. of *kalḥah* not of *kald* كَلْد as SCHICK Q. St. P.E.F., 1893, pp. 194 ff.) are large, wedge-shaped, broad stones. Neither *kalḥah* nor *kald* is known to *muhīt* in this sense. الْكَلْد is, according to *muhīt*, p. 1832, إِلَّا كَانَ الْمَلْبَرْ بِلَا حَسْنٍ.

<sup>2</sup> Not known to *muhīt*. It is probably a corruption of the verb *dabasa*.

<sup>3</sup> *Dabṣ* دَبْش means the same as *djabṣ*. The difference between the last term and *ṣuhaf* is that the latter are thinner and somewhat smaller.

<sup>4</sup> Bonding and toothing are known in the Arabic dialect as *taṣrīk*.

<sup>5</sup> King Solomon had "threescore and ten thousand that bare burdens" while building the temple and his palace (I Kings 5<sup>16</sup> ff.).

(*bēs*) filled with straw (*qaṣṣ*), thus making a cushion to protect his back from the direct friction of the stone. It is fastened to his back by four ropes tied over his chest. Two come over the shoulders and two around the waist. An *attāl* leans with one hand on a heavy stick, while with the other he fixes the stone on the back by means of a sling (*hableh*). When a very large stone is to be carried two persons support the *attāl* by placing their hands under his shoulders (Pl. I, Fig. 1).

All workers used to be provided with two meals by the owner of the building: the *fūr* (breakfast) and the *ghadā* (lunch). This custom now prevails only in a few villages. The day-work is divided by these two meals into three parts: from 7 to 9, 9.30 to 12 and from 1 to 4 in the winter or 1 to 5 in the summer. Meal-intervals are announced by calling out the word *māndjah*, a word which comes from *manger*. The close of the day's work is announced by the call *halleh* or *fēdūs*.

The stones of the outer courses of a peasant's house are usually not dressed (*hadjar hām*). They are only cut square with right angles. At times *tubzī*<sup>1</sup> is used instead. Most of the houses in the towns are built with *hadjar imsamsam*. Undressed stones are used for the inner courses. *Yahūdi* or *mizzi hilū* are usually chosen for the outer courses while *nārī* is preferred for the inner. Large stones are used for the corners, and they show two dressed faces. These stones not only bind the stones of two adjacent courses together, but bind the corner construction so that the necessary strength will be secured to withstand the thrust of the vault. This is why only large sized stones of comparatively faultless character are preferred. Corner-stones of the lower courses are the most important *zawāīā*.<sup>2</sup> Those of the foundation layers lying below ground level are not dressed; all other corner stones are more or less carefully trimmed.<sup>3</sup> Even in houses built of common unhewn stones the corner stones always show signs of comparatively careful dressing.<sup>4</sup> At times large rubble stones, which have a coarse rusti-

<sup>1</sup> Not known to *muḥīt*.

<sup>2</sup> This explains the figurative use of the corner-stone in the Bible, Matth. 21<sup>42</sup>; Acts 4<sup>11</sup>; I Pet. 2<sup>6</sup>; Eph. 2<sup>20</sup>; Ps. 118<sup>22</sup>; Is. 28<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> See the excellent description by H. GRESSMANN, *Der Eckstein*, PJ, VI, 38 ff.

<sup>4</sup> This seems to be an old practice. SELLIN, *Tell Ta'annek*, Denkschriften

cated dressing, are used for the outer courses. The external surface of the wall which does not show any regular courses gives a beautiful irregular design. Such a type of construction is known as *ḥabb rummān* (Jerusalem).

Each *midmāk* must have some binding stones, 'headers,' (*musmār*, *dastūr*),<sup>1</sup> which go through the whole thickness of the wall (through-stones). A *musmār*, literally 'nail,' known in 'Ammān as *sīlī* (large knife, roasting spit), has only one face directed to the outside, a *dastūr* on the other hand shows an outer dressed face and a rough square inner one. In a square column a *dastūr* may have three or even four dressed faces. A short *musmār* is known as *ghauwār*. A dressed thin stone, having no considerable depth, is called *ṣandafāwī*<sup>2</sup> and one whose height is more than its length is *hadjar rās* (a header).

As the building progresses the workers need a *sqāleh*,<sup>3</sup> scaffolding, to reach the higher courses. This is done by leaning two *djhūshēh* (pl. of *djhūsh*)<sup>4</sup> against the wall. On their upper horizontal side are placed two or more flat wooden beams. The workers climb up on a ladder (*sullam*, pl. *salālim*) or on a *sqāleh*.<sup>5</sup> The latter is made of three to five strong beams laid side by side and held together by several transverse thin pieces of wood, nailed at equal distances, which serve as steps.

The stones surrounding doors and windows are in these days dressed more finely than the other stones of the building. In villages there is usually no difference in their treatment. Every such stone presents two dressed surfaces, one facing outwards in line with the *midmāk*; and the other, at right angle to the first, pointing inwards. Such stones are called *slāh*<sup>6</sup> (jambs). Those of the door are also known as *saddāghāt*. The *slāh* stones with the

der Akad. d. Wissenschaft, Wien, 1904, p. 16.

<sup>1</sup> Both these expressions are unknown to *muhīt* in this sense. The term *rās* is used in some regions with the same meaning. See Fig. 4, t.

<sup>2</sup> صندافوري and not صندافوري (Q. St. P.E.F., I. c.). In the classical language صنج has this meaning. (*muhīt*, p. 1211).

<sup>3</sup> According to *muhīt*, p. 1196, it is an Italian loan-word and is written with a *ṣ* and not *s* as pronounced in Palestine.

<sup>4</sup> Unknown in this sense in the classical language, *muhīt*, p. 216.

<sup>5</sup> Thus it is clear that *sqāleh* has two distinct meanings.

<sup>6</sup> Not known in this sense to *muhīt*.

*dauwāseh* and *sāsiyeh* make the *'āleh*, and one speaks of *'ālet el-bāb* and *'ālet eš-šubbāk*. In some regions they are known as *halq el-bāb* and *halq eš-šubbāk*. At present the term *halq* is used for the wooden frame of a door or window. The *slāh* stones are so arranged that one stone runs with its long axis in the outer course while the next stone runs through the thickness of the wall. The first is called *'aragah* (more rarely *'alaqah* = leach) and the second *kalb* (Fig. 1). The uppermost stone of the *slāh* is called *rāsiyeh*, and when it is ornamented and protrudes from the surface of the jambs it is known by the name *zifr* (see Fig. 2). The expression *zifr* also stands for any long stone which protrudes from the wall to support a balcony or a protruding window structure.<sup>1</sup> The first expression, *rāsiyeh*, stands also for the capital of a column. The *slāh*-stones show, as a rule, one or two depressions, known as *fāṣmeh* (rabbet). The threshold stone of a door is called *būrṭās* (*būrṭāseh*) or *dauwāseh*. The lintel is the *sāsiyeh* or *hīnṭ*. The last expression comes from 'Ammān. I am told that it is also used in Ṣafad. *'Atabeh* is used in some places for the lintel and in other regions for the *dauwāseh*. To relieve the lintel of windows (Fig. 2, B C D) or doors from the superimposed weight a *hammāl* (relieving arch) or a *qamṭ* (flat arch) is constructed. The *qamṭ* stones, composed as a rule of an odd number of stones, are raised so that a free space of about five centimetres is left above the *sāsiyeh* (Fig. 4). Occasionally the space between the *qōs hammāl* and the lintel of the door is used as a window (Fig. 3 A).

Two windows built side by side (*šubbāk midjwiz*, Fig. 2) are separated by a perpendicular stone, *šam'ah* (Fig. 2, F), which is dressed on three sides. It shows at its inner face a projection with a hole on each side, which serves for the *nadjr* or *djarrār* (bars of the wooden shutters). Such windows are closed either by a *sāsiyeh* or by an arch. In the second case the first stone resting on the *šam'ah* and forming a part of both arches is known as *lu'beh*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See also *muhīṭ*, p. 871.

<sup>2</sup> Unknown to *muhīṭ* in this sense.

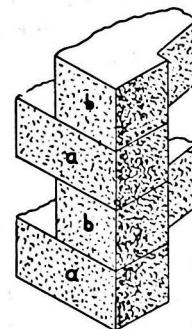


Fig. 1. *Slāh* showing  
a. the *'aragah* and b.  
the *kalb*.

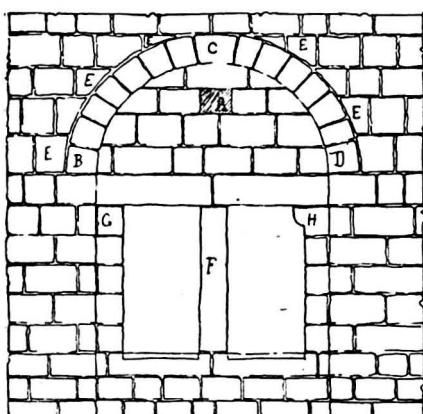


Fig. 2. Schematic sketch of a double window (*midjwiz*). A. Opening for ventilation, *tāqah*. B C D relieving arch, *qōs hammāl*. C *ghalaq* stone; E *tawṣīhah*, pl. *tawāṣīh*. G *rāsiyeh* stone; H *zifr* stone F *zam’ah*.

used in Damascus and in a few parts of Palestine for a small, circular window situated a little below the roof. *Hlāl* (crescent) denotes a small semi-circular window. *Tallāqah* (Dēr Ghassāneh) is a small loophole through which the inhabitants are able to shoot at unfriendly visitors. *Saqqāqiyyeh* is a small lozenge-shaped window. All medium sized and large windows are provided with iron bars.

The older type of houses had but few or no windows; they were small and set high up in the wall. They are now made larger and placed lower down.<sup>3</sup> The preceding description of the *’āleh* applies to the better class of house. A door whose *’āleh* is

<sup>1</sup> *Muhīt*, p. 1304, says in explanation of this word . . . نافذة عند المولدين . . . سبّت بـ لاستدارتها وانعطافها. But a *tāqah* does not need to be circular or semi-circular; it is as a rule a square opening.

<sup>2</sup> This expression is also used in Egypt.

<sup>3</sup> A peasant girl, once she is betrothed, may neither speak to her husband nor meet him on the road. If he visits her parents and she has had not sufficient warning to leave the room, she will jump out of the window (CANAAN, *Unwritten Laws affecting the Palestine Arab Woman*, *JPOS*, vol. XI, p. 188). In the Bible we hear repeatedly of people escaping from windows, Josh. 2<sup>18</sup>; I Sam. 19<sup>18</sup>; II Chron. 11<sup>22</sup>; Acts 9<sup>25</sup>.

Between the arches and above the *lubeh* a small circular, semi-circular or square opening (known in Jaffa as *imbauwqah*) is left for ventilation. The stones resting on the arch and constituting a part of the *midmāk* are called *tawṣīhah* (pl. *tawāṣīh*, Fig. 2, E), spandril. They are usually triangular, the part resting on the arch being slightly concave. Small windows bear different names in different regions. *Tāqah*<sup>1</sup> is the usual expression for a medium sized window. *Šarrāqah*, *faddāih*, *hauwāih* stand for smaller ones. *Qamariyeh*<sup>2</sup> (from *qamar* = moon) is an expression

not dressed differently from the remaining stones of the building and which has no *fāṣmeh* in the *slāḥi* is known as *bāb ghazzāwi*. Usually the doorway is placed in the middle of the front wall of the house. When the door is withdrawn somewhat from the outer

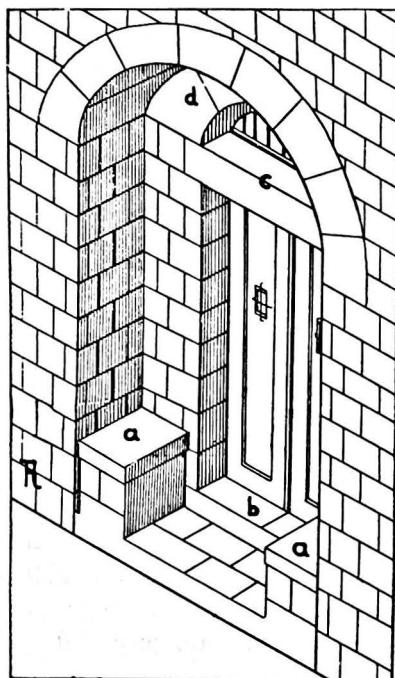


Fig. 3 A. *Bāb habā*. a. stone seats (*maqā'id*, *kbāši*); b. *dauwāseh*; c. *śāsiyeh*; d. the first stone of a *qōs hammāl*.

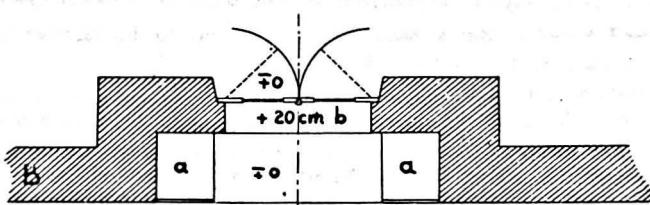


Fig. 3 B. The ground plan of a *bāb habā*. a. the stone seats. The *dauwāseh* b is 20 cm. higher than the floors outside and inside of it.

surface of the wall, leaving a free space, it is called *bāb habā*.<sup>1</sup> This recess is as a rule 35 to 60 cm. deep, and it may be so high as to include an arched window above the door. On each side of a *bāb habā* (Fig. 3) is a stone seat, *maq'ad*, *kbāṣ*<sup>2</sup> or *maṣṭabet el-bāb*. In Dēr Ghassāneh one hears also the expression *burṭāṣeh*.<sup>3</sup>

The following are proverbs connected with door and window. *et-tāqah illi bidjik el-hawā minhā siddhā, lā badjib el-fās ubahiddhā*, "Close the window from which the wind blows on you! (He answered:) No! I shall bring an axe and pull it down," i. e. destroy everything which causes you trouble! *min el-bāb lat-tāqah*, "(He goes directly) from the door to the window," i. e. he performs his actions without respecting the feelings or the rights of others. *·allah biyqṭa min bāb ubyūṣil min bauwābeh*, "God may cut off (the daily income of a person) from a door, but he opens that of a gate."

Every Oriental house has large or small niches in the inner walls. These are used as cupboards. The smaller niches (*hazāneh*, pl. *hazāyn*)<sup>4</sup> are sometimes divided by sets of shelves and closed by wooden doors. In very old houses shelves and cupboard doors are rare. Larger spaces, *rakṣeh*<sup>5</sup> (Jerusalem) or *da'meh* (Jaffa), do not have partitions or doors (Fig. 4, f). They are from two to three metres wide and 40—60 cm. deep, are arched and are used to store bedding. In some houses small cupboards known as *hawar-naqah*,<sup>6</sup> are found below the window bench; the inner sill of the window (*maṣṭabet eṣ-ṣubbāk*) serves as a seat.<sup>7</sup> In some districts

<sup>1</sup> It is unknown in this sense to *muḥīt*, but the derivation from the verb خباء is correct, and the term means a concealed door. <sup>جبل</sup> according to *muḥīt* is <sup>الباب</sup> من الابنية يكون من وبر او صوف او شعر , i. e. a tent

<sup>2</sup> This term was heard in Djenin.

<sup>3</sup> Heard from Mr. O. S. B. It is difficult to understand how this expression and the term *tāqah*, which is also used in Dēr Ghassāneh to indicate such a seat, came to denote a stone seat.

<sup>4</sup> In Damascus the expression *harastān* is used. A small *hazāneh* is known in Jaffa as *harrāqah*.

<sup>5</sup> In Dēr Ghassāneh the word *quās* (arches) is used. Both expressions are unknown to *muḥīt* in this sense.

<sup>6</sup> *Hawar-naqah* is also the expression used to denote the upper part of an arched cupboard, which part is separated from the rest of the *hazāneh* by a wooden shelf. Such a *hawar-naqah* is not closed by any door.

<sup>7</sup> This description corresponds to the condition of ancient architecture as may be seen from the stories of Ahaziah (II Kings 1<sup>2</sup>) and Eutychus (Acts 20<sup>9</sup>).

(Dér Ghassāneh) we still find long and narrow cupboard-like spaces called *maqṣabeh*. They are about 1.50 m. high, 0.40 m. broad and 0.40 m. deep, and serve for depositing the *ghaliūn* (pipe). In some city houses of the old type a *rugrēqah* and a *bēt es-sandūq* are seen. The first is an elongated, cupboard-like space, running transversely and situated high up in the wall. In this were put objects of value. The second is a small *rakseh* in which was put the box used for the household linen. These various types of cupboards are distributed quite irregularly in the walls. The arches of *marākis*<sup>1</sup> (pl. of *markas*), as well as those enclosing the inner parts of windows and doors, are made from small brick-like stones called *maqādim* (pl. of *muqdum*). They are of *mizzī yahūdī* stone. This form of stone was also used for paving the streets in cities. As a result of age, dirt and usage they become very slippery.

In the eastern and southern walls, small cupboard-like spaces are found in the external faces. They are made by leaving out an occasional stone. These *fāqāt el-hamām* or *biūt el-hamām* (pigeon-holes) run along one or two courses. Kerosine tins hanging in the outer wall, less often inside the house, are sometimes used for the same purpose. A *misqāh* or *sabil* used to be provided for in the houses of certain more influential or wealthy men, as well as in certain shrines. They are small water-containers for the benefit of the passer-by.

The older type of house in the mountainous regions, both in towns and villages, used to be vaulted. Flat roofs made of reinforced concrete are an innovation and need not to be described. Although the latter are more economical and save space, the older method is more artistic and durable. Wooden roofs are cheaper and easier to construct, but trees which could provide the necessary beams are so scarce in Palestine that the inhabitants were driven to use stone wherever possible. In Damascus where timber is more abundant wooden roofs are very common. The stone vault (*el-aqd*, *el-hēmeh*)<sup>2</sup> has nearly always a cross-like form, hence the name *aqd salib* (cross-vault). This vault is not carried by the thick walls

<sup>1</sup> In Damascus the Turkish term *yük* is used for *rakseh* (*markas*).

<sup>2</sup> JAUSSEN, *Nablouse*, pp. 21, 22, heard *uqdah*, which word means a knot. For the understanding of the following description compare Fig. 4 and *JPOS*, XII, No. 4, Pl. XII, Fig. I.

alone, but chiefly by the four *rukab*,<sup>1</sup> which are strong pillar-like projections at the corners; hence also the name 'aqd ibrukab (Dēr Ghassāneh). The ribs of the cross-vault which are the continuation of the *rukab*, are known as *suāk* (pl. of *sūk*) and *dla'* (pl. of *dal'*). When an elongated room is arched by two or more vaults, the central *rukab* of the long walls may project to the outside or more often to the inside. The first type is used when the house is large. It has the advantage of leaving the inner surface of the walls uninterrupted by any projection. Such a *rukbeh* is known as *baghleh*. But the *rukab* as a rule project to the inside. When the room is not very large they rise gently upwards. The central *rukab* of a house with two or more cross vaults are twice as broad as those of the corners. Such a compound cross-vault shows, if correctly and symmetrically built, a graceful form. The line connecting the centres of the different vaults runs horizontally. The *rukab* begin at the floor of the room or about one metre above it. The first method is followed when the room measures six or more metres square and in rooms where the thickness of the walls is less than 80 cm. and when a high vault is needed. The second type, called *gharfeh* (Jerusalem), *ridjil er-rukbeh m'sarra'ah*<sup>2</sup> or *m'allaqah*, is preferred in smaller rooms. Experience has shown that the thickness of the *rukab* depends *a.* on the span of the room (*bahr el-ōdah*), and *b.* on the kind of the cross-vault. It must, as a rule, be one quarter of the span in semicircular vaults ('aqd *rūmī*, *hēmeh rūmiyeh*), while in a segmental ('aqd *maghbūn*) and an elliptical vault ('aqd *bīkār bēdāh*) the thickness must exceed one quarter of the span; and in 'aqd *hums* (pointed vault) it is less. Sometimes the *rukab* grow gently from the corners (*qurneh*, pl. *quran*) and develop only slowly in pillar-like projections. The first projecting stone of an elevated *rukbeh* is known as *zifr* and also *gharfeh*<sup>3</sup> (corbel). The first work done in building a *rukbeh* is called *nabbat*.

<sup>1</sup> رُكَبْ not رُقَبْ (Q.S. P.E.F., 1893, p. 197).

<sup>2</sup> The word مشرع means elevated and one hears the expressions *ed-dār imsarra'ah*, "the house is elevated," i. e. built higher than the surrounding ground; *el-qōs imsarr'*, "the arch is elevated."

<sup>3</sup> The second expression seems to be known only in Jerusalem. *Muhīt* gives *maghrūf* the meaning of *gharfeh*; on p. 1528 we read المفروض عند البناء حجر يحمل في رجل القنطرة.

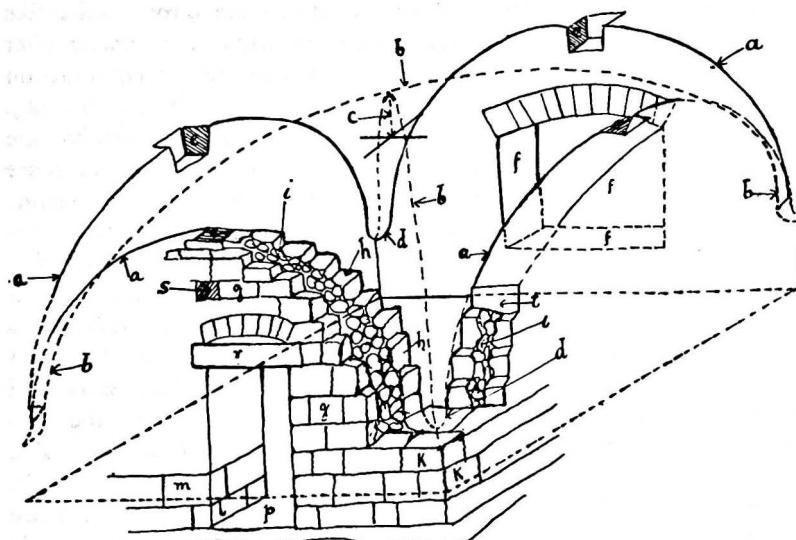


Fig. 4. Schematic sketch of the *hlālāt* of an unvaulted room. a. Future lines of penetration between walls and vault. b. Future lines of diagonal ribs to groined vault. c. Difference in height between wall arches and diagonal arches. d. Bracket stone at springing line of arches. e. Sockets to receive beams for the *tūbār* of the vault. f. *markas, rakseh*; g. outer facing; h. inner facing. i. *dabs* layer; k. *zāwīeh* (corner stone). l. *kalb*; m. *'araqah*; p. *burjāsah*; r. *sāsiyeh*; s. opening for ventilation (a small *tāqah*); t. *musmār* stone.

*er-rukbeh* (to "spring" the *rukbeh*). Some use the term *eṣ-ṣu'b* instead of *qurneh*. *Ṣu'b ed-dār* or *ṣu'b el-bnāy* mean the corner of the house and building respectively. The upper part of the four walls is finished in a semicircular, pointed, segmental or elliptical form in accordance with the desired shape of the vault. The four walls intersect each other only from the springing of the vault downwards, which is generally between one and one and a half metres. When the work has reached this stage the *m'allim* makes the *tūbār*<sup>1</sup> to coincide with the arch-like walls, which are known as *hlāl*, *tirs* and *talsin*<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 4 and Pl. II, Fig. 1). *Hallal el-hētān* and *lassan et-tirs* mean to raise the walls after the above mentioned fashion. *Hallal*

<sup>1</sup> *Muhit* p. 1265 says الطبر ركن القصر which does not give the present meaning.

<sup>2</sup> The last expression comes from Ramleh.

and *hlāl* come from 'crescent'; *tarras* and *tirs*<sup>1</sup> from 'shield' and *lassan* and *talsin* from 'tongue.' When the area of the house is large a strong relieving arch used to be built over the upper surface of each *hlāl*. It ran from one corner to the adjacent corner on the same side and usually protruded into the room, and was not visible from the outside. Every such *kamar*<sup>2</sup> (pl. *kamrāt*), of which there were four, held firmly together the structure of one wall and helped to carry the weight of the vault. When such arches were constructed in small rooms, there were either no *rukab* or they did not protrude so far into the room as in other cases, but sprang gently from the corners.

The skeleton of the *ṭūbār* consists of a strong piece of wood placed perpendicularly in the centre of the room, *el-‘arūs*,<sup>3</sup> and of transverse beams connecting it with the walls. The *‘arūs* supports the whole framework and projects higher than the centre of the *hlāl*. The transverse beams are of two kinds. Four beams connect the *‘arūs* with the four *rukab*, and are called *rammā*,<sup>4</sup> and four stretch from the central top of each of the crescent shaped walls to the *‘arūs* (the *hammāl* or *nīṣāb*, the rafters). Small square sockets are left on the top of each *hlāl* to receive these beams (Fig. 4, e; see also Pl. II, Fig. 1). The first run in a slanting direction, while the others are more or less horizontal. The two expressions *hammāl* and *rammā*, are often interchanged. Such a framework is used only when each side of the room measures more than four metres. In smaller vaults one strong bar, *maddādeh*, stretches from the central top point of one *hlāl* to the corresponding point of the opposite side. From the centre of the two opposite walls smaller beams rest on the middle of the *maddādeh*. These are known as *bawandiāt*. In some parts the four *rammā* beams are replaced by another kind of frame. On both sides of each *rukbeh* are placed vertical bars.

<sup>1</sup> JONES, *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine*, vol. 1, p. 128, thinks that *tirs* comes from the French word *tiers*. In LANE, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, I, p. 302, we read عَرْسٌ, "he made a thing to be as a *turs*"; عَرْسٌ "a smooth round level piece of ground."

<sup>2</sup> Unknown to *muhit* in this sense. In the colloquial language it means a girdle. This arch is supposed "to engirdle" the wall.

<sup>3</sup> In the classical language *al-‘ars* means a pole of a tent and a partition between two apartments (HAVA, p. 455).

<sup>4</sup> Unknown in this sense in the classical language (*muhit*).

Their tops are joined by a transverse piece of wood. This frame is called *djahs* (foal). From each end of the upper transverse piece of the *djahs* a beam stretches to the centre of the *'arūs*. These beams are also known as *rammā*, since they take the place of the oblique beam. This device strengthens the corners of the vault. The upper part of the *rukbeh*, which becomes broader by this method, is known as *fahd<sup>1</sup>* *er-rukbeh*.

The wooden frame is covered with smaller beams and branches. Oak branches are preferred because of their greater strength. Old mattresses (*husr*), thorn bushes, corn stalks and old baskets made from soft palm leaves (*qafīr*, pl. *qufrān*)<sup>2</sup> are placed above the twigs. The whole is covered with dry grass. The surface is now covered with earth (*tamam*) and with two layers of simple mortar prepared without lime. The lower mortar layer, the *ta'imeh*,<sup>3</sup> is the coarser, while the superficial layer, the *malsā*, is made smooth and gives the vault its final form. In Ramleh a layer of soft manure (*zibl*) mixed with coarse straw (*qaṣwāl*) takes the place of the *ta'imeh*, being much lighter. The word *kamīyah*<sup>4</sup> is used in some districts instead of *malsā*. In Jerusalem it denotes the mortar which falls down when the *ṭubār* is removed. It is a part of the mortar used to build the *'uqqād*. The *hammāl* and *rammā* are supported by perpendicular beams, which help to carry the weight of the vault. They are known as *rakāyz* (the pl. of *rkizeh*) and *sandāt* (the pl. of *sandeh*).

As soon as the *malsā* is dry the *'aqd* begins. *'Uqqād* (pronounced in some places also *'aqqād*) stones, cut in a brick-like but uneven form, are used. These are chosen from the lightest kind of limestone, the *nāri*. While the *māllim* is engaged in vaulting, another less trained mason fills the gaping places between the *'uqqād*<sup>5</sup> with smaller pieces of the same stone, thus making the superficial

<sup>1</sup> The thigh.

<sup>2</sup> *Quffeh* is a small, *qafīr* (in Syria *qafīrah*, HAVA, p. 612) a large basket. A proverb says *bitqūm quffeh btuq'ud qafīr*, "She stands up as a small basket and sits down as a large one," i. e. she makes herself more important than she is.

<sup>3</sup> Not known to *muḥīṭ* in this sense.

<sup>4</sup> Not known in the classical language in this sense. *Kamīyah* is the dirt covering a vessel (colloquial), *kamīyah* (classical) is silk.

<sup>5</sup> In the Djenīn district the *'uqqād* is also known by the term *rīf*.

surface fairly even. This layer is called *el-bardā'ah*.<sup>1</sup> The cylindrical *'uqqād*, used to close the last part of the vault, are the *dala'sib* (pl. of *dak'ūbeh*).<sup>2</sup> The thickness of the vault at its crown is generally more than that of its periphery. Such a vault is known as *'aqd mnaffah*. A squat-shaped vault is *'aqd fātis*. As it is best to build the vault quickly in order that the stones may lock together and set in firmly in a short time, all friends and relatives of the owner of the house come to help (*'ōneh*). Men, women and boys are seen busily active. Some carry *'uqqād*: or, rather, a man on the floor throws such a stone to another who stands on a ladder, and this to a third on the roof. Thus the *'uqqād* are seen flying continually from one hand to another. Some workers bring *fineh* and others hand the material to the *m'allim* and his assistant. During the whole work they are heard singing joyfully. In their songs they praise the hospitality of the master of the house, the cleverness of the *m'allim* and the readiness of the inhabitants of the village to help. From time to time the owner and the *m'allim* are heard stimulating the *fu'āl* (workers) to greater enthusiasm by the words *wēn rāhat eš-šabāb*, "Where are the young men gone?" *allāh ya'fihūm el-*ṭāfieh**, "May God give you (lit. them) good health!"

While the work is going on the women of the house and some of their relatives are busy preparing food for the workers. Large quantities of meat and rice are cooked. Heaps of loaves of bread are carried to the spot and during the summer months when fruit is abundant baskets of grapes or figs are brought. In some houses the vault ends in a dome (*qubbeh*) which will be described later. The *'aqd* is considered finished when the *m'allim* places in the centre (*surret*<sup>3</sup> *el-'aqd*) a long perpendicular stone<sup>4</sup> known in Dēr Ghassāneh as *abu 'uēs*, elsewhere as *ghalāq*<sup>5</sup> (crown- or key-stone). All the workers, except the *m'allim*, go down to wash their hands and partake of the food. The mason waits for his *rađueh*, gift, which consists as a rule of a cloak (*'abā'i*), *surratī*<sup>6</sup> (or *qumbāz*) or

<sup>1</sup> It is a Persian loanword (HAVA, p. 27) meaning, originally, pack-saddle for asses and a cloth put under a pack-saddle.

<sup>2</sup> Not *صلوب* (*Q.S. P.E.F.*, 1893) but *دلوب*; it is not known to *muhiṭ*.

<sup>3</sup> Although it is written with *s* = س it is pronounced more like *s* = ص.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps the headstone of Zech. 4<sup>7</sup> was such a stone.

<sup>5</sup> *Ghalaq* is known all over Palestine. <sup>6</sup> A Turkish loanword.

money. Though this custom is no longer prevalent in Jerusalem it is still followed in some villages.

After congratulating the owner on the completion of the new house and wishing him success and good luck, they sit round the full trays of food. Some of the good wishes are *inšallah btithannā fiḥā*, "May God grant you to live happily in the same (house)!" *inšallah bikūn qadamhā ḥēr ‘alek*, "May God grant that its foot bring good luck to you!" *inšallah bitṣūf fiḥā ulād ulādak*, "May God grant you to see in the same your children's children!"

The master of the house does not take food with the others; but remains standing with his brothers and sons to serve the guests. In thanking his helpers he is heard saying, *inšallah binsā‘idkum fi farhet ‘irsānkum*, "May God grant us to help in the wedding of your sons!" *allah ihannikum biulādkum ubi‘mārkum*, "May God make you enjoy your children and your lives!" The nearest relatives of the proprietor are morally obliged to help him not only in the actual work of vaulting but in sending bread, food, coffee, sugar, fruit, and the like. Others, again, offer clothes or money. Such presents are *nqūṭ* or *hmūleh*. As with all kinds of present the householder regards these gifts as debts which have to be repaid at the first opportunity, such as the occasion of a circumcision, marriage, death or the erection of a house. An Arabic proverb teaches *kull ʃi dēn hittā dmū‘ el-‘enēn*,<sup>1</sup> "Everything is a debt even the act of mourning (lit. even the tears of the eyes)," i. e. everything has to be repaid even the tears shed at a mournful occasion.

The raising of the vault does not complete the house, for the finished roof is always more or less flat. The centre of the cross-vault (*surret el-‘aqd*)<sup>2</sup> and of the different varieties of such a vault lie always higher than the summit of the *hlālāt*. The larger the room the greater must be the difference. While in small rooms the *surrāh* is 20—40 cm. higher than the walls, in larger rooms the difference is 50 cm and more (see *JPOS*, vol. XII, Pl. XII, Fig. 1). This difference of height between the summit of the *hlāl* and the *surrāh* of the *‘aqd* is called *ṣayālān* or *ṣamhah* (rise of the vault). The first expression

<sup>1</sup> H. GRANQVIST, *Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village*, p. 130, heard *kull ʃi fid-dēn hittā dam‘et el-‘enēn*.

<sup>2</sup> It is generally pronounced with *ṣ* as *surrāh* (classical meaning: "purse," "sealed bag of money"). Some pronounce it with *s* as *surrāh* (navel).

denotes at the same time the height of every arch as reckoned from the upper surface of the highest jamb-stone. The external crescent-shaped walls which were left unbuilt must be completed. The pyramid-shaped spaces between the corners of the walls and the vault are built with a *nārī djabshēh*. This part of the work is called *qaṭ' rafṣ el-qaqd* (abutment).<sup>3</sup>

Sometimes the four ribs (*suāk*) of the *ṭūbār* do not meet in the centre of the vault at the *ghalaq* stone; thus the ceiling is not a true *'aqd salib*. They run to about 50—80 cm. from the *surrāh* and end in a circular, square or elongated disk which is flat. It becomes the central part of the ceiling.<sup>4</sup> In the Jerusalem district the expression *ma'djan* (less often *takanah*)<sup>5</sup> stands for the square and *ṣahn* (lit. dish) or *ṣuniyeh* for the circular disk. In Ramallah both types are called *rōzanah*. Such disk-vaults are found more in cities than in villages. Sometimes a small and very shallow *qubbeh* takes the place of the circular disk. Such a *qubbeh* is not a real cupola (Pl. VIII). Most of the Palestinian vaults are stilted. A good number have a pointed form (*hums*). Only few are segmental. Sometimes the ribs of the vault (the *suāk*) vanish a little distance before reaching the crown of the vault (the *surrāh*). The Palestinian speaks of such a condition as *es-sūk bimūt*, "the rib dies." In some rooms with a *ṣuniyeh* vault two *suāk* take the place of one and they run from each of the four corners, converging little by little. Every rib (*sūk*) meets at the periphery of the *ṣuniyeh* with the adjacent rib of the next corner. Such a construction gives the vault a beautiful star-shaped design (Pl. III). When the *'aqd salib* is irregular on account of the difference in the length of opposite walls, the vault is called *imṣēṭin*.<sup>6</sup> In such a room some corners are acute and others obtuse. All angles which are not right

<sup>3</sup> A short description of a building with a cross-vault is given by JONES, *Excavations at the Pilgrim's Castle ('Atlit)*. *The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine*, vol. I, p. 128.

<sup>4</sup> K. JÄGER, *Das Bauernhaus in Palästina*, p. 13.

<sup>5</sup> I always heard this word with a *t* = *ت* and not with a *t* = *ط*, as it is given in *Q.St. P.E.F.* 1893, p. 194 ff. In *muhīt*, p. 168 we read التكّنة في صناعة البناء. قبة من الحجارة مستطيلة مرتقطة فوق مساواة المدحراًن بلا أعمدة. تركية.

<sup>6</sup> From *sītān*, Satan; see also *Q.St. P.E.F.*, 1893, pp. 194 ff. This expression is no more used.

angles are termed *mšāiabeh*.<sup>1</sup> An obtuse angle is *zāwieg ṣiddiyeh* (or *mašdūdeh*) and an acute angle a *zāwieg ḥilliyyeh* (or *mahlūleh*).<sup>2</sup>

A short description of a *qubbeh* (cupola) which is, as McCOWN<sup>3</sup> says, "a characteristic feature of the Palestinian landscape," may be given here. The following types may be recognized:<sup>4</sup>

1. The simple cupola. The *qubbeh* is built directly over the four walls. It looks like a hemisphere superimposed over the walls (Pl. I, Fig. 2).

2. A simple *qubbeh* may take the place of the flat circular disk, the *ṣahn*. The four ribs of the vault end at the circumference of the base of the dome. This circumference is built of *maqādim* (pl. of *muqdum*) stones (Pl. III).

3. The upper square space of the room is converted into an octagon by filling the corners with pendentives. The opening of the octagon, which is smaller than the square, is raised a little and the hemispherical dome rests on it<sup>5</sup> (Pl. I, Fig. 2).

A shallow dome is called *qubbeh (i)msatlahah*. The dome is built of burned-brick tubes (*qawādīs fuḥḥār*) which are still lighter than the *nārī uqqād*. The dome is a characteristic feature in Mohammedan shrines and mosques. Therefore the word *qubbeh*, though meaning cupola, is used among the Palestinians as a synonym of "shrine."<sup>6</sup> Only few private houses of the better-class town-dwellers show this form of vaulting.

The construction of the various parts of a house may take place at long intervals. Several years may elapse before the house is ready for habitation. The advance of the work depends on the owner's finances, for, as the proverb teaches, *yā rēt<sup>7</sup> mā banat ualā bēt*, "(The word) 'O may it be' has never yet built any house." I know of houses where the four walls were built several years before they were vaulted.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Unknown to *muhīt*. This expression is also used for a stone with acute or obtuse angles.

<sup>3</sup> I have heard both expressions in Siloah.

<sup>4</sup> *Annual of the American School of Oriental Research*, II and III, p. 50.

<sup>5</sup> CANAAN, *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine*, p. 15.

<sup>6</sup> KAHLE, *PJ*, VII, p. 99, gives only a very incomplete description.

<sup>7</sup> *Muhīt* and HAVA, s. v.

<sup>8</sup> *yā rēt* stands for the classical *yā leit* which is "a particle expressing a wish impossible to be realized" (HAVA, p. 695). <sup>9</sup> Luke 14<sup>29</sup>.

Formerly most houses were vaulted in a more simple way. From the whole breadth of one wall a round vault stretched to the opposite wall. The two other walls did not support the vault in any way, but were built up to close the two ends. Such is called *djamālōn*,<sup>1</sup> 'aqd *mzahhar* (barrel vault). The first is the more common expression. Openings for doors and windows would weaken the walls supporting the *djamālōn* 'aqd, hence, as a rule, such openings are to be found only in the other two sides or ends. But when such openings are provided for in the walls from which a barrel vault springs it is noticeable that the continuing of the *djamālōn* vault is often broken. The break consists of a small triangular vault, the axis of its concavity running at a right angle to that of the *djamālōn*, its base lying over the opening in the wall (door or window) and its apex pointing to the central line of the barrel-vault, but it does not reach to it. Such a break gives the vault a more pleasing appearance. All cisterns and the greater number of the lower rooms (the *qabū*), which served as store-rooms or stables, were vaulted in this manner. In the case of a long hall the *djamālōn* was supported by four or more *rukab*, like those used in an 'aqd *salib*, but they were never built so high as in the latter and were not so massive. They are known as *dlā'* (pl. of *dal'*). A *djamālōn* is known in Jerusalem also by the name *qambūb*.<sup>2</sup> Barrel-vaults are now rarely used.

Sometimes the four walls of the house are raised their whole length to the required height. No *rukab* or *hlālāt* are constructed. The vault begins from the upper horizontal surface of the four walls at the same time. Each quadrant of the vault is, in a square house, a triangular surface with a concave lower face. Such a vault is called 'aqd *takaneh*. Every two adjacent quadrants form an angle. In an elongated room the two parts of the vault which spring from the long walls meet in a straight line. They are not triangular but rhomboid.

A connecting link between the barrel- and the cross-vault is

<sup>1</sup> *Muhīt*, p. 291: سقف محدب فان كان مستديراً فهو قبة وهو من اصطلاح العامة: ويطلقونه على بيت من الخشب ايهما ومنهم من يقول الجلول بلاين والجلون بفتحتين.

<sup>2</sup> Townspeople often pronounce the *q* (ق) as a *hamzeh* (ء). Not known to *muhīt*.

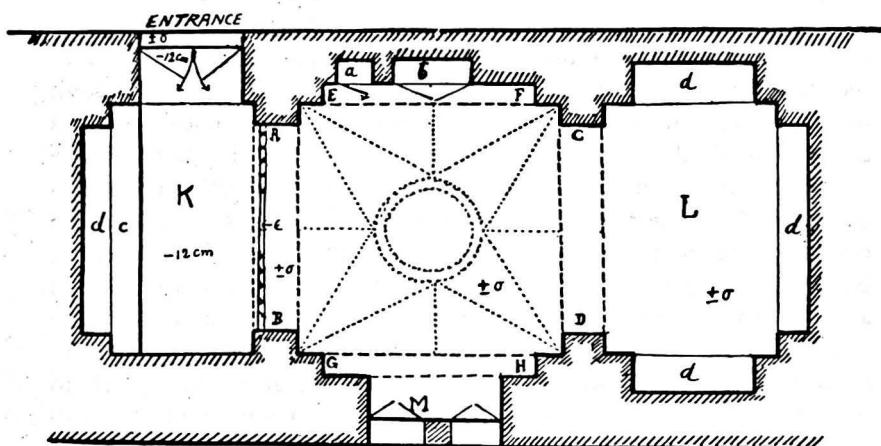


Fig. 5. Sketch of a house with different types of ceiling.  
 ..... indicates reflected ceiling. - - - reflected pointed arches (A B, GH, C D, E F), which help in carrying the cross-vault. The cross-vault ends in a small dome. Each rib bifurcates into two lines, giving the ceiling the shape of a star. K. Vestibule with a barrel vault. L. Inner room with a barrel vault. a, b. Small cupboards with wooden doors. c. An elevated stone seat, too narrow to be a *siddēh*. d. *Marākēs*; e wooden balustrade; M. double window. —12 cm. indicates that the floor of the vestibule is 12 cm. lower than the door-sill and the floor of the two other rooms. See Pl. III.

that type where both are used in one and the same room or in different but adjacent rooms, which are not separated by any dividing wall (Fig. 5). In the first case one, generally the central part of an oblong room, receives a cross-vault. The remaining part or parts of the roof which are situated at one or at both ends of the room respectively are vaulted with a *djamālōn*.

All the different kinds of vaults that have been described are met with in the old buildings of Palestine, especially in towns. The *djamālōn* and *'aqd ṣalīb* are the types principally used in villages.

The most important forms of arches met with in Palestine are: *qōs 'arabī* or *qōs hūms* (pointed arch), *qōs rūmī*<sup>1</sup> (semi-circular or stilted), *qōs maghbūn* (segmental), *qōs muğhrabī* (horse-shoe) and *qōs fārsī* (a very pointed arch). Arabic arches bear different names

<sup>1</sup> *Rūmī* meaning literally Greek, perpetuates the Byzantine tradition.

according to the centre (*ghurzat el-bikār*) from which the curve<sup>1</sup> of the arch is struck. The centre point of the arch is situated at some fractional point of the span. The most important kinds are *qōs hums* (one fifth), *qōs tūmn* (one eighth), *qōs rub'* (one fourth) and *qōs tūlṭ* (one third). When the radius of the two curves of a *qōs 'arabī* is equal to two-thirds of the distance to be arched, the arch is called *qōs ṣahrāwī* (Jerusalem, Siloah). The expression *qōs hums* is used at present by most builders to denote any pointed arch.

Before continuing the description, the following two stories may be recorded. They illustrate the position of the mason. At the outset of the work the *m'allim* is shown every honour and respect, for the quick completion of the construction depends upon his good will. Once at the beginning of a piece of work a mason trod unintentionally on the foot of the young son of the proprietor and contused it badly. Nevertheless the excited father whose whole enterprise rested in the hands of the mason, left his son with the words, "Never mind, my dear boy, it was nobody but your uncle who, not seeing you, trod on your foot." At the completion of the work, when the owner of the house was thankful to get rid of the mason, the latter accidentally trod on the paw of a dog. The owner reproached him bitterly and scornfully: "Are you blind? do you not see the dog?" These two sayings,<sup>2</sup> one an excuse and the other a reproach, are now used proverbially.

A judge (*qāḍī*) once employed a mason to build him a house. The expenses grew slowly to a much higher sum than was first estimated. The *m'allim* continued to harrass the *qāḍī* every day with new and unforeseen demands. When the whole work was finished the judge took the tools of the mason to the court and kept them covered with a piece of cloth. Every one who had a case was forced by the judge to swear firstly on the *mashaf* (Qoran) and secondly on the covered tools; in the second case the litigant had to say, *wallah el-'azīm in ma ḥakēt es-ṣudq latudbūl hāḍī labētī*, "By God the Almighty, may this thing enter my house if I do not speak the truth!" The *qāḍī* then explained grimly that "the ruin of your house (*ḥarāb bētak*) lurks below the cloth."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Radius = *ramyēt el-qōs*.

<sup>2</sup> 'ammak yā bni misṣ sāyfak; 'aiy 'inti 'a'mā-l-ba'īd umisṣ sāyf el-kalb.

<sup>3</sup> Heard in Jerusalem and Siloah.

The floor of the house (*'ardiyet el-bēt*) in villages is made of a *maddeh*. Rarely stone-slabs (*balāt*) were put down. A *maddeh* consists of equal parts of *ṣid* and *nḥāteh*. For two or three days the mixture is treated with water and mixed until every grain of lime is slaked. The floor is laid with this mixture and well polished (*yuṣqul bimasqarīn*) for three days. It is then polished for six days more with the smooth surface of a piece of marble using oil and soap as a lubricant. Such a floor becomes hard and smooth. The floor of the houses of the poor, and of most clay houses, is treated in a much simpler and less durable way. As the peasants cover the floor with a straw mat (*haṣireh*) and have no tables, chairs or bedsteads, the floor lasts a considerable time. But as soon as such furniture is introduced the floor deteriorates.

To prevent leakage of rain water, the roof (*ṣaṭḥ* or *zahr el-bēt*) is covered with a layer of a special kind of *maddeh*. The simplest device adopted in most villages is a layer of *huwar* and straw. The roof is rolled over and over again with a stone roller (*dihdāl*, *duhdāl*) which is often left lying somewhere on the roof. Such a protecting layer must be renewed each year. On ill-compacted roofs grass is often found springing into a short-lived existence.<sup>1</sup> Richer people choose a more efficient way. The roof is plastered with *haṣmeh* (coarse sand gathered from valleys) and lime. It needs to be polished for five to six days. Such a plaster roofing is more durable and has a better appearance.

Another and still better protection is the *maddeh 'arabiyyeh*, known in Nazareth as *maddeh hadjariyyeh*, consisting of equal parts of *nḥāteh*,<sup>2</sup> *ṣid* and *qusrmal*. The last denotes ashes (*sakan*, *ramād*) taken from a *tābūn* (simple baking-oven) or a Turkish bath.<sup>3</sup> It is not a necessary constituent of the *maddeh hadjariyyeh*, but is always found in the *maddeh 'arabiyyeh*. Such a *maddeh* is water-proof and becomes exceedingly hard. Flag-stone pavements are used in the cities. Such stones are of two kinds: *balāt 'addādī*, small, square stones are used primarily to pave the roofs of domes; and *balāt qirs*, measuring from 20 by 15 cm. to 30 by 40 cm. are employed

<sup>1</sup> II Kings 19<sup>26</sup>; Is. 37<sup>27</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> اَحْمَدَ and not اَعْلَمَ (SCHICK, l.c. p. 197).

<sup>3</sup> Sometimes ashes only are mixed with lime in the proportion of two to one (SCHICK, l.c.).

in vaulted roofs. The larger flag-stones, *balāt farrādī*, serve excellently for paving the floors of houses. Medium-sized stones are called *balāt farḥ farrādī*.

Every roof is provided with a protruding spout for the discharge of rain-water. A large roof may have several *mazārib* (pl. of *mizrāb*).<sup>1</sup> The spout is either made of a large flat stone, a stone with a curved channel or a clay pipe. The pipe is bent, the angle being called *kū'* or *rukbel*. A person who listens secretly to what others are saying is described by the words *‘āmel dān ṣaḥ̄ udān mizrāb*, "He makes one ear a roof (to gather the water: here it means the news) and one ear a spout." A person who spends all his income in useless ways or who helps only strangers, is also compared to a spout, *miṭl el-mizrāb mā biṣqa' illā labarrā*, "(He is) like a spout which throws (all the water it gathers) outside."

The roofs (*ṣaḥ̄*, pl. *ṣṭūḥ*)<sup>2</sup> are more or less flat, with a low dome-like elevation in the centre, sloping to the periphery so that the rain-water runs off freely. This elevation is the protruding apex of the vault. As described later such a flat roof has many uses.

Most peasants occupy their houses before they are finished, since plastering is regarded as a luxury which can be introduced any time later when the proprietor has saved money. A wooden door and wooden shutters (*daffet eṣ-ṣubbāk*) are installed. A newly-built house is unhealthy since, on account of the thickness of the wall, it remains damp for one year at least. There is a popular saying: *auwal saneh la‘aduwak, tānī saneh ladjārak uṭālit saneh ilak*, "The first year (give your house) to your enemy, the second to your neighbour and the third (keep it) for yourself." In describing a healthy house one hears the expression *dār ḥamsiyeh qamariyeh*, "A sunny and moony house," i. e. a house built in such a way as to allow the sun and the moon rays to enter freely.

The plastering material (*qṣārah*)<sup>3</sup> of the ceiling (*saqf*) and the walls (*ḥiṭān*) was made of lime mixed with flax-threads cut in

<sup>1</sup> A proverb thus describes an increasing difficulty or misfortune: *min taḥt ed-dalīl lataḥt el-mizrāb*, "From (the slightly dripping water of) the leakage to the (running water of the) spout."

<sup>2</sup> In the Ramallah district they are also known as *ḥeṭ*, although this word actually means wall.

<sup>3</sup> قصارة not قصارة (*Q.St. P.E.F.*, 1893, p. 198).

small pieces. It needed to be polished for several days and was called *qsārah 'arabiyeḥ*. Such plastering unites with the wall to make a single hard *beton*-like sheet. Formerly the expression *bṭāneh* was used synonymously with *qsārah*.<sup>1</sup> The lime used in plastering is prepared in a special way. It is slaked in a wooden box which has a trap door. Only the fine, suspended and slaked lime particles are allowed to flow out through the trap door in a pit.<sup>2</sup> The unslaked residue is known as *bizreh*.<sup>3</sup> As soon as the pit contains a sufficient quantity, the water is allowed to evaporate leaving a semi-solid mass. This process of slaking is called *taṣūl es-ṣid*, the box *ṣandūqet et-iṣṣūl*, the lime *ṣid imṣawwal* and the pit *maṣual*.

The tools employed by a *qaṣṣir* are: *mastarīn rammā* (trowel for throwing the plastering material), *mastarīn sqāleh* (trowel for polishing), *mīzān maiyeh* (spirit level), *qiddeh*<sup>4</sup> (rule), *sākūš lat-tahrīr* (pick hammer), *kaff*, *sahhābeh*, *takaneh*, *tarūš* and a *trumbah* (pump). The *takaneh*, mortar-box, is placed near the worker. While working the *qaṣṣir* (plasterer) is seen taking mortar from the *takaneh* and carrying it on the *kaff*, which is a small board held in his left hand. A *sahhābeh* is a small *qiddeh*. A *tarūš* is an elongated wooden trowel used in the first place to polish the plastering at corners or edges.

The *qaṣṣir* makes two or more vertical lines of plaster, fifty to sixty centimetres apart. They are rendered straight and vertical by the *qiddeh* and *mīzān maiyeh*, and serve as directing lines (*wadā'at*) for the remainder of the plastering, which is worked with a small *qiddeh* and *sahhābeh*. The plaster consists as a rule of three coats: *marṣeh* (rendering coat), *siḥhiyeh* (floating coat) and *nā'meh* (setting or fine coat). In the *qsārah 'arabiyeḥ* the setting coat is made of pure slaked lime and flax (*kittān*).

At present the modern methods of plastering have completely replaced older methods. A figure of speech derived from the work of plastering is, *udrub haṭṭīneh bil-ḥēṭ in mā lazqaqt bit'allim*,

<sup>1</sup> *baṭana*, to plaster.

<sup>2</sup> The scum is called *raghuet es-ṣid*.

<sup>3</sup> It is also called *bandūqah*. In preparing the clay for pottery work some pieces of lime may remain unslaked. They are also known by the terms *qaṭāmōn* (Ramallah) and *farrārah* (Nebi Samuyl).

<sup>4</sup> The *qiddeh* of the *qaṣṣir* is much longer than that of the stone-dresser.

"Throw this mortar on the wall: if it does not stick it will leave a sign," i. e. try again: if you do not succeed you will at least leave a good impression. Not every peasant whitewashes his house (*yutrus*).<sup>1</sup> If done at all one or two coats (rarely three) are used.<sup>2</sup> The basic coating is known as *auwal widjh*. *Sid imṣauwal* is slaked in water and a small quantity of indigo (*nileh*) is added to the mixture to counteract the bright white colour. Many peasants use so much *nileh* that the whitewashing has a decided bluish tint. Most peasants and some townsfolk also whitewash the outer surface of the jambs and lintel, especially around the door.

The pointing (*takhil*)<sup>3</sup> of the joints (*il-lsāqāt*, *hlūleh*; pl. of *hall*) of the masonry is a very important part of the work. Although most *fallāhin* do not do it at once, it must be done later. The tools of the *kahkil* are: *midlāk* (pointer), *sakūs* (and *šakūs*, a pointed hammer) and a *kaff*. With the *sakūs* the *hlūleh* are raked out (*harrir* or *inhar il-lsāqāt*). While working on the higher courses the workers use a scaffold, called *rkābat*, composed of two short beams on which one or two boards rest. The short beams which stand at right-angles to the wall are suspended from the roof by strong ropes. Pointing is now done with cement and sand. Formerly lime with *quṣrma* or lime with *humrā* were used. Such a pointing is known as *kuhleh 'arabiyyeh*. It covered not only the joints but also the edges of the stone and protruded slightly beyond the surface of stones.

Some *fellāhin* like to decorate the walls with simple and primitive drawings. These represent hands and palm twigs. The hand is a protective amulet against the evil soul,<sup>4</sup> and the palm tree is supposed by the Orientals to typify the tree of life.<sup>5</sup> Beside these there are drawings of flower-pots and, very rarely, animals. A frieze of undulating lines usually represents a serpent, *haiyeh*, which is believed to be a symbol of life.<sup>6</sup> All these decorations are made of *nileh* (indigo).

<sup>1</sup> Whitewashing was also known in Biblical times.

<sup>2</sup> Coating = *widjh*.

<sup>3</sup> From كُل not حُل as *Q.SI. P.E.F.*, 1893, p. 198.

<sup>4</sup> It is used also against the evil eye.

<sup>5</sup> CANAAN, *Plantlore, JPOS*, vol. VIII, pp. 152 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries, p. 13.

Richer landlords like to decorate the interior of the rooms with coloured earthenware dishes. Usually five are stuck in the plaster of the roof: one in the centre of the vault and one in each haunch of the cross-vault. The central one is pierced to allow the fixing of an iron ring. Most rooms used also to have iron hooks with rings fixed in the *rukab*. Small coffee dishes are at times stuck in the outer clay layer covering the lintel. Such a decoration is principally found in houses built of clay bricks (el-Qbāb, Bēt Dadjan).

In most peasant houses one meets with shelves (*raff*, pl. *rfūf*) made of clay *ṭīneh*. When small they serve only as a place for the oil lamp<sup>1</sup> (*masradjeh*); when larger they are used for depositing other objects (*ratqah*). A *mazlafeh* is a *ratqah* with small holes in which spoons are inserted. Such shelves are generally worked in an artistic way showing a broken frieze and drawings executed with *nīleh*. In towns and sometimes in villages one meets with wooden shelves. When the *rukbeh* springs high up from the floor, triangular wooden *rfūf* are nailed to the four corners<sup>2</sup> (see Pl. III).

Some houses are built over a low room or over a vaulted cave. A few steps lead down to such a dark room which as a rule has no windows. They either serve as store rooms or for stabling animals and are known by the names *ḥusṣeh*, *darbūkniyeh*<sup>3</sup> and *qabū*. A *mahdāah* or *mahdā'*<sup>4</sup> (pl. *mahādi'*) is a very small room which has no windows and which adjoins a living room. It is also used as a store room.<sup>5</sup> A *dahliz*<sup>6</sup> is a narrow, crooked and arched passage leading to the house.

Some houses have, on one side a bench-like elevation connected with the wall, a metre or a metre and a half broad and thirty to sixty centimetres high. This plastered *mastabeh*<sup>7</sup> is covered with a carpet or bedding and serves as a seat in day time and as a bed at night. Formerly one or two long stones were built projecting from the outer wall. They had holes and served one of

<sup>1</sup> Matth. 5<sup>16</sup>; CANAAN, *Light and Darkness*, JPOS, vol. XI, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> House decoration has been treated only superficially since it is out of the scope of this work. For further description see R. THOUMIN in *La Maison Syrienne*, pp. 31 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Heard in Jerusalem.

<sup>4</sup> The classical meaning of *mahdā'* is *جوف البيت*, *muhāṭa'*, p. 510.

<sup>5</sup> Such *mahādi'* are rarely met with in villages.

<sup>6</sup> The classical meaning of *dahliz* is hall, passage, antichamber.

<sup>7</sup> In Ramallah it is also known as *rudqah*.

two purposes: if low they could be used for tying the animals, and if high for suspending the rope used in drying clothes (*habl el-ghasīl*).

What has been said hitherto describes the better type of stone-houses with a stone vault. There is still another type of stone house which is very simple in its plan, material and finish. It is the type chiefly inhabited by the poor. The walls are made of rubble stones which are roughly cut square. Many houses are even built of common field stones which are not necessarily treated in this simple way. Mortar may or may not be used. If it is not used, as in the simplest and oldest type of construction, the walls are smeared on the outside and on the inside with a simple *samaqah* (red earth) or clay layer. Such a layer must be repaired every year. When rubble stones are used there is an uneven layer of *ṣuhaf* between the stone rows, giving the structure a characteristic appearance. When mortar is used the peasant may use simple mud or ordinary mortar made with lime (*ṣid*). In the last case the stones are always cut square. As the various stones of one *midmāk* are of various heights, the horizontal *hlūleh* run in an irregular line. Only the corner stones, the jambs and lintels of doors and windows show a slightly better dressing. Such houses are built with an outer row of stones or with two rows, an outer and an inner. In large houses of this type, as may be still seen in Trans-Jordan, the walls are made as carefully as in the houses described in the first part of this chapter. Since these houses are roofed with wooden beams and brushwood, no *rukah* spring from the corners. The exact method of roofing will be described in treating clay houses, as it is the same in both types. Thus it is clear that this type is the connecting link between the stone house with a stone vault and the clay house with the wooden roof. Formerly they were more prevalent throughout the country. All the houses of Eldjī are built in this way.

#### B. THE CLAY HOUSE.

Clay houses have flat wooden roofs since the clay walls could not support a stone vault. In Jericho, Bisān, and the villages of the Mediterranean, plain sun-dried bricks are used. The founda-

tion layers are built of stone and lime mortar.<sup>1</sup> The trenches need not reach the rock. The stone portion of the foundation has a thickness of 60—80 cm., while the rest of the building, which is made of *libn*<sup>2</sup> or *tūb*<sup>3</sup> (sun-dried bricks), is 40—50 cm. thick. Partition walls dividing two rooms are as a rule not thicker than 30 cm. Each brick layer of the external walls is made of two rows. The bricks interlace, thus giving the structure greater strength. These bricks are made by mixing chopped straw with mud or wet clay. The mixture is then pressed in elongated wooden frames (*qālib*; pl. *qawālib*) about 30 cm. long, 15 cm. broad and 8—10 cm. deep. Larger and smaller frames are also used. Each thousand bricks requires four *šuālāt* (pl. of *šuāl*) of straw (*tibn*, *qaṣual*).<sup>4</sup> A *šuāl* is a large sack constituting half a camel's load. Black earth (*trābeh sōdah*) gives better bricks than other earth, but each village uses the earth found nearest at hand. Sand has no binding power and is therefore not used for brick-making. The bricks are left in the sun to dry (Pl. II, Fig. 2). Formerly long tree trunks, *šawārīt* (pl. of *šārūt*), were used to roof such houses and poor peasants still use them. At present imported wooden beams (*mahrūq*)<sup>5</sup> are used. The tree trunks or beams are put parallel to each other at a distance of 35 to 60 cm. The more primitive the building the closer these tree trunks lie together. The *‘awārid*<sup>6</sup> are covered with thin branches, dry reeds (*qaṣab*), palm leaves (*djṛid*), thorn bushes, cornstalks or branches (*gharf*).<sup>7</sup> Two layers of *maddeh* are then laid down. The lower layer is made of simple *huwar* earth and the upper layer of

<sup>1</sup> Lime is not always used.

<sup>2</sup> At present the term *tūbeh* (pl. *tūb*) is used to denote a fire-burnt brick, while *libn* stands for a sun-dried brick.

<sup>3</sup> A proverb says *mā btidjī et-tūbeh illā filma‘tūbeh*, "(If) a brick (is thrown) it hits only the poor."

<sup>4</sup> In the Talmud period hair was sometimes mixed with clay in making bricks, KRAUSS, *Talmudische Archäologie*, I, pp. 14, 18. In some parts of Syria hemp threads are used.

<sup>5</sup> Heard in Bisān. This term has also another meaning. See L. A. MAYER, "A Medieval Arabic Description of the Haram of Jerusalem," *The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, vol. I, p. 50.

<sup>6</sup> This term is another name for *šawārīt*. In the district of Djenīn they are also called *rake*.

<sup>7</sup> Other material is used in different localities, thus in el-Qbāb sesame-stalks, in el-Barriyeh fennel.

earth-mortar mixed with straw. The clay-*maddeh* layers are known in 'Ammān as *balleh*. These *huwar* layers are also spread over the upper part of the four walls to prevent the rain from penetrating. To prevent the infiltration of rain the roof must be repaired annually with a layer of *huwar* mortar which is rolled repeatedly.<sup>1</sup> If this process was omitted for a single winter the roof would show several cracks, the rain would leak through, (*dalfat*, *rašhat* and *nazzat ed-dār*) and the walls would become saturated and develop a greenish fungus ('afan). This is also true of many stone houses (Pl. III). Windows and doors have wooden *šāsiyāt*, known as *ghaṭā ūbbāk* and *ghaṭā bāb*<sup>2</sup> respectively, and wooden frames (*halq el-bāb*, *halq es-ūbbāk*).

Peasants of the Mediterranean plain, in the Djenīn district and in certain parts of Trans-Jordan sometimes adopt another method in building their primitive houses. The four walls are formed from rubble stones sometimes held together by mortar prepared with or without *ṣīd*. The roof is made in the manner just described.<sup>3</sup> If no *huwar* is available the final layer of the roof is made of *sama-qah* (red earth). Such houses are known in some districts as *saqāif* (pl. of *sqīfah*). We still find the poorer class in most villages even in mountainous areas building *saqāif* for their dwellings.<sup>4</sup> The walls of clay houses need to be plastered, inside and outside, with mud made of the same earth from which the bricks were made. Women can be seen making the mortar in large balls (*bidahedlū et-ṣīneh*) and handing it to the plasterer. The outer coating is important as a protection against crumbling.<sup>5</sup> The following proverb describes the worthlessness of this building material: *lā tūbeh walā djabšeḥ min ṣorātak hal-ṣiféh*, "(One cannot gain even) a brick or a rubble stone from your unsound advice." The language of

<sup>1</sup> Eccl. 10<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> In ordinary peasant houses short tree trunks are used, but in modern clay houses imported wood is preferred.

<sup>3</sup> In some parts of Trans-Jordan and Haurān the roof is closed by placing flagstones of basalt over the *awārid*. See BŪLUS S. EL-BULŪSī, 'wā'id el-ṣarab, pp. 12, 39; R. THOUMIN, *La Maison Syrienne, Documents d'Études Orientales*, Tom. II, pp. 21 ff.

<sup>4</sup> As in Bēt Fadjdjār, Battir, el-Mazra'ah es-ṣarqiyyeh, Sileh, some villages near Djenīn and Nazareth.

<sup>5</sup> Lev. 14<sup>42</sup>.

the Book of Proverbs, the mention of "houses of clay" in Job, and the excavations of sites like Old Jericho and Tell Ghasūl, show how widespread was the use of clay houses in ancient times.<sup>1</sup>

Though most Palestinian houses have a square ground plan, a few adopt a circular plan. Most brick houses are oblong and one storied. If the room to be roofed is broader than two metres and a half the *sath* is made in one of the following two ways:

1. A strong and long tree trunk stretches from the middle of one of the longer walls to the centre of the opposite wall, thus dividing the roof area into two equal parts. Such a strong tree trunk is called *djisr* or *hammāl*, and it supports the transverse beams connecting the other two walls. Sometimes two or more *hammālāt* are placed parallel to each other and at a distance of 1,5—2 m. apart. Iron bars have now ousted the wooden *hammāl* and are known as *djisr hadid*. This method is sometimes varied. The *hammāl* may be supported not on the wall itself, but on vertical tree trunks, standing close to the inner surfaces of the two longer walls. If the distance is too long for one trunk a column (*‘āmūd*) is built in the centre of the room. In poorer houses a stout trunk takes the place of the stone *‘āmūd*. It is called in Jericho *qā‘deh* (pl. *qawā‘id*).<sup>2</sup> Rafters sometimes extend from this central column in every direction.

2. An arch, *qōs*,<sup>3</sup> known in the Djenīn district and in Trans-Jordan as *qantarah* (*qanāṭir*), built of stone and lime mortar, stretches across the room from one of the longer walls to that opposite, so taking the place of the *hammāl*. The *ridjlen* (*idjrēn*) of the arch are constructed inside the wall, and are thus strengthened by the wall itself. A deeper foundation is excavated for the *idjrēn* than for the walls. The stones used for the *qantarah* are of better quality than those for the foundation and are cut more or less evenly. The arches may be round (*rūmī*) or pointed (*‘arabi*). If the room is too broad for one *qantarah* two arches are stretched across. In Trans-Jordan one finds such houses 10—15 metres long and 6—8 metres wide. They show two, three or more *qanāṭir*, which lie

<sup>1</sup> See also JÄGER, *Das Bauernhaus*, p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> This term stands really for the pedestal of a column.

<sup>3</sup> This expression is the one known in all villages of the Mediterranean plain.

at a distance of 2—3 m. apart. Between the *ridjēn* of two adjacent arches the Bedouin build the *kuārah*<sup>1</sup> in which they store their grain and straw.<sup>2</sup> Such houses with an *'aqd šamsiyeh* ('Ammān) are used for storing field-produce and for housing the family part of the year. Usually houses in this district are built not of brick but of stone.

Often the roof projects beyond the walls. This shelter (*rifrāf*)<sup>3</sup> shelters the walls from the desurrtive action of the rain.<sup>4</sup> Sometimes it is necessary to support the *rifrāf* with tree-trunks which rest on a stone fixed in the ground. Flat wooden roofs are certainly older and more primitive than stone vaults. This type of house shows several characteristics which have been already described in the stone house.

The flat-roofed house (with clay or stone walls) used to be the most important type in Palestine, Trans-Jordan, Syria and Lebanon and could be encountered both in the plain and hill-country. They have been gradually superseded, especially in central Palestine, by vaulted roofs. About fifty or sixty years ago a vaulted house was called an *'illiyyeh*<sup>4</sup> to distinguish it from the simple and ordinary flat-roofed house of the poor. This term is used now, as we have seen, in another sense. Such an *'illiyyeh*, which was formerly built by richer villagers, was a ground floor room without an upper story. Many villages which once built their houses with sun-dried clay bricks now use stones.

### III. THE HOUSE OF THE PEASANT

A simple *fellāh* house of the old type is a cubical room (*ŷōdah, ghurfeh*) simple in form and badly lighted. The poor peasants could not afford to buy wood (which is very rare in Palestine) to serve as window-shutters. But their small unsheltered light-holes were very practical since they kept out the rain in winter and the burning rays of the sun in summer.<sup>5</sup> Most of the dwellings of the peasants had formerly no iron grills for the windows. In cities they

<sup>1</sup> *Muhīt* p. 1853.

<sup>2</sup> See also Būlus el-Būlusī *'Awā'id el-'arab*, p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> Heard in Jericho and Bisān.

<sup>4</sup> Heard in Battīr.

<sup>5</sup> It seems that the same conditions prevailed more or less in Biblical times.

were more prevalent. The wooden doors which were always one-winged were constructed in simplest fashion. They turned on their hinges in small holes excavated in the *sāsiyeh* and the *dauwāseh*.<sup>1</sup> The beam of wood fitting into these holes is called *sir*. It is nailed along its whole height to the door proper. Formerly wooden and iron nails were common. The last (*musmār hadid*, or only *musmār*, pl. *masāmir*) were made locally. Many doors turned on locally made hinges. Two types were used. The *danab el-fār*<sup>2</sup> (literally "the tail of the mouse") and the *razzeh*. The *danab el-fār* is the older type. It is composed of two pieces of iron, each having at one of its ends a ring. The rings interlaced and thus formed the moving joint. A *razzeh* is also composed of two iron pieces. The piece which is driven into the wall or into the wooden frame of the door (*halq el-bāb*) is bent at a right angle and is called *dakar*. The free and shorter leg of the hinge passes through the ring end of the second and flat piece (*ṣaiyāleh*, less often *’unṭa*) which is nailed to the door. When the *dakar* is driven into the wooden frame it is known by the term *ghrāb* (Jerusalem). But formerly doors had rarely any wooden frame. *Fassālāt* are the modern hinges imported from Europe.

The simplest lock, *sukkārah*,<sup>3</sup> is composed of two pieces. One serves as the lock<sup>4</sup> and the other as the key. A number of wooden or iron pins<sup>5</sup> drop into corresponding holes of the sliding bolt as soon as the latter is pinched into the hole or staple of the door-post. The key has the same number of small pins made to correspond with the holes into which they are introduced to open the lock; the former pins being thus pushed up, the bolt may be drawn back.<sup>6</sup> Such locks, still used in some places, were formerly common. They may be made of iron or wood. The wooden locks were more common. The number and arrangement of the pins differ

<sup>1</sup> I Kings 7<sup>50</sup>; Prov. 26<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> I owe this information to the carpenter Mr. Andria of Jerusalem. Such hinges were formerly widely used in Jerusalem.

<sup>3</sup> In Egypt it is known as *ḥabbah* (Lane, I. c.).

<sup>4</sup> The lock is made of two pieces. One is nailed to the door (*el-bēl*). In it the bar, *ez-zurrāqah*, moves to and fro.

<sup>5</sup> They are known as *snān*, or *banānr* (Djenīn).

<sup>6</sup> E. W. LANE, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, vol. I, 23.

in almost every lock. The large iron locks used at present are made locally. Even these are being replaced by European products. Every Palestinian door used to have a *luggātah*<sup>1</sup> which could be opened either by a piece of thread attached to it, or by a piece of wood. The *djarrār* (pl. *djarrārāt*), sliding bars, used to be made of wood. Iron bars have completely replaced them. A *zind* (pl. *znūdeh*) was formerly found in most houses.

The interior of most *fellalī* houses is divided into two parts. Three-quarters of the inner space is raised. The family lives in this part, the *masṭabeh*,<sup>2</sup> while the animals are stabled in the lower part, the *rāwieh*.<sup>3</sup> The emanation of the excretions of the animals poisons the air of the whole room. It is interesting to note that the expression *er-rāwieh* is used in some villages (Bēt Iksā, Bir Zēt) as a synonym of *masṭabeh*,<sup>4</sup> while the place for the animals is known as *qā‘ el-bōt*. In what follows *masṭabeh* is used of the family section and *er-rāwieh* for the animal section. The division is carried out in one of the following two ways:

1. The door opens into both sections, the lower dark storey, the *rāwieh*, which is as a rule not higher than 1.80—2 metres, and the upper room for the family. No partition or wooden door closes the entrance to the *rāwieh*. The lower room lies at a lower level than the *dauwāsēh* of the door and is reached by few steps. The floor of the *masṭabeh* rests on the vaulted roof of the stable, which is in many cases a *djamālōn*. Such a building appears from the outside as one single room although it consists of two storeys. This type of house is met with in the mountainous part of Palestine where the buildings have a stone vault. The staircase leading to the *masṭabeh* is placed on one side of the door. In some houses I found it in the middle line of the house in the direction of the door, thus leaving on each side an entrance to the *rāwieh*. In such cases a distance of 1—1.50 metres is left between the *dauwāsēh* and the first step of the staircase.

<sup>1</sup> *Luggātah* is not the *djarrār* as it appears from JÄGER's description (I. c. p. 31.)

<sup>2</sup> مسطة and مسطبة are correct but not مسْتَبَة (Q. St. P.E.F. 1893, p. 197). In the classical language it is known as دكّ.

<sup>3</sup> Not known in this sense to *muhīl*.

<sup>4</sup> In Bēt Uniā *rāwieh* is used for the *maqta‘*, that is the part of the *masṭabeh* which lies behind the dividing bins (v. s.).

A row of bins or jars (*hawābi*, pl. of *hābieh*) divides the *mastabeh* into two. The smaller part behind these dividing jars (the *maqṭa'*) serves as a lumber room and is known as *qat'*. In these jars which are made by the women from clay, the peasant stores his supplies of wheat, lentils, and other produce of the fields. They are large, for they have to hold the whole supply for the year. Near the bottom of every bin a small hole (*zarzūrah*, less often *rōzanah*) is made from which the contents are drawn as needed.

2. The room is divided transversely by a dry stone wall into inner and outer compartments. The floor of the inner one, which is the *mastabeh*, is filled with earth to the height of the dividing wall, i. e. 40—120 cm., and is then well stamped and covered with a *maddeh*. The dividing wall is plastered with *huwar*. While the upper and hinder room serves for the family, the lower and front room serves for the animals. A simple stairway built of rough stones leads to the living room. This type of house is found nearly always in the flat-roofed buildings (Fig. 6 and 7).

Some *mastabehs* have a bench-like elevation adjoining one of the longer walls of the room. It is called *es-siddeh*. Houses which

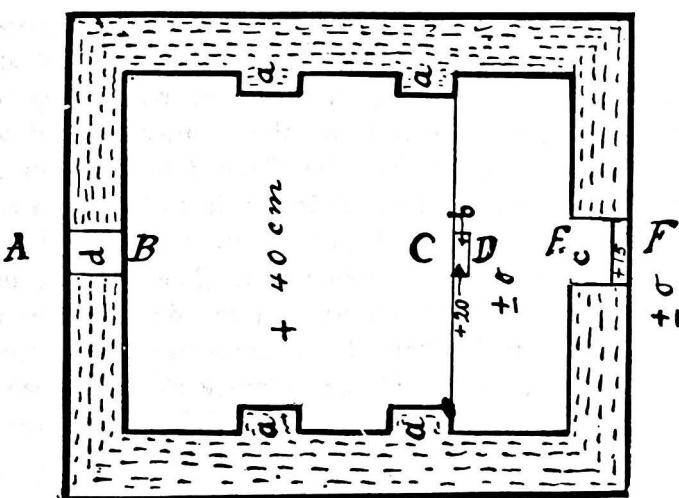


Fig. 6. Ground plan of a peasant house in Qbāb. *BC*, the *mastabeh*, is 40 cm. higher than the *rāwieh* (*DE*); *a*. the pillars of the arches; *b*. a step 20 cm. high; *c*. the *dauwāseh*, 15 cm. higher than the floor of the *rāwieh*; *d*. a small window.

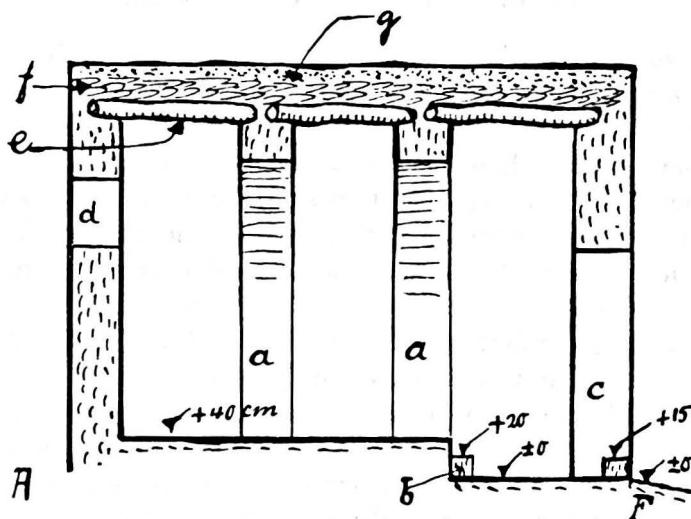


Fig. 7. Cross-section of Fig. 6 at AF. a. The arches; b. the step; c. the door; d. the window; e. thin tree-trunks; f. a layer of twigs; g. the *maddeh*.

have neither of these two types have a square space of about  $1.50 \times 1$  metre immediately within the door. It serves for depositing shoes, for no Oriental would enter a house without first taking off his shoes. The remainder of the room is paved, or more often plastered, 20–30 cm. higher than the front square space.<sup>1</sup>

Most of the *fellâhîn* houses have a fireplace, the *udjâq*, in one of the walls of the living-room. It is a cupboard-like hollow on the level of the floor and usually in the wall in which is the door of the room. The *udjâq* is built of *nârî* stone in the form of a horse-shoe and usually has no chimney (*dâhûn*, *madhâneh*). Whenever there is a chimney it has been achieved by omitting, during the process of building, one stone in every level of the inner course. The perpendicular outlet so formed is closed by flat slabs of stones. The lower opening of the chimney lies 70–100 cm. above the floor of the room. The upper opening is only slightly raised above the surface of the roof (*zahr el-bêt*), just enough to prevent the rain on the roof from flowing into the house. At times a broken pitcher or a *qâdûs fulâhâr* (clay tube)

<sup>1</sup> This square part reserved for the shoes is known in some parts as *qâc ed-dâr*.

may protrude above the roof as the continuation of the chimney. A shelf made of one piece of stone resting on two *zifrs* is built above the fireplace. In some cases the *udjāq* is built in one of the corners of the house and the chimney is made by closing the corner above the *udjāq* on two sides by a thin clay wall. This type is never met in houses with a cross vault, for the corners are filled with the protruding *rukab* and the ceiling is at this point very thick.

In houses without a chimney clouds of smoke fill the room, irritating the mucous membranes and causing a burning sensation to the eyes.<sup>1</sup> The only openings from which the smoke can escape are the small windows and the door.<sup>2</sup> Of such dwellings, which are not only dark but whose interior is blackened by soot, the proverb says: *min barrā rħām umin djuwā slām*, "From the outside they look like marble but from within they are sooty"; *min barrā dahlī umin djuwā kahħi*,<sup>3</sup> "From the outside they are beautiful, but within they are dirty." Sometimes a small hole (called also *rōzanah*) is left in the roof as a vent for the smoke.<sup>4</sup> Such an opening is closed in the winter months to prevent rain dripping into the room. In houses which have no *udjāq* the fire is made with charcoal in a chafing dish or a fire of wood may be kindled in the open court of the house.<sup>5</sup> In a *madāfeh* (guest house) the *udjāq* is made in the middle of the room. It is either a shallow excavation in the ground or a square (60 × 60 cm. to 100 × 100 cm.) stone hearth, 20—30 cm. high. Such fireplaces are generally known as *nugrah* and *djorah*. Here coffee is boiled and the people assemble around them in the winter months to spend their time discussing village politics.

Some houses have a small and low building adjoining the door and outside the house. It serves as a kitchen for boiling

<sup>1</sup> Prov. 10<sup>26</sup>; Is. 65<sup>5</sup>. See CANAAN, *Light and Darkness*, JPOS, XI, 17.

<sup>2</sup> Hos. 13<sup>8</sup>. A proverb comparing the bad action of a person with smoke is *lēr mā minnak duħħānak biyemt*, "There is no good in you, your smoke (bad actions) make one blind."

<sup>3</sup> *Dahlī* and *kahħi* are expressions used by children for good and bad respectively.

<sup>4</sup> See also BŪLUS S. EL-BŪLUSI, *Awāid el-‘arab*, p. 38; E. ROBINSON, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, III, 44.

<sup>5</sup> Luke 22<sup>55</sup>.

coffee in the summer months, when the guests assemble in the *ḥōs* outside the room.

In most old-type houses of the villages of the Mediterranean plain<sup>1</sup> there is a slightly elevated area in front of the house, near the wall and to one side of the door, which is also called *mastabeh*. It is surrounded by a balustrade-wall. The floor and the sides of the *mastabeh* as well as the balustrade are roughly plastered with a clay (*huwar*) layer. This structure, which is generally shaded by an *'arīsh* or a tree, is used in the summer months by the family as a resting place in the afternoon, and for sleeping in at night. The balustrade has sometimes a simple but effective decoration (Pl. IV).

In front of some sanctuaries may be seen a similar *mastabeh* known as *mṣallāi* (pl. *mṣallāyāt*). These are covered with large, smooth flagstones and are built in the courtyard of the shrine and close to the shrine. Some examples are *es-sēh* Ṣāleḥ ('Anātā), Irdjāl Sūfah (W. of Dēr Ghassāneh), *es-sēh* Dāmrāh and *es-sēh* en-Nūbānī (in Mazāri' en-Nūbānī).<sup>2</sup>

In the *ḥōs* of some houses one may see a *midwad*,<sup>3</sup> a *ḥumm* *djādj* and a *ṭābūn*. The first is an elongated manger made of clay; the second is a small hen-house.<sup>4</sup> The *ṭābūn* will be described later.

The *idjren* of the *qōs*, which are at the same time the *rukab* of the vault, are built as square pillar-like projections at the inner, less frequently at the outer, sides of the wall. The latter type of *rukab* is called, as has already been mentioned, *baghleh*, pl. *baghlāt*. While the greater number of clay houses are one-storeyed many of the stone houses of the *fellāhīn* have also a second storey.

#### IV. THE TOWN HOUSE

The simpler type of houses of the poorer inhabitants of the towns do not differ much in their scheme and rough finish from those of the peasants. They are small and dark rooms. The houses of the middle class often have a characteristic arrangement. On

<sup>1</sup> Dēr Snēd, Barbarah, Bēt Ḥanūn, Madjdal, el-Barriyeh, etc.

<sup>2</sup> CANAAN, *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries*, p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> The classical pronunciation is *midwad*.

<sup>4</sup> Very often it is also made of clay.

both sides of a *līwān* (hall) are the living rooms<sup>1</sup> (*biūt es-sakan*). The *līwān*, which is used also as a *dīwān* (sitting room), is as deep as the whole building and shows two and occasionally three *ḥiam* (pl. of *ḥēmeh*, cross-vault). In its furthest wall, as well as on both sides of the door there are windows.<sup>2</sup> Such a house sometimes but not always opens into a courtyard. Another scheme is often found. Around a square, open court of variable demensions are arranged blocks of houses. The court is called *qā' el-bēt*, *ḥōṣ*, *wast ed-dār* and *sāḥn ed-dār*. When the court is not completely surrounded by buildings the gap is closed by a high wall. The upper row of stones of such a wall is made of single stones showing four dressed faces: an inner, an outer and two upper faces. These upper faces are trimmed so as to form an obtuse angle to one of the two other faces. These stones are known as *djibah*<sup>3</sup> (pl. of *djibah*). Such upper stones are not always finely dressed. When the *djibah* of the gate are better dressed than the other stones and the two upper surfaces form one round surface they are known as *ṭarābīs* (pl. of *ṭarbūs*). The *ḥōṣ* of most peasant houses is small and the enclosing wall is low. On the top of such a dry wall a pile of thistles is often placed. They are useful as fuel. They are stored on the wall for two reasons. The small *ḥōṣ* is kept free of litter and the thorny bushes prevent strangers from climbing too easily over the wall.

Houses with a central court belong to one of the two following classes.

The building surrounding the courtyard belongs to one single family or it houses a whole group of families belonging to one and the same *hamūleh*. In the first case the rooms are arranged as a rule according to a definite plan, the building is more small and compact and the court is comparatively small. The *ḥōṣ* is generally paved, and sometimes it is adorned with a *nōfarah* (fountain), often with trees and flowerpots. In simpler houses of this type a cistern takes the place of the *nōfarah*. Taking our stand in the outer court

<sup>1</sup> See also JAUSSEN, *Naplouse*, p. 21 ff; R. THOUMIN, *Deux Quartiers de Damas*, *Bulletin d'Études Orientales*, 1931, p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> In the lower story they are small, in an upper storey they may be larger.

<sup>3</sup> The last *h* must be pronounced. Some say *djubah*. This row of stones prevents the rain-water from percolating into the wall.

of a house belonging to a rich family we see that the main building faces the entrance to the court, while on both sides there are rooms for the guests, and a reception room. Sometimes there is a verandah built over a row of arches. The apartments of that storey open into the verandah. If there is more than one storey we find the verandah surmounted by a gallery which is sometimes protected in front by a balustrade.

In the second class, where a whole *hamūleh*, composed of several families, inhabits the large complex of houses built around the court, both the building and the court are much larger. The houses cluster one against the other without any regular plan. Many follow the *līwān* system described above. In the court, which is as a rule not paved, there is a large cistern,<sup>1</sup> used by all the families. In many town-dwellings occupied by small families the same conditions recur but on a smaller scale. The court, usually possessing a cistern, belongs to a single house which opens into it, while the other houses surrounding it are occupied by different unrelated families, and therefore do not open into the same *hōs* but into others situated in front of them.

The passage leading into a large courtyard is made with at least one turn—for two reasons: to prevent people in the street from seeing into the *hōs*<sup>2</sup> and to facilitate defence should the large and strong door of the gate be broken through by attacking enemies. For the same reason many passages (*dahliz*) were formerly made very narrow. In the passage and just within the gate a large stone seat (also called *masṭabeh*) was built against the side wall, for the door-keeper. This *masṭabeh* is sometimes connected with a small room, the living room of the *bauwāb* (door-keeper).

The main gate (*el-bauwābeh*) is large enough to allow a camel to enter. The wooden door is made of one or two wings (*daffeh* or *darfeli*). A smaller door, a *lōyah*,<sup>3</sup> is often provided for in one of the wings. It admits the inhabitants and the visitors, while the *bauwābeh* is opened when animals enter. Whenever an important visitor comes the two wings are thrown wide open. A small aperture is left in one of the wings. It is closed from the inside

<sup>1</sup> II Sam. 11<sup>2</sup>; 17<sup>18</sup>; Prov. 5<sup>16</sup>; Neh. 8<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Sometimes a transverse wall blocks part of the passage.

<sup>3</sup> The classical word is *مَحِيلٌ*, *muhīl*, 510.

and serves for inspecting a would-be visitor before he is admitted. This door-window is called *zōzanah*. The knocker, which is generally an iron ring, is called *halqat el-bāb*.<sup>1</sup> In criticizing poor people who imitate the rich we hear the figurative expression *bāb ed-dār kbir u'alēh halqah illi fīh bišthū-lmaraqah*, "The gate of the house is large and has a knocker, but those within (the house are so poor that they) crave (the simple) gravy." If a house has no large courtyard and is of two storeys, the door leading to the room of the lower storey is made broader and higher than that of the upper storey, so allowing loaded animals to enter. The same applies to many peasant houses. Such a lower storey serves as a storeroom.

The windows of all the rooms of the lower storey open into the courtyard; those of the upper storeys open into the street. They are placed sufficiently high to prevent any attacker firing through them into to the room.

This description would imply that nearly every family in a town had houses with two or more rooms: the whole complex buildings around the court belonged to a *hamūleh* composed of several families. The poorer class of the town had and still have much inferior dwellings, generally consisting of one small and dark room.

A staircase (*dardj*, in some places wrongly called *sullam*, which has rather the sense of ladder) leading to the upper storey is sometimes built in one of the lower rooms. This room (*bēt ed-daradj*) served at the same time either as a lumber room or for animals. The staircase had a stone railing (*sāhi!*)<sup>2</sup> known also in the towns as *darabzīn*, which is a Persian loanword. The top of the staircase ended in a small square platform, *qurṣ ed-daradj*. Staircases are either *daradj m'allaq*, where each one of the steps is made of one single stone (they hang free, one end of each step being built into the wall); or *daradj malān* where the whole staircase rests on a firm substructure or on an arch and each step is generally made of two or three stones. The steps used to be

<sup>1</sup> Or only *halqah*. A proverb compares a girl with the knocker: *el-bint mill halqat el-bāb kull wāhid biduqqhā*, "The girl is like the knocker of the door, every one knocks with it."

<sup>2</sup> In Jerusalem it is also called *stāret ed-daradj*. The stones of the *sāhi!* are called in some places (Jerusalem, Siloah) *barābiṭ*.

comparatively steep (their height being 25—30 cm.). A *bēt daradj* was found only in large houses; most buildings had no such arrangement, but had instead a flight of steps outside the house, thus giving access to the second storey or to the roof without passing through the house itself.<sup>1</sup> At present wooden and iron railings are much used, both in villages and towns, and the *sāhit* is becoming rarer. Only in the humblest town dwellings is the roof reached by a ladder (*sullam*, pl. *salālim*). In villages it is more common.

The roof may be reached by one of the following means:

1. When the house is built on the sloping side of a mountain the gap between the back wall and the slope is filled in with rubble and earth until it is raised to the height of the roof.

2. A few steps (four to six) are built in the upper part of an external wall near one corner. This is easily done as here the wall is thickest, owing to the *rukab* of the cross-vault. The steps are reached by a removable ladder. This system assures the private use of the roof.

3. Long stones are built protruding from one of the external walls. These stones are so arranged that they serve the purpose of a stairway. The steps so formed are steeper and wider apart than in a common staircase, and the stones are not joined to each other.

4. A regular staircase may be built in one of the following ways:

a. The staircase starts at or near one corner of the house and runs upwards diagonally to the upper and opposite corner. The lower triangle protrudes and carries the staircase. This type of architecture is met with more in towns than in villages. It is no longer used.

b. The staircase rests on a *qōs* and runs transversely to the wall. In a small house such a staircase joins the wall near to one of its corners, while in a larger building having several rooms it is constructed nearer the centre.

<sup>1</sup> Thus Jehu could be proclaimed king from the top of the stairs, while all the people assembled below in the court could witness the ceremony (II Kings 9<sup>19</sup>). Such an arrangement is probably alluded to in our Lord's words in Matth. 24<sup>17</sup>; Mk. 13<sup>16</sup>.

Because the steps of most Oriental staircases are somewhat steep the proverb advises *iṭla' es-sullam (ed-daradj) daradjeh daradjeh*, "Go up the ladder (the stairs) step by step." This saying is used in a figurative way to express the maxim, "Do your work by degrees and regularly and you will surely make progress."

At times a *ruāq*<sup>1</sup> is a feature of the larger houses. It is constructed between two rooms, with three of its sides closed and the fourth, the front side, left open. If such a *ruāq* is not roofed it is called *sāḥah samāniyeh*. Such *'arwīqah* (pl. of *ruāq*) and open rooms are very useful in the summer months. The same applies to a *haḍir* or *sṭēhah*, which is an open space in front of a room on the second storey. In this case the second storey occupies less space than the lower storey. A single small room as the second or third storey is known as *'illiyyeh*. An *'illiyyeh* (pl. *'alātī*), which is met with more often in towns than in villages, is more attractive than the rooms of the lower storey. It serves as the sleeping room of the master of the house or is reserved for distinguished guests. Such a small room is usually quiet and cool.<sup>2</sup>

While the *haḍir* or *sṭēhah* in the villages have no protective railings, in the towns they are surrounded by a balustrade<sup>3</sup> 70—100 cm. high, made of *qawādīs* (the pl. of *qadūs*), clay tubes. This is not intended to serve only as a protection, but to conceal the Moslem townswomen from the inquisitive eyes of strangers. Therefore it is known by the names *stārah* and *qaṭ' kāfī*.<sup>4</sup>

In most town houses of the older type the privies are made in a very primitive and unhygienic fashion. A large flagstone with an elongated slit in the middle, 29—25 cm. broad and 40—50 cm. long, having at the further end a circular aperture 25—30 cm. in diameter, serves for squatting. This opening communicates with a canal leading to a cesspit (*djōrah*). The older method of making the stone seat of the privy was somewhat different. Several stones were used in constructing the frame of a rectangular slit. In some

<sup>1</sup> *Ruāq* (classical: *riwāq*) is used in Jerusalem for a covered colonade, like that in the west of the Temple Area. See also R. THOUMIN, *Deux Quartiers de Damas*, Bulletin d'Études Orientales, 1931, p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> From II Kings 4<sup>8ff.</sup> we learn that houses then had similar rooms.

<sup>3</sup> Deut. 22<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> The wooden lattices of Moslem town houses bear in Jerusalem the same name.

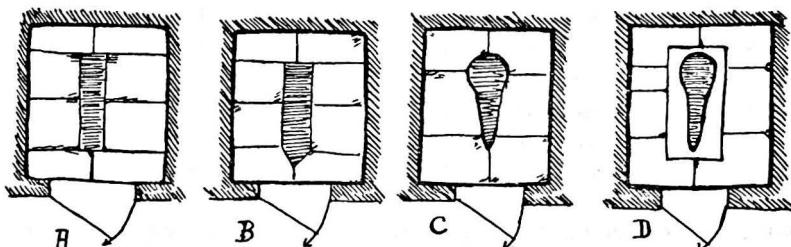


Fig. 8. Sketch plan of different types of floors of privies.

cases the front part of this slit formed an acute angle. The use of a single large flagstone perforated along its centre in place of several stones is comparatively recent.<sup>1</sup> This kind of privy, *mustarāh* or *bēt el->adab*,<sup>2</sup> in most houses provided a permanent stench. The *mustarāh* was built in a corner of the court yard adjoining the house. The entrance was so contrived as to conceal from observation whoever entered. Often the privy had no wooden door but only a curtain of sacking. At present more or less modern devices are beginning to be used. Formerly no privy was provided for most houses in villages. Villages may be divided in this respect into three categories:

1. The simple, poor and dependant villages.
2. The villages of leading *séhs*, which villages were the capitals of their small district. They are known as *qirā iqṭā'iyyeh*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The latrine stones in old Arabic classical architecture seem to have been more or less of the same type. But they were built in a more hygienic fashion. See the description of the ruins of Mṣattā by K. A. C. CRESSWELL, *Early Muslim Architecture*, vol. I, p. 359.

<sup>2</sup> Other names have been mentioned previously.

<sup>3</sup> The most important *iqṭā'iyyeh* villages, with the names of the leading *séhs*, are: Hebron district: Dūrah (*dār el-'Umūr*), Bēt Djibrīn (*el-'Azīz*), Bēt 'Aṭāb (*dār el-Lahhām*) and Bēt Ūlā (*dār el-'Amlah*). Jerusalem district: el-Qarieh (*dār Abū Ghōs*), el-Waladjeh (*dār el-'Absiyeh*), Bēt Iksā (*el-Kasāwnī*), Abū Dis (*el-'Rēqāt*), Bēt Ūniā (*dār el-Bētūnī*), el-Bīreh (*el-Bīrāwī*), Dēr Ghassāneh (*el-Barāghī*), Dēr Dibwān (*ed-Dabāwnī*), Rās ibn Samhān (*dār ibn Samhān*). Nablus district: Bētā (*dār el-Bē-tāwī*), Bēt Fūrik (*dār el-hadj Mohammad*), Djammā'īn (*dār Qāsim* and *dār Raiyān*), Madjdal Yābā, now called Madjdal es-Ṣādiq (*dār Raiyān*), Bēt Wazan (*dār Qāsim*). Tulkarm district: Kūr (*dār edj-Djayūsī*), Şüfeh (*dār el-Barqāwī*). Djenīn district: Şānūr (*dār Djarrār*), Arrābeh (*dār 'Abd el-Hādī*), el-Kafir (*dār*

### 3. Rich villages.

While no privies existed in the first type of village, in the second and third category they were to be found in the houses of the *ſeħs*, the notables<sup>1</sup> and the richer persons, but not in those of the ordinary peasants. It may also be observed that the *iqtā'iyeh* villages north of Jerusalem were more consistently equipped with privies than those to the south. This is due to the fact that the *ſeħs* of the villages of the Hebron district have in many ways preserved their Bedouin characteristics. Many village mosques are provided with a *mustarāħ*.

Certain ornamental features still remain to be described. A round pillar, *‘āmūd*, is generally made of a single stone. When it is square and built up of several courses it is known as *šam‘ah*. A column is always more carefully finished than the other masonry of the building (generally *maṭabbeh nā‘meh*). The pedestal is called *qā‘deh*, the capital *rāsiyeh*. A five-, six- or eight-sided column is known as *‘amūd mħammas*, *msaddas* and *mħamman* respectively. Columns were formerly not as much used as *šam‘āt*. The front of a *ruāq* often shows a row of columns (circular or angular) supporting beautiful Arabic arches. Strong and broad *šam‘āt* are constructed when the *ruāq* is long and these columns with their arches assist in supporting the vault.

A pillar and its pedestal are used figuratively to describe the supporter of a family or the *ſeħ* of a tribe. A proverb says:

*māl hal-‘āmūd binūd?*

*qāl el-ħalām min-el-qā‘deh (qā‘deh).*

"Why is the pillar swinging (i. e. infirm)? He answered: The trouble (lit. the disease) lies in the (insecurity) of the base." The meaning is that the cause of a family's misfortunes may be the immoral character of the father, the chief of the family or more distant ancestors.

In better built houses a row of stones circumscribes the building and marks off one storey from another. This *midmāk* protrudes 5—8 cm. from the face of the wall. The stones of such

(i) R̄sid. Haifa district: Idžzin (*dār el-Mādi*), Šubbārin (*dār Miflīḥ*). I owe this information to the kindness of Mr. O. S. Bargħut. The list is not complete.

<sup>1</sup> Such are *dār el-Huffās* (of Mardi near Djammāġin), *dār Sēf* and *dār Hēf* (of Burqā in the Nablus district), *dār ed-Djarādāt* (Sileh in the Djenin district), etc.

a *zunnār* are usually of a different kind from the rest, or are differently trimmed. In modern buildings the basement is often differentiated from the next storey by a *tażnīneh*, the wall of the basement protruding some centimetres beyond the wall of the next storey.

In large and important buildings as well as in minarets some stones were bound together by small iron bars. A bar binding a stone with that resting on it is called *dusrah*<sup>1</sup> (pl. *dusar*), while that which holds two adjacent stones is a *qnāq*. When stones are interlocked they are known as *‘ašiq u ma’šūq* or *dakar u intā*. This was formerly used in decorated façades or large gates of monumental buildings, mosques and minarets. The interlocking stones were chosen from different colours.

## V. PALESTINIAN ARCHITECTURE

On examining from an architectural point of view what has here been described the following conclusions may be stated. The simplest erections are the huts which are inhabited only in the summer months (Pl. V, Fig. 2). They have nearly always a circular ground plan. This same plan is found also in some houses built of dry stone walls and having a flat dirt roof supported on heavy boughs (*sqīfeh*, pl. *saqāyf*), but never in any of the other buildings. The round form marks the most primitive type of architecture.<sup>2</sup> Later the walls of such houses were plastered very roughly on the outside with simple mud. Most of the *ṭawābin* (pl. of *ṭabūn*, peasants' baking oven) still show this style of work: a round ground plan with walls made of rubble stones smeared on the outside with simple mud. The roof is made either of tree trunks, brushwood and mud or, more rarely, of rubble stones in the form of a cone. In the latter type the vault-like roof is also covered with mud. *Tawābin* have no chimneys.

The *ṣūneh*,<sup>3</sup> a conical erection for storing *qaṣwal*<sup>4</sup> (coarse

<sup>1</sup> *Dusar* are also used in *sumāc* and *‘umdān*.

<sup>2</sup> KONRAD BARTSCH, *Der Wölbungsbau*, 1928, p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> See *muhīl*, I, 1142.

<sup>4</sup> Not known to *muhīl*, HAVA and BELLOT.

straw used for fuel and for building) is an even more primitive structure than the *tawābin*. A *sūneh* is made in one of the following ways.

a. A circle of the size of the base of the *sūneh* is made of bundles of dry sesame stalks. They are laid horizontally on a hard layer of earth, no foundation trenches being necessary. The several stalks of each bundle must first be tied together. In one side—generally the south or east—a small opening, not larger than  $40 \times 50$  cm., is left as a door, *bāb eṣ-sūneh*. It is made of three stones, the two vertical serving as the jambs and the horizontal as the lintel. They are held together by clay mud. The circle is filled with *qaṣwāl*. A second layer of sesame-stalk bundles is laid on the first one. The bundles of the second layer interlace with those of the first and with each other, thus making a firmer structure. The higher the layers are raised the more *qaṣwāl* is introduced and the smaller the circles become. At times maize stalks, *‘uram durah*,<sup>1</sup> and other brushwood may be used instead of, or with the sesame bundles.<sup>2</sup> This is only done when the latter material is not found in sufficient quantity, for sesame stalks are preferred above all other material. When the whole conical structure is complete sometimes the outside of the *sūneh* is covered with a layer of *djilleh*, called also *latī*<sup>3</sup> (cow's manure), to prevent the leaking in of rain water. From the top of the *sūneh* protrudes a perpendicular piece of wood (*Qbāb*) or a stone (*el-Barriyeh*). This is known in the Ramleh and Jaffa districts as *rās* (or *rāsiyet*) *eṣ-sūneh*, and in some villages of the Djenīn district as *qassīs*.<sup>4</sup> Some *sūnehs* are very large and symmetrically built. In el-Barriyeh the present writer saw some with a diameter of 3—3.5 m. and a height of 4 m. In poorer villages they are smaller and carelessly built. The small opening left at the bottom serves for drawing the *qaṣwāl* as needed. The

<sup>1</sup> It is written with a 3, but pronounced by most Palestinians like a ح.. See *JPOS*, VIII, 157.

<sup>2</sup> In *Qbāb*, *el-Barriyeh* and *Tireh* maize stalks or brush wood are used at times.

<sup>3</sup> Cows' manure is *latī*, while *djilleh* is *latī* made in a round cake form. *Latī* is unknown to *muhīt*, *HĀVĀ* and *BELLOT* in this sense, *djilleh* is known.

<sup>4</sup> I owe this term to the kindness of Mr. O. S. Barghūtī. It is unknown to *muhīt*, II, 1708, in this sense. In *el-Qbāb* and *el-Bariyeh* it is not used.

*bāb eṣ-ṣūneh* is closed by a wooden door or by stones (Pl. VI, Fig. 1).

b. A substructure 1—1.50 m. high is built of rubble stones held together by mud.<sup>1</sup> This substructure may have a round or a square ground plan. The walls are raised perpendicularly. The conical part, of sesame stalks, rests on the walls (Pl. VI, Fig. 2).

c. A simple wooden frame is erected in cone-shape fashion. The several boughs (*ṭīd*, *ṭīdān*) are united by sesame or maize stalks. The whole is covered by *djilleh*. This method of making a *sūneh* is rare.

In some places (et-Tireh) a layer of *samaqah* (red earth) or clay, *ṭīneh* may take the place of the *djilleh*. The *qaṣwal*, and when this is all used, the sesame and maize stalks, the brushwood and *djilleh* are used as fuel (*‘uqūd*) for the *ṭawābīn*.

In the Hūleh region, which belongs to the Ṣafad sub-district, one meets with the same type of structure used by some poor peasants as dwellings. They are larger than those described above and are constructed with an *ṭīdān* frame.<sup>2</sup> No stone or wood projects from the top. The whole hut is smeared on the outside with a layer of clay and a tent-cloth covers the whole of it or only the upper part.

The circular ground plan leaves no scope for modification or expansion. Houses of this type were necessarily restricted to a single room. Therefore it was superseded by the square form which is capable of adaptation to the growing needs of a progressing population.

The next step in the progress of building was the use of an inferior species of mortar to hold the rubble stones together. The oldest and most primitive method of roofing such houses was the flat roof made of boughs, twigs, reeds and mortar.<sup>3</sup> The steps in the development of the Palestinian architecture are square houses and the use of lime mortar, dressed stones, arches and a barrel- or cross-vault. The arch removed some great difficulties connected with trabicular architecture, which is naturally adapted to constructions in wood, but unsuitable when the material is stone.

<sup>1</sup> Such types are seen in el-Qbāb and et-Tireh.

<sup>2</sup> Some call them *ḥusṣ*, while others reserve this name to the reed-mat huts.

<sup>3</sup> The method is still in use. See also DALMAN, *Einst und jetzt in Palästina*, PJ, VI, 32.

Stone "beams" have no tensile strength and therefore require such narrow intercolumniation as may be spanned by stone lintels.<sup>1</sup> Remains of buildings of the last type have been unearthed in the excavation of ruins dating 700 years B. C.<sup>2</sup> This method of roofing is still seen in Haurān (Syria).<sup>3</sup>

With the introduction of arches wide spaces could be spanned without intermediate support. This is of great practical importance in a land as poor in wood as Palestine is. The arch was followed by the vault, which is nothing but the prolongation of the arch sideways, and by the dome, which is the arch revolved on its axis.<sup>4</sup> *Djamiālōn*-vaults are older, simpler and easier to construct than cross-vaults. In certain villages like el-Bīreh twenty or thirty years ago one could still see all these stages of architecture.<sup>5</sup>

In studying minutely the different characteristics of the simple house of the *fellāh*, the thick walls and vaults, the low and small door and the few small windows, the unplastered interior, the earthen floor, the simple square form and the low roof one finds many resemblances to a natural cave, the original prehistoric abode of mankind. The dark interior, the use of a one-roomed house for all the requirements of the family, as well as for stabling the animals, are other points of resemblance. It may therefore be correct to assume that the primitive house—and all typical Palestinian dwellings are very primitive—is the immediate successor to the cave.<sup>6</sup>

Little progress was made in recent centuries towards improving the plan and structure of the house; but they began to show more skill and craftsmanship, e. g. in the solidity and harmony in the arrangement of the arches and walls, and the greater accuracy in constructing the walls and the corners, and the introduction of the *kamar*, all of which served to support the weight and strain of the vault. The skill of local masons in carrying out very complicated designs (cf. also the local mother-of-pearl craft) is also proof of

<sup>1</sup> TH. GRAHAM JACKSON, *Byzantine and Romanesque Architecture*, vol. I, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Tell en-Naṣbeh, Tell Bēt Mirsim, etc.

<sup>3</sup> R. THOUMIN, *Maison Syrienne, Documents d'Études Orientales* (Institut Français de Damas), Tom II, pp. 21 ff.

<sup>4</sup> TH. GRAHAM JACKSON, l. c.

<sup>5</sup> See also E. GRANT, *The People of Palestine*, p. 211.

<sup>6</sup> See also BENZINGER, *Realencyklopädie der protestantischen Theologie und Kirche*, vol. VIII, pp. 481 ff.

a natural inclination to art among Palestinian Arabs. Most of the experienced masons have an exact knowledge of the various types of arch and can construct them artistically. Naturally many forms were copied from older classical examples of Arabic architecture.

This natural aptitude, however, never greatly developed and no progress was apparent in Palestine until about forty years ago. Thus the houses in Palestine to-day are much the same as those of ancient times. The climate, an important factor in determining the architecture of a locality, has not changed, and the habits of the inhabitants of the East have proverbially changed but little. The glaring sun, the varieties in temperature, the cold winter with no means to heat the rooms, and the hot sirocco days in early and late summer, were a natural reason for the simple, thick-walled houses with few and small openings.

The houses in the towns and those of leading peasants are larger and more complicated; but they are not always beautiful. The rigid social laws governing the townsfolk caused a modification of the one-room house, making a special room for the women, the *harīm*, essential.<sup>1</sup> The windows of such rooms were always provided with lattices (*ṣā‘ārī*)<sup>2</sup> to prevent a view from outside. Some of these windows have a protruding wooden lattice framework (*rōšan*) which provides a characteristic ornamental feature and also enables the women to look out and see better what is happening in the courtyard or street. Very thin wooden lattices (*ṣā‘ārī* or *baghdādī*)<sup>3</sup> are used in making the lattices. The old and still prevailing rule that children should never cross the threshold of their parents, also had its effect on the form of the house. Large and elaborate houses were made with one, two or even three storeys which, as we have seen, served the purpose of private family apartments built (in villages) side by side, or one above the other (in cities). These larger buildings are usually arranged around a courtyard. Stone flights of steps on the outside facing the courtyard lead up to the several apartments.<sup>4</sup> Such buildings in time

<sup>1</sup> I Kings 7<sup>8</sup>. This need played an important part in the architecture of all Islamic nations. See B. FLETCHER, *A History of Architecture*, p. 832.

<sup>2</sup> Judg. 5<sup>28</sup>; II Kings 1<sup>2</sup>; Prov. 7<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> The first expression is the earlier.

<sup>4</sup> SELAH MERRILL, *East of the Jordan*, pp. 83, 84, gives a description of the house of Umm edj-Djemāl which corresponds to that here given, although the ruin dates from Roman and Byzantine periods.

grew into complicated labyrinths of rooms. Their plan is wholly lacking in regularity and symmetry. The several rooms in the same storey often differ in height and floor-level necessitating one or more steps between one room and another. The chief object of the builder was to render every set of rooms as private and secure as possible.<sup>1</sup>

The narrow streets were often arched over and houses were built over these arches. This device was adopted in towns and in many villages. The same street is often surmounted at various points by arches of sundry heights and types (pointed or round, barrel- or cross-vaults), giving the street the characteristic Oriental appearance. Such streets remain cool in summer, but they foster the characteristic street smelliness, due to the decomposition of refuse thrown out from doors and windows.

Those who have travelled much in the country observe a main characteristic which marks the construction of the majority of the Palestinian houses, namely the preference for straight lines, manifest in the walls, the doors, the windows and most roofs. This is even more pronounced in the simpler village houses than in town-houses. Owing to this characteristic, as well as to its simple square form and its greyish colour, the Palestinian peasant's house harmonizes excellently with the landscape, and is more pleasing than most of the modern, occidental houses found in the modern colonies which have recently sprung up in Palestine. The *fellāh*-dwelling is also far more suited to the climate of the country.

The plans of the simpler type of houses were not usually drafted in advance; but if any detail needed to be described, it was marked on the ground or drawn roughly on a stone. With more elaborate complicated town houses the plan was sometimes drawn roughly on paper.

The rooms of the poorer class of peasant are small, from  $2 \times 2$  m. to  $3 \times 4$  m.<sup>2</sup> Those of the more flourishing class are larger,  $4 \times 6$ ,  $8 \times 8$ ,  $6 \times 10$  m. *Lawāwīn*, *dawāwīn* and *madāfāt*

<sup>1</sup> See also E. W. LANE, *Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, vol. I, pp. 22 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The same conditions prevailed in Old Jericho, as may be seen from SELLIN's report of the excavations; cf. *Wissenschaftl. Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*. See also *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, vol. V, p. 210.

(guest-houses) are even larger. The height of the rooms varies between 2.5-4.5 m. for simpler rooms, and 6-7 m. for those divided into a lower *rāwīeh* and an upper *mastabeh*.

Older Oriental methods in construction, paving, plastering, etc., are called *'arabiyyeh*, to distinguish them from modern methods. Thus we hear of *sāth 'arabī*, *maddeh 'arabiyyeh*, *qṣārah 'arabiyyeh*, *kuhlēh 'arabiyyeh*, etc.

Most of the other architectural details have been dealt with in the chapter on construction. Here may be put on record certain rules which are observed, more or less, by every landlord and mason. Though they are everywhere known they are not followed with the same strictness in every part of the country.

A wall dividing two gardens, fields or plots of ground within a village always belongs, unless there is a written *hiddjeh* (document), to that land which lies higher.

No person, while constructing a new building, has the right to use the wall of his neighbour's house, even if this wall is built exactly on the boundary, unless the neighbour consents. He may require from the man building the new house a document stating that the wall belongs to the older structure.

If the wall has no windows, the neighbour may build the corresponding wall of his house flush with the older wall; but if it has windows he must withdraw at least a few centimetres. Such a new house shuts out air and sun from the older house (*sadd en-nūr wil-hawā*).

None has the right to open a door of his courtyard or house into the private alley (*zqāq*) of his neighbour.

In towns, and in villages where the women veil themselves, no house may be built from whose windows the courtyard or *hadir* of the neighbour can be overlooked.

In Dēr Ghassāneh no tree may be planted in the courtyard if the doings of the neighbours can be observed from such a tree.

No new window may be opened in a house if it overlooks the neighbours. If such a window already exists no male may look through it. The rigid custom of the Orient forbids a man to stand on the roof of his house if it overlooks the home of his neighbour.

In enlarging his house, a man may buy the roof of an ad-

jacent house to build on it or to use it as *sṭehah* (*haqīr*). But he may in no way damage the roof. If the lower house collapses the rules applicable vary in different parts of the country. In Dēr Ghassāneh the owner of the collapsed house and the owner of the "air space" must reach an agreement as to reconstructing the lower storey. In the villages around Jerusalem the owner of the "air" loses all his rights.

No house may be so built as to prevent the flow of rain-water into a neighbour's cistern. In Dēr Ghassāneh this rule is strictly adhered to if the owner of the cistern has collected for a long period in the past the water drained off from his neighbour's ground. In the villages around Jerusalem no such regulation is known.

It is forbidden to deposit anything where it may contaminate water flowing into a neighbour's cistern.<sup>1</sup>

## VI. THE TENT

The Bedouin call their tents *biūt ṣa'ir* or *biūt wabar*, "hair houses," and less frequently *ḥemeh* (pl. *ḥiam*). As a rule the tents of a tribe, unless it is very small, are pitched at considerable distances apart in order to provide each group sufficient grazing land. A tribe (*qabilah*) is made up of several *'asāir* (family groups) and an *'asīreh* of several *hamāyl* (pl. of *hamūleh*). *Hamāyl* and *'asāyr* are used synonymously by some Bedouin, while *'eleh* stands for a family. The tents of a family are generally pitched in a semicircular fashion, known as *duwār*. When the tents are few and belong to a small *'asīreh* they are pitched in circular fashion. A few tents, four to five, are arranged in a single row. The *ṣeh*'s tent then stands at the right side of the entrance to the circle or on the right end of the row. A Bedoui calls the "tent village" of his sub-tribe *mashan* *'asīrinā*. The tents of the *duwār* are placed so near together that the ropes of one tent cross those of the next. In the centre the *tars* (cattle) are placed where they are safe from wild animals and thieves. Every Bedoui ties his horse in front of his tent. Some fasten the *djanzīr* (iron-chain) during the night below their bedding. The *ṣeh* pitches his tent to the west of the *duwār*.

<sup>1</sup> I owe much of this information to the kindness of Mr. O. S. B.

A white flag is sometimes hoisted above his tent to guide strangers and visitors.<sup>1</sup> All visitors are led directly to the tent of the *ṣeḥ* in order not to enter the *duwār* itself.

A tent is made up of several pieces of *ṣuqaq* (pl. of *ṣuqqah*). In the Palestinian dialect this term means originally "part," *ṣaqqaṭ el-bēt*—a part of the house. A *ṣuqqah* is woven by the Bedouin women from goat's hair and is therefore black.<sup>2</sup> Camel's hair is only exceptionally used by the Bedouin of Palestine. As a rule it is seven pics (*drā'*)<sup>3</sup> long and one pic broad. Several *ṣuqaq* are sewn to each other with coarse black thread also made of goat's hair. A simple tent is made up of five to seven *ṣuqaq*, while that of the *ṣeḥ* is much larger and has at least ten pieces. The tent cloth is stretched over wooden poles (*'amūd*, pl. *'amāwīd*) which according to their position are known by various names. As a rule there are three rows of poles: the central (*el-wāsiṭ*),<sup>4</sup> the front (*el-miqdam*) and the back row (*el-muahħar* or *el-maħħar*). In large tents, at the place where the *wāsiṭ* stretches the cloth of the tent there is always a strip of cloth 30—40 cm. broad, which is sewn transversely, holding the several *ṣuqaq* together. This strip is called *tarīdjeħ*.<sup>5</sup> The front row of poles lies usually to the east. The poles to the sides, i. e. to the north and south, are called *el-kāsir*.<sup>6</sup> In small tents each row is made of three poles. The *wāsiṭ* poles are always higher than the poles of the other two rows. The roof therefore slopes to the front and to the back.<sup>7</sup> A tent is usually described by the number of its *wussaṭ* (the pl. of *wāsiṭ*). Thus the Bedouin speak of *bēt ṣa'ir abī* (or *'ann*) *ħams* or *sab'* *wussaṭ*,

<sup>1</sup> CANAAN, *Light and Darkness in Palestinian Folklore*, JPOS, XI, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> See Song of Songs 1<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> A *drā'* *ħāsimī* (= *drā'* *baladī*) is  $22\frac{3}{4}$  inches, a *drā'* *turkī* or *stambūlī*  $29\frac{1}{2}$  inches and a *drā'* *bannā* = 75 cm. See also BÜLOUS SAIYŪR EL-BÜLUSI, *'Awā'id el-ğrab*, 37.

<sup>4</sup> JAUSSEN, *Coutumes des Arabes*, has heard the expression *el-‘amer* for *el-wāsiṭ*.

<sup>5</sup> Heard from the Idwān Bedouin. This term is unknown to *muhīṭ*. JAUSSEN, l. c., calls it *tarīqah*.

<sup>6</sup> *Muhīṭ* gives another meaning. On p. 1814 we read **الكُرْ جانبَ بَيْتِ وَالشَّةِ** السُّفْلَى مِنَ الْجَاهِ أَوْ مَا تَكُرْ وَتَنِي عَلَى الْأَرْضِ مِنْهَا. *Al-kāsir* is *ism fā'il* and is thus correctly used for the side-poles. Another term used is *ṣeħal* (JAUSSEN).

<sup>7</sup> Isaiah (40<sup>22</sup>) compares the heavens to a tent which is well stretched.

meaning a tent of five or seven central poles. Among some Bedouin the central pole is called also *dāfēh*. Short pillars are styled *ṣub*. Various household objects are hung upon the several poles,<sup>1</sup> especially on those in the centre.

This<sup>2</sup> implies that the entrance to the tent (known as *bāb*, door) usually faces east. The part of the tent-cloth which hangs down on the north and south sides is called *er-riffeh*, while that which hangs down at the back is called *er-ruāq* and is made of one or two *ṣuqaq*. *Er-riffeh* and *er-ruāq* are generally made of separate *ṣuqaq* fastened to the rest of the tent by small wooden spikes (*el-hlāl*). These side-hangings are held to the ground by short ropes (*ṣabḥ*) and pegs (*watad*, pl. *utād*).<sup>3</sup> The poorer Bedouin living to the north of the Sea of Galilee and around Lake Hūleh use reed-mats in place of *er-riffeh* and *er-ruāq*.<sup>4</sup> The long ropes,<sup>5</sup> *muqt*, which fasten the long poles to the ground, are known as *tunb* (pl. *ṭaṭnāb*) or *midār*.<sup>6</sup> Often the *tunb* are attached to an *‘ukkāfēh*, which is a fork-like piece of wood. The two arms of the *‘ukkāfēh* are fastened to the roof cloth in such a way that each arm comes to one side of the *tarīdjeh*. The *tunb* is tied at the junction of the two arms. Since the ropes of adjacent tents intersect they are used in a figurative sense for neighbourhood and the rights and duties connected with such a state: *ṭanībī*, "my neighbour (whose tent-ropes are near to mine)";<sup>7</sup> *‘anā ṭanīb ‘alēk*, "I beseech you to accept me as your neighbour (and thus to give me your help and protection)."<sup>8</sup> A verb *aṭnaba* has been coined: *baṭneb ‘alēk*, "I ask you for your support." There is a saying: *‘anā fik badārī uint fī tablī ‘autādī*, "I am cossetting you while you pluck out all the pegs of my tent," i. e. although I try to help you, you constantly injure me.

In summer the sides of the tent are lifted up to admit air. The opening so made is known as *taniyeh*. A tent is divided by

<sup>1</sup> Is. 22<sup>28,24</sup>; Judith 13<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> The Bible gives nearly the same description, Is. 33<sup>20</sup>; 54<sup>2</sup>; Jer. 10<sup>20</sup>; Ex. 10<sup>20</sup>. We may infer that the ancient tents resembled those still used by the Bedouin. No simpler dwelling can well be imagined.

<sup>3</sup> Judges 4<sup>21</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Seen in Tābgha.

<sup>5</sup> Ex. 35<sup>18</sup>; Jer. 10<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> The last expression comes from the ‘Idwān tribe.

<sup>7</sup> *Muhit*, p. 1297; *JPOS*, II, 43.

<sup>8</sup> *Mohamedan Saints and Sanctuaries*, p. 89.

one, two or more partitions (called *er-rab'ah* or *es-sāḥah*) into two or more cubicles. The partitions are always made at a *wāṣīt* pole. In Trans-Jordan I have seen tents with seven *wussat*. Such large tents are known as *bēt madjd* (a house of honour), although they may show no signs of riches or elegance. The part reserved for the women is called *mihārram* (or *el-ḥadr*)<sup>1</sup> and that for the guests *es-ṣuqqah*, *es-ṣiqq* and *el-maq'ad*. A third part serves for the servants, less often for their animals. Richer Bedouin assign special tents for their women. In the part reserved for women one often finds a bedstead-like arrangement made of wood, and resting on four poles. This is known in the Tiberias district as *irzān*.

The goat's-hair cloth of the Bedouin tents shrinks by reason of the rain, and its meshes become so compact that no water, even in the heaviest rain, comes through. In the rainy season the Bedouin choose a place which is naturally protected from severe winds. The side parts are fastened firmly to the ground and a row of stones keep the hem of the hangings tightly secured. A trench is dug around the tent to drain off rain-water from the inside.

Such 'houses' are easily transported. When a tribe proposes to change its encampment it loads the tents, with its few other possessions, on camels and donkeys.<sup>2</sup> The making, packing, unpacking and most of the work of pitching the tents is the duty of the women. They spin the hair-yarn, twist the cords and weave the *suqqah*.

The Bedouin has a strong affection for his tent. He will not exchange it with any stone house. A *bēt ṣa'r* is called *bēt allah* for its doors are never closed.<sup>3</sup> Until twenty years ago some semi-Bedouin of Trans-Jordan, e. g. those of Kerak and Mādaba, used to pass the winter in tents pitched in a protected valley, and the summer in stone houses.<sup>4</sup>

## VII. FOLKLORE OF THE HOUSE

The chief festive events (*farāḥi*) in the life of a Palestinian peasant or townsman are three in number: marriage, the birth of

<sup>1</sup> The classical term is *bidr*.

<sup>2</sup> This notion of transitoriness is also expressed in II Cor. 5<sup>1,4</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Heard from Miss Baldensperger.

<sup>4</sup> See also JAUSSEN, *Contumes des Arabes*, p. 71.

male children and the acquisition of a new house. When the vaulting of the roof of a new house is finished, all workers, relatives and friends congratulate the owner on the completion of a house which he may call his own.<sup>1</sup> The features associated with this occasion—the festival meal, the merry company, offering of presents and the expression of good wishes—are associated only with the two other festive events. A proverb teaches: *mā farah illā farah el-qaqd*, "There is no other joy than the joy of vaulting (a new house)."<sup>2</sup>

To rent a house is a disgrace and a mark of poverty,<sup>3</sup> therefore the ambition of every Palestinian is to possess his own house. An Arabic maxim runs: "Leave your children either a (house of) stone or (an orchard of) trees,"<sup>4</sup> since everything else is only a temporary, worthless possession. Expressions of good wishes associated with the possession of a house are: "May God grant you to rear them (your children) and to marry them in your own house!" "May you be granted every success and many children in your house!"<sup>5</sup> In expressing thanks for an invitation to enter another's house to rest, a man says, *allah iħalli l-bēt nišħabuh*, "May God keep the house and its owners!" Other similar expressions are: *inšallah bit-dall ċāmreh*, "May God keep it (the house) prosperous," i. e. full

<sup>1</sup> The extreme self-abnegation of Christ was perfectly expressed in the words, The son of Man hath nowhere to lay his head (Matth. 8<sup>20</sup>).

<sup>2</sup> It is true that other occasions are praised by the Palestinian as affording greatest joy; thus a song, declares the pilgrimage to Nebi Mūsā to be the highest joy:

*el-čurs mā hū farħah  
walā thür es-subiān  
mā farħah illa ziġret Mūsā  
čalēħ es-salāħ uis-salām.*

"The marriage feast is no (real) joy, nor the circumcision of boys. There is no joy except visiting Mūsā—prayer and peace be upon him!" CANAAN, *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries*, p. 212; KAHLE, *PJ*, VII, 168.

<sup>3</sup> But when it is essential, as in the case of a stranger, not only the building itself but every part of it—the rooms, the stable, cistern, hen-coop and courtyard—must be exactly specified in the contract. The patriarch Abraham did the same, Gen. 23<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> *utruk lawaladak yā ḥadjar yā ſadjar*; ſadjar refers primarily to olive trees.

<sup>5</sup> *Inšallah bitrabbihum ubtifraħ fihum fi bētak; inšallah bitħiġel el-ħer uil-wlād fi bētak.*

of children;<sup>1</sup> *inšallah bitkūn min našībak unašīb ulādak*, "May God grant that it be yours and your children's lot," i. e. that it may remain the property of you and your children. A touching song<sup>2</sup>: descriptive of devotion to one's own house is:

*yā dār(e)nā ya-mm il-ḥadjar el-ahmar  
iḥnā rāḥalnā ughērnā itwaṭṭan  
yā dār(e)nā ya-mm il-ḥidjil uit-tōq  
yā ‘āliyeh umšarrā‘ah lafōq  
yā dār(e)nā yalli rbīnā fiči  
lā ‘ādat tawīnā walā in’awīci  
yā dār(e)nā in nizlūči ‘urbān ghērnā  
twassī (i)bhim yā dār lan’āwid  
uadjiblič yā dār himlēn nīleh  
unaqqšič yā dār naqš el-‘arāys.*

"O our house with the reddish stones!  
We have gone and others have inhabited (thee).  
O our house with the foot-ring and necklace!<sup>3</sup>  
O thou lofty one and built high up!  
O our house in which we grew up,  
Which no longer offers us shelter nor can we be proud  
with thee!<sup>4</sup>  
O our house, if Bedouin, and not we, take their abode  
within thee,  
Receive them kindly till we return.  
Then shall I bring thee, O house, two loads of indigo,  
And shall adorn thee, O house, as brides are adorned."

The children call the house in which they were brought up their "sister" (*šaqīqī*) who has certain rights. If the children fail to fulfil these rights the house will claim them in the Day of Judgement. This idea is well expressed in the saying *hādi šaqīqī bit-hāsibnī fi yōm id-dīn*.

A daughter who, on marriage, has left her father's house, re-

<sup>1</sup> *Mahall āmir*, "(May it remain) a prosperous place".

<sup>2</sup> I owe this song to the kindness of Mr. St. H. STEPHAN.

<sup>3</sup> A comparison with the bride.

<sup>4</sup> From the classical *ṣaṣūt* (*muṣūt*, p. 2140).

proaches her sister-in-law (the wife of her brother), who gives her a cold welcome, with the words:

*ed-dār dār immī uabūyeh  
lā tibhali yā mart ḥahūyeh  
zuwār ma iḥnā harādeh.*

"The house is that of my mother and father:  
Be not grudging, O wife of my brother!  
We come as visitors, not because I am angry with  
my husband."

The house which gives shade and protection to its owner and his family is thus regarded as bestowing special blessings. The greatest honour which a person can bestow is to extend these blessings to others. This partly explains the profuse hospitality of Orientals. The expressions *'ahlān ua sahlān*, which stands for "Welcome!" is literally "(You will be treated) as one of the family and (you will find) a wide plain," i. e. you will by no means inconvenience us through your presence. *El-bēt bētak*, "(Consider) the house as your own house" is a remark passed to the guest to make him feel at home. He answers *allāh iḥallī el-bēt uishābuh*, "May God keep the house and its owners." Any one in great danger may enter the tent or the house of an influential man and ask him for protection. The expressions used on such an occasion are *'anā fī bētak*,<sup>1</sup> "I am in your house"; *'anā taht saqf bētak*,<sup>2</sup> "I am under the roof (the protection) of your house." The host is morally obliged to offer him every possible help and protection. This is not the place to go more fully into these details.

The Semites<sup>3</sup> used the word *bēt* for the members of the family, a use still prevalent, as may be seen from expressions already recorded which are widely known in Palestine,<sup>4</sup> both among the Bedouin and among the *fellāhīn*. In speaking of a family the words *dār* or *bēt* are often used instead of *čeleh* (family) and *hamūleh* (family group). Thus *dār el-Hṣēnī* and *bēt Duqmāq*<sup>5</sup> *adjū lal-farah*

<sup>1</sup> Gen. 19<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Other expression like *dāhil 'alā 'ardak*; *dāhil 'alā ḥarīmāk*, etc. are more common terms; see *JPOS*, XI, p. 202.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. 18<sup>19</sup>; I Sam. 20<sup>16</sup>; Is. 2<sup>5</sup>; John 4<sup>58</sup>; Acts 11<sup>14</sup>; Heb. 3<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Ps. 38<sup>7</sup>; 120<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Both families live in Bēt Djālā.

means "The families of *Hṣenī* and *Duqmāq* came to the festival"; *biddī aftah bēt*, "I wish to open a house," means I intend to marry and build up a family. Thus the expression *allah i'ammir bētak* does not refer, as JÄGER<sup>1</sup> supposes, to the wellbeing of the "stone house" but "the upkeep and prosperity of the family and the increase of its male members." The most prosperous family is that which is richest in male offsprings, for "houses (full) of girls are houses of ruin."<sup>2</sup> A proverb says *el-barakeh fis-sukkān miš fid-dukkān*,<sup>3</sup> "The blessing comes from the inhabitants, not from the shop." Shop stands here for house. The various curses connected with "house" indicate the same idea: *allah yḥrib bētak*, "May God ruin your house" (i. e. kill its inhabitants); *allah issakir dār abūk 'al-balāṭ ('al-fār)*, "May God close your father's house on the (bare) floor-stone (on the mouse)," i. e. may all its inhabitants die out. A man whose wife dies, or a woman whose husband dies, laments *yā ḥarāb bētī*, "Oh, the ruin of my house (has befallen me)." Such expressions indicate clearly the importance of the house, since only the loss and destruction, or the welfare and prosperity, of important things call forth curses or blessings. Other expressions point directly to the house itself, e. g.: *allah ihidd dār abūk 'as-sāsāt*, "May God pull down the house of your father to the very foundation stones";<sup>4</sup> *allah ydj'allāhā tinhadd 'alā shābha*, "May God destroy it over its owners (thus killing them all)."<sup>5</sup> *Bēt* is also used to denote origin: *hū min bēt imnīh*, "He is from an honourable family."<sup>6</sup> In buying a mare a Palestinian always asks *šū bēthā*, "What is its origin?"

A study of the use of the house gives us a good picture of the life and customs of the Palestinian. It is a very old Semitic belief to which the inhabitants of the Holy Land still adhere, that all houses are inhabited by supernatural beings, most of whom are malevolent. It is not safe, therefore, to move into a newly-built

<sup>1</sup> KARL JÄGER, *Das Bauernhaus in Palästina*, Göttingen, 1912, pp. 48, 49, 53.

<sup>2</sup> *Dūr el-banāt ḥarābāt*; CANAAN, *Unwritten Laws affecting the Arab Woman of Palestine*, *JPOS*, vol. XI, p. 174.

<sup>4</sup> Heard in Nablus.

<sup>8</sup> Mark 13<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> The pronoun of *ydj'allāhā* points to *ed-dār* and is therefore feminine.

<sup>6</sup> There are several verses in the Old Testament in the same sense: Ps. 11<sup>8</sup>; Dan. 7<sup>26</sup>; Mic. 1<sup>6</sup>; Eccl. 10<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> See *muhīt* p. 146, *مِنْ أَهْلِ الْبَيْوَاتِ*.

house before placating them.<sup>1</sup> House spirits are called *'ummār*.<sup>2</sup> The following customs explain how the inhabitants of Palestine attempt, from the beginning of the process of building, to gain their favour.

On the completion of the foundation-trenches the owner of the building must kill an animal as an offering to the demons which inhabit the place. This sacrifice is called *ḍbīḥit el->asās*.<sup>3</sup> The blood flows into the trench.<sup>4</sup> The Christian peasants summon the priest, who blesses the foundation and sprinkles the trenches with holy water. In the *Adjāzmātārī*<sup>5</sup> there is a special prayer assigned for such an occasion. A part of it runs

انظر لعديك هنا  
الذى اراد ان يقيم له بيتاً للسكنى بعزة قدرتك ويشيده بالبناء قبته على الصخرة  
المكينة واسسه حسب قولك في بشارة انجيلك الالهي بحيث لا ربيع ولا ماء ولا  
شيء آخر يقدر ان يضره. ارتضي ان يبلغ الى النهاية واعنق المزمعين ان يسكنوا  
فيه من كل مشورات المضاد

"Look in thine almighty power upon this thy servant who is minded to build unto himself a house to dwell therein. Stablish it on the firm rock, and let its foundation be according to thy word in the good tidings of thy Gospel, that neither storm nor water nor aught else may harm it. Suffer it to reach its fulfilment and save all them that would dwell therein from all evil counsels."

Moslems, as they lay the first stone, say *bism allah*, for nothing will prosper if the name of God is not first uttered.<sup>6</sup> Under

<sup>1</sup> CANAAN, *Dämonenglaube im Lande der Bibel*, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> *Muhīt*, p. 1470.

<sup>3</sup> Such an offering seems to have been already known to the pre-Islamic Arabs, NÖLDEKE, *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*, I, 670. In various Palestinian excavations foundation-offerings have been found; R. A. S. MACALISTER, *The Excavations of Gezer*, II, 426—436.

<sup>4</sup> JAUSSEN, *Nablouse*, p. 21, has heard the name Abraham connected with this *ḍbīḥah*. I have never heard people associating the name of the Patriarch with this offering.

<sup>5</sup> Page 478.

<sup>6</sup> Ps. 127<sup>1</sup>. A *ḥadīṭ* says *kullu 'amrin lā yubtada'u fīhi bismi-l-lāhi fahūa ḥabtar; kullu 'amrin lā yubtada'u fīhi bihamdi-l-lāhi uas-ṣalāti 'alaiya fahūa ḥabtarun uamaqū'un min kulli barakah*. See also CANAAN, *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel*, p. 8.

the *dauwāseh*, or under the first stone in the foundation, many put a silver coin, by itself or with a green twig. It is believed that an ancient silver coin brings more luck than does a new one.<sup>1</sup> The underlying idea is that *faddah* (silver) is a good omen denoting *fadā*, light. White and green are regarded as holy colours. All the heavenly beings, when they appear to a mortal, are seen clad in white<sup>2</sup> or green.<sup>3</sup>

When the *sāsiyeh* of the door is put in place, a blue bead, garlic, a piece of alum and an egg-shell are hung over it to protect the building from the harmful effects of the evil eye. In Hebron a camel's skull is hung up with the same purpose. Others use the horse-shoe of a mare. Many put a kind of cactus-plant on the inner side of the door to protect it against the *qarīneh*.<sup>4</sup> To these objects Christians add the sign of the cross. It is engraved on the *sāsiyeh*, more seldom on the *ṣaddāghāt* of the door. Town Moslems inscribe the name of God,<sup>5</sup> the name of the prophet Mohammed, or a verse from the Qorān.<sup>6</sup> The present writer has seen in several places the representation of a hand or crescent engraved on the door lintel, and also on other parts of the building. Such signs and inscriptions may also be found inside the house. Some kill a sheep on the lintel of the door or on one of the corners of the building. This is done when no sheep was killed in the foundation trenches. This practice is not very widespread.

On the completion of the *'aqd* another *dbīḥah* is killed in front of the house (in towns) or on the vault (in villages), in the latter case letting the blood flow over the lintel and jambs of the door.<sup>7</sup> The animal is laid on one side with its head turned to Mecca. Christians paint the sign of the cross on the *sāsiyeh* with the blood of the

<sup>1</sup> No golden coins are placed in the trenches, as JÄGER (l.c. p. 49) writes, for gold and all yellow things are believed to belong to the unlucky planet Saturn.

<sup>2</sup> See also Matth. 17<sup>2</sup>; 28<sup>3</sup>; Mark 9<sup>2</sup>; 16<sup>2</sup>; Luke 9<sup>29</sup>; John 20<sup>12</sup>; Ps. 104<sup>2</sup>; Dan. 12<sup>6</sup>. Silver and the colour white according to Arab superstition pertain to the moon; green is the colour of Jupiter. See also CANAAN, *Aberglaube*, p. 97.

<sup>3</sup> CANAAN, *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries*, pp. 238, 239.

<sup>4</sup> *Aberglaube*, pp. 19, 54. <sup>5</sup> Deut. 6<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Generally Sūrah I, verse 1 is engraved. Such a Quranic inscription does not, as L. GEIKIE supposes, indicate that the householder has visited Mecca (*The Holy Land and the Bible*, II, 214).

<sup>7</sup> DALMAN, *Arbeit und Sitte*, I, 1, p. 30; CANAAN, *Dämonenglaube*, p. 36.

offering. While *dbihet el-asas* is not widely practiced, *dbihet el-aqd*,<sup>1</sup> which is also called *dbihet el-Halil*,<sup>2</sup> is common. Workmen, relatives and friends join in the eating of this *dbihah* and pass afterwards a convivial time. Even the passer-by is invited to join in the meal.

In some places a fresh branch is fixed over the middle of the vault. This custom was formerly practised by most Palestinians. It still survives in towns, where a green branch is nailed to the topmost point of the wooden frame (*en-nasbeh*, *kursi-l-qarmid*) of a tiled roof (*sath qarmid*). Olive branches are preferred, but branches of other trees may be used if olive branches are not available. The olive tree symbolizes prosperity and good luck, for it is believed to be one of the blessed trees of Paradise.<sup>3</sup> Moreover the green colour plays, as we have seen, an important rôle in Arab superstition. A person whose actions are crowned with success is said to have "a green foot,"<sup>4</sup> "a green heel" or "a green hand."<sup>5</sup> *Dar abuy hadra*, "My father's house is green" means that it is full of male children who are the only means of propagating the name of the family and of defending its interests and honour.<sup>6</sup>

Before moving to a new house the owner must kill another sheep, *dbihet ed-dar*.<sup>7</sup> The greater part of the mutton is distributed among the poor. The sheep must be killed on the *dauwaseh*. The *sashiyeh* and the jambs of the door are sprinkled with the blood as a proof that the offering has been made.<sup>8</sup> This offering of the *fellahin* corresponds to *dbihet bêt es-sa'r*<sup>9</sup> of the Bedouin, who whenever they move their camp sacrifice one or more sheep to the *djinn* of the spot, with the words *dastur ya sâhib el-mahall*, "By your permission, O lord of the place."<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Not *dbihet el-uqdah* as in JAUSSEN, *Nablouse*.

<sup>2</sup> In measuring wheat the first *sâ'* is also consecrated to Abraham. It is called *sâ' el-Halil*, CANAAN, *Plantlore*, JPOS, vol. VIII, p. 139.

<sup>3</sup> CANAAN, *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries*, p. 142.

<sup>4</sup> *Idjruh hadra*, *ka'buh 'abdar*, *'iduh hadra*.

<sup>5</sup> JPOS, vol. VIII, 159. The explanation of JÄGER, l. c. pp. 49, 50, is not correct.

<sup>6</sup> This expression has also another meaning, which is given in JPOS, vol. VIII, p. 159, footnote 4.

<sup>7</sup> This offering may be fulfilled one week before moving into the house.

<sup>8</sup> The Israelites had similar customs, Ex. 12<sup>7, 28</sup>; Lev. 14<sup>49 ff.</sup>

<sup>9</sup> JAUSSEN, *Coutumes des Arabes*, p. 339.

<sup>10</sup> MOHAMMEDAN SAINTS AND SANCTUARIES, p. 187.



Fig. 1. A stone porter carrying a stone of 400 kg weight.



Fig. 2. A shrine to the south of Gaza showing two hemispherical domes one rests on an octahedral and the second on a square basis.



Fig. 1. One crescent shaped wall of a house in process of construction. The first protruding stone of the *rukbeh*, the *zifr*, is seen in the left corner. On the top of the *hlāl* the niche into which a beam of the *tūbār* comes to rest is visible.

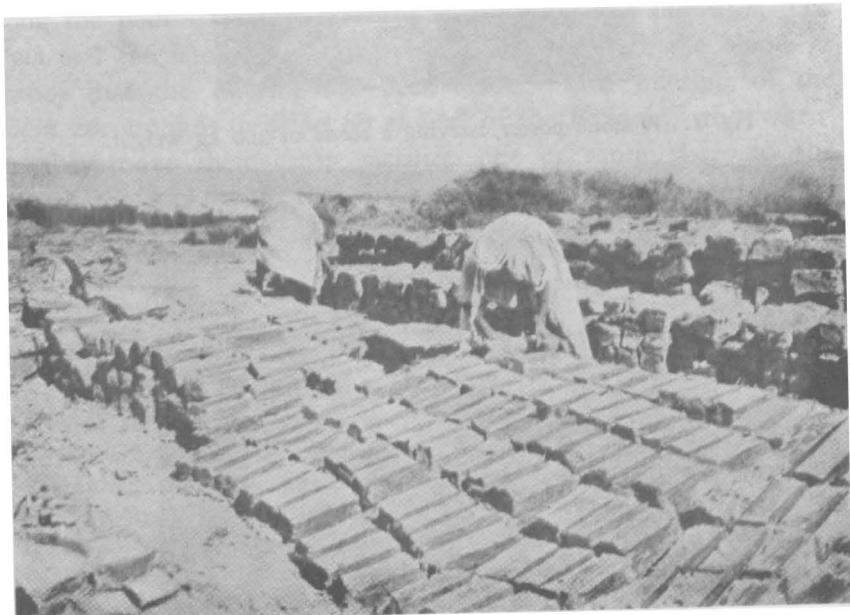
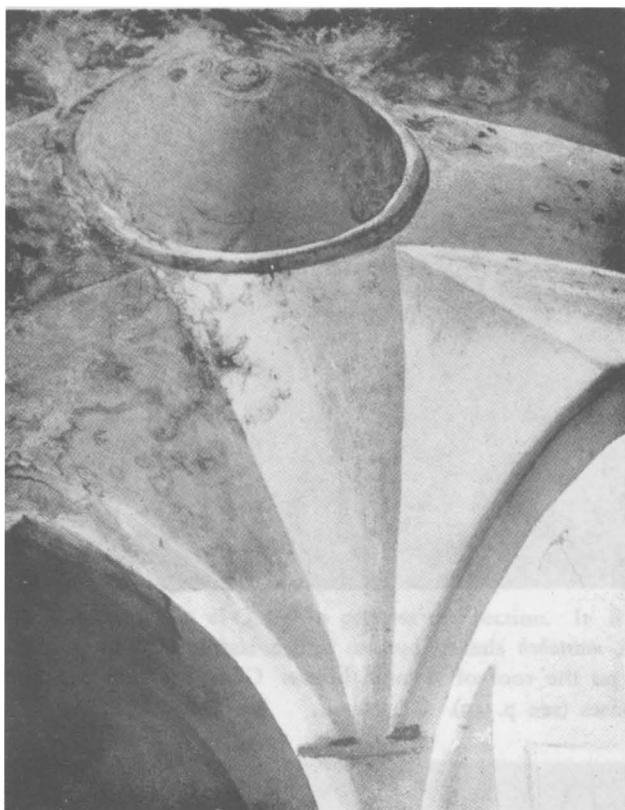


Fig. 2. *Tūb* laid out in the sun to dry. pl. II, fig. 2



The star shaped ceiling with the small dome at the centre of the middle room of the house whose ground plan is given in Fig. 5. The *rukbeh* spring gently from the corners. Each *rukbeh* divides soon into two *qlā'* (ribs). They join at the periphery of the dome. Two from the four pointed arches, which help in supporting the vault, are seen. The left arch corresponds to C D and the right to G H of the ground plan (Fig. 5). A wooden shelf is seen at the junction of the two arches. Notice the discoloration of the plastering of the ceiling caused by dampness.



Fig. 1. A *mastabeh* shaded by an *arîseh*, surrounded by a balustrade-wall and built on the roof of a mud house. Generally they are built in front of the houses (see p. 39).



Fig. 2. A summer hut (*arîseh*) built in a vineyard. It shows a circular lower storey built of 'dry' stonework, and the hut proper made of branches and rushes.



Fig. 1. A *sūneh* (in el-Qbāb) in process of erection. It is made exclusively of sesame stalks.

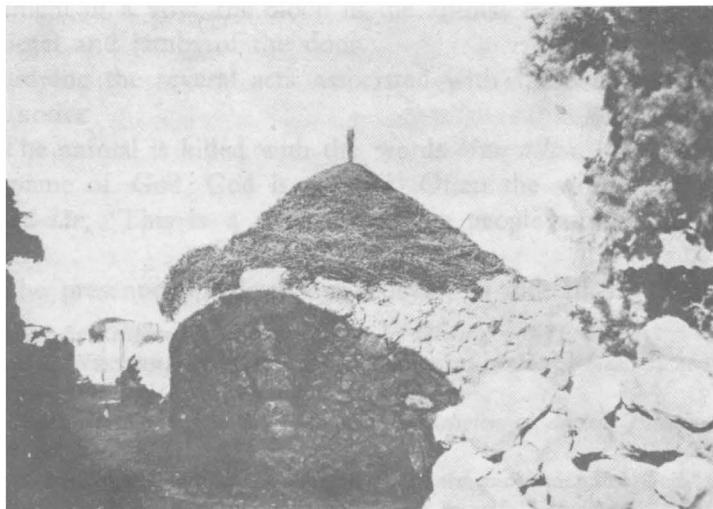


Fig. 2. A simple *sūneh* (in cl-Qbāb) with a stony substructure.



Excepting *dbihit el-qaqd*, which is offered in the name of Abraham and is therefore called *dbihit el-Halil*, the other offerings—*dbihit el-asās* and *dbihit ed-dār*—are intended for the *djinn*, and not for God, as CURTISS<sup>1</sup> supposes. The underlying idea is to secure the favour of the spirits, to placate them and compensate them for depriving them of their abode. An old saying teaches *kull dār uilhā dbihithā*, "Every house must have its offering." Should the owner fail to appease the *djinn* with at least one offering, sooner or later they will kill the owner or some member of his family, so securing their offering. The present writer knows of some houses in Jerusalem which were believed to have brought disaster on every family which occupied them. A well built house was therefore left untenanted for several years. It was believed that the local *djinn* were never given their offering, hence they took one "offering" from every family which occupied the house.

Formerly it was believed that some buildings would not prosper unless a human being or a part of a human being was buried in the foundation.<sup>2</sup> Such an offering was especially necessary in baths and public houses. The present writer has described this custom more fully elsewhere.<sup>3</sup> The killing of an animal has now completely replaced the older practice.<sup>4</sup> On certain other occasions when sheep are killed, as at the feast of Ramadān, *īd ed-dhiyeh* and on the fulfilment of a vow, the blood of the animal is usually smeared on the lintel and jambs of the door.

In studying the several acts associated with these animal sacrifices we notice

1. The animal is killed with the words *bism allah, allah akbar*, "In the name of God, God is great!"<sup>5</sup> Often the words *hādī fidā an ahl ed-dār*, "This is a ransom for the people of the house," are added.

2. The present-day Palestinian believes, as did all his Semitic

<sup>1</sup> *Ursemitische Religion im heutigen Leben des Orients*, pp. 73, 228.

<sup>2</sup> See also WESTERMARCK, *Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, I, 469 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Dämonenglaube im Lande der Bibel*, pp. 38, 39.

<sup>4</sup> For human sacrifices see S. A. COOK, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archaeology*, pp. 79, 82.

<sup>5</sup> The words of the *fatiḥah*, "In the name of the most merciful God," are never used in slaughtering, as the adjective "most merciful" is contradictory to the act of killing. See also CANAAN, *JPOS*, VI, 38.

ancestors, in the sacredness of the blood. Hence the shedding of the victim's blood is regarded as an act of reconciliation. But the blood was and still is believed to be the abode of the soul. The supernatural powers, to whom the sheep is sacrificed, receive the most important part of the victim, the blood, and hence the soul. Thus in offering an animal we are offering a life, one soul for another, the human life.

3. As in every other animal sacrifice, the object for which the animal gives its life must somehow come into direct contact with the *dbihah* itself. In our case the blood flows in the trenches (*dbihat el-asas*), the animal is killed on the vault, or the blood is allowed to flow over the front wall (*dbihet el-aqd*) or the lintel, and the jambs of the door are painted with the blood (*dbihet el-aqd* and *dbihet ed-dar*). The inner (lower) surface of the vault is never painted with blood, as CURTISS supposes.<sup>1</sup>

4. Although such a sacrifice is considered a religious act, there is, as in all such sacrifices, no religious ceremony. The word *bism allah*, *allah akbar*, or some other invocation is pronounced by every Moslem as he slaughters an animal for food.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly the same word is used in Arabic for "to slaughter" and "to sacrifice" (*dabaha*, *dbihah*).

But the Palestinian is not content merely with placating the demons; he tries, at the same time, to put his house under the protection of God, who is much stronger than all the lower powers. Only after taking all these precautions is he sure that the house and all its inhabitants are safeguarded against the malicious activities of the malevolent powers. Some practices associated with this idea have already been given. Others still remain to be mentioned.

On the first evening after moving into the house the Moslems call upon a *séh* or *séhah* to recite the Quran. Christians of the Orthodox Church summon one or more priests to consecrate the house. It is sprinkled with holy water and an oil lamp is lit. The householder rewards the *séh* or the priests for their services.

A white flag—*râyeh bêdâ*—is hoisted over the house as soon as it is inhabited. It remains until it is torn by wind and storm. The

<sup>1</sup> He calls it on p. 219 *widjih el-bêt* which means the front side and not the lower surface of the vault. *Wâdjhit* is a synonym for *widjh*.

<sup>2</sup> *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*, vol. XI, p. 29.

flag symbolises good luck and prosperity.<sup>1</sup> A proverb teaches *kull ṣi k'āb uṭāb*, "Everything (i. e. success or misfortune) depends on (the kind of) heels and holds (of houses)." If, for example, a member of the family should die or become very ill soon after moving into a newly-built house, or if a part of the house proves to be defective, necessitating fresh expense, the Palestinian speaks of "an unlucky hold of the door" (*atbat el-bēt nāḥs*). A house built with unlawful money taken from a *waqf* (pious bequest) will not prosper: *māl el-waqf bihidd es-saqf*, "The money of the *waqf* (used in building a house) will cause the roof to collapse."

If in digging the foundation trenches the workmen encounter ancient tombs or caves containing human bones, the owner has a pious duty to remove them reverently to some clean place. If he fails to pay due respect to these human remains their spirits will surely avenge themselves. North of Jerusalem a Moslem, while digging the foundations, came upon a cave containing human bones. He not only failed to remove them but later used the cave as a cesspit. Within a very short time the spirits avenged themselves by killing several members of his family.

These customs illustrate the care taken by Palestinians to keep their dwellings clean. In no other phase of their lives are they so scrupulous. To them cleanliness means not bodily cleanliness, but the absence of evil spirits and impure things, as well as the presence of the *barakeh*, the blessing of God. This is why the windows are opened soon after a death in the room. The spirit is thus given free passage.<sup>2</sup> The corpse, which is regarded as unclean, is soon removed from the house. Formerly Christians brought a priest to purify the chamber of the dead by reciting prayers, burning incense and sprinkling holy water. Another custom serving the purpose of cleanliness is the oriental practice of leaving slippers and shoes at the door whenever they enter a room.<sup>3</sup> This is necessary not only for cleanliness but for comfort. The Palestinians sit with their feet tucked beneath them.

<sup>1</sup> For further uses of the white flag see CANAAN, *Light and Darkness*, JPOS XI, 33.

<sup>2</sup> CANAAN, *Die Witwen im Heiligen Lande*, Der Armen- und Krankenfreund, vol. 83, p. 152.

<sup>3</sup> Ex. 3<sup>6</sup>; Judith 10<sup>8</sup>; Luke 7<sup>58</sup>; John 5<sup>15</sup>.

An inspection of the interior of the simpler type of peasant house induces increasing wonder at how human beings can exist in such conditions. All the comforts of life, as known in the West, are lacking; yet the natives thrive. This is due to the peculiar habits of the inhabitants, who spend most of their life out of doors. With the exception of the few rainy and cold weeks of the year, they live continually in the fresh air. In the summer months many even desert their houses and move to their huts in the vineyards. Those who have no vineyards, and those who for other reasons are prevented from living there, spend their days in out-door work and their nights on the roofs of their houses. Roofs play an important part in the life of the East. They are the favourite resort in the cool of the evening,<sup>1</sup> they offer an attractive sleeping place<sup>2</sup> and provide a good view of what is going on in the streets and other neighbouring roofs.<sup>3</sup> From the roof the peasant woman,<sup>4</sup> by loud shouting, does her business with her friends who live elsewhere in the village.<sup>5</sup> From the roof the news of a death<sup>6</sup> is announced to the people of the village by loud, howling lamentations.<sup>7</sup> In the summer months the peasants prefer to hold certain of their festive gatherings, e.g. weddings or religious feasts, on the roof.<sup>8</sup>

When a quarrel breaks out in a village the women assemble on the roofs and throw stones on the opposing party.<sup>9</sup> In many villages where the houses are built on the slope of a hill, goats and sheep climb on to the roofs to sleep. Very often an *'ariṣeh* is built on a roof as a protection from the sun.<sup>10</sup> The richer classes may build a small chamber, an *'illiyyeh*, on the roof providing a quiet, airy place of retirement.<sup>11</sup> Such a room is known as *bēt sēfi*<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> II Sam. 11<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> I Sam. 9<sup>25</sup>; Prov. 21<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Judg. 16<sup>27</sup>; I Sam. 9<sup>25</sup>; Matth. 10<sup>27</sup>; 24<sup>17</sup>; Mark 13<sup>15</sup>. <sup>4</sup> Matth. 10<sup>27</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Matth. 10<sup>27</sup>. "Upon the arrival of a muleteer into the *sāḥah* of the town or village (in Syria) with a load of lentils, potatoes, apricots, or any other commodity, he drops the load from the animal's back unto the ground, and goes upon the roof of the nearest house and proclaims his wares at the top of his voice, in prolonged strains." ABRAHAM M. RIHBĀNY, *The Syrian Christ*, p. 269.

<sup>6</sup> CANAAN, *Witwen im Heiligen Lande*, Der Armen- und Krankenfreund, vol. 83, p. 153; L. BAUER, *Volksleben im Lande der Bibel*, p. 211.

<sup>7</sup> Is. 15<sup>8</sup>; 22<sup>1</sup>; Jer. 48<sup>38</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Judg. 16<sup>27</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Judg. 9<sup>69</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> II Sam. 16<sup>22</sup>; Neh. 18<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> I Kings 17<sup>19</sup>; II Kings 4<sup>10</sup>; Acts 1<sup>19</sup>; 9<sup>37</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> Judg. 3<sup>20</sup>.

(summer house) to distinguish it from from *bēt ṣataṭī* (winter house) which is the lower room. No special religious ceremonies are now held on the roof: Moslems are often seen performing their prayers there,<sup>2</sup> but their prayers may be performed in any clean place. A *maṣkālet nār* used to be made on the roof or on the top of a mountain. The bright light made by setting fire to ashes mixed with kerosene or with olive oil was used in some parts of Palestine to announce to the surrounding villages the recovery of any notable person who had suffered severe illness. In the Lebanon this custom is practised during the night of the Feast of the Cross,<sup>3</sup> a practice which may be a survival of some heathen rite.

The roof is also used as a place for storage.<sup>4</sup> There many possessions are piled up to be out of reach of dishonest neighbours and the faggots of brushwood which women and girls have dragged home with much labour are stacked there. There, also, boiled grain is spread before being crushed into *burghul*. Tomato-juice or tomatoes cut in halves are spread to dry. Old houses had a wide opening in the roof which led into the *qaṭṭ*, i. e. the store-room behind the *ḥawābī* partition wall. Through this *rōzanah* the straw (*tibn*) was poured down into the store-room. In the winter months it was hermetically sealed.

Doors play a part in the life of the Palestinian. They enjoy a peculiar sanctity and importance, and the difference between the inside and outside is that of different worlds. If a guest speaks to a *fellāh*, while he is outside the threshold, he is invited to enter into the house, the kingdom of the peasant. To refuse to enter except for some serious reason, is to refuse hospitality and friendship. As in ancient times, doors are still used for private and public meetings.<sup>5</sup> In villages a passer-by may see women or men sitting in small groups in front of their houses talking and amusing

<sup>1</sup> Jer. 36<sup>22</sup>; Amos 3<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Jer. 19<sup>18</sup>; Zeph. 1<sup>6</sup>; Acts 10<sup>9-15</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> CANAAN, *Light and Darkness*, JPOS, vol. XI, p. 19.

<sup>4</sup> Josh. 2<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> W. M. THOMSON, *The Land and the Book, Southern Palestine and Jerusalem*, p. 29, writes "In 1834 I resided for several months in the city, and, to pass away the time, frequently came out in the afternoon 'to the gate through the city, and prepared my seat in the street.' There the governor, the *qādī* and the elders of the people assembled daily 'in a void place' and held an extemporeaneous *dīwān*, at which affairs of every kind were discussed and settled with the least possible ceremony."

themselves, while the children roam about in the street. The proverb "The jabberer is sitting on the threshold of the door"<sup>1</sup> describes one of the threshold's common uses. Here the inquisitive finds the best opportunity to meet others of his type. Another saying puts the following words in the mouth of the good house-wife who is continually working inside her house: "Rather between my own doorposts than between my friends"<sup>2</sup>—who spend their time in chattering. The *'atabeh*, as we have already noticed, is believed to be the favourite abode of *djinn*. Several functions, therefore, should not be performed at this spot. This is not the place to enter into detail concerning this very old and important superstition.<sup>3</sup>

The courtyard is associated with many occasions of the peasant's life. Here during the summer months most family festivals take place. Here the younger friends and relatives gather for several nights before a wedding ceremony and dance and enjoy themselves while the older people sit around smoking cigarettes or pipes (*ghaliün*) and drinking coffee. But even in the common daily life peasants and town dwellers enjoy sitting in the courtyard with their friends and neighbours, telling stories or transacting business. In most courtyards a tree is to be found which gives welcome shade.

The peasant's house used to serve not only as a dwelling and a store-house, but also as a kitchen and as a stable,<sup>4</sup> in which cows, donkeys, mules, sheep, goats and chickens were kept. Mangers were built in the *rāuieh*. The richer class of peasants and towns-folk keep their animals in a separate stable. This lies in a lower storey or near the house, and only rarely at a distance.

A *fellāh*'s house is his fortress. So long as he is inside it he is safe from thieves and enemies. Despite the fact that the people of Palestine are dependent on natural springs and wells, the villages are not, as a rule, built around the village fountain but on some elevated spot, on a hill or on the side of a mountain, a place more easily defended than one built near the spring itself.<sup>5</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> *Kifir el-ghalabeh qā'id bil-'atabeh* (Nablus).   <sup>2</sup> *Bēn 'a'tābī ualā bēn 'ahbābī*.

<sup>3</sup> See also the present writer's *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel*, and *Dämonenglaube im Lande der Bibel*.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. 24<sup>8ff.</sup> and Judg. 19<sup>21</sup> probably point to the same custom.

<sup>5</sup> See G. H. SCHERER, *The Eastern Colour of the Bible*, p. 35.

plan of the village as a whole, like that of the single house, seeks this same end. Villages are more pleasing to the eye at a distance than near at hand, and a feeling of disappointment results from too close an inspection; for the streets are narrow, irregular and devious, with<sup>1</sup> the houses usually built to the very edge of the street. The main idea behind this irregular and unhygienic plan was defence against enemies, since no force could penetrate to the centre of the village without exposing itself to the greatest danger. This is also the reason why detached houses, standing in their own ground and at a distance from the village, were never built in the East.<sup>2</sup>

The walls of the house were usually made very thick, not only to hold the great thrust of the dome-shaped roof but also to resist any digging through.<sup>3</sup> The term *et-tirs*, used in towns and villages on the Mediterranean plain for the walls of a house, comes from the same root as *tarrasa* (provide with a shield) and *mitrās* (a bulwark). The entrance was low,<sup>4</sup> and the wooden door was, as a rule, covered with an iron sheet<sup>5</sup> and closed with a strong lock and barred with iron *znūd* and *djarrārāt*.<sup>6</sup> Windows, when there were any, were small apertures situated high up in the walls, so that no thief<sup>7</sup> could enter them and so offer as to an enemy no opportunity of shooting through them. Larger windows had always iron bars and wooden shutters which opened inwards. Windows of 40×60 cm. to 50×75 cm. were regarded as unsafe. Such windows were placed in those walls which overlooked the

<sup>1</sup> The same plan has been found in many old cities recently excavated in Palestine. See *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, vol. V, p. 210.

<sup>2</sup> See also Ch. W. BUDDEN and E. HASTINGS, *The Local Colour of the Bible*, II, 39.

<sup>3</sup> Thick walls keep the temperature of the room at an even level. Peasant houses are therefore warmer in the winter and cooler in the summer than modern houses.

<sup>4</sup> Prov. 17<sup>10</sup>. Convents built in lonely places also have low doors.

<sup>5</sup> Ps. 107<sup>16</sup>; Is. 45<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Most of the towns of biblical times had probably doors of the same type.

<sup>7</sup> Joel 2<sup>9</sup>. Even in old monumental buildings this plan was the rule. P. N. WAGGETT, *Bethlehem*, Q.S. P.E.F., 1919, p. 61, in describing the Church of the Nativity, writes: "Its aisle windows have been built up, perhaps for defence again."

courtyard, while windows opening on to the street were avoided.<sup>1</sup> Cattle were accommodated in the same room with the family to afford them protection.

Palestinian villages are not walled,<sup>2</sup> but the outermost houses are built solidly together or are connected by high "dry" walls or strongly built walls. The effect is that of a city wall. Such an arrangement, although not perfect, in that it leaves several narrow entrances into the village, adds nevertheless to the facilities of defence.<sup>3</sup>

The protection which a house affords to its inhabitants is well expressed in the widely-known proverb *bārak allah fid-dār el-wāsī'ah in kānat māmī'ah*,<sup>4</sup> "May God bless the spacious house if it is (at the same time a) strong(-hold)." All the habitation a Palestinian needs is a shelter from the storm and a refuge from the enemy,<sup>5</sup> for he considers himself a sojourner in this earth.<sup>6</sup> Despite his fortress-like house the Palestinian does not fail to put himself every evening, before going to bed, under the protection of the Almighty: *sakkarnā dārnā w'allah hdjābnā urāḥmat allah 'allī djābatnā udjābnā*, "We have closed (the doors of) our house and God is our (protecting) talisman. May God have mercy on our mother and father!"

<sup>1</sup> II Kings 9<sup>30</sup> describes such a condition.

<sup>2</sup> Lev. 25<sup>31</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> See also SELAH MERRILL, *East of the Jordan*, p. 82.

<sup>4</sup> This part is only the first line of the proverb. The continuation is *uafī l-marah al-badī'ah in kānat muṭī'ah uafī l-saras es-sarī'ah in kānat ṭalī'ah*.

<sup>5</sup> This condition prevailed in biblical times. Hence the prayer of the Psalmist (Ps. 61<sup>3</sup>): "For thou hast been a shelter for me and a strong tower from the enemy." See also Is. 4<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> ABRAHAM M. RIHBANY, *The Syrian Christ*, pp. 241 ff.

## VIII LIST OF ARABIC TERMS

The following list gives the Arabic terms with their English equivalents. Beside the terms mentioned in the article there are some other expressions which are here given. It is hoped that the following pages will be of practical help to every architect working in Palestine and of philological value to the Arabist and archaeologist. In order to give the best possible definition of a term it has often been necessary to give a lengthy description instead of a simple translation. The list has been arranged according to the English alphabet, thus making reference easier. The few mistakes in the transcription of Arabic words in the text are corrected in this list.

## A (ا)

- abū* 'uēs, the central stone of a cross-vault.
- āleh*, jambs with the threshold and lintel.
- ard*, •*ardiyeh*, •*ardiyet el-bōt*, earth, floor, floor of the room.
- asās* foundation.
- asfin*, wedge-shaped piece of iron.
- atōn*, kiln.
- azmil*, flat sharp chisel.

## B (ب)

- bāb*, door.
- (*al-*), surname of 'Ali Mirzā
- *allah*, door of God.
- *el-badan*, anus.
- *ed-dibr*, anus.
- *habā*, retreating door.
- *el-hēr*, the door of riches.
- *ghazzāwi*, a door without any jambs or rabbat.
- *imm el-'awlād*, cervical canal of the uterus.
- *el-mawladeh*, cervical canal of the uterus.
- *er-rahmeh*, the door of mercy; west.

- bāb er-rizq*, door of maintenance.
- *es-samā* ('abuīb es-samā), the gate of heaven.
- *sādj*, iron door of a cistern.
- *el-Wād*, wādi 'Ali.
- baghdādi*, thin wooden beams.
- bagħleħ*, a *rukbeh* projecting to the outside.
- bahās*, v., to dig.
- bahr el-odah*, the span of the room.
- balāt*, stone slabs.
- *addādi*, small stone slabs.
- *farrādi*, large slabs.
- *farħ farradi*, medium-sized slabs.
- *qirš*, stone slabs 15×20 cm. to 30×40 cm.
- balleħ*, a morter layer spread on the roof.
- bālū'ah*, sink.
- band*, v., to build.
- banānīr*, pins of a sliding bolt.
- bandūqah*, unslaked piece of lime.
- bandjür*, a distinctly sunk margin.
- bannād*, mason.
- barābiṭ*, stones of a railing.
- barakeh*, blessing.
- barda'ah*, the filling of the gaping places between the 'uqqād.

- bārūd*, powder.  
 — *duqq*, fine powder.  
 — *dirs*, coarse powder.  
*bawandiāt*, beams resting on the *mad-dādeh*.  
*bauwāb*, door-keeper.  
*bauwābeh*, large gate.  
*bēt*, house.  
 — a part of a simple lock.  
 — members of a family.  
 — *el->adab*, privy.  
 — *allah*, church, mosque.  
 — — tent.  
 — *ed-daradj*, staircase room.  
 — *hadjar*, stone house.  
 — *el-hamām*, pigeon house.  
 — *el-halā*, privy.  
 — *ḥūṣ*, a reed-mat hut.  
 — *el-kīld*, kidney.  
 — *el-mahaddeh*, pillow-case.  
 — *el-maiy*, privy.  
 — *madjd*, a large tent.  
 — *el-mūneh*, store room.  
 — *er-rāhah*, privy.  
 — *es-sandūq*, a cupboard-like *rakseh*.  
 — *sēfi*, an upper room.  
 — *sātawī*, room of a lower storey.  
 — *sa'īr*, tent.  
 — *et-tahārah*, privy.  
 — *uabar*, tent.

### D (ذ)

- dabbūrah*, quarrymen's dressing hammer.  
*dabseh* (pl. *dabs*), small rubble stone.  
*dāfreh*, the central pole of a tent.  
*daffeh*, wing of a door or a window.  
*dahan*, v., to paint.  
*dahlīz*, passage.  
*dākūn*, chimney.  
*dalaf*, v., to leak.  
*dal'ūbeh*, cylindrical *'uqqād* used to close the last part of a vault.  
*da'meh*, a large open cupboard.  
*daqq*, v., to dress (stones).  
*daqqīq*, stone dresser.

- dār*, house; members of a family.  
*darabzīn*, railing.  
*daradj*, staircase.  
 — *malān*, a staircase resting on a firm substructure.  
 — *m'allaq*, hanging staircase.  
*darbūknīyeh*, lower room.  
*darfēh*, wing of a door or a window.  
*dastūr*, header, binding stone.  
*dauwāsēh*, threshold stone.  
*dihdāl* (*dūhdāl*), stone roller.  
*dōr*, storey.  
*dqāqah*, dresssing stones.  
*dūlāb*, cupboard.  
*dusrah*, an iron bar binding a stone with another one resting on it.  
*duwār*, tents pitched in a semicircular way.

### D (ذ)

- dakar*, (lit. male) a part of a hinge.  
*dakar u intā*, interlocking stones, tongue and groove.  
*danab el-fār*, a kind of a hinge.  
*dbīhet el->asās*, foundation sacrifice.  
 — *el->aqd*, a sacrifice for the vault.  
 — *ed-dār*, a sacrifice for the house.  
 — *el-Halil*, a sacrifice for Abraham (for the house).  
 — *bēt es-sa'īr*, a sacrifice for a tent.  
*drāc*, ruler one yard long.  
 — *baladi*, 22<sup>8</sup>/<sub>4</sub> inches long.  
*bannd*, 75 cm. long.  
*hāsimi*, 22<sup>8</sup>/<sub>4</sub> inches long.  
*stambūli*, 29<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> inches long.  
 — *turki*, 29<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> inches long.

### D (ض)

- dak*, a rib of a cross-vault.

### Dj (ج)

- djalbāl*, the person who makes the mortar.  
*djābbīz*, mason assistant.

- djableh*, mortar.  
*djabš*, rubble.  
*djabšeḥ*, rubble stones and mortar.  
*djahš*, (lit. foal) a part of the scaffolding.  
— a wooden frame for constructing the *rukab*.  
*djamālōn*, barrel-vault.  
*djanzīr*, iron chain.  
*djarrār*, sliding bar of a door; barrel belts.  
*djibhah*, stones of the upper course of a wall, curb-stone.  
*djilleh*, cow's manure made in round cakes.  
*djisir*, a strong tree trunk used in roofing flat houses; bridge.  
— *hadid*, iron rafter.  
*djorah*, cesspit; a shallow excavation in the ground serving as a fireplace.  
*djrīd*, palm twigs (not leaves).  
*djurn*, trough.  
— threshing floor.  
— *el-kibbeh*, mortar.  
— *el-ma'mūdiyeh*, font.

### F (ف)

- faddai(h)*, small window.  
*faḥd er-rukab*, broad ribs of a vault.  
*fahl*, large water skin.  
*fā'il*, worker.  
*salaqah*, large stone.  
*fārin*, spirit level.  
*farrārah*, unslaked piece of lime.  
*fās*, pickaxe.  
*fasl*, season; 12 hours.  
*fazmeh*, rabbit.  
*fēdūs*, the close of the day's work.  
*fīleḥ*, powder-fuse line.  
*fūr*, breakfast.

### Gh (غ)

- ghadd*, lunch.  
*ghalaq*, key-stone.  
*gharf*, twigs.

- gharfeḥ*, a *rukbeh* beginning about one metre above the floor.  
*ghaṭā bāb* (*ṣubbāk*), wooden lintel.  
*ghauwār*, a short header.  
*ghrāb*, that part of a hinge which is driven into the wooden frame.  
*ghurfeḥ*, room.  
*ghurzet el-bikār*, centre of a curve (circle).

### H (ح)

- hauwāi(h)*, a small window.  
*hazzār*, the opening for heating the kiln.  
*hlāl*, a small semicircular window.  
— semicircular walls of a stone house.  
*hrābeh*, a small, pear-shaped, non-plastered cistern.

### H (ح)

- habb rummān*, (lit. pomegranate grains) walls built of irregular stones.  
*hableh*, sling.  
*haddād*, smith.  
*hadjar*, stone.  
— *aswad*, basalt stone.  
— *bām*, undressed stone.  
— *iblaqtah*, a course of stones lined with *djabšeḥ*.  
— *madqūq*, dressed stone.  
— *midmāk*, a stone dressed fine, *talīṣ*.  
— *ramli*, sandstone.  
— *rās*, a stone whose height is greater than its length.  
— *sūrī*, see *hadjar midmāk*.  
— *samsi*, the exposed part of *malaki* rock.  
— *tūl*, stretcher.  
— *yahūdi*, lapis Judaicus.  
— *yasini*, yellow *mizzi yahūdi*.  
— *ez-zāwizh*, corner-stone.  
— *zifr*, the hardest quality of *mizzi yahūdi*.

*hadjdjārah*, quarrymen.  
*hadid*, iron.  
*hadīr*, open place in front of a room of the second storey.  
*hadueh*, horse shoe.  
*haṣar*, v., to dig, to excavate.  
*halaqet el-bāb* (or simply *halaqah*), knocker.  
*hall*, (pl. *hlūleh*), joints.  
— *es-salyr*, natural bed of the rock.  
*halleh*, close of day's work.  
*halq el-bāb*, the framing stones of the door; wooden frame of the door.  
— *es-subbāk*, the framing stones of the window; wooden frame of the window.  
*hammāl*, relieving arch.  
— rafter.  
*hammām*, bathroom, bath.  
*hamīr saqqāi*, donkeys for carrying water.  
*hārah*, quarter.  
— (Syria), large building; large house.  
*harīm*, compartment for women; women.  
*haṣireh*, mat.  
*hasmah*, coarse sand.  
*hasueh*, small stone.  
*hatrūr* (not *haṭrur*), the softest kind of *nāri*.  
*hēl*, wall.  
*hidjdjeh*, document.  
*hīnī*, lintel.  
*hōs*, courtyard.  
*humrā*, crushed pottery.  
*huwar*, white earth.

## H (خ)

*ḥabieh*, clay bin.  
*ḥadr*, compartment reserved for women.  
*ḥarastān*, cupboard.  
*ḥarrāqah*, a small cupboard.  
*ḥarzet el-bīr*, circular opening of a cistern.

*ḥasūqah*, spoon-like tool used in quarrying.  
*ḥawarnaqah*, a cupboard situated below window bench.  
*ḥazāneh*, cupboard.  
*ḥemeh*, tent.  
— cross-vault.  
— *rūmiyah*, semicircular cross-vault.  
*ḥēs*, canvas.  
*ḥēt*, mason's line.  
*ḥlāl*, wooden spikes of a tent.  
*ḥolāh*, a small door in a large door.  
*ḥumm djādj*, hen-house.  
*ḥums*, (one fifth) pointed arch or vault.  
*ḥurrām*, irregular rubble with natural holes.  
*ḥuss*, a *sūneh*-house.  
*ḥusseh*, a room in the lowest storey.  
*ḥuzq*, small cave.

## I

*iasfil* (*yasfil*), wedge-shaped iron.  
*ṣibrīt naqr*, drilling needle.  
*ṣidhīr*, powder filling.  
*idjr* (foot), the first hole excavated in the rock.  
*ṣinhidār*, slope.

## K (ك)

*kabbārah*, small kiln.  
*kabbās nats*, a heap of thistles.  
*kaff*, a small board for carrying plastering-mortar.  
*kaljhil*, pointer (of joints).  
*ka'kuleh*, a white soft stone.  
— *qazzāzi*, brittle *ka'kuleh*.  
*kalb*, certain stones of the jambs.  
*kaljhah*, spalls.  
*kallīn*, outer and inner courses of a wall with the filling in between.  
*kamar*, an arch over a *hlāl*.  
*kamūlādī*, the dry mortar falling down while removing the *ṭubār*.  
*kaṣaf* ('an), v., to uncover.  
*kāsir*, side-poles of a tent.

*kbās*, seats of a retreating door.  
*kittān*, flax.  
*krēk*, shovel.  
*kuārah*, a place for storing grain or straw.  
*kū‘*, (elbow), the bend of a spout or a chimney.  
*kūj*, reed-mat hut.  
*kuhleh*, pointing.  
*kurbāl*, screen.  
*kurkār*, the iron part of a mason's line.  
*kursi-l-qarmid*, the wooden frame of a tiled roof.

## L (J)

*laham*, v., to solder.  
*lammi‘*, polished.  
*laqtah*, a *djabsh*-lining of a stone course.  
*lāt*, large flat slabs of stone.  
*latōn*, kiln.  
*lat‘*, cow's manure.  
*lauwan*, v., to colour.  
*libn*, brick.  
*līwān*, hall.  
*lqāqāt*, joints.  
*lu‘beh*, the common stone of two arches (as in a double window).  
*lughm*, drilled hole filled with powder.— blasting.  
*luqqātah*, a simple type of a lock.

## M (M)

*madāseh*, guest-house.  
*maddādēh*, a long strong beam used in vaulting.  
*maddeh*, a layer of lime and *nħāteh*.— ‘arabiyyeh or — *ħadjarīyeh*, consists of equal parts of *nħāteh*, lime and ashes.  
*madħal*, entrance.  
*madħaneh*, chimney.

*madjrafah*, larry.  
*madjbūltyeh*, heap of mortar.  
*maftūl*, twisted.  
*mahaddeh*, large heavy hammer.  
*maħdjarah*, quarry.  
*maħlūl*, with acute angles.  
*maħbar*, the back row of poles of a tent.  
*maħda‘* (*maħda‘ah*), a small room having no windows.  
*maħrūq*, wooden beam.  
*mayalān*, slope.  
*malaki*, a soft stone which by exposure to the air becomes harder.— *sultāni*, a special quality of *malaki*.  
*mäl’aqah*, a spoon-like tool of the quarrymen.  
*malsd*, the superficial, smooth mortar-layer of the *ṭubār*.  
*mamarr*, passage.  
*mamsād*, corridor.  
*māndjah*, time for eating.  
*manfaḥ*, an opening in the kiln for ventilation.  
*manṭarah*, hut.  
*maq‘ad*, seat.  
*maqṣeh*, toothed hammer.  
*maqṣabeh*, elongated cupboard for depositing the hookah or narghile.  
*maqta‘*, clay bins serving as a partition in the living room.  
*ma‘bd*, a blunt steel rod.  
*ma‘djan*, a square flat disk at the centre of a vault.  
*markas*, a large, open cupboard for placing the bedding.  
*maršeħ*, rendering coat in plastering.  
*māsaħ*, quarrymen's dressing hammer.  
*masann maiy*, water stone.— *zēt*, oil-stone.  
*masradjeh*, a shelf for oil lamps.  
*mastabeh*, a bench-like, broad elevation on the floor, serving as a bedstead.— the living part of a room.

*mastabeh*, an elevated area in front of the house with a balustrade.  
*mastabel el-bāb*, a seat beside a retreating door.  
 — *es-subbāk*, the inner sill of a window.  
*mastarīn*, trowel.  
 — *rammā*, trowel for throwing the plastering material.  
 — *sqāleh*, trowel for polishing.  
*maṣwal*, a pit for slaked lime.  
*maṭabbeh*, granulating hammer.  
 — *dirs*, — *hiṣneh*, coarse granulated dressing.  
 — *nā‘meh*, fine granulated dressing.  
 — *wasat*, medium-type granulated dressing.  
*maṭbalj*, kitchen.  
*maṭraqah*, dresser's hammer.  
*mazlaseh*, shelf with holes for spoons.  
(i) *mabuqah*, a small window.  
*mghārah*, cave.  
*mhandis*, architect.  
*mħarram*, compartment reserved for women.  
*midār*, long ropes of a tent.  
*midmāk*, a stone course.  
 — *barrāni* (*ħārdji*), outer course.  
 — *djuwāni* (*dābli*), inner course.  
*midlāk*, pointer.  
*midwad* (*midwad*), manger.  
*miġnāri*, mason.  
*migdam*, the front pole of a tent.  
*misqal*, small water reservoir.  
*misfāt*, sump-pit.  
*mitr*, metre.  
*mīzān maiy*, spirit-level.  
 — *ħet*, plumbline.  
*mizzi hilū*, a white stone with yellow veins.  
 — *yahūdi*, Ammonitis (*Acanthoceras*) *Palestinensis*.  
*mizrāb*, spout.  
*mīrras*, an elongated hut.  
*mallim*, mason.

*mgāwaleh*, work on contract.  
*mgāwil*, contractor.  
(i) *msamsam*, pointed dressing.  
— *‘adasiyeh*, medium-type pick dressing.  
— *fūleħ* (*bišn*), coarse pick dressing.  
— *simsimiyyeh*, fine pick dressing.  
(i) *mādjdjar*, a stone rich in veins.  
*māsiabeh*, angles which are greater or smaller than 90°.  
*mīallāi*, a prayer *mastabeh*.  
*muħaħbar*, the back row of poles in a tent.  
*muftāħ*, key.  
— *es-samā*, the key of heaven.  
*munqār*, large pointed chisel.  
*münih*, building material.  
*muqdum*, brick-like stone of *mizzi yahūdi*.  
*muqr*, hole for blasting.  
*muqt*, long ropes of a tent.  
*musmār*, binding stone.  
— nail.  
*mustarāħ*, privy.  
*mulħaddid*, contractor.

N (Ṅ)

*nadjdjār*, carpenter.  
*nadjr*, sliding bar (for a window or door).  
*naħweh*, large heavy hammer.  
*nahat*, v., to carve.  
*nā‘meh*, fine coat in plastering.  
*naqar*, v., to drill.  
*naqas*, v., to carve.  
*nāri*, a soft quality of stone.  
*našeħ*, wooden frame of a tiled roof.  
*nawar* (pl. of *nūri*), gypsies.  
*nazz*, v., to leak.  
*nħateh*, pieces falling while dressing stones.  
*nileħ*, indigo.  
*nissāb*, rafter.  
*nōfarah*, fountain.  
*nqir*, board for carrying mortar.  
*nulj naqr*, drilling rod.

*nūbl qōb* ((i)mpāwabeh), strong, blunt and thick iron rod.  
*nūqr*, a hole for blasting.  
*nūqrah*, a shallow excavation in the floor serving as a fire place.

## O

*'ōdah*, room.  
*'ōdet nōm*, bed room.  
 — *'akl*, dining room.  
 — *el-maq'ad*, sitting room.

## Q (ܩ)

*qabū*, lower room.  
*qādūs*, burned brick tube.  
*qādi* (judge), the fulcrum of an iron bar used in moving large stones.  
*qafīr*, basket made of palm leaves.  
*qalbeh*, storey.  
*qālib*, wooden frame for making bricks.  
*qal'ah*, large piece of rock.  
*qamī*, relieving arch.  
*qamarīyah*, small window.  
*qambūb*, a type of barrel-vault.  
*qanā'i*, channel.  
*qantarah*, an arch supporting a flat roof.  
*qā' el-bēt*, court.  
 — *ed-dār*, a square place inside the door for depositing the shoes.  
*qā'deh*, pedestal; a wooden column.  
*qaṣab*, reed.  
*qaṣr* (palace), hut.  
*qaṣṣir*, plasterer.  
*qassīs* (priest), a stone or a piece of wood protruding from the top of a sūneh.  
*qaṣṣ*, straw.  
*qaṣwal*, coarse straw.  
*qaṭ'*, a part of the room serving as a lumber-room.  
*qaṭ' el-bēt*, that part of the house reserved for animals.

*qaṭ' el-hdjār*, quarrying.  
*qaṭ' kāsf*, balustrade.  
*qaṭ' rāfs*, abutment.  
*qaṭ' hall*, breaking joints.  
*qatāmōn*, unslaked pieces of lime.  
*qatātā'ah*, pointed pick-hammer.  
*qāwal* (*ald*), v., to contract for.  
*qiddeh*, wooden ruler.  
*qifl*, lock.  
*qirbeh*, water-skin.  
*qnāq*, an iron bar binding two stones.  
*qōs*, arch.  
 — *'arabi*, pointed arch.  
 — *tūlī* (one third), a type of pointed arch.  
 — *tūnn* (one eighth), a type of pointed arch.  
 — *hammāl*, relieving arch.  
 — *būms* (one fifth), pointed arch.  
 — *maghbūn*, segmental arch.  
 — *rūmi*, round arch.  
 — *rub'* (one fourth), a type of pointed arch.  
 — *ṣalhrāwi*, pointed arch with a radius for each segment equal to two thirds of the arch-base.  
*qṣārah*, plastering.  
*quās*, see *rakseh*.  
*qubbeh*, dome.  
 — *imsalalah*, shallow dome.  
*quffeh*, basket.  
*qunīr*, 100 *rotls*,  
*qurneh*, corner.  
*qurs ed-daradj*, landing of the stair-case.  
*quṣrāl*, ashes from a baking oven.

## R (ܪ)

*raff*, shelf.  
*rafs*, thrust.  
*ragħuet* (*es-sid*), scum,  
*rāhib* (monk), an elongated stone placed at the top of a kiln.  
*rakkeh*, the filling of rubble and mortar between the stone courses.

*rakket el-bîr*, see *sâhfet el-bîr*.  
*rakshéh*, a large, open cupboard for depositing the bedding.  
*ramâd*, ashes.  
*raml*, sand.  
*rammd*, beams running from the *arûs* to the *rukab*.  
*ramyet el-qôs*, radius.  
*râs*, pointed hammer.  
— *es-sünéh*, a stone or a piece of wood protruding from the top of a *sünéh*.  
*rašâh*, v., to leak.  
*râss*, v., to sprinkle.  
*râsiyeh*, the upper stone of each jamb; capital.  
*ratqah*, a large shelf.  
*râwîeh*, the part of a room reserved for animals.  
*razzeh*, hinge.  
*ridjîl* (*bîftah* —), to quarry the first hole in a rock.  
*rîfîh*, tent cloth hanging down from the northern and southern sides of a tent.  
*risfrâf*, the protruding part of a flat roof; eaves.  
*ris*, brick-like *nâri* stones.  
*rkâbât*, scaffolding.  
*rkîzeh*, perpendicular beams for support.  
*rôšan*, protruding window with lattice framework.  
*rôzanah*, circular or square disk at the centre of a vault.  
— opening of a clay bin.  
— opening in the roof.  
*rûaq*, a room with the front side open.  
— colonnade.  
*rudqah*, a *masâbeh*.  
*rukab*, the springing corners of a cross-vault.  
*rukbeh*, angle of a spout; also the sing. of *rukab*.

*ruqrêqah*, elongated niche running transversely.

### S (س)

*sabil*, a small water reservoir serving as a public fountain.  
*sâhâh samsiyeh*, a non-roofed *ruâq*.  
*sâhhâbeh*, a small *qiddeh*.  
*sahridj*, large cistern.  
*sakan*, ashes.  
*samaqah*, red earth.  
*sandeh*, a beam supporting the *tûbâr*.  
*saqf*, ceiling.  
*saqqâ*, water carriers.  
*saqûleh*, plumbline.  
*sârûqah*, stone-saw.  
*sâth*, roof.  
*sdâdeh*, a thorny tree closing a cave's entrance.  
*siddeh*, a primitive bedstead.  
*sîb*, header, binding stone.  
— large knife, roasting spit.  
*sinn*, tooth.  
— pins of the primitive lock.  
— *sâhûtah*, combed dressing.  
*sicin*, small water-skin.  
*slâk*, jambs.  
*sqâleh*, scaffolding.  
*sqîfeh*, a stone house with a mud roof.  
*stârah*, balustrade.  
*stâret ed-daradj*, stone railing of a staircase.  
*stênah*, an open place in front of a room of the second storey.  
*sûk*, the ribs of a cross-vault.  
*sukkârah*, a simple type of lock.  
*sullam*, ladder; staircase.

### § (ص)

*saddâghât*, jambs of a door.  
*safd*, hard rock.  
*saff*, course.

*sahn*, a circular disk at the centre of a vault.  
 — *ed-där*, courtyard.  
*sahr*, rock.  
 — *ibħall* (not *ibħall*), unsound rock layer.  
 — *imqatṭa'*, loose superficial rock layers.  
*sanā'i*, assistant, worker.  
*sandafawi*, a thin stone with a small depth.  
*sandūqit et-idswil*, box for slaking lime.  
*ṣarārah* (pl. *ṣarār*), small stone.  
*ṣiħħiyeħ*, floating coat in plastering.  
*ṣraħeħ*, the sharpening of tools.  
*sūniyeħ*, a circular disk at the centre of the vault.  
*surret el-aqd*, centre of the vault.  
*suwān*, flint.

### § (ش)

*sabħ*, short ropes of a tent.  
*sagħġiħil*, worker.  
*sahħef* (pl. *sħaħaf*), stones falling off while dressing spalls.  
*sakfet el-bir*, lining the rough walls of a cistern with a layer of flat, small stones or pottery.  
*sħaħit*, stone railing.  
*sħħiżah*, toothed hammer.  
*saiyāleħ*, a part of a hinge.  
*saküs*, *sakuseħ*, small hammer.  
 — *lat-taħrif*, small pick-hammer for pointing.  
*samħajha*, rise of vault.  
*sankal*, hook.  
*saqfet el-bir*, see *sahħefet el-bir*.  
*saqqāgiyeħ*, lozenge-shaped window.  
*saqqāl*, large stones, each making half a camel's load.  
*sakufs*, quarrymen's dressing hammer.  
*särüt*, a long tree trunk.  
*sacħart*, thin wooden beams.  
*sässyeh*, lintel.  
*sayälān*, rise of vault.  
*sid*, lime.

*sid haix* or *fahl*, quick-lime.  
 — *(i)mṣauwal* (not *(i)mṣauwał*), slaked lime.  
 — *matfi*, slaked lime.  
 — *rakħi*, powdered lime.  
 — *räs*, lime in large pieces.  
*Sifet el-hadjar*, the edge of a stone.  
*ṣiqq*, that part of the tent reserved for guests.  
*sökeh*, pointed chisel.  
 — a thorny tree used to close the entrance of a cave.  
*subbāk*, window.  
 — *midjuviz*, double window.  
*su'b ed-där*, corner of a house.  
*su'ub*, short poles in a tent.  
*sünneh*, a conical structure of brush wood.  
*suqqah*, a tent-cloth piece.  
 — that part of the tent reserved for guests.

### T (ت)

*tabyiħeh*, wedge-shaped furrow in the rock.  
*taħdijir*, quarrying.  
*takanah*, a square disk at the centre of a vault.  
 — mortar-box.  
*takħil*, pointing.  
*taħsin*, semicircular walls of a stone-house while in construction.  
*talifi*, coarse dressing.  
 — *imsafadjar*, very coarse dressing.  
 — *imšafaf*, fine *talifi*.  
 — *nżiż*, fine *talifi*.  
 — *taqṣib*, very coarse dressing.  
*taqṣib*, coarse dressing.  
*taħtabik*, hammer with one pointed and one toothed edge.  
*tašriķ*, bonding and toothing (in building).  
*taħswil*, process of slaking lime.  
*taħsimah*, a simple mortar layer on the *fübär*.

*tawṣīḥah*, spandril.

*tibn*, straw.

*ti'bāy*, lowest powder-layer in a *nugr*.

*tirs*, semicircular wall of a stone house (in process of building).

*trāb*, earth.

*trābeh sōdā*, black earth.

### T (ت)

*tabaqah*, storey.

— *ardiyeh*, basement.

*tābiq*, storey.

*tābūn*, peasant's baking oven.

*taiyān*, mortar carrier.

*tāqah*, window.

*tāqet el-ḥamām*, pigeon holes.

*talaq*, explosion of a drilled hole filled with powder.

— *qābiṭ*, explosion separating large pieces of rock.

— *masdjūh* or *zakkah*, explosion of a very oblique hole.

— *qāṭiṭ*, non-explosion of the powder.

*ṭamām*, an earth layer spread over the *ṭubār*.

*tarbūs* (*ṭarābīs*), *djibah* with rounded surfaces, apex stone.

*tarūdjeḥ*, a strip of cloth connecting two tent cloths.

*tarūs*, a long wooden trowel.

*ṭineh*, mortar.

*ṭinet en-nugr*, mud arising while drilling a rock.

*ṭeq*, storey.

*ṭrāshēh*, whitewashing.

*ṭrumbah*, pump.

*ṭubeh*, brick.

*ṭubzi*, rusticated dressing.

— *ibzamleh*, rustication with a drafted margin.

— *saff*, simple rustication.

*ṭubār*, scaffolding of a vault.

*ṭunb*, long ropes of a tent.

*ṭunbur*, a large flat chisel.

*ṭunbur*, a two-wheeled carriage.

*ṭūriyeh*, hoe, larry.

### T (ت)

*tumm* (mouth), edge of a tool.

*taniyeh*, the slit between the floor and the lifted tent cloth.

### U, W (و)

*uast ed-dār*, court.

*udjāk*, fire-place.

*unṭa*, (lit. female), a part of a hinge.

*uqūd*, fuel.

*wada'ah* (pl. *wada'āt*), stones marking the direction or inclination of a course of stones, or of a pavement.

*waqqif*, overseer.

*waraq qazāz*, sand-paper.

*waraqah*, plate of iron.

*warṣeh*, building site.

*wāṣiṭ* (not *wasīṭ*), central pole of a tent.

*waṣleḥ*, joint.

*watad*, peg.

### Z (ز)

*zaiyan*, v., to decorate.

*zallāqiyeh*, a large flat stone at the floor of the *hazzār*.

*zamleh*, chisel-drafted margin.

*zarzūrah*, opening in a clay bin.

*zāwīeh*, set-square.

— *ḥilliyeh*, *mahlūleh*, acute angle.

— *māsiabeh*, an angle smaller or larger than 90°.

— *śiddiyeh*, *maṣdūdeh*, obtuse angle.

*zifr*, a stone protruding from a wall and supporting a part of the structure.

*zind*, an iron bar for closing doors.

*zōzānah*, door-window.

*zqāq*, alley.

*zunñār*, belt course.

## Z (ظ)

*zahr el-bēt*, roof.

## C (ع)

- *alaqah*, a special kind of stone in the jambs.
- *amūd*, column.
- *m̄lammas*, *msaddas*, *m̄amman*, five-, six- or eight-sided column, respectively.
- *aqd*, vault.
- *bikār bēqah*, elliptical cross-vault.
- (*i*)*brukab*, cross-vault.
- *fātis*, squat-shaped vault.
- *hums*, pointed cross-vault.
- *maghbūn*, segmental cross-vault.
- *mnaffah*, a vault thicker at the crown than at the periphery.
- (*i*)*mseṭin*, irregular vault.
- *mzahhar*, barrel-vault.
- *rūmi*, semicircular vault.
- *salib*, cross-vault.
- *samsiyeh*, a large flat roof resting on several arches.

— *aqd takanah*, a combined cross<sup>t</sup> and barrel-vault.

— *araqah*, special kind of stones in the jambs.

— *arīseh*, tent.

— *arūs* (bride), the central, perpendicular, and supporting beam of a *tūbār*.

— *āṣiq u maṣṣūq*, tongue and groove, dove-tail.

— *atābeh*, lintel, threshold.

— *atāleh*, short, thick steel rod.

— *attāl*, stone carrier.

— *awārid*, long tree trunks.

— *iddeh*, tools.

— *irq*, (*rūq*), veins (in a stone).

— *irzān*, primitive tents in the fields.

— *ōneh*, help in vaulting.

— *ūd*, bough, stick.

— *ukkanfeh*, fork-like piece of wood used in a tent.

— *ugdeh*, wood-knot.

— *uqqād*, brick-like stone made of *nārf*.

# EINE ALTÄGYPTISCHE TOTENOPFERFORMEL IN EINEM GRIECHISCHEN GRABEPIGRAMM AUS GAZA.

M. SCHWABE

JERUSALEM.

Das in *The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine I* (1932), Heft IV, p. 155 sq. veröffentlichte Epigramm aus Gaza gilt einem Charmadas, dessen Glück durch zwei Todesfälle in seiner Familie vernichtet worden ist. Erst stirbt der zwanzigjährige Sohn, der — v. 3 als *κοῦρος πατρώνυμος* bezeichnet — den Namen des Vaters trug, dann die siebenjährige Enkelin Kleodoxa, das Töchterchen von Charmadas' Tochter Archagathe. Kleodoxa scheint das einzige Kind gewesen zu sein, und mit ihr ist die *εὐτεκνή* (v. 6) der Eltern dahin. Ihr Mann ist *Μαχαιός*, der um sein Kind weint. Da im Epigramm das unglückliche Leben des Greises zweimal (v. 1. 14 sq.) betont wird, hat er nur diese zwei Kinder und das eine Enkelchen gehabt. Der Schluß des Epigrams v. 11 sq. enthält einen Hinweis auf die Verdienste des Toten um seine Vaterstadt<sup>1</sup> und wohl eine Aufforderung, das Schicksal nicht zu schelten, das ihn nach schwerem Alter in den Hades eingehen ließ. Zwischen dem Abschluß und dem vorhergehenden Teil stehen die Verse 8—10:

ἀλλὰ πλέον θυητοῖς οὐδὲν δδυρομένοις.  
ἢ μὴν ἀμφοτέρους γε παλαιύλουτοι βασιλῆς  
Αἰγύπτιον χρυσέας ἡγλάϊσαν χάρισιν.

<sup>1</sup> Der an manchen Stellen unklare und verdorbene Text verdient eine besondere Behandlung. Hier sei nur beiläufig angemerkt, daß v. 11 ὡς δὲ πάτραν δμηθεῖσαν ἄνω πόλιν ἐκ δορὸς ἐχθρῶν ὠρθωσας heil ist und nicht πάλιν statt πόλιν, wie ILIFFE will, zu lesen ist. Die obere Stadt im Gegensatz zum Hafen ἡ ἄνω πόλις, genau wie Thuc. 2,48,2 vom Piräus im Gegensatz zu Athen gesagt, war bei einem Angriff von inneren oder äußeren Feinden (das ist nicht klar, und gar eine chronologische Bestimmung zu versuchen, reicht der blasse Ausdruck nicht aus) besetzt und beschädigt worden. Er hat sie wieder aufgerichtet. *Κρήτην* ist unverständlich. *κρήνην* schlägt sich von selbst vor und gibt guten Sinn. Ehrungen in dieser Form für Wohltäter der πόλις sind nicht ungewöhnlich. Natürlich trug die *κρήνη* eine Ehreninschrift für Charmadas.

V. 8 schließt sich zwar eng an den Bericht über die Trauer des Machaeus um seine Tochter an, aber die beiden nächsten Verse zeigen, daß der Hinweis auf die Sinnlosigkeit der Trauer auf beide Toten zu beziehen ist. Also gelten die in den ausgeschriebenen Versen enthaltenen Gedanken auch und wohl hauptsächlich dem Charmadas.<sup>1</sup> ἀλλὰ bricht also deutlich die Trauergedanken um beide ab. η μήν leitet eine Begründung mit starker Bekräftigung ein, die das folgende γε noch intensiviert, das zugleich den mit der Partikel eingeleiteten Gedanken als bekannt und beglaubigt charakterisiert: „Denn gewiß haben die Könige Ägyptens mit ihrem alten Reichtum die beiden mit goldenen Gnaden (Geschenken) geschmückt.“<sup>2</sup> Die Absicht zu trösten ist aus dem Zusammenhang mit dem Vorhergehenden wie aus dem Gedanken selbst deutlich. Ein ἀθανάταις ἡγλάσσει χάροισιν findet sich zwar auf einem griechischen Epigramm aus Melos (I. G. 12(3) 1190, 10), und zwar an derselben Versstelle.<sup>3</sup> Aber daß es sich nicht um eine übliche Epigrammphrase handelt, beweisen die Könige Ägyptens, die hier die Toten, oder — nach ägyptischer Denkweise — die Totengeister mit ihren Gnadengaben im Grabe beschenken. Kein Zweifel, daß eine religiöse Jenseitsvorstellung ägyptischer Herkunft hier ihren griechisch gewandelten Ausdruck findet. Wir stehen vor einer ägyptischen Totenopferformel in poetischer, griechischer Paraphrase.<sup>4</sup>

Auf fast allen ägyptischen Gräbern von der Zeit des Alten Reiches bis zur griechisch-römischen Periode inclusive findet sich konstant eine Formel, die in ihrem Textbestand kaum Veränderungen unterliegt. Sie lautet „htp di nsw,“ nach GARDINERS (*Egypt. Grammar* 1927, p. 169) Übersetzung „a boon which the king gives.“ Sie leitet immer das Epitaph ein. Ein typisches Beispiel aus der Zeit des alten Reiches — ca. 2500 v. C. — bietet MURRAY, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, Tafel XXVIII<sup>5</sup>: „A boon which the king gives and

<sup>1</sup> Auch in v. 1 ἐξ εἰδαμοσύνης . . . ἴμεων wird die Familie des Charmadas als eine Einheit zusammengefaßt.

<sup>2</sup> Dazu bemerkt ILIFFE ibid. p. 156: “the reference to the ‘Egyptian Kings of ancient wealth’ is obscure”.

<sup>3</sup> ἡγλαζέω in ähnlichem Sinne cf. Theocrit. epigr. I, 4.

<sup>4</sup> Meine Vermutung hat sich, als ich bei einem befreundeten Ägyptologen anfrage, bestätigt. Ihm bin ich auch für Hilfe beim Auffinden des ägyptischen Vergleichsmaterials zu Dank verpflichtet.

<sup>5</sup> Ich zitiere nach GARDINERS Übersetzung ib. p. 171.

a boon (which) Anubis in front of the divine booth, he who is upon his mountain, (gives), that the voice (i. e. of the offerer) may go forth for him (with) bread and beer." Die uralte Vorstellung des Glaubens ist, daß der König dem Toten Grab und Grabbeigaben schenkt. Der daneben genannte Gott gibt sie dem Toten weiter. In der Frühzeit hat der König seine Großen und Diener wirklich auf diese Weise bei ihrem Ableben geehrt. Die Versorgung der Toten ist für den Ägypter eine der wichtigsten religiösen Pflichten, die von dem göttlichen König ausgeführt zu sehen als höchster Segen gelten muß. Der Text der Formel bleibt später, auch wo er nicht inhaltlich zutrifft, in seiner Erstarrung bestehen, als ob Gräber und Geschenke dem Toten von ihm selbst gegeben wären.<sup>1</sup> Die Formel drückt nicht mehr die Tatsache der realen Schenkung, sondern den für den Toten ausgesprochenen Wunsch aus. Nicht immer derselbe Gott gibt den Toten die Geschenke weiter. In einer Grabsschrift des Mittleren Reiches — ca. 2000 v. C. — (British Museum No. 198, cf. GARDINER ibid. p. 170) wird „die Gnade, die der König gibt“ an „Osiris, den Herrn von Busiris“ weitergeleitet. Hier bestehen die Gaben aus Brot, Bier, Ochsen, Geflügel, Alabaster und „allen reinen und guten Dingen, von denen ein Gott lebt.“ Am Ende der Inschrift wird der Beschenkte selbst genannt, „der Geist des seligen Senusert.“ Osiris Khent-Amentiu und die Götter der Unterwelt müssen in einer Inschrift des Neuen Reiches — ca. 1500 v. C. — dem Paheri die „Gnade des Königs“ weiterreichen.<sup>2</sup> Als Beweis für den Weiterbestand der Formel bis in die Zeit unseres gazäischen Epigramms genüge es auf ein Beispiel aus griechisch-römischer Zeit zu verweisen,<sup>3</sup> wo die Aufgabe, die Gnade des Königs weiterzugeben, dem Sonnengott Ra Harachte zufällt. Das Gebet, das, wie ERMAN l. c. erklärt, „sich bis in die Zeit hinein gehalten hat, für die seine Anfangsworte bedeutungslos waren,“ stirbt erst mit dem ägyptischen Glauben. Daß sie keine reale Bedeutung mehr hatten, ist gewiß. Aber daß die Worte auch in griechisch-römischer Spätzeit magische Wirkung haben, beweist ihr unberührter

<sup>1</sup> Über all diese Vorstellungen cf. ERMAN, *Die ägyptische Religion*<sup>2</sup>, p. 140; GARDINER ibid. l. c.; *Reallexikon der Vorgesch.*, VII 130.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. I. I. TAYLOR and F. Ll. GRIFFITH, *The Tomb of Paheri*, (1894) p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. AHMED BEY KAMAL, *Stèles Ptolémaïques et Romaines I*, No. 22010 (Catalogue Général du Musée du Caire).

Bestand.<sup>1</sup> Das Aussprechen der richtigen Gebetsformel ist gleichbedeutend mit dem realen Geschenk des Königs. Die Gaben werden durch Aussprechen und Aufschreiben der Formel materialisiert. Zu diesem Schluß kommt auch FARINA, der der *htp di nsw*-Formel in neuerer Zeit die ausführlichste Behandlung gewidmet hat.<sup>2</sup>

Zu diesen ägyptischen Zeugnissen über Wesen und Bestehen der Formel kommt nun ein außerägyptisches in griechischem Kleid, das die Interpretation der Formel durch die Ägyptologen bestätigt. *χάρις* entspricht scheinbar genau dem ägyptischen Wort *htp*.<sup>3</sup> Aus dem König, dem natürlich bei dem Griechen die ethnologische Bestimmung zugefügt werden muß, da der Grieche im allgemeinen außerhalb Ägyptens weder die Formel noch die in ihr enthaltenen Vorstellungen kennen konnte, sind Könige geworden. In diesem Plural liegt eine Generalisierung. Der mit dem religiösen Bewußtsein des Ägypters verbundene, erstarrte Formelgehalt wird hier aus hellenischer Denkweise und einer gewissen Fremdheit heraus gegenüber der ägyptischen Vorstellung verallgemeinert und von dem konkreten Todesfall, in Verbindung mit dem sie uns immer in Ägypten entgegentritt, losgelöst. Der Verfasser des Epitaphs weiß von der Formel und bewahrt alle ihre Elemente, das Subjekt, den König, mit gewisser Modification, auch das Objekt, das Geschenk, freilich wieder im Plural statt im Singular. Warum er auch hier modifiziert, ist aus obigem verständlich. Das Prädikat bleibt. Nur statt des Wortes „geben“ tritt eine poetische, dem literarischen Genos adäquate Bezeichnung ein, die durchaus als Synonym zu fassen ist (*χάρισιν ἀγαπᾶτειν* — *χαρίζεσθαι* (cf. Anm. 3 dieser Seite) — *διδόναι*). Freilich *χρυσέως* ist Zusatz. Das Wort ist bei HOMER und in der Epigrammatik geläufig. Es kann sich inhaltlich mit dem vor-

<sup>1</sup> Das ist auch ERMANS Auffassung.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. G. FARINA, *La „Preghiera delle offerte“ degli Antichi Egiziani* Rivista degli Studi Orientali, vol. VII, p. 468 sq. Vgl. bes. die Zusammenfassung der Untersuchungsresultate p. 483.

<sup>3</sup> FARINA l. c. übersetzt „il favore concede il re“. Das Verb *χαρίζεσθαι* in genau demselben Sinne findet sich in einem Grabepigramm aus Alexandria (*Rev. Arduol.* 1887, p. 199) *οὐι δὲ Ὁσείριδος ἄγνὸν ὕδωρ Εἰος χαρίσαυτο*. Cf. auch E. ROHDE: *Psychē* II 391,1, wo dieses Epigramm und eine parallele Prosafassung *δοῖη οὐι δὲ Ὁσεῖρις τὸ ψυχῷν ὕδωρ* (*Inscr. Gr. Sicil. et It.* 1488; 1705; 1782) gebracht wird. Beide Fassungen sind Zeugen für Umsetzung eines Bestandteils von ägyptischen Grabaufschriften ins Griechische.

hergehenden *παλαιπλοντοι* verbinden und wirklich ein Hinweis auf die Reichhaltigkeit der Geschenke oder auch nur ein übliches Schmudkwort sein, das der Stil des Genos nahelegte.<sup>1</sup> Einen anderen Zusatz zum Formelbestand, wieder in einem Adjektivum, haben wir in *παλαιπλοντοι*, wiederum aus der Distanz zur ägyptischen Vorstellung verständlich. Der Ägypter braucht in der sakralen Formel den Reichtum seines Königs nicht zu betonen. Er gehört zu seiner Vorstellung von ihm. Der Grieche betont dieses Moment aus der Fremdheit des Übernommenen heraus. Freilich bietet eine gewisse Rechtfertigung für diesen Zusatz ein auch von ERMAN ibid. p. 140 gebrachtes Beispiel einer ägyptischen Grabschrift: MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire* E 12, wo der Wunsch ausgesprochen wird, daß dem Toten das Totenopfer geliefert werden möge: „aus den Schatzhäusern . . . aus den Werkstätten . . .“. Solche Hinweise auf den Reichtum der Könige könnten also dem Verfasser des Epitaphs bekannt oder auch durch den Sinn der Formel überhaupt nahegelegt worden sein. Das Element *παλαιός* im Kompositum<sup>2</sup> läßt annehmen, daß er von dem Alter des Grabgebets oder dem Fortleben der sakralen Formel aus der Urzeit der Könige weiß. Er scheint also die Formel so aufzufassen, daß die Könige dank dem ihnen vererbten Reichtum der alten Zeit bis in seine Epoche die Toten mit ihren Gaben im Grabe beglücken.

Wie kommt nun ein Epigrammdichter in Gaza zu dieser Paraphrase eines von griechischer Vorstellungswelt weitabliegenden Grabgebetes? Nur eine literarische Reminiscenz kann es nicht sein. Denn eine Parallele ist meines Wissens in griechischer Literatur nicht bekannt. Daß die Kenntnis des Grabgebets Frucht erlesener Gelehrsamkeit ist, scheint auch nicht plausibel. Gerade das Ägypten nahe Gaza mußte immer dorthin tendieren und tat es besonders in ptolemäischer Zeit, wie die Zenonpapyri beweisen, aber wohl auch vor

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. das oben p. 85 gebrachte Zitat aus einem Epigramm, wo *χάρισιν* ein Adjektiv an derselben Versstelle zugefügt ist.

<sup>2</sup> Daß die normale Form *παλαιόπλοντος* ist, bemerkt ILIFFE zur Stelle. Das Wort ist belegt bei Thuc. 8,28,3. Aber die Bildung ist durch das Metrum nahegelegt und wohl durch Analogie mit aus *πάλαι* und einem Verb gebildeten Komposita (z. B. *παλαιφανός*, *παλαιψήντος*) gestützt. Doch *παλαιβίος* bietet in Bildung und Elementen eine Parallel. Durch Komposition mit Substantiven zustandegekommene Bildungen haben meist *παλαιο-*, z. B. *παλαιόδοντος*, *παλαιόχρονος*, *παλαιότατος* (cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 69 Wil.).

und nachher,<sup>1</sup> wie auch die Ausgrabungsfunde dieser Gegend deutlich veranschaulichen. Ein ägyptischer unbeschrifteter Sarkophag mit Mumie — scheinbar — eines Römers hat sich in Gaza gefunden.<sup>2</sup>

Ein Unterschied zwischen der Verwendung der Formel im Totenkult und ihrem Reflex im griechischen Grabepigramm bleibt zu betonen. Das Gebet wird in Ägypten zum Wohle des Toten ausgesprochen und aufgeschrieben, und ihm werden die durch die Totenopferformel materialisierten Gaben zuteil. Hier wird die Formel und ihr Inhalt als Trostmittel für den Hinterbliebenen, für Charmadas, der um Sohn und Enkelin trauerte, verwertet. Sie wird zu einem literarischen Motiv in einer ihrem Wesen fremden Verwendung.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ד'ר'יקובר: היהודים והיוונים עמ' 137 וアイץ, außerdem SCHÜRER<sup>4</sup> II 110 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. DOWLING, *Gaza a city of many battles*, p. 76-99 und P.E.F.Qu.St. 1910 p. 294 sq. FLINDERS-PETRIES neues Werk über Gaza, das mir noch nicht zugänglich ist, wird gewißreichstes Material über die Aktualität ägyptischer Kultur in Gaza bieten. Einen kleinen archäologischen und inschriftlichen Beleg für Ägyptisches in Gaza bietet ein unveröffentlichtes gazäisches Stück der Sammlung von Dr. A. Reisenberg, Jerusalem. Es ist das Bruchstück eines aus einer Kupferlegierung hergestellten Ringes. Erhalten ist der obere Teil, eine fast kreisrunde Platte von 1,2 cm Durchmesser und 0,1 cm Dicke. Kleine Bruchstücke des Ringreifens sind, zu beiden Seiten unterhalb der Platte angelötet, erhalten. Auf ihr ist mit deutlichen, schönen, ca. 0,2 cm hohen Buchstaben eingraviert:

*VIIA  
AMOV  
NIN*

d. h. 'Yyia 'Aμoūv. Das erste Wort (*vv̄teia*) könnte einfach als ein Wunsch zur Gesundheit des Trägers des Ringes, dem er wohl geschenkt worden ist, verstanden werden. Der Akkusativ stände dann statt eines der obliquen Casus. Daß die Göttin 'Yyia — Athene oder Asklepios' Tochter — gemeint ist, ist nicht ausgeschlossen. Sie ist in Verbindung mit Asklepios in ägyptischen Papyri mehrfach genannt, cf. PRESIGKE, SB. 159,3; 679,3. 'Yyia ist auch ein inschriftlich belegter (cf. z. B. Corp. Inscr. 3,5732) Frauename, und so könnte hier die Gattin des Amunis, die ihm den Ring schenkte, gemeint sein. Die Inschrift kann aber auch apotropäisch aufgefaßt werden. 'Aμoūv ist ein rein ägyptischer Name, mehrfach in Ägypten belegt, cf. z. B. PRESIGKE, SB. 5272,32, 40, 43; 15,27.

## WHERE WERE MADMENAH AND THE GEBIM?

HENRY H. WALKER

TALLADAGA (ALABAMA)

These two places are named, among others, by the poet Isaiah in his vivid stanza which pictures an Assyrian army advancing against Jerusalem. The question of their location is still unanswered because, though the other places in the passage are fairly well identified, these two names have been given different identifications by different writers—none of them with clear confidence. Our present purpose is to make a new study of the text in the light of chiasmus in its literary structure, then to see if we know what part of the territory to search for these two sites. In this instance the student of literature can narrow down the labours of the topographist.

The principles of chiastic literary structure have been amply discovered by N. W. LUND,<sup>1</sup> with whom the present writer had the privilege of working. It is a system of similar ideas in a certain kind of order. Readers who are hazy on the subject may like to have the main features pointed out in this stanza from Isaiah before they read the translation. They will notice, then, that the first four lines—which are designated A—mention places that the Assyrian has already occupied; the number of stresses in pronunciation is respectively 4, 3, 2, 3. The last four lines, designated A', are related to the first four because they mention places which are the farthest goal which the Assyrian will occupy; the number of stresses is again 4, 3, 2, 3, if we may assume that the syllables at the end were not crowded. It will be noticed furthermore that in the second brace of lines, designated B, the idea changes to a pair of towns which trembled and fled; the stresses are 2, 3; and the first line features the heavy Hebrew endings -ah, -ah. In the (related) second brace of lines from the end, designated B', the same facts are equally true. In C, the centre of the stanza, which has no counterpart, the thought is about three villages which cry

<sup>1</sup> See *AJSL* 1930, p. 104, *JR* 1930, p. 74, *Angl. Theol. Rev.* 1931, p. 27 and p. 405, *JBL* 1931, p. 166.

from one to the other; the stresses are 4, 4, being the maximum number for any of the lines; and be it remembered that the centre of a chiastic structure quite commonly has three components.

Isaiah 10<sup>28-32</sup>

- A { He has come to Aiath, has passed in Migron,  
At Michmash he places his baggage;  
They have passed the pass—  
Geba a camp of theirs.
- B { Trembled Ramah,  
Gibeah of Saul has fled.
- C { Cry with thy voice, O daughter of Gallim;  
Listen, O Laishah; answer her, Anathoth.
- B' { In flight was Madmenah,  
The Gebim's dwellers escaped.
- A' { Even today at Nob will he stand,  
Will shake his hand at the mount  
Of the daughter of Zion,  
The hill of Jeruslaim.

Now for a look at the poet's topographical plan. It will be found to follow the chiastic structure as well as the other ideas. The three villages mentioned in C are close together in the (south) central part of the territory covered by the stanza. The places in A are in the northern part, while the related places in A' are at the southern end. The two towns in B lie west of the centre. The only remaining places are Madmenah and the Gebim in B', while the only remaining part of the territory is east of the centre. Any Israelite reader would expect these two sites to lie in this part of the area. Such a skillful poet would not mar the beauty of his scheme by scattering two of his locations in some irregular position among the others. Hence we may be reasonably certain that these two unidentified spots lay to the east of the highway and relative to it in approximately the same position as Ramah and Gibeah on the west. We may not, however, assume that the place which is named first in B' will be situated north of the

second as is true in B, for the reason that the writer of this oriental form of literature would frequently reverse the order of elements within the later of two corresponding sections. In fact, it is more likely that Madmenah stood south of the Gebim, since the place-names in the stanza sweep around from north to west and south and east in turn, thus leaving a jump only before the climax regarding Nob, and likewise since the terrain which in a moment we shall call the Gebim occupies more of the northern than the southern end of this eastern part.

Can we connect these two names with particular spots on the earth's surface? In the case of Madmenah there is but scanty evidence. The name appears in this one reference alone throughout all the literature. No searcher has discovered from the natives a name like this. After glancing at a map, one might try to identify Madmenah with the village now called Hizmeh, or with the ruins known as 'Almit; but Hizmeh was called Beth Azmaveth in ancient times, and the ruins were known as Alemeth.<sup>1</sup> Possibly the poet, in order to carry out his scheme after he started it, preferred to name some place bearing little importance, perhaps because it lay at the right distance from the road. Possibly he used a nickname for a site usually known otherwise, for Madmenah seems to mean Dunghill.

In the case of the Gebim there is more to be said. Translations have often disregarded the definite article and the masculine plural ending. The place called Gebin in Eusebius can not be thought of as located in this area. The Hebrew noun *gab* meant a convex thing, so *ha-Gebim* might mean The Ridges. High ridges with steep sides are prominent features a little east from the invader's route, as anyone will abundantly testify if he has tramped across them on the way home from following Jonathan and an armour bearer. The verb *gâbah* meant to be high, while the adjective *gâboah* signified lofty. There would be few dwellers on these Ridges to make an escape. This meaning for the Gebim is somewhat supported by the principles of chiasmus as well, since the towns in B are on heights and Madmenah means an elevation. On the other hand, *ha-Gebim* might mean not the Ridges but the Gorges,

<sup>1</sup> See *Annual Amer. Sch.* 1923 p. 156.

for the noun *gēb* is used a few times in the plural with the sense of trenches for water. "The Gorge of Pharetaï" is a prominent name on Bartholomew's maps. And experience will testify that Wadi Suweinit and Wadi Fara are as conspicuous for depth as are the ridges for height—though probably not possessing as many dwellers.

Our new study reveals nothing to quarrel with general descriptions of the invader's line of march which have been given by DALMAN in *PJB* 1916, p. 37, and 1925, p. 84 or *JBL* 48, p. 354, and by ALT in *PJB* 1927, p. 18, and 1929, p. 15. But only part of the truth was discovered by JIRKU (in *ZAV* 1930, p. 230) when he thought that the place-names were to be taken in groups of three in straight consecutive order: hence his proposal to identify Madmenah and the Gebim with spots south of Saul's Gibeath is now shown to be superseded. Some of the lines in this stanza were rearranged by ALBRIGHT (in *Ann. Amer. Sch.* 1923, p. 134), so he came out with Madmenah on the west side of the highway near Ramah and the Gebim near Michmash. But no longer are we at liberty to shuffle the position of lines in a poem when it has been wrought out carefully under a recognized pattern that permits, even requires, related ideas in similar lines to be separated by non-similar.

## A THIRD CENTURY ARAMAIC INSCRIPTION IN ER-RĀMA.

J. BEN ZEVI

(JERUSALEM)

Ramah is mentioned in the Book of Joshua (19<sup>36</sup>) as a settlement of the Tribe of Naphthali. ROBINSON<sup>1</sup> was the first to identify Ramah (not to be confused with the Rāma of the Tribe of Asher (Josh. 19<sup>29</sup>)) with the Arab village Er-Rāma. The modern Er-Rāma is a large village (its population in 1931 was 1142, of whom 746 were Christians and the rest Druzes) situated on the old highway from Acre, passing through Khan Jubb Yūsif, Kefr 'Anān and Er-Rāma.<sup>2</sup> Er-Rāma is on the edge of the plain surrounded on all sides by hills. To the north rise Jebel el-Haider and Jebel El-'Arūs and to the south the Ḥazūr mountains.

In the period of the Talmud there were many Jewish settlements near Er-Rāma. Special mention should be made of שׁוֹר (now known as Sejūr), the birth place of Simon Shezuri, (Kefar Hanania) and the village of פְּרוֹד (the present Faradya) to the west, and Pekiin, where a few Jewish families are still to be found who allege that they have never been in exile.<sup>3</sup>

In the summer of 1930 the present writer was spending some days in Er-Rāma in quest of antiquities. South-west of the village was a *tell* in which were discovered many remains of old buildings, masonry, columns, capitals, mosaics and pottery.<sup>4</sup>

There can be little doubt that the old settlement of Rāma lay at the highest point of the present village. Near the *tell* is a courtyard, surrounded by wall-debris, now bearing the name *Metbal al-Yahūd* ("Bath of the Jews"). The south-east part of the village is called *Subbāt*, said to be derived from the Hebrew שְׁבַת (tribe).

The writer made the acquaintance of the village teacher who

<sup>1</sup> *Biblical Researches*, 1852, p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> See KARGE, *Rephaim*, p. 298; DALMAN, *Orte und Wege Jesu*<sup>3</sup>, p. 199.

<sup>3</sup> BEN ZEVI, שָׂאֵר יִשְׂרָאֵל, 1927, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> It is a matter for surprise that Dr. ALT found no early remains in Er-Rāma (ALT, *Palästina-Jahrbuch*, 1927, p. 46).

showed me a stone on which ornamental marks were visible, though not apparently of interest. Not until I lay down on the ground and examined the stone upside down did I observe that the stone bore an inscription.

The stone is about 1.40 metres long, 40 cm. high and some 40 cm. deep.

It would appear that this was a dedication stone.<sup>1</sup> The first line is quite clear. It reads:

דכירין לטב רב(י) אליעזר בר טדיואר ובניו דבנין (בית דה) דאורחתו

"In grateful memory of Rabbi Eliezer, son of Tedeor, who built this house as a guest house."

Beneath this line a pictorial *motif* is visible. Two cherubs gaze at a branch which is between them. Between the cherub to the left and the branch appear the words דטיך קדם, while the words דתרכעה appear between the branch and the cherub facing right. The reading of the second line is therefore

דטיך קדם דתרכעה

"is dead [or buried] in front of the gate," conveying presumably a warning to priests not to walk over that spot and thereby contract uncleanness.

דכירין לטב is the stereotyped formula for "In memoriam." The letters רבי אליעזר are fairly legible, but the cliché (p. 96) does not reproduce the י of אליעזר very clearly. must be formed by metathesis from the original תיאודור. The name ר' אליעזר בר טדיואר recalls frequently mentioned in the Talmud,<sup>2</sup> and a contemporary of Rabbi Simeon ben Eleazar, a disciple of Rabbi Meir and a teacher of Rabbi Johanan. Eliezer ben Tadai and Rabbi Simeon ben Eleazar belong to the last generation of Tannaim. It may be pointed out that it is the same Rabbi Simeon ben Eliezer who frequently held discussions with Rabbi Eliezer ben Tadai, who lived in Kefar Hanania, a village close to Er-Rāma. בית דאורחתו was a building, possibly, a synagogue, for guests. Perhaps דטיך קדם דתרכעה should here be read, in which case the donor of the synagogue lay buried at the entrance of the building.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. GALLING, *ZDPV*, 1927, p. 313; KLEIN, *Jüd.-pal. Corp. Inscript.*, 1920 *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> E. g. j. Shab. III s. d.

The stone is therefore, in all probability, part of a hostel dedicated by R. Eliezer bar Tedeor, who lived in the third century. The script is not against this assumption, nor do the engraved cherubs conflict with the use in other synagogues of the same period.

This discovery of an inscription and other antiquities in the *tell* indicates that the settlement goes back to the post-Destruction period and that Rāma survived perhaps as late as the Moslem era as a Jewish centre. An exhaustive enquiry here and in the neighbourhood should reveal much material to supplement our meagre knowledge of the condition and numbers of the Jews in Palestine at that period when, after being a majority, they became a mere remnant of a nation. That the R. Eliezer bar Tedeor, mentioned in the inscription, is the Tanna frequently mentioned in conjunction with R. Simcon ben Eliezer of Kefar Hanania, is reasonable. Furthermore the Jerusalem Talmud (*j. Gitt.* VI, 9) speaks of "R. Eliezer of Rumia," who may possibly be identical with R. Eliezer bar Tadai and with our R. Eliezer bar Tedeor of Rāma.

## HAT WELID II DEN JORDAN ABLENKEN WOLLEN?

(Ein Beitrag zu den „*Mysterien des R. Simeon b. Jochai*“)

I. BRASLAVSKI

(JERUSALEM)

C. H. BECKER hat in seiner Abhandlung „*Das Reich der Ismaeliten im koptischen Danielbuch*“, Göttingen 1916, eine Reihe apokalyptischer Werke, die unter dem Eindruck der ungeheuren Bestürzung, die das Ende der Omajjadenherrschaft im Jahre 750 n. Ch. hervorgerufen hat, entstanden sind, aufgezählt, unter denen auch die hebräische Apokalypse „*Mysterien des R. Simeon b. Jochai*“ (<sup>סתרות ר' שמון בן יוחאי</sup>)<sup>1</sup> Erwähnung findet. Diese von GRAETZ, *Geschichte der Juden V*<sup>4</sup>, Note 16 und STEINSCHNEIDER „*Apokalypsen mit polemischer Tendenz*“ Z. D. M. G. 1874, S. 627 ff. behandelte Apokalypse schließt ihre „*Geschichte der Omajjaden*“ mit dem Sturze Merwāns II ab, was für das 8. Jahrhundert als Entstehungszeit der Apokalypse spricht.

Nach GRAETZ war der Verfasser mit der Geschichte der Omajjaden sehr vertraut (V, S. 464). Wenn die Angaben über die älteren Kalifen unbestimmt sind, so werden die letzten Omajjadenherrschner dagegen mit ganz deutlichen Zügen geschildert und die Schilderung bewährt sich als historisch (S. 465). „Nur ein Zeitgenosse konnte mit solcher Ausführlichkeit und mit soviel Detail, wie es nicht einmal die mohammedanischen Quellen haben, über die Omajjadendynastie referieren“ (S. 469).

STEINSCHNEIDER, dagegen, sucht zu beweisen, daß die von GRAETZ erkannten und gedeuteten Omajjadenherrschner nicht überall mit geschichtlicher Treue geschildert sind. Der Verfasser ist kein Augenzeuge, kein Zeitgenosse. Die Daten sind aus nicht jüdischen Apokalypsen geschöpft.

Die einzige bedeutende Einwendung STEINSCHNEIDERS gegen die Schlußfolgerung GRAETZ's in Bezug auf die Geschichtskenntnisse des Verfassers, als auch auf die Datierung der Apokalypse schien bis

<sup>1</sup> JELLINECK, *Beth-Hamedrasch*, Leipzig 1885, B. III. S. 78—82.

jetzt diejenige zu sein, die sich auf den Passus vom Ablenken des Jordans bezieht. Dieser merkwürdige Passus — über einen Versuch den Jordan abzulenken — lautet folgendermaßen: „Und ein anderer König wird aufstehen und er sucht die Wasser des Jordans abzuschneiden<sup>1</sup> und bringt Entfernte aus fremden Ländern herbei, zugraben und einen Bach zu machen, und die Wasser des Jordans emporzuheben, das Land zu bewässern und der Graben des Landes (oder des Bodens) wird über sie herabstürzen und sie erschlagen, ihre Fürsten hören es und stehen gegen den König auf und erschlagen ihn.“<sup>2</sup>

Daß dieser, auf die Schilderung Hišāms folgende Passus sich auf Welid II bezieht, steht fest. Bei der Verschwörung gegen diesen Kalifen beteiligten sich in der Tat Omajjadenprinzen und Agenten.<sup>3</sup> Die Schilderung der Ablenkung des Jordans und der dabei entstandenen Katastrophe, von denen GRAETZ gestehen mußte, daß ein ähnlicher Fall in den geschichtlichen Quellen sich nicht nachweisen ließe,<sup>4</sup> mußte das große Bedenken STEINSCHNEIDERS in Bezug auf die Gleichzeitigkeit des Verfassers mit den letzten Omajjaden hervorrufen: „Hier wäre es der Ort — übt STEINSCHNEIDER seine scharfe Kritik aus — die Spezialkenntnisse des palästinensischen Augenzeugen hervorzuheben; anstatt dessen schlüpft GRAETZ über die Details weg und nimmt ihnen den offensären Zusammenhang.“ (Z. D. M. G. 1874, S. 638).

In der Tat erscheint es sehr rätselhaft wie ein Zeitgenosse und Augenzeuge der letzten Omajjaden, der sonst ziemlich genau und nüchtern ist, seinen gesch. „Rückgrat“ durch eine solche schwer beglaubigte Einschiebung trüben sollte. Wie sollte diese erdichtete Schilderung der Kritik seiner Zeitgenossen gegenüber Stand halten?

<sup>1</sup> A. WÜNSCHE, *Aus Israels Lehrhallen*, Leipzig 1908—1910, S. 149, übersetzt ungenau „spalten“.

<sup>2</sup> יְעַמֵּד טֹלֶךְ אַחֲרֵי וַיְכַשֵּׁךְ כָּרְתָה טִימָא הַוָּדָן וַיְבַשֵּׁא רְחוּקִים טַארְצָות נְכוּרוֹת לְחַפֵּז וַיְשַׁוֵּת נְחָל וַיְטַלֵּות טַיְהוּן לְהַשְׁקוֹת הָאָרֶץ וַיְהִרְגֵּם (Beth-Hamedrasch, B. III, S. 80).

<sup>3</sup> ישענו נשייאיהם ויטמרו. על המלך וירג'אנגה. (Tabari II 1823; WELLHAUSEN, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, S. 223).

<sup>4</sup> „Von den Bauten selbst und von dem Einsturze erzählen meines Wissens die arabischen Chroniken nicht“ (GRAETZ, B. V<sup>2</sup>, S. 445). GRAETZ spricht irrtümlicherweise von „Bauten“, wo doch in dem Passus nur von einem Graben eines Flusses die Rede ist.

Spricht alles andere in dieser Apokalypse für die Entstehung des Werkes kurz nach dem Sturze Merwāns II, so muß auch die Schilderung der Ablenkung des Jordans einen Kern der Wahrheit enthalten.

Glücklicherweise finden wir auch für diese Stelle der Apokalypse eine historische wertvolle Bestätigung: *Tabari*, S. 1803, liefert uns folgenden interessanten Fall: Es sagte *Mutanna*: Als er sich eines Tages in Gesellschaft des Kalifen Welid II befand, der Kalif einem Manne, der neben ihm saß, irgendwelche Worte sagte, die er nicht vernehmen konnte. Da fragte dieser einen der Anwesenden, die zwischen ihm und dem Kalifen saßen, worüber eben der Kalif gesprochen hätte. Dieser antwortete ihm, der Kalif hätte seinen Nachbarn über den Fluß, den er im Jordan<sup>1</sup> graben ließ, gefragt wieviel von ihm noch übrig geblieben wäre.. <sup>2</sup>

Das Graben eines Flusses im Jordantale ist also eine geschichtliche Tatsache und der Apokalyptiker hat sich auch hier als ein wertvoller Schilderer der letzten Omajjaden erwiesen. Seine Schilderung, die sich der von *Tabari* gegenüber als eine weit ausführlichere erweist, dürfte auch in ihren anderen, wenn auch nicht allen Einzelheiten als zutreffend angesehen werden: Daß Welid II für das Graben des neuen Flusses Arbeiter aus fernen Ländern gebracht hätte, ist nicht ausgeschlossen. Unter der Herrschaft seines Vorgängers Hišām, sind große Entwässerungen der Sümpfe von Wāsiṭ und in den südlichen Sumpfgebieten Mesopotamiens durchgeführt worden (*WELLHAUSEN*, *Das arabische Reich*, S. 207). Welid II könnte erfahrene Kanalarbeiter aus Mesopotamien nach dem Jordangebiet gebracht haben. Daß bei diesem Graben eine Katastrophe stattfand, die die ganze Arbeit vernichtete, wird durch den kurzen Beleg *Tabaris* durchaus bestätigt, da ja Welid einen seiner Leute fragt, wieviel noch von diesem Fluß übrig geblieben wäre. Nur scheint es, daß der Verfasser (einer kursierenden Nachricht gemäß?) diese Tatsache etwas gefärbt hätte: Die Vorstellung, daß das Wasser gehoben werden sollte, um das Land zu bewässern,

<sup>1</sup> Gemeint ist das Jordangebiet.

<sup>2</sup> قال المثنى أتى الوليد فدخلت من مؤخر الفسطاط فدعى بالنداء فلما وضعت بين يديه . . . . . والتفت إلى رجل إلى جنبه وكله بكلام لم اسمعه فسألت بعض من كان يني ويته عما قال قال سأله عن النهر الذي خفره بالأردن كم بقي منه.

kann nur als naiv bezeichnet werden. Auch kann die Katastrophe bei diesem Graben nicht die einzige Ursache für die Ermordung Welids gewesen sein. Die arabischen Quellen führen als Grund für die Ermordung Welids nur seine Gottlosigkeit, Trunksucht und Unzucht an,<sup>1</sup> was auch sein Nachfolger Jazid III in seiner Antrittsrede in Damaskus hervorhebt.<sup>2</sup> Der Passus unserer Apokalypse dürfte in sich höchstens das Zeugnis bergen, daß das Graben des Flusses und die dabei entstandene Katastrophe eine der Hauptbeschuldigungen, die sich auf Welid II häuften, gewesen sein mag. Wir glauben sie auch in der Antrittsrede Jazids III zu finden: Bei seiner Huldigung sagt der Nachfolger Welids unter anderem, daß „er keinen Stein auf den anderen, keinen Ziegel auf den anderen setzen, keinen Fluß graben werde“<sup>3</sup> usw. WELLHAUSEN hat diese Worte so aufgefaßt, als hätte Jazid III versprechen wollen, keine Kanäle anzulegen (WELLHAUSEN, S. 228—229). Demnach würde sich Jazid, wie die späteren Abbasiden, auf die Kanalanlagen Hišāms berufen haben, denn „die Bauten und Kanalanlagen Hišāms — wie WELLHAUSEN, S. 207 ausführt — haben eine solche Unzufriedenheit erregt, daß die Abbasiden sich ihren Untertanen nicht besser empfehlen zu können glaubten, als durch das Versprechen sie wollten keine Schlösser und Kanäle bauen.“

In der Antrittsrede erwähnt Jazid III aber nur das Graben eines Flusses, womit er nicht die Kanäle Hišāms, sondern vielleicht die Katastrophe im Jordantale im Auge hatte. Für seine Antrittsrede in Damaskus lag es Jazid sehr nahe auch diese wohl bekannte Katastrophe als schwere Beschuldigung seines lästernden Vorgängers auszunützen.

Mit der Feststellung dieser historischen Tatsache ist für die Datierung der „Mystherien des R. Simeon b. Jochai“ ein bedeutender Haltpunkt gewonnen worden. Es wäre noch zu klären, was eigentlich Welid mit der Ablenkung des Jordans gewollt haben möchte und wo er diesen Versuch im Jordantale ausübte.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibn el-Āfir*, S. 219—211; *El-Fadri*, S. 182.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibn el-Āfir*, S. 220; *El-Fadri*, S. 183.

<sup>3</sup> ثم خطب يزيد بن الوليد بدميا قبل الوليد اخ ابي الناس ان لكم على ان لا اضع حجر على حجر (لا اكتري نهرا) (*Ibn el-Āfir*, S. 220, hat hier *ولا لبنة على لبنة ولا اكرى نهرا*) (*Tabari*, S. 1834).

## A NOTE TO GEN. 4<sup>11</sup>.

NELSON GLUECK

(JERUSALEM)

Attention has been called recently by Prof. O. R. SELLERS<sup>1</sup> to the difficulty of interpreting *min-hā 'ādāmā* in Gen. 4<sup>11</sup>*ba* in connection with Gen. 4<sup>11</sup>*a* "and now cursed be thou". He would translate *min* with "more than", — "and now cursed be thou more than the ground". He calls attention to the fact that the ground had already previously been cursed.<sup>2</sup> The customary translation is, as he points out, "and cursed be thou away from (or, by the) ground". Those who translate in this wise, picture the land as being incapable of enduring the presence of the murderer.<sup>3</sup> If the present text is correct, the translation of *min* with the comparative might well be acceptable. It is noteworthy, however, that in the Masoretic text the ethnah comes at the end of v. 11a, with the result that if normally and properly considered v. 11a, "and now cursed be thou", would be left hanging in the air, so to speak. It is only by ignoring this strong accent, that the usual translations have been achieved.<sup>4</sup> It is questionable, however, whether the Masoretic tradition was in error in placing the ethnah at the end of v. 11a. It seems probable that *min-hā 'ādāmā* in v. 11*ba* is the result of a dittohraphy, being mistakenly recopied by an early scribe from the same words at the end of v. 10, and that v. 11a was misplaced from its natural position at the beginning of v. 12. The resultant translation of verses 10—12 would be as follows:

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 50, Num. 4, Dec. 1930, p. 336.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. 3<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> DILMANN, A.: *Die Genesis*, Leipzig 1886, p. 95, expressed the prevailing sentiment: "*min . . .* muß entweder 'von — weg' oder 'von — seitens' bedeuten . . .". Cf. MEEK, HOLZINGER, GUNKEL, PROKSCH, IBN EZRA.

<sup>4</sup> PROKSCH, O.: *Die Genesis*, Leipzig 1924, p. 48, gives the general opinion, when he says: "מן הארץ מהgehört gegen den Akzent zu אָרוֹן . . ."

10. "Whereupon he said: 'What hast thou done? The voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground,
11. which hath opened its mouth to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand.
12. And now, cursed be thou. When thou tillest the ground, it shall not henceforth yield unto thee its strength; a fugitive and a wanderer shalt thou be on the earth.'"

TWO ANCIENT TURKISH LETTERS OF APPOINTMENT  
GRANTED TO THE COMMANDANT OF THE CITADEL,  
JERUSALEM, IN 1809 AND 1813.

ST. H. STEPHAN.

JERUSALEM.

These two letters of appointment (*rütbé fermāni*)<sup>1</sup> belong to the Mughrabī Family of Jerusalem. They were found during the winter 1930–31, by Muṣṭafa Effendi Rātib al-Mughrabī, whilst clearing some old cases in a forgotten corner of his house in the Nebī Dahūd Quarter on Mount Zion, where members of the family live.

They are written (one in 7 and the other in 8 lines) on yellow Chancery paper in the fine Divāni Script and measure 48×45 cms respectively.

Both of them are addressed to the grandfather of Muṣṭafa Effendi, a certain Ḥājj Ismā‘il Āghā al-Mughrabī. Muṣṭafa Effendi himself is the head of a branch of the Mughrabī family (not to be confused with other Mughrabī families, not related),<sup>2</sup> the ancestor of which immigrated into Palestine about the middle of the 17th century.

The following genealogical tree is given to illustrate the relation of the family of Muṣṭafa Rātib Eff. al-Mughrabī to the Commandant of the Janissaries, Ḥājj Ismā‘il Āghā al-Mughrabī, a descendant of the Ashrāf.

<sup>1</sup> So called by the people, in everyday speech, though firmans proper emanated only from the Imperial Chancery.

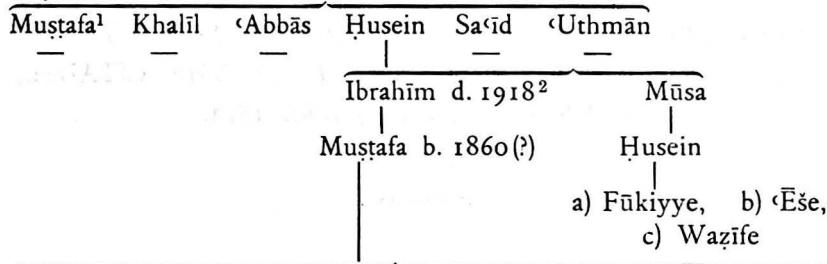
<sup>2</sup> There are four Mughrabī families in Jerusalem, not related to each other. Their ancestors, pilgrims of the 16th and 17th centuries, settled here after having completed their pilgrimages. Some of these families trace their genealogical trees to some well known families such as the Ḥasanī and Ashrāf in Morocco.

Sharif Ahmad al-Hasani al-Marrakshi (of the city of Marrakesh). Middle  
17th c.(?)

Ibrahim

Ahmad

Ismail Agha



- 1) Ibrahim (died single)  
1882–1928
- 2) Muhammad a) Kamil b) Faize c) Abd d) Ali e) Labibe  
1884 1910 1914 1920 1921 1924
- 3) Najib a) Subhi b) son c-d) 2 daughters  
1886 1921
- 4) Nasib (missing during the War)  
1888
- 5) Ahmad a) Hasan b) Zakiyye c) Utmān Thābit d) Ismā'il  
1895 1921 1923 1925 1927
- 6) Fatme a) Zakiyye b) Huriyye c) Abd us-Salām  
1902–30 1919 1921 1923
- 7) Mahmūd (single)  
1900
- 8) Khadr (married, no issue so far)  
1902
- 9) Rifqa a-b) 2 sons c-d) 2 daughters  
1906
- 10) Sa'id  
1913–1923.

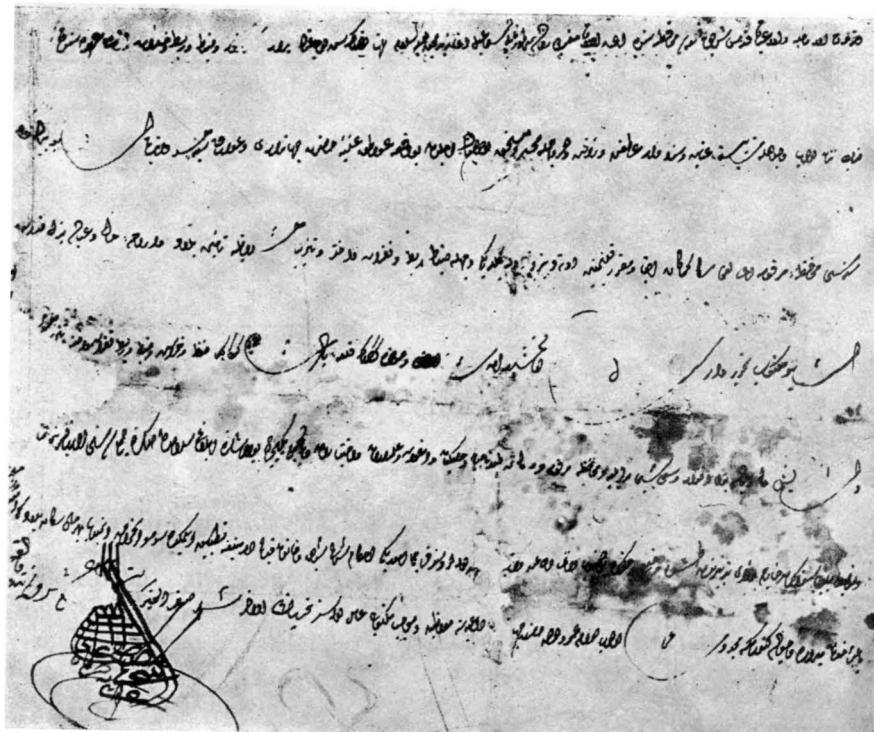
<sup>1</sup> The eldest son of Hajj Ismail Agha, Mustafa, was a well-to-do goldsmith in Constantinople. Under Sultan Mahmud II (1808–39) he was appointed Deputy of the Sherif of Mecca and was put in charge of the waqfs of Medina and Mecca. The above information is only approximate, as nothing written can be produced. — Of the sons of Ismail Agha only Hussein had issue.

<sup>2</sup> Said to have died a nonagenarian.

A



By Courtesy of the DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES, Jerusalem.



By Courtesy of the DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES, Jerusalem,

These two letters confer on Hajj Ismā'il Āghā the appointment of Commandant of the Citadel as well as that of the Janissary Force in Jerusalem. They were issued about the end of the period when the Janissaries held their sway in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>1</sup> In

<sup>1</sup> Since the following story has never been published in an European language, it may be quoted. It shows how the Armenians in the North East Vilayets of Turkey tried to settle the question of the *devshirmé* (cf. *Enc. of Islām*, s. v.), thus saving their youth from becoming janissaries. It is taken from the *Chronicle of the Armenian Bishop Krikor Kemakhetzi* (known also as *Taranaghtzi*), 1576–1640. This book has been edited with introduction, annotations and three indices by the eminent Right Reverend Bishop MESROB NISHANIAN, well-known for his many learned publications in Armenian. (Jerusalem, 1915, St. James' Press, LXX, 667). The book is a rich source of information with regard to the conditions of the Armenians in the late Middle Ages. I have to thank Mr. DAVID OHANNESIAN for his kind help in preparing the translation from the ancient Armenian. The passage runs (pp. 339–340):—

It is related that the *devshirmé* began under Sultan Selim, [but cf. *Enc. of Islām* s. v. *devshirme*]. The Bishop Mughāki, [a most enterprising person], went therefore to Stambul. In spite of the unsurmountable difficulties he insisted upon seeing the Sultan himself, so that finally those at the Sublime Porte were obliged to bring him to the notice of the Sultan. He was thereupon summoned before the Sultan and the following dialogue ensued:—

Sultan (in an angry mood):— Why did you insist so much on seeing my face, since there is my vizier who grants all applicants their requests?

Bishop: I only request to kiss your breast, the chest and place of your heart.

Sultan: Why do you want to kiss my heart? Why don't you ask to kiss my feet or my hands?

Bishop:— It is not in vain that I yearn to kiss your breast, but simply because it is the place of the right hand of the almighty and life-giving God.

Sultan: Who told you that God's right hand is on my breast?

Bishop: In the holy scriptures of the Prophets, the Torah, the Psalms of David and in our Gospel we read that "the heart of the king is in the hand of God", [Prov. 21<sup>1</sup>] who moves it, in the same way in which he moves winds and seas, rivers and currents to cause them to flow in whatever direction he chooses. The Sultan was thereupon highly pleased and ordered the bishop to fold his hands on his back and to approach the throne on his knees, according to the requirements of the law and the official ceremonies. Thus the bishop was enabled to attain his wish. After having kissed the breast of the Sultan the bishop was encouraged by the Sultan to state his request without fear. The bishop answered: "If I have found grace before Your Majesty, may I be given as dowry the (fees for) collecting Christian children (sc. for the *devshirmé*), against payment of a small poll tax". This way of tackling the question pleased the Sultan, who gave his orders that this should be carried out. Ever since the official of the *devshirmé* used to come only as far as Sivās and thence return.

this connection it may be of interest, to note, that till 1917 (and presumably till 1922, though no data are available after 1917) there lived in Constantinople twenty Janissaries in their Club, known as the *Yeniceri ojāghi*, at about one hour's ride on the road to Adrianople, outside the Gate of Adrianople. The one-storied building was situated amidst orchards and kitchen gardens in a stretch of land said to be two hours' ride either way. The landed property was used partly as pasture ground and was partly cultivated. The Club itself consisted mainly of a great hall, a dormitory for 20 persons, and the necessary farm buildings. The owners occupied themselves with breeding sheep and keeping poultry, employing servants and shepherds.

They used also to carry out other business transactions. They were the successors of the few who were spared by Sultan Mahmūd II from the horrible massacre in 1826. In sparing them he wished to keep a "souvenir" of this once all-powerful body. A vast stretch of land, estimated to be sufficient for the pasturage of 500 sheep, was granted them. They were not allowed to buy land in excess of what was granted them. There they had to occupy themselves with sheep breeding. On the Qurbān Bairam ('Id al-Adha) of each year they had to supply the kitchens of the Imperial Household with 500 sheep. They were exempted from paying any sort of taxes or tithes and from military service. Their emoluments were paid out of the Privy Purse (*Khazīne-i Khāṣṣa*) as they were considered to belong to the staff of the Imperial Household.

They used to wear (until 1917?) the Janissary garb. In the event of death a co-national of the deceased would be eligible for the membership of the Club. They should be born Moslems, (not *deunmē*), from Qastamūni, a town and province in NW Asia Minor, corresponding to the ancient Paphlagonia. The person so elected would be of about 10 years of age. He would be kept in the

So far as we know, the deputy of the devshirmē committee used to come once every three years to collect what was termed "lads' money" (*oğħlānji pārāsi*).— Incidentally it may be stated, that the term *devshirmē* (the recruiting of Christian youths by force for the Janissary Corps, abandoned under Murad IV, about 1637) is used in the vernacular of Jerusalem to describe a state of insecurity (pronounced *dashdrma*).

Club, and taught all the things necessary to make up the traditional janissary. Upon coming of age he would be admitted to full membership. (No data are available to show whether special initiation ceremonies were observed on this occasion). The membership lasted for life. Thus they kept their traditional number of twenty.<sup>1</sup> It is now to be assumed that the new Turkish regime in its reforming zeal has put an end to their picturesque mode of life and has thus done away with the last vestige of this interesting and once awe-inspiring corporation.

## A

- ١ قدوة الاماجد والاعيان سرطورنای الحاج اسماويل اغا زید مجده  
بعد السلام انها اولنورکه سن او جاغلک يرار و کارکنار و ضبط ربط  
و خدمات لازمه عهده ستدن کلیکه صاحب الاقتدار ضابطا ندند او لوب  
وجوهله سایشته عنایت<sup>2</sup>
- ٢ وسزاوار عاطفت و رافت و محل مستحق او لدینگ اجلدن بو دفعه عواطف  
عليه جهانداری و عوارف سنه خسروانیدن و رو دك تاریخیه ضبط ایلک  
اوزره يك ايکي يوز<sup>3</sup> يکرمی دورت سنه سی قدس شریف اغالغی
- ٣ سکا توجیه و عنایت و احسان او لنغین ایدی او ته دنبرو او له کلديک و جهله  
ضبط ربط نفرات و اخذ و تأذیب حشراته تنظیم بلاد سرحد و ارجاه حال  
عباده بذل قدرت ایلک با بنده دولتلو عنایتو ولی النعم اغا اندیز
- ٤ طرف دولتلرندن ویریلان يارم مهرلو مکتوب موجنبه اشو مکتوب تحریر  
وارسال او لنیشدر ان شاء الله تعالی وصولنده کرکدرکه وجه مشروح او زره  
قلمه با داشاهی یی کرکی کی حفظ و حراست
- ٥ و ضبط ربط نفرات و دفع رفع حشراته تأمین بلاد و اسایش حال و عباده  
[words] و سعی بیشمار ایلیه سن<sup>(١)</sup> و محافظه مرقومده موجود اغوات  
وعلیزاران و اختیاران و نفرات یولداشله ابلاغ سلام منصرکه

<sup>1</sup> I owe the above information to Mr. KEVORK O. KESHISHIAN, who, from A. H. 1327-30 (1909-1912), was a member of the 12th City Assessment Commission of House Taxes (*musaqqafat qomisiōnū*) of Constantinople.

<sup>2</sup> This word does not appear on Pl. VI      <sup>3</sup> Written in one word.

- 6 جمله سی سنی<sup>(۱)</sup> او زرلرینه اغا و ضابط بلوبده<sup>(۲)</sup> سوزکدن طشره و رأیکندن  
خارج وضع و حرکت بولونیوب دامنَا اطاعت و انقیاد او زره اوله لرسن  
فی جمله امورینی<sup>(۳)</sup> احکام شرع شریفه و قانون قدیم امر منیفه تطیق  
ایمکده سر مو انحراف
- 7 [اینمیوب بھر حال سکان]<sup>(۴)</sup> سرحد تشبیث امن و راحتلرینه باعث خدمات  
میروه وجوده کتورمکه مجده وساعی او لهرق شوکنلو مهابتلو قدرتلو  
عظمتلو پادشاه عالمپناه اندیز حضرتلرینک دوام ایام عمر و دولتلری  
ادعیه سنه مواطبت ایلیوب
- موجب مکتبه 8 عامل او لهسر
- تحریر آفی او اخر شهر صفر الحیر سنه ثلاٹ و عشرین و مایتن و الف  
وکیل کتخدای یکیچریان  
در کاه اگاسی
- محمد سری عربی<sup>(۵)</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

To the Model of the Nobles and Notables<sup>2</sup>, the Colonel in

<sup>1</sup> Space for several words.

<sup>2</sup> In another article I hope to deal more fully with the Introduction of the Turkish firmans and official correspondence. The following opening sentences of a firman (dated 19th Rajab A. H. 1225 = 22 (?) August, 1810) may be quoted as a specimen of the stereotyped phrases common to a great number of firmans:—

دستور مکرم مشیر مفخم مدبر نظام العالم مدر امور الجہوز بالفکر الثاقب متم مهام الانعام  
بالرأي الصائب [عهد بنیان الدولة والاقبال] مشید اركان السعادة والاجلال المغفور بصنوف عاطف الملك  
الاعلى شام شریف والیی وزیر الحاج يوسف پاشا ادام الله تعالی اجلاله  
واقضی قضاء المسلمين اولی ولادة المؤمنین معدن الفضل والیقین رافع اعلام الشریمة والدين وارت  
علوم الانیاء والمرسلین الخصی بزید عنابة الملك المعنی مولانا نقدس شرف قاضیی زید خانله  
ومفاخر العطا و المحققین مفتی وعلماء زید علمهم ومتعلّم قدس شریف اعیان وضابطان زید محمد  
ومفاخر الاقران والانداد اعیان البلاد وسائر ارباب اعمال بالاجمال سائر اصحاب نفوذ زید قدرهم  
توقيع رفیع همایون واصل او لیحق معلوم او له که . . .

*Translation:* (To) the honourable Prime Minister, the illustrious *mushir*, the

charge of the 63rd "Cranes" Janissary Regiment<sup>1</sup>, Hajj Ismā'il Āghā,—<sup>2</sup> may his honour (be) increase(d).<sup>3</sup>

After the salutation it is communicated that

WHEREAS you are of those officers who are useful to the Corps

administrator of the order of the world, the able conductor of public affairs with penetrating thought, the accomplisher of the important matters of mankind with sound insight; the arranger of the structure (=edifice) of prosperity and luck in a good and solid manner; the builder of the pillars of happiness and honour, who is surrounded by (all) kinds of favours of the sovereign King, — the Governor-General of the Province of Syria (*shām vālīsi*), my vezier Hajj Yūsuf Pāsha, — may Allah perpetuate his honour;

and the most authoritative of Moslem judges, the best of the Unitarian governors (=rulers), the mine of munificence and sure belief (=knowledge); the exalter of the banners of Sherī'a and (Moslem) religion; the inheritor of the sciences of Prophets and Apostles, who is specially adopted by the abundant graces (=favours) of the help — giving King, — our Lord, the Qādi of Jerusalem, — may his excellent qualities (=virtues) (be) increase(d);

and the (subject of just) pride of the investigating learned men, the mufti and the legal councillors, may their knowledge increase;

the governor of Jerusalem, (the pride of nobles and notables), the notables and officers, — may their honour increase;

and the pride of peers and equals, the chief men of the country, the men of affairs, — in summary: all people of influence — may their dignity increase

Be it known at the receipt of the noble Royal Rescript that...

<sup>1</sup> According to BARBIER DE MEYNARD *tournaji* is a "guardien de grues, surnom du 63e régiment des janissaires; leur chef, le *tournaji bachi*, était un des officiers des la vénérées impériale." But REDHOUSE has it that "the Corps became the 73rd regiment of the Janissaries. *tournaji-bachi*: The Chief of the Crane Keepers, colonel of the 73rd regiment." In modern Turkish usage the term was applied to technical officers in the navy.

<sup>2</sup> An inscription mentioning a predecessor was published by me in the *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, II, (1932) p. 132. It is on a limestone slab over the entrance to the open-air praying place (*musalla*) in the citadel of Jerusalem. Cf. also VAN BERCHEM, *C.I.A., Jerusalem, Ville*, t. I, p. 159 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The word *āghā* (in Eastern Turkish dialect standing for elder brother) means chief, master, lord. In the Ottoman Turkish the elder brother is spoken of (and addressed to by his junior) as *āghā-bey*. Till the end of the 19th century it was used (in contra-distinction to *effendi*) of military ranks. Independently of that it was used for the country gentry; nowadays it is a honorific title for illiterate persons (opp. to *effendi*). In common parlance the word *āghā* occurs in such like proverbial sayings as *her kess kendi evindē āghā dir* (Everybody is lord in his own house), and the English expression "to lord over" would answer to the Turkish *āghālyq sātmaq*.

(*ojāq*),<sup>1</sup> discharging your duties efficiently, and are able to keep the subordinates under control, to maintain order and carry out the services required,

[AND WHEREAS] you are worthy of favour and deserving of benevolence and kindness, being worthy of the post,

THEREFORE, in this instance, let it be known that, out of the bounty of His Majesty, the Sovereign, and out of His Royal, Sublime kindness, as from the date of its (sc. this letter) arrival, the post of chief (*āghālyq*)<sup>2</sup> of (the district of) Jerusalem for the year A. H. 1224<sup>3</sup> has been conferred on you and granted to you as a token of kindness and favour.

Now, in order that you should do your utmost, as heretofore, to keep duly the troops in order, to imprison and punish the wicked, to organize the frontier marches and to pacify the people, this letter has been written and despatched (sc. to you), in accordance with the sealed note<sup>4</sup> issued from [the Chancery of] His

<sup>1</sup> *ojāq*, also applicable to the army as a whole, including janissaries as well as mounted and dismounted sipāhis.

<sup>2</sup> *āghālyq*. Office of an *Āghā*, who may or may not be the governor. In this connection it may not be out of place to note some of the offices, where in the word *āghā* formed part of the designation, e.g. *mābein āghāsi*, (Chamberlain), *khazīne-i khāṣṣa āghāsi* (Treasurer). The *qyzlar āghāsi*, chief of the *qarā āghālar*, (about 200 black eunuchs) was the most important Palace Officer. He ranked next to the Grand Vizier and the Mufti and was the general administrator of the waqfs of Mecca and Medina. He was later known also under the name of *Haram āghāsi*. The *qapū āghāsi* was chief of the 80 white eunuchs, *āq āghālar*. The personal attendants of the sultan, the *āghāyān-i enderūn* (officers of the interior sc. of the seraglio) were divided into six classes, as were also the *rikāb āghālari*, general servants of the Imperial Household, while the *āghāyān-i birūn* (officers of the exterior) who had more liberty than the rest, occupied high offices both in the Court and State. They were divided into eight classes. The *yeniçeri āghāsi*, (Commandant of the troops) had on his staff an officer in charge of the guards, the *qarā qulāq āghāsi*, who, whenever fire broke out, would hurry to the Sultan to report the incident to him. Commandants of fortified places were known as *qal'a āghālari*.

C. MOURADJA D'OHSSON, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*,<sup>2</sup> VII, pp. 6, 34 and 56, treats this subject authoritatively. According to DESHAYES DE COURMESIN, *Voyage de Levant*, 1632, pp. 143–4, "le Capiaga, qui est Eunuque blanc" and the "Kezleragasi, qui est Eunuque More", had to select the Janissaries for the Imperial Household.

<sup>3</sup> Began 16th February, 1809.

<sup>4</sup> *yārym mühürli mektüb*.

Magnificent Excellency, our Benefactor,<sup>1</sup> the Āghā, our Lord.

If God wills, you should, at its arrival, duly guard and keep the Imperial fortress, as stated, keep the troops in discipline, remove and repel the wicked, and ensure with incessant efforts the pacification of the country and the (undisturbed) conditions of the people.

After giving the greetings to the officers (*āghās*), banner-bearers<sup>2</sup> elders (= chiefs)<sup>3</sup> and comrades<sup>4</sup> of the troops in the said garrison, let all of them acknowledge you to be their chief and (superior) officer. They should not deport themselves nor act against your orders and opinions.<sup>5</sup> They should be always obedient and submissive.

And you, in conforming in all your affairs to the provisions of the Noble Islamic Law, and in applying them to the ancient august Law, do not [deviate<sup>6</sup> a hair's breadth] (sc. from them).<sup>7</sup> Be diligent and endeavour earnestly to establish by numerous pious deeds security and peace to the people at the frontiers. Persevere in offering prayers and blessings for the perpetuation of the days and the reign of our imperial, majestic, powerful and magnificent Sovereign and King, His Majesty, our Lord.

Act in accordance with this letter.

Written at the end of the auspicious month of Šafar, A.H. 1223.<sup>8</sup>

Signature (in the form of a *ṭughrā*)  
of Muhammad [2 words] Āghā,  
Deputy Officer in charge of the  
Headquarters of the Janissaries.

<sup>1</sup> A list of honorific titles as met with in the firmanas of the 16th to the 19th century (kept in Jerusalem), is being prepared and will be the subject of a special paper.

<sup>2</sup> *‘alamdār* and not *‘ilmidār*.

<sup>3</sup> Considering the fact that the Janissaries were taken by force to serve in the army, the word *ikhtiārān* would indicate those advanced in office (or age).

<sup>4</sup> This was the usual way of addressing a fellow janissary.

<sup>5</sup> or: opinion and arrangement.

<sup>6</sup> Words bracketed [ ] are completed from the other letter.

<sup>7</sup> The Persian simile used is *ser mū*, i. e. (the breadth of) an ant's head.

<sup>8</sup> End of April, 1808.

## B

- ١ قدوة الاماجد والاعیان قدس شریف قلعه‌سنه اغا اولان  
مغری زاده سرطورنای اسماعیل اغا زید مجده  
بعد السلام انها اولنورکه سن او جاغلک یارار و ضبط و ربط و خدمات  
لازمه عهده سدن کلکله
- ٢ ضابط‌اندر اولوب وجوهله<sup>۱</sup> سایشته عنایت و سزاوار عاطفت و رافت  
و هرو جهله مجده و مستحق اولدیغتک اجلدن بو دفعه عواطف عليه<sup>۲</sup> حضرت  
جهانداری و عوارف سنه<sup>۳</sup> خسر و آیند اشبویک ایکی [3 words]
- ٣ سنه سی محافظه مرقومه اغالغی سکا کا کاف ابا و مقرر قلمغین اوته  
دبیریه اوله کلکی وجهمه ضبط ربط و نفرات واخذ و تأذیب حشرایله  
تامین بلاد و اراحه حال و عباده بذل قدرت [.....]
- ٤ اشو مكتوب تحریر و ارسال او نهشتر ان شاه الله تعالى<sup>۴</sup> و صولنده کرکدرکه  
قلعه بادشاهی بی کرکی کی حفظ و خراست<sup>۵</sup> و ضبط و ربط نفرات  
واخذ و تأذیب حشرائله [تامین بلاد]
- ٥ و اسايش حال و عباده بذل اقتدار و سعی بیشمایر ایله و محافظه مرقومه ده  
کاون طور ناجیان و حصکیان<sup>۶</sup> و اغوات و عملداران و اختیاران و بالجمله  
یکیچری یولداشله ابلاغ سلامدن صکره جمله‌سی سفی او زرلینه ...  
[one word?]
- ٦ و ضابط بلوب<sup>۷</sup> سوزندن<sup>۸</sup> خارج و رأی تدیرندن<sup>۹</sup> طشهه وضع  
و حرکتده بولنیوب داماً اطاعت [وانقیاد او زره] اوله لوسن دخی<sup>۱۰</sup> جله  
امورینی<sup>۱۱</sup> احکام شرع شریف و قانون قدیم امر منیفه تطیق ایله کده  
سرمو اخراج ایتمیوب بھر حال سکان بلاد [word]<sup>۱۲</sup> [امن و راحترنه]

<sup>1</sup> For وجهمه <sup>2</sup> These two words are written in one word.

<sup>3</sup> The words inserted within square brackets have been completed from the other document under reference.

<sup>4</sup> خاصه کی pl. of

<sup>5</sup> written in one word.

باعث خدمات مبروره وجوده كتور مکه مجد و ساعی او لوب دوام عمر و دولت  
 حضرت جهانداری ادعیه سنه مو اظبت  
 و موجب مكتوبی عامل اوله سز  
 تحریراً في اواخر شهر صفر الخير سنة تسع وعشرون وما يتبين والف  
 يكچریان در کاه اگاسی  
 مصطفی اغا

## TRANSLATION.

To the Model of the Nobles and Notables, the Āghā in charge of the garrison<sup>1</sup> of the Jerusalem Citadel, the Chief (*ser*) of the "Cranes" Janissary Regiment Ismā'il Āghā Mughrabī Zādē — may his honour be increased.<sup>2</sup>

After salutation it is communicated that

WHEREAS you are one of those officers who are useful to the Corps (*vŷâq*) discharging your duties efficiently, keeping your subordinates under control and in discipline and [able to maintain order and]<sup>4</sup> to perform the required services,

AND WHEREAS you are worthy (of having) favours bestowed on you, and deserving of benevolence and kindness, being energetic and worthy in every respect,

THEREFORE, out of the bounty of His Majesty, the Sovereign, and out of His Royal sublime kindness, it has now been decided to keep and confirm you, as hitherto, for this year of one Thousand two [...] in the Office of Commandant of the said Garrison.

THEREFORE this letter has been written and sent [in order that] you should do your utmost to maintain order in the time-honoured manner and that you should imprison and punish the dangerous people and ensure the pacification of the country and the undisturbed conditions of the people.

If God wills, at the due arrival of it [i. e. this letter] you should endeavour to do your utmost duly to guard and protect the said fortress, keep the troops in subjection, imprison and punish the un-

<sup>1</sup> *muhafiz*, the military governor as against the civil governor, the *mutesellim*.

<sup>2</sup> No such honorific titles were mentioned in the first letter of appointment.

ruly people and ensure with incessant efforts the pacification of the country and the undisturbed conditions of the population.

After giving salutation to all those in the said garrison, "Cranes", Janissaries, Khassekis,<sup>1</sup> Āghās, banner-bearers, elders and all Janissary comrades (*yoldūs*), they all should consider you as . . . and their superior. They should not deport themselves nor act against your good pleasure and dispositions but always . . . be obedient . . .

You too, in conforming in all your affairs to the provisions of the Noble *Shar'* and in applying them to the exalted ancient Law, do not deviate a hair's breadth (sc. from them). Be diligent and endeavour earnestly to establish by numerous pious deeds security and peace to the people at the frontiers. Persevere in offering prayers and blessings for the long life and felicity of (His Majesty) the Ruler of the World.

Act in accordance with this letter.

Written at the end of the auspicious month of Ṣafar, A. H. 1229.<sup>2</sup>

Signature of Muṣṭafa Āghā,  
Chief of the Headquarters of  
the Janissary Force, (in the  
form of a ṭughrā).

<sup>1</sup> Not only those janissaries who served in the Royal Palaces, but also those sent into the provinces on a special mission.

<sup>2</sup> Last decade of February, 1814.

## BOOK REVIEWS

RAVAISSE PAUL: *Une lampe sépulcrale en verre émaillé au nom d'Arghūn en-Nāṣirī, Émir mamlouk (1280—1331), de la collection J. Chappée.* Paul Geuthner, Paris, 1931. Frontispiece in colours, 15 monochrome plates, 80 pp., 100 francs.

Moslem minor arts are among the more neglected branches of archaeology, the one exception being glass and miniatures; either because of their beauty or their commercial value more care has been devoted to their study than to any of the other sections of Eastern Art and Archaeology. They have formed the subject of numerous books and articles in the past, and in recent years the authoritative works of WIET and LAMM laid a solid foundation for the study of Moslem glass.

M. RAVAISSE presents us with a monograph on a hitherto unpublished enamelled and inscribed lamp from the collection of M. JULIEN CHAPPÉE of Mans. The book is divided into two sections, of which the first gives a short introduction to Moslem glass lamps in general, reproduces descriptions (after WIET's *Lampes et bouteilles en verre émaillé*) of those in which the name of Arghūn an-Nāṣirī is mentioned, and ends with a brief history of the lamp forming the subject of this monograph. In the following chapters the lamp is described with "epic" breadth, the text of the inscription is given and the titles of Arghūn and his offices discussed. The second section contains a biography of Arghūn ad-Dawādār.

It is obvious from this rich table of contents that we have before us a monograph which deals fully with a very interesting object. We owe a debt of gratitude to the author for this painstaking study, and to the publisher for producing, in these days of discouragement, so elaborate and handsomely illustrated a volume at a moderate price.

In one cardinal point we disagree with the author, namely, with his version of the inscription.

The text as presented by M. RAVAISSE reads as follows:  
On the neck: متأهل برس المرتـالـي . . . ناصر الدين محمد المؤـيد  
On the body: العـالـي المـرـحـوم اـرـغـون الـمـوـاـدـار . . . تـقـدـمـهـ اللهـ . . .

In this form the text is impossible. There is no word to indicate the relationship between Muḥammad and Arghūn. The word **الْوَيْد** is quite out of place where it stands, the following **الْمَال** lacks a substantive to which it could refer. One asks oneself vainly to whom the plural in **تَفَدِيم** refers, as the dual ought necessarily to have been used, two persons only having been mentioned in the text. Fortunately, the facsimile on Pl. I and the photograph on Pl. IV enable us to correct a few points of M. RAVASSE's text. To begin with we are struck by the size of **ء** in **الْوَيْد**: firstly, it is a full-sized **ج**; secondly, **ء** is out of place, being stuck between **عَل** and **الْقَرَّ**; thirdly, above **عَل** there is a sign, read by M. RAVASSE as **ḍamma**, bigger in size than **ء** of **بَرْسَم**, this "vowel-mark", incidentally, being the only one found in the whole of the inscription. Moreover, as indicated above, it is against all the rules of a mam-luk protocol to have **الْوَيْد** standing where it does. Furthermore, as there are no traces of a **ى** (so that we should read it **عَمَدُ الْوَيْدِي**), the division of the word into **وَلَدُ الْقَرَّ** and **وَلَدُ** suggests itself at once. The inscription would, therefore, read: مَتَاعُ عَلِ بَرْسَمٍ وَلَدُ الْقَرَّ ... مُحَمَّدٌ [بْنُ] الْقَرَّ would refer to Arghūn, Muḥammad and Muḥammad's son. This reading does away with three out of four vulnerable points of RAVASSE's text, but the one first mentioned still remains. Since the sign **ء** appears twice, once standing for **بَنْ** in **الْدِين** and then for **ء** in **بَرْسَم**, I assume that **ء** was omitted either by inadvertence or by involution. Consequently I have added it in square brackets. The alternative would be to read **بَرْسَم** **عَلِ** **الْقَرَّ** ... **مُحَمَّدُ وَلَدُ الْقَرَّ** **الْمَالِ الْمَرْجُونِ** and to assume that the model, which the calligrapher supplied to the decorator, has been written on two levels to each line, and that the decorator copied the wrong word first, which is extremely unlikely.

A few bewildering statements of a more general character ought to be mentioned.

P. 8. RAVASSE's starting-point is that all the lamps with the name of Arghūn an-Nāṣirī come from the mausoleum of Arghūn the Dawādār at Aleppo. It cannot be emphasised too strongly that there is not the slightest shred of evidence for this assertion, neither in RAVASSE's book nor in any other literature, Arabic or

<sup>1</sup> Omitted in the facsimile, but well visible on Pl. IV.

European. If proved, it would be the strangest possible coincidence to find lamps made to the order of different persons, and obviously intended for various buildings in Egypt and Syria, in a neglected mausoleum at Aleppo, which, in accordance with the wish of its founder, was a very modest building and never became a place of wide-spread veneration.

P. 13. The illegible inscriptions on the pointed shields are explained by RAVASSE as having been copied from Crusaders' texts. This is a matter of opinion. Judging this assertion on its merits it should not be forgotten that (a) neither pointed nor inscribed shields were a rarity in the first half of the 14th century, and that (b) wherever they are legible (and, as a rule, they present no difficulty to the epigraphist) they are absolutely in keeping with the traditional formulae.<sup>1</sup>

P. 37. The thesis that a cupbearer was entitled to bear a coat-of-arms before he was dubbed amir would be interesting if proved. But M. RAVASSE makes no attempt to corroborate his statement by any evidence; to my knowledge no Arab text could be quoted in support of such assertion.

M. RAVASSE took it for granted that the lamp is genuine. It would be rash to express an opinion on the subject without having seen the original. But in considering this problem an interesting fact should not be overlooked, namely how closely the decoration and the text of this lamp resemble those of a lamp in the collection of Mr. Eumorfopoulos, London, even in such details as the divisions of the word *لله* or the vertical—instead of horizontal—position of the word *تفقدهم*.

L. A. MAYER.

J. JEREMIAS, *Die Passahfeier der Samaritaner und ihre Bedeutung für das Verständnis der alttestamentlichen Passahüberlieferungen* (Beihefe für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 59). 8. 109 Seiten mit 48 Abbildungen. Giessen, Töpelmann 1932. Preis 9 M.

Der durch seine zahlreichen kultur- und religionsgeschichtlichen Untersuchungen, besonders über *Jerusalem zur Zeit Jesu* (Leipzig 1923) und *Golgotha* (Leipzig 1926) rühmlichst bekannte Verfasser weilte

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the present reviewer's *Saracenic Heraldry*, p. 34 ff.

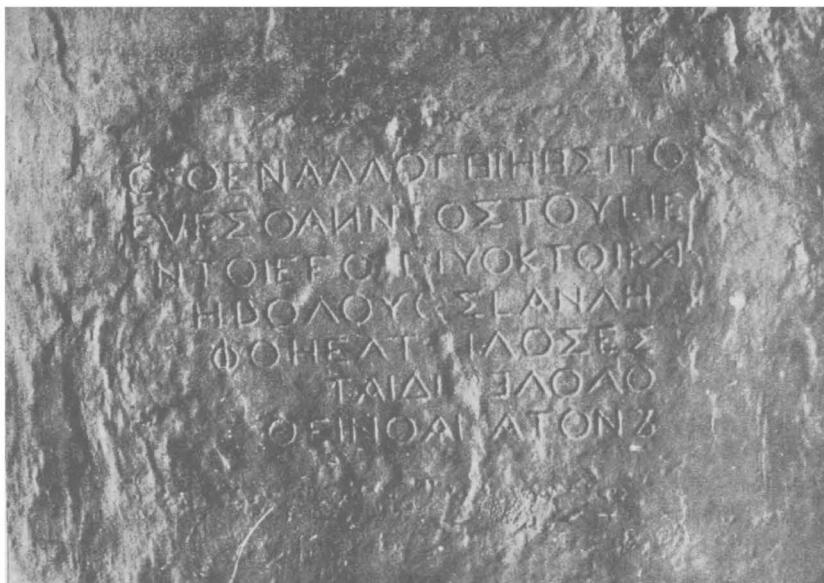
März bis Oktober 1931 als Mitglied des *Deutschen Evangelischen Instituts für Altertumskunde des Heiligen Landes* in Palästina. Er wohnte am 1. Mai der Passahfeier der Samaritaner auf dem Garizim bei und beschreibt in der vorliegenden Studie seine Beobachtungen über den Verlauf der Feier. Die auf S. 3 mitgeteilte Literatur von 1850 bis 1930 mit teilweise sehr wertvollen Beschreibungen der Feier, könnte das vorliegende Buch als überflüssig erscheinen lassen. Aber sein einzigartiger Vorzug besteht vor allem darin, daß das Fest im Jahre 1931 auf einen Sabbath fiel und wegen des Arbeitsverbotes die Schlachtung und Zubereitung der Passahlämmer, die sonst immer nach Sonnenuntergang stattzufinden hat und etwa zwei Stunden dauert, auf den Freitag nachmittag verschoben wurde. Dieser seltene Fall, der seit 22 Jahren nicht mehr eingetreten war, ermöglichte dem Verfasser, mit der Kamera 22 Bilder herzustellen, die als erste Tagesaufnahmen der Riten wohl einzigartig dastehen. Dazu kommen 25 Dämmer- und Blitzlichtaufnahmen früherer Beobachter (Larsson, Raad, Giertz), sodaß wir zum ersten Male den Verlauf der Feier fast lückenlos im Bilde vor uns haben. Alle diese 47 Fotos (durchschnittlich im Format 9:12) sind im Anschluß an eine Skizze des Festplatzes S. 5—52 auf fein satiniertem Papier abgedruckt und mit vorzüglichen Erläuterungen und bezüglichen Bibelstellen unter dem Bilde versehen. Zeltlager, Schlach- und Bratgrube, Eingangsliturgie, Schächtung, Brühen, Enthaaren, Ausweiden, Aufspießung, Salzung, Braten und Verspeistwerden der Passahlämmer sind im Bilde festgehalten und vermitteln uns einen anschaulichen Kommentar zu diesem einzigen, in Palästina heute noch fortlebenden, alttestamentlichen Opferritus. Nur die Falascha (abessinische Juden), vollziehen ebenfalls noch heute alljährlich neben zahlreichen anderen Opfern biblischen und heidnischen Ursprungs die Schlachtung des Passahlamms.

Im zweiten Teil des Buches (S. 53—106) geht der Verfasser den Spuren der vordeuteronomischen Passahfeier bei den Samaritanern nach. Dabei ergibt sich vor allem, daß die ältere samaritanische Tradition weder die Bindung der Passahschlachtung an ein bestehendes Heiligtum noch an eine heilige Stätte kennt, sondern nur eine Feier in den einzelnen Ortschaften und zwar höchstwahrscheinlich in den Familien. Das aber ist, wie aus Ex. 12<sup>1-13</sup> und 21-27 hervorgeht, die vordeuteronomische Praxis. Erst seit Josias, 621 v. Chr., gibt es zwei Formen der Passahfeier nebeneinander:

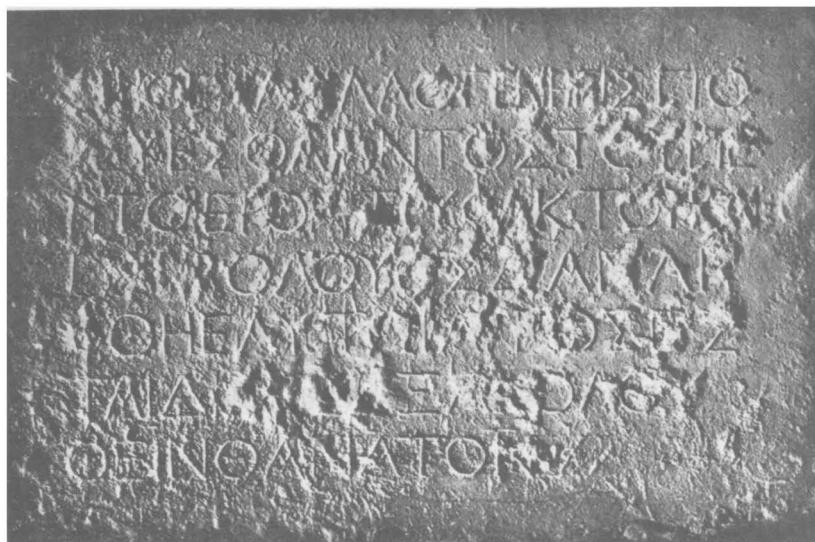
1) die ursprüngliche Hausfeier in den Ortschaften, 2) die Kultfeier im Jerusalemer Tempel (S. 71 f). Ähnlich wie Esra 6<sup>20</sup> und 2 Chr. 30<sup>8. 15-19</sup> für die Jerusalemer Passahfeier, ist auch dem samaritanischen Passahritual eine gewisse Reinigung und Vorbereitung der Teilnehmer zur Feier vorgeschrieben. Auch in der Regelung der schwierigen Frage, was zu tun ist, wenn der 15. Nisan auf einen Sabbath fällt, einigen sich jüdische und samaritanische Überlieferung dahin, daß irgendwelche mit dem Passahopfer verbundenen Arbeiten am Sabbath unzulässig sind und diesem jenes weichen muß (S. 78—86). Das übereinstimmende Material der samaritanischen und rabbinischen Tradition über die Technik der Schächtung führt in alte Zeiten und liefert eine willkommene Ergänzung der biblischen Passaherzählungen, die über diese Technik selbst nichts sagen. Für den Blutritus hingegen, die Zurichtung der Opfertiere zum Braten sind wieder beiderseitig klare Parallelen ausdrücklich belegt (Ex. 12<sup>9. 22-27</sup>). Auch im Ritus des Passahmales stimmen samaritanische und jüdische Tradition in weitestem Maße überein. Wenn schließlich bei der Verbrennung der Überreste den Samaritanern die Vernichtung primär, der Opfercharakter aber sekundär ist, so spiegelt sich auch hierin der vordeuteronomische Brauch wieder, der auch nach 621 v. Chr. außerhalb Jerusalem weiter geübt wurde.

So besitzen wir in dem Buche J.s eine äußerst kostbare Ergänzung und Erklärung zur biblischen Passahfeier und es wäre nur dringend zu wünschen, durch Grabungen festzustellen, ob nicht entgegen der Mitteilung PROKOPS (*De aedificiis Justin.* V. 7) und der Annahme J.s, daß die Samaritaner auf dem Garizim keinen Tempel gehabt, unter der Marienkirche des Kaisers Zenon (a. 484) und unter dem Kastell des Kaisers Justinian (a. 529) sich vielleicht doch Reste eines Tempels, finden, den die Samaritaner nach ihrer Loslösung von der jüdischen Gemeinde im 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. erbaut hätten und der, wenn wir JOHANNES MALALAS um 550 (*Chronographie*, ed. DINDORF S. 382 f) und dem *Chronikon Paschale* um 562 (ed. DINDORF S. 604, 8—11) glauben dürfen, von Zenon in die Marienkirche umgewandelt wurde.

A. E. MADER



See pages 137-139



## ON THE IVORIES FROM SAMARIA

(Presidential Address)

J. W. CROWFOOT

(JERUSALEM)

By the death of LORD PLUMER this Society has suffered a deep loss during the past year. LORD PLUMER took a lively interest in everything that concerned Palestine and not least in its folk-lore and archaeology. It delighted him to organise lectures at Government House on the subjects with which this Society is specially concerned and it was natural that he should be a patron of the Society. LORD PLUMER retained his interest in Palestine until the end and the loss which we have to record is one which we share with many other institutions in the country.

Apart from this, the past year has been a happy one for the Society and it was a peculiar pleasure to me when your Committee asked me to become President in succession to M. NEUVILLE. A pleasure for more than one reason.

In the first place, M. NEUVILLE has distinguished himself in a field in which the British School has been active for a number of years, and the relations which have always subsisted between M. NEUVILLE and our students have been very intimate and very pleasant. In the charming address which he gave us last year M. NEUVILLE promised to forbear from talking about flints, but flints are not the only relics of prehistoric Palestine. Two years ago Miss GARROD and Mr. TURVILLE-PETRE found a series of objects, bead caps, carved stones and bones, which appeal by their novelty and intrinsic merits to a wider circle than the flints with which they are associated. They represent a more articulate period of prehistoric Palestinian culture than any found hitherto, and the name, Natufian

which Miss GARROD has given this culture has already acquired right of citizenship in prehistoric circles. During the past year these discoveries have been capped by M. NEUVILLE with the discovery of a marvellous animal torso worked in the same way, a true masterpiece of the period which suggests points of comparison with those which have been long familiar in France, Spain, and elsewhere. This Society has had many distinguished Presidents but I do not think it has had one to whom such good fortune has come during his year of office.

In the second place the Society has never been in a more prosperous condition. Our late President would be the first to protest that the credit for this must be shared with the other officers of the Society and in particular with Dr. CANAAN. It is to Dr. CANAAN that I am indebted for the following figures to substantiate this statement. Instead of the usual four meetings the Society has had six during the past season: three of these have been devoted to reports of recent excavations. The *Journal* has been increased from about 150 pages to 272 — personally I hope it will not continue to increase at this rate — the contributions have been in English, French, and German, and the contributors have been gathered from many countries. It is clear that the Society is becoming what its founders intended, a preliminary international clearing-house for all branches of Palestinian archaeology and folk-lore.

As in former years, these activities have only been rendered possible by the gracious hospitality we have received from successive Directors of the American School of Oriental Research and from the Reverend Fathers of the French Archaeological School. I ask them once more to accept our sincere thanks.

The ivories from Samaria, about which I propose to speak, have this in common with M. NEUVILLE's discoveries, that they are not of a purely local character like so much of the matter with which archaeologists in Palestine are condemned to deal, minute topographical details, for example, and the gritty content of primitive potsherds. The ivories are characteristic works of a definite movement or period which occupies a large place in all histories of ancient art: indeed in proportion to what is really known about his chapter of art history too much ink may have been already spilt upon it. This chapter embraces the majority of the Mediterranean

antiquities which belong to the period between the late Bronze Age and the beginnings of Classical art. These antiquities are mostly small and in various materials, stone, metal, ivory, shell, earthenware, etc. Their place of origin was somewhere in the Levant, in Syria, Phoenicia or Cyprus, but they have been carried far afield by Phoenician traders and they are found in many countries from the Nearer East to Spain. In these antiquities a number of Bronze Age motives, patterns, and technical processes, persist in a standardised form much in the same way as in later days Hellenistic patterns and processes persisted in Byzantine-Islamic art. And for much the same reason: on the mainland of Greece the Bronze Age culture was blotted out by the Dorians and a new art, the so-called Geometrical art, came into being: in the Syro-Egyptian area, on the other hand, the invaders, Hittites, Libyans, Philistines, Hebrews, like the Arabs at the close of the Classical period, were less destructive or more sensible to the good things they found, and much more of the old art survived.

An early example of this derivative art may be seen on a silver bowl which was found in Egypt at Tell Basta. In the centre there is a charming river scene which obviously owes much to the naturalistic art which flourished in Egypt at a time when Egypt was exposed to strong Cretan influence: round this central field runs a frieze of animals, female sphinxes and goats, arranged in heraldic pairs as supporters to conventional palm trees. This bowl belongs to the Ramessid period and the essential characteristics of this phase of art are already in evidence.

Works in the same eclectic style were produced for the next five or six centuries and even longer; local traits are more marked in some than in others but the general features are the same. Their makers were not serious artists struggling to express a new and original vision, but capable craftsmen who earned their bread by providing the luxury markets of the day with small decorative objects of undeniable charm and delicacy. We shall wrong these excellent workmen, just as we shall wrong their living descendants in Cairo and Damascus, if we look for more than they bargain to supply.

The ivories from Samaria belong to an early and a good phase of this decorative art. They are closely related to the collections of ivories which were found by LAYARD at Tell Nimrud and by M.

THUREAU-DANGIN's expedition at Arslan Tash. It is naturally difficult to date works of this standardised character, and there were for a long time differences of opinion as to the date of the finds from Tell Nimrud. The discoveries at Arslan Tash have put this question on a new basis. M. THUREAU-DANGIN and his colleagues were fortunate in finding epigraphic evidence to show that their ivories are to be dated a little after the middle of the 9th Century. In style the best ivories from Samaria appear to be rather earlier than those from Arslan Tash, and the history of Samaria, particularly the fame of Ahab's house of ivory, suggests that they should be assigned to Ahab's reign, just before 850 B.C.: the Aramaic letters which are found on some of them are of the same early form as those from Arslan Tash. This date is not absolutely proven but the circumstantial evidence makes it very probable.

Ivory was a common material at this time, whether it came from the Sudan or from Northern Syria, and it was used for a multitude of purposes. For toilet boxes, seals, and mirror handles, to mention a few of the smaller articles: also to inlay the backs, the crossbars and uprights of thrones and couches and other pieces of furniture: also on the walls of palaces. 'I incrusted the door posts, the lintel and the threshold of the place of repose with ivory' says Nebuchadnezzar, and the wainscotting of Ahab's house of ivory was decorated we imagine in the same way.

The ivories from Samaria are so fragmentary that it would be dangerous to dogmatise about the nature of the object which any particular plaque may have served to decorate. It is more profitable to confine our attention to the workmanship and the subjects.

In the better pieces there are different techniques to be distinguished, and we are fortunate in knowing two of the ancient names by which these techniques were described. The names occur on an Assyrian inscription which is elucidated by M. THUREAU-DANGIN in the volume on Arslan Tash. The inscription contains a list of the tributes exacted from the King of Damascus by Adad-Narari III (809-782) and in the list are beds of ivory and tables or stools of ivory both covered (*ih-zi*) [with gold foil] and inlaid (*tam-le-e*) [with precious stones or other coloured substances]. Only the first of these techniques is represented at Arslan Tash: in the collections from Samaria and Tell Nimrud there are several examples of both, at

Samaria indeed inlaid techniques are better represented than any other and we will turn to these first.

The subjects on the inlaid plaques are Egyptian in origin—Harpocrates seated on a lotus, the Hawkheaded Horus, Maat, winged figures of Isis and Nephthys, Hah, a robed figure with flail and ankh which may be Osiris, groups of hieroglyphs, Pharaoh smiting his enemies, winged Sphinxes and lions sejant in the Egyptian style, chains of lotus flowers,—and there are at least two different methods of treating the inlays.

In the finer pieces the figures are carved in very low relief; the background and the borders round the plaques were left plain, and details of the figures, the feathers on the wings for example, the patterns of their ornaments and robes, the leaves and petals of the flowers, the pupils and eyebrows on the faces, were deeply grooved and filled with lapis lazuli and other coloured substances. The colours were very bright, blues and reds and greens, and in many cases the ivory cloisons between the coloured insets were covered with gold foil. Gold and colours were used so lavishly that on some plaques very little of the ivory was left showing. Many of the cloisons are considerably less than a millimetre wide, and the troughs between them in which the inlays were set are more than 2 mm deep, figures which give an idea of the technical skill of the craftsman and the fineness of the tools at his disposal. The drawing has both the merits and demerits which are common on Egyptian works, charming panels are disfigured by stupid mistakes, the hands for example being again and again set on the wrong arms. Only a craftsman with very skilful fingers could have done such fine work, and only one who was either hidebound by ancient Egyptian convention, or paying no heed whatever to what he was about, could have made such blunders.

In some of the smaller inlaid pieces a second method was adopted. In these the figures or patterns were traced in outline on the ivory; all the ivory inside the outline was then completely chiselled away, and the trough was filled with a coloured inset on which the details of the figures must have been moulded; the ivory on all sides of the inset was left plain. In Egypt hieroglyphs are often inlaid in this way in wood. This method was employed at Samaria on plaques which represent Pharaoh smiting his enemies,

winged Sphinxes, and various lotus and bud chains; they belong all unfortunately to the burnt series and only traces of inlay have survived at the bottom of the troughs.

These two polychrome techniques represent, we think, the costlier type of ornamentation, which may have been reserved for the royal throne or some peculiarly precious casket. The vast majority of our fragments come from panels like those found at Arslan Tash in which there were no coloured insets or only the eyes were inlaid. Some of these are in relief, some in open pierced work: some were overlaid with gold foil, others were probably plain.

The subjects in these groups include winged Sphinx-Cherubim, struggles between lions and Cherubim and between lions and bulls, drooping palm trees, a woman at a window, possibly the Goddess Hathor, and a number of sacred tree patterns.

The relief on these is generally deeper and the background is often ornamented with conventional tree- and plant-forms. Traces of Egyptian influence are still discoverable but the Egyptian elements have been more radically translated and neither the merits nor the demerits of this style are at all Egyptian. The attitudes and the proportions, the plump hands, the prominent eyes and noses, the roughly cut hair and wings, remind us in miniature of the uncouth reliefs which are familiar on Hittite and Aramaic carvings before they were modified by Assyrian influences. Local Syrian traditions are uppermost here and this series offers us a picture of the works with which the temple of Solomon was decorated: the Cherubim above the Ark are to be imagined like these and not like the chubby little Cupids which Dr. Schick placed above his model.

I should be raising false hopes if I were to suggest that there is anything specifically Israelitish about these works, but they do represent the art traditions which during the monarchy the Israelites came to share with other inhabitants of Syria. According to the Biblical narrative it was Solomon to whom this development was due. Solomon recruited his craftsmen like his harem in a generous and catholic spirit. The Egyptian subjects on our ivories we imagine are like those which may have decorated the house of the daughter of Pharaoh: the subjects with which the temple and its surroundings were adorned are also all represented in our collection, the Cherubim, the lions, the oxen, the palm trees, the lilies, the open flowers and

the knobs, and the checker work. We have to study this art mainly in small, moveable, standardised, objects, turned out wholesale in the ancient bazaars, but it was not confined to these works, it was also used on a monumental scale. This is proved by the Biblical description of Solomon's buildings: it is also proved by the architectural details which have been found in different parts of the country, at Samaria for example, at Megiddo, at Ramath Rachel and Tell el Hesy, all works which belong to the same international circle. And it continued to be the art of the country at least until the craftsmen were carried into captivity.

## NOTES DE PRÉHISTOIRE SYRO-PALESTINIENNE<sup>1</sup>

R. NEUVILLE

(JERUSALEM)

### VII. — L'INDUSTRIE DITE SOLUTRÉENNE DE MÎNET-DÂLIEH

La ville de Beyrouth est bâtie sur la face Nord d'un vaste promontoire, le *Râs Beyrouth*, bien connu des fervents de la Préhistoire orientale pour la richesse en silex taillés de sa bordure côtière occidentale. Sur un petit cap de cette côte escarpée s'avancant dans la minuscule baie de *Mînet-Dâlieh*, le R. P. BOVIER-LAPIERRE découvrait en 1914 un gisement préhistorique d'un intérêt tout particulier.

Le R. P. DESRIBES, qui fouilla ce gisement dès la fin de la guerre,<sup>2</sup> crut reconnaître, entre un niveau moustérien, le même qui s'étend en surface sur une grande partie du *Râs Beyrouth*, et une couche de terre actuelle, les restes d'une culture solutréenne.<sup>3</sup>

Il est certain, en effet, que la couche médiane, dite solutréenne, contenait une industrie lithique qu'un type curieux d'instrument en silex rendait particulièrement originale. "C'est une sorte de triangle isocèle très allongé, dont les côtés égaux sont 4, 5, 6 ou 8 fois plus longs que la base et légèrement curvilignes. La base est habilement taillée en forme de racloir ou de tranchet, presque toujours rectiligne, mais dessinant parfois une courbe à flèche très courte. Les trois côtés de ce triangle sont finement retouchés... Le stylet a un axe de symétrie allant du sommet de la pointe au milieu de la base. La section de la tige, perpendiculaire à cet axe, représente ordinairement une sorte de lunule régulière limitée par deux arcs de cercles; quelquefois la section est un losange ou un

<sup>1</sup> Voir *JPOS*, X, 1930, pp. 64—75 et 193—221; XI, 1931, pp. 152—156.

<sup>2</sup> P. RAOUL DESRIBES S. J., *Quelques ateliers paléolithiques des environs de Beyrouth*, Beyrouth, 1921, pp. 4—18 et pl. 2—14.

<sup>3</sup> Id., *ibid.*, pp. 9—10. Il est fort possible, me fait remarquer M. JEAN HALLER, qui a sans doute des raisons pour le croire, qu'un autre niveau archéologique, non distingué par les fouilleurs précédents, s'intercale entre la couche moustérienne et le niveau de l'industrie à "stylets".

simple parallélogramme; dans quelques cas même, les deux formes sont associées, arc de cercle d'un côté et angle obtus de l'autre<sup>1</sup> (fig. 14, n° 3).

J'ai eu récemment l'occasion d'admirer et d'étudier de près les découvertes provenant de *Minet-Dâlieh* exposées à la Faculté Française de Médecine de Beyrouth. Le R. P. BERGRY, de l'Université St.-Joseph, a eu l'amabilité de me montrer la belle série qu'il a recueillie de son côté et de me conduire au gisement même de *Minet-Dâlieh*, où j'ai eu la bonne fortune de trouver encore un bon nombre d'exemplaires de l'instrument qui vient d'être décrit.

Cette étude sur place m'a confirmé dans la pensée que m'avait déjà donnée la lecture de la monographie du R. P. DESRIBES: il ne saurait, à *Minet-Dâlieh*, être question de Solutréen. Et il semble à peine besoin d'en donner les raisons, car en réalité le P. DESRIBES n'invoque en faveur de sa thèse qu'un seul argument, "la taille et la retouche du silex" qui dénotent, dit-il avec l'appui du regretté JOSEPH DÉCHELETTE lui-même,<sup>2</sup> "la technique spéciale de l'industrie solutréenne"<sup>3</sup>. Celle-ci, ajoute le P. DESRIBES, procédait par "pression", à la différence de la technique acheuléenne qui employait la "percussion".<sup>4</sup> Or cette "technique spéciale" de *Minet-Dâlieh*, tant pour la taille que pour la retaille, est commune au Néolithique (*sensu lato*) de tous les pays. Elle s'est particulièrement développée dans les cultures du premier âge du Bronze du bassin sud-oriental de la Méditerranée. Quant à la technique de la retaille par pression, dont l'auteur semble faire grand cas, personne n'ignore qu'elle a été en usage dès le Moustérien et jusqu'à la fin de l'âge de la Pierre; on ne saurait donc en faire l'apanage des Solutréens. Ce qui constitue l'originalité de la technique solutréenne, c'est la retaille plate et longue, qui recouvre le plus souvent toute la surface de la pièce, retaille que nous retrouvons au Néolithique (*sensu lato*).

Mais plus caractéristique est, chez les Solutréens, la morphologie des instruments. "Nous nous trouvons en présence de deux catégories de silex, les uns appartenant à toutes les périodes de l'époque du Renne, tels que grattoirs simples ou doubles, perçoirs, burins, lames retouchées et lames simples de petites dimensions; les autres composant les types caractéristiques de l'industrie solutréenne

<sup>1</sup> Id., *ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Id., *ibid.*, p. 5, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Id., *ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Id., *ibid.*, p. 5, note 2.

proprement dite: ce sont des pointes de flèches ou de lances, dont plusieurs sont taillées avec une rare perfection. On les nomme communément *pointes en feuille de saule* et en *feuille de laurier*<sup>1</sup>. Or aucune de ces pièces caractéristiques ne se rencontre à *Minet-Dâlieh*. Les feuilles de saule ou de laurier et la pointe à cran sont totalement absentes tant des collections que j'ai pu visiter à Beyrouth, que des reproductions contenues dans le mémoire du P. DESRIBES. L'auteur mentionne bien "quelques pointes en feuille de laurier, voire des flèches à cran",<sup>2</sup> mais sans préciser autrement ni renvoyer aux planches de l'ouvrage. Ailleurs,<sup>3</sup> il pense que "quelquefois la lame du poignard affecte l'aspect de la feuille de laurier" et il renvoie à la planche 9; mais, dans cette planche, pas plus d'ailleurs que dans les autres, nous ne trouvons rien qui ressemble tant soit peu à la feuille de laurier solutréenne. Quant aux "flèches à cran", dont il n'est plus question dans la suite du mémoire, nous ne pensons pas que l'auteur ait voulu faire allusion aux pièces 5 et 6 de la pl. 4, ni à la pièce 4 de la pl. 13.<sup>4</sup>

"Les burins occupent une place distinguée à *Minet-Dâlieh*" dit le P. DESRIBES,<sup>5</sup> en renvoyant à la pl. 13. Or nous ne trouvons dans cette planche aucun outil qui ressemble à un burin, mais une belle série de perçoirs indiscutables.<sup>6</sup> Il y a cependant de véritables burins à *Minet-Dâlieh*, j'en ai recueilli un bon nombre (fig. 14, n° 5-6), mais ces burins n'ont rien de solutréen.<sup>7</sup>

Les grattoirs, que l'auteur mentionne mais ne reproduit pas<sup>8</sup>, ne sauraient militer davantage en faveur du Solutréen. Ceux que j'ai recueillis à *Minet-Dâlieh*, de même que les exemplaires exposés dans les collections de Beyrouth, ne sont caractéristiques d'aucune époque déterminée.

Rien, on le voit, ne permet d'attribuer au Solutréen la culture de *Minet-Dâlieh*, pas même la faune recueillie dans le gisement,<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J. DÉCHELETTE, *Manuel*, I, 1924, pp. 137-138.

<sup>2</sup> DESRIBES, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Id., *ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Ne pas prendre pour un cran l'ombre qui a été omise, à la retouche du cliché, sur le côté gauche de ce dernier perçoir. <sup>5</sup> DESRIBES, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>6</sup> Il est vrai que la notion du véritable burin a été longtemps ignorée et l'est souvent encore des fervents de la Préhistoire syro-palestinienne.

<sup>7</sup> En Syrie-Palestine, le burin se rencontre depuis l'Acheuléen supérieur (Grotte d'Oumm-Qatâfa, cf. *L'Anthropologie*, XLI, pp. 26-27), jusqu'à l'âge du Bronze. <sup>8</sup> DESRIBES, *op. cit.*, p. 1. <sup>9</sup> Id., *ibid.*, p. 10.

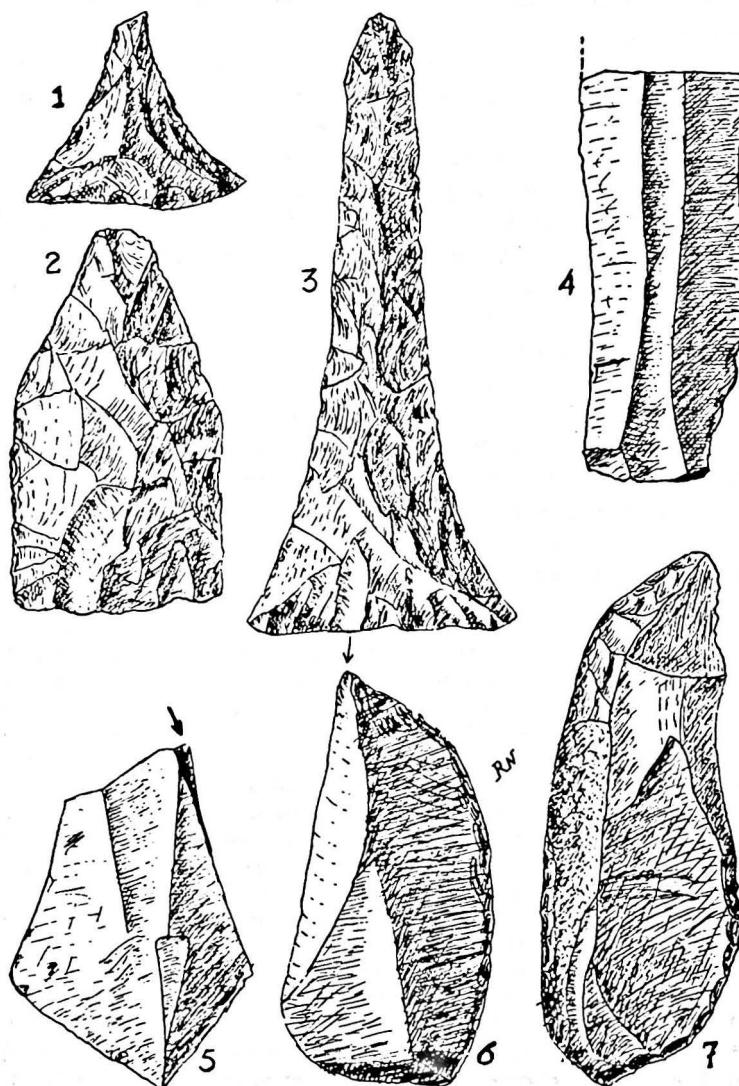


Fig. 14. — MÎNET-DÂLIEH. Pièces en silex.  
(Coll. Neuville) Gr. nat.

faune pauvre, difficilement déterminable, ne se rapportant, au surplus, qu'à des espèces qui n'appartiennent pas en propre au Pleistocène supérieur.

Il semble, par contre, que malgré certains côtés très originaux, l'industrie de *Minet-Dâlieh* se rattache aux cultures énéolithiques<sup>1</sup> de Syrie-Palestine. Du Ghassoulien,<sup>2</sup> elle a les hachettes typiques,<sup>3</sup> au taillant bien évasé en éventail, à la retouche partant des bords du taillant et perpendiculairement à celui-ci;<sup>4</sup> du Tahounien,<sup>5</sup> la morphologie générale de l'industrie;<sup>6</sup> du Cananéen,<sup>7</sup> la belle retaillé plate, celle qui suggéra au R. P. Desribes l'hypothèse solutréenne, de même que le couteau à arête centrale enlevée (fig. 14, n° 4).<sup>8</sup>

Il est cependant certain qu'aucune de ces industries, pas plus qu'aucune des industries connues en Europe ou ailleurs, ne possède les "stylets" si curieux de *Minet-Dâlieh*; mais ces instruments eux-mêmes ne semblent être qu'une évolution de la hachette du type tahounien, la série de transition entre les deux formes étant, à *Minet-Dâlieh*, significative. A quel besoin attribuer cette évolution qui ne s'est manifestée nulle part ailleurs que sur les quelques mètres carrés de *Minet-Dâlieh* et, très rarement, dans les sables au sud de ce gisement? L'emploi du "stylet" comme tel ne semble

<sup>1</sup> Par "Enéolithique" j'entends les civilisations mixtes qui, tout en possédant des industries assez avancées, notamment la céramique, et en connaissant déjà l'emploi du métal, cuivre ou bronze, continuaient à employer le silex, parceque le métal était encore rare, pour une grande partie de leur outillage. Je maintiens ce terme d'Enéolithique, que M. GOURY juge "bâtarde" (*L'Homme des cîtes lacustres*, p. 13), justement parcequ'il a pris à la longue un sens plus large. Le terme *Chalcolithique*, cher à M. ALBRIGHT, qui l'applique à la céramique sans se préoccuper en fait le moins du monde du cuivre, me semble justement trop précis pour convenir à des cultures dont la plupart nous sont si mal connues. En Préhistoire, vouloir trop préciser nuit; témoin le titre de l'ouvrage cité de M. GOURY (cf. *L'Anthropologie*, XLIII, p. 130).

<sup>2</sup> Sur cette industrie, cf. *JPOS*, X, 1930, pp. 202-205.

<sup>3</sup> DESRIBES, *op. cit.*, pl. 14, n° 11 à 13.

<sup>4</sup> R. NEUVILLE, *L'industrie lithique de Telelat Ghassoul*, in Bulletins et Mémoires de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris, 1931, p.p. 2-3.

<sup>5</sup> Sur cette industrie, cf. *JPOS*, X, 210-214.

<sup>6</sup> Voir notamment les nombreuses reproductions de pièces tahouniennes dans D. BUZY, *Une industrie mésolithique en Palestine*, in *Revue Biblique*, 1928, p. 558 ss. et comparer avec les pièces des pl. 4, 8, 10 et 11 du mémoire du P. DESRIBES.

<sup>7</sup> Sur cette industrie, cf. *JPOS*, X, pp. 205-210.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 206.

pas pouvoir être envisagé; les pointes des pièces sont loin d'être suffisamment acérées pour autoriser cette hypothèse, qui n'expliquerait pas d'ailleurs la forme curieuse de la partie évasée des pièces. D'autre part, cette dernière partie et la tige sont souvent trop fragiles pour que ces instruments aient pu servir de hachettes; en outre, le bord qui, dans cette hypothèse, aurait fait fonction de taillant, est le plus souvent rectiligne, parfois même légèrement concave.<sup>1</sup> Aurions-nous là de fortes têtes de flèches à taillant transversal? Les petites pièces triangulaires (fig. 1, n° 1)<sup>2</sup> pourraient le laisser croire.<sup>3</sup> Par ailleurs, le rapprochement fait par le P. DESRIBES<sup>4</sup> entre le "stylet" et un certain instrument qu'emploiraient les bédouins actuels pour dédoubler le cuir, est assez séduisant. Il est, enfin, fort possible que les diverses variétés de ce type aient eu un emploi différent.

Quoi qu'il en soit, pourquoi la tribu qui a laissé ses traces sur ce coin du *Ras Beyrout* a-t-elle été la seule à adopter ce type d'instrument si particulier et si élégant? La belle découverte des P.P. BOVIER-LAPIERRE et DESRIBES pose un des problèmes le plus intéressants de la Préhistoire du Levant, sans qu'il soit besoin de recourir au Solutréen dont, au surplus, aucune trace n'a encore été relevée sur le continent asiatique.

### VIII. — LA STATION DE L'OUÂDI HALLÂOUEH (LIBAN).

La route qui de Beyrouth se dirige sur Tripoli en longeant la côte contourne, au-delà de *Djebail*, la Byblos des Anciens, le *Ras Amshit*, puis atteint, à 46 km. de Beyrouth, le petit *Ouâdi Hallâoueh*. Immédiatement au Sud de cet ouâdi et à l'Ouest de la route, la côte s'abaisse vers la mer en trois petites terrasses successives, que borde au Sud une échancrure de rochers.

<sup>1</sup> DESRIBES, *op. cit.*, pl. 3, n° 7 et 10; pl. 5, n° 1, 7 et 9; pl. 9, n° 3.

<sup>2</sup> ID., *ibid.*, pl. 10.

<sup>3</sup> A l'appui de cette hypothèse, M. JEAN HALLER me signale qu'il existe au Louvre un fragment de palette en schiste, provenant peut-être d'Abydos, dont une face reproduit une tribu asiatique en expédition; les guerriers sont armés d'arcs et de flèches à tête transversale dans le genre des "stylets" de Minet Dâlich. D'après cette gravure, les proportions des têtes de flèches concordent avec celle des "stylets". Mais je laisse à M. HALLER le soin de nous entretenir lui-même plus en détail de son intéressant rapprochement.

Les flèches à tranchant transversal, de plus petites dimensions il est vrai, ne sont pas rares en Egypte et ailleurs.

<sup>4</sup> ID., *ibid.*, p. 201 et pl. 6.

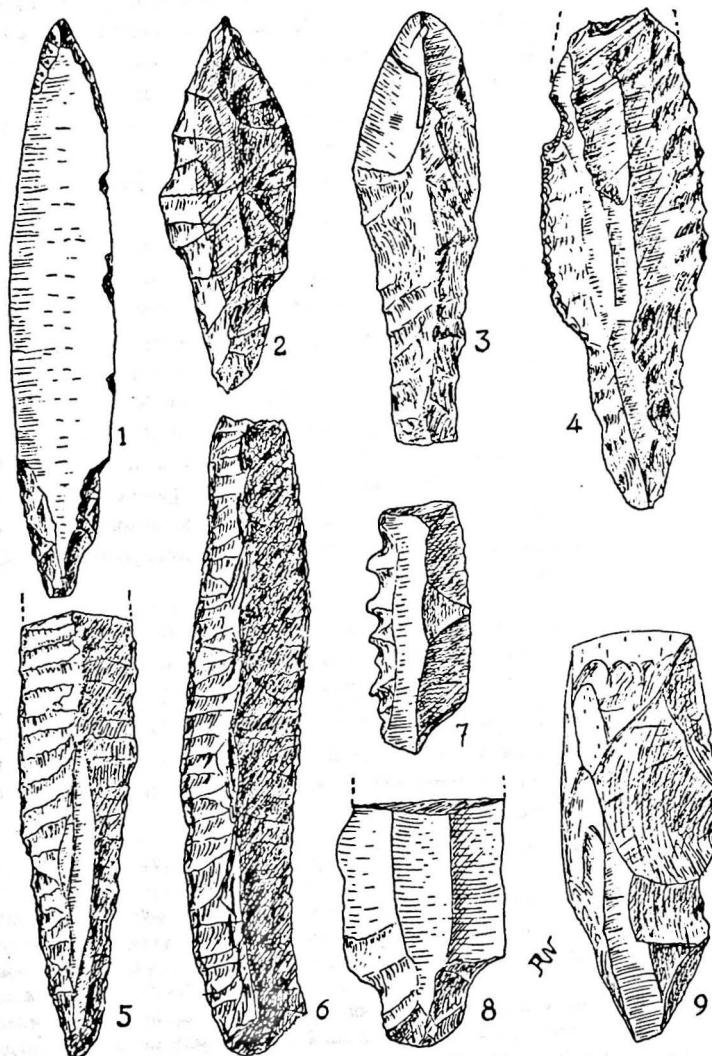


Fig. 15. — OUÂDI HALLÂOUEH. Pièces en silex.  
Gr. nat.

Sur ces terrasses, dont l'étendue totale ne dépasse guère 300 m. le long de la mer et 150 m. entre la mer et la falaise du Liban, s'étend une petite station lithique remontant vraisemblablement au premier âge du Bronze. Parmi les nombreux galets qui marquent ici l'ancien niveau de la Méditerranée les éclats de silex abondent, mais ce sont surtout des déchets de taille car les pièces achevées sont relativement rares; bon nombre d'instruments semblent avoir été brisés en cours de fabrication. Nous avons sans doute là un atelier et non un lieu d'habitation.

A l'exception d'une hachette en dolomite, toutes les pièces sont en silex; une patine blanche les recouvre le plus souvent, mais une seule est bien cacholonnée (fig. 15, n° 8).<sup>1</sup>

La retaillle longue et plate, souvent oblique, typique en Palestine de la fin du premier âge du Bronze,<sup>2</sup> constitue le trait principal, de l'industrie de ce gisement. Sur les 75 pièces recueillies, 17 montrent ce genre de retaillle. Ce sont des *têtes de flèches*, la plupart fortes et trapues (fig. 15, n° 2.3), d'autres plates (fig. 15, n° 1), toutes sans ailerons et à gros pédoncule; des *couteaux à soie*, parfois avec l'arête centrale enlevée (fig. 15, n° 8);<sup>3</sup> enfin, des fragments de belles *lames* (fig. 15, n° 5).

Les *hachettes* (fig. 16), sans trace de polissage et achevées au moyen d'enlevures partant de la périphérie de l'outil, même du taillant (comme dans les ciseaux du Ghassoulien) rappellent les hachettes du Néolithique français, plutôt que celles du Tahounien et du Cananéen de Palestine.

Un petit *ciseau à taillant poli*, est du type ghassoulien (fig. 15, n° 9)

Les *éléments de fauille* (fig. 15, n° 7), petits et à grosses dents, portent le lustré caractéristique de leur emploi.

<sup>1</sup> Une autre pièce (fig. 15, n° 2) est taillée dans un amalgame de deux variétés de silex, dont l'une est entièrement cacholonnée et l'autre à peine recouverte d'une patine laiteuse.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *JPOS*, X, p. 207.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 206.



Fig. 16. — OUÁDI HALLÀOUEH.  
Hachette en calcaire siliceux.  $\frac{1}{2}$  gr. nat.

Avec ces pièces bien typiques, nous trouvons un grand nombre d'instruments assez frustes: lames plus ou moins retaillées en couteaux, nucléus, perçoirs, grattoirs atypiques; nous avons également recueilli plusieurs fragments de vases en pierre du type répandu au Br. I, ainsi que quelques tessons indéterminables.

Nous avons là une industrie qui tient à la fois de plusieurs des cultures palestiniennes connues. La retaillé plate et oblique est typique du Cananéen, de même que le couteau à arête centrale enlevée; les hachettes et le ciseau rappellent, par contre, le Ghassoulien;<sup>1</sup> enfin, la morphologie des flèches a de grandes analogies avec certaines de celles qui, dans la station de *l'Ouâdi Tahouneh*, accompagnaient l'outillage typique des hachettes tahouniennes.

Malgré ces divergences et le caractère de station de surface du gisement de *l'Ouâdi Halldoueh*, il est fort possible que son industrie soit parfaitement homogène. Déjà en Galilée, les divers faciès de l'industrie lithique du premier âge du Bronze semblent se différencier beaucoup moins nettement qu'en Judée ou dans le Ghôr.

#### Répartition des pièces:

Eléments de faufile à grosses dents	3
Id. à petites dents	1
Petit ciseau poli	1
Hachettes taillées	4
Pic	1
Perçoir	1
Couteaux typiques	5
Lames et divers	42
	58

#### Pièces à retaillé plate:

Têtes de flèches	10
Couteaux à soie	2
Couteaux	3
Divers	2
	17
Total	75

<sup>1</sup> Noter la ressemblance très nette de la pièce fig. 15, No. 4 avec une pointe de javelot trouvée à Teleilat Ghassoul (*Biblica*, 11, 1930, p. 140 fig. 3 et R. NEUVILLE, *L'industrie lithique de Teleilat Ghassoul*, pl. VIII, No. 5).

A JERUSALEM FORGERY OF  
THE BALUSTRADE INSCRIPTION OF HEROD'S TEMPLE

W. R. TAYLOR

TORONTO

About three years ago, during my term as annual professor in the American School in Jerusalem the Reverend Principal Bishop of the Newman School of Missions drew my attention to a Greek inscription on a stone built into the wall of one of the class-rooms. It is well known that the building occupied by the School was for some years the home of Doctor Schick who during his long residence in Jerusalem interested himself in archaeological research. We can assume therefore that he had the inscribed stone built into the wall of one of his rooms because he believed that it had some archaeological value. But at the time that I first saw it nobody seemed to know either the provenance of the inscription or its translation. As we shall see, the reason for the obscurity of the text and its meaning becomes now quite intelligible. After some fruitless attempts to solve the riddle of its Greek letters I came to see that the inscription was in some way related to the so-called balustrade inscription of Herod's Temple. When I left Jerusalem I took with me for further study a rough sketch of the inscription and last June through the kindness of Dean C. C. McCown, the former Director of the American School, I received a photographic copy which Mr. Havermale, one of his students working with Doctor Badé in Palestine, made with fine precision. The outcome is that the inscription can now be regarded as a forgery of the balustrade inscription which M. CLERMONT-GANNEAU discovered in 1871<sup>1</sup>. A comparison of the two inscriptions will prove that the inscription is not only a forgery but a very clumsy one.

<sup>1</sup> *The Survey of Western Palestine*, by WARREN and CONDER, *Jerusalem* vol., p. 423; *Quarterly Statement of P.E.F.*, 1871, p. 132. For the historical account of the "discovery" of this stone see CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Les fraudes archéologiques en Palestine* (Bibliothèque Elzévirienne, vol. XL), Paris, Leroux, 1885, where chapt. IV deals with the "Fausse Stèle du Temple de Jérusalem". pp. 39—48 and Pl. I.

The text of the inscription found by M. CLERMONT-GANNEAU may be represented as follows,

μηθένα ἀλλογενῆ εἰσπο  
 οεύεσθαι ἐντὸς τοῦ πε  
 ρὶ τὸ ιερὸν τρυφάκου καὶ  
 περιβόλου. ὅσ δ' ἄν λῃ  
 Φθῆ ἔαντωι αἴτιος ἔσ  
 ται διὰ τὸ ἔχακολον  
 θεῖν θάρατον.

and the translation is, "No stranger is to enter within the balustrade round the Temple and enclosure. Whoever is caught will be responsible to himself for his death which will ensue." The identification of the inscription as one of those set up at Herod's Temple rests on certain statements of JOSEPHUS in *Wars* V. 5.2 and *Antiquities* XV. 11.5. The inscription is now in the possession of the museum in Constantinople.

For the purpose of making the comparison of the texts simpler we will designate the original inscription as A and the copy as B. It seems probable that B was made not long after the discovery of A. The workman must have had before him either A or some kind of copy of it since he attempted to reproduce the damaged condition of its surface. But his patience and skill were not equal to the task of imitating the handiwork of Time. The surface of B is not so corroded as that of A; and the relation of the letters in A and in B to the points where respectively the greater defacements occur is different, e.g. in line 6 of A *AI[A TO]* is under *AYT* of the preceding line but in B it is reproduced after a fashion farther to the right under *OI*. In the execution of the inscription itself the workman of B exhibits not only ignorance of Greek but a marked lack of careful craftsmanship. It is true that in some respects he is superior to his craft-brother of A; his letters are neater and more regular, keep more faithfully to the line above and below and are never so crowded as e.g. the first, the second and the fifth letter of the third line of A. But the space between his lines is relatively to the size of his letters wider than that between the lines of A, and whereas in A the order of the lines is unbroken on the left side, the left margin of B is very irregular. That the forger did not know Greek and was ignorant of the sense of the

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original is seen both in his mistakes in reproducing certain of the damaged letters and in his omission of others, e.g.

in the first line, *MH* appears in *B* as *O*, *A* of *ΑΛΛΟΓΕΝΗ* is omitted and *ENH* of the same word becomes *BIH*, the last five letters of *EΙΣΙΙΟ* are reproduced as *BΣΙΤΟ*;

in the second line, the damaged *P* at the beginning of the line is disregarded, the second letter *Y* appears as *V*, *ΘΑ[IE]NTO* becomes *ΟΑΙΝ(T)O* and *TOYIIE* becomes *TOYLIE*;

in the third line, *PI*, the first two letters, are read as *N*, the *P* of *ΙΕΡΟΝ* as *F*, the *P* of *TPYΦΑΚΤΟΥ* as *I*, and *A* of the same word is omitted;

in the fourth line, the letter *H* is substituted for the illegible first four letters *ΠΕΡΙ* and *A* becomes *L*;

in the fifth line, *EAYT* is contracted to *EAT*, *ΑΙΤΙΟΣ* to *ΛΟΣ* and *ΑΙ[ΑΞΤΟΕ] ΑΚΟΛΟΥ* to *ΑΙ[ ] ΖΛΟΛΟ*.

in the sixth line, at the end of the inscription after the period a scar in the stone is reproduced as  $\tau$  (sic). Although this comparison does not exhaust the number of the imperfections in *B*, enough of them has been given to prove the spurious nature of *B*.

As I have indicated, several persons have lent a hand to the solution of the problem that *B* presents and one may hope that thereby a service has been rendered to those who may come upon this forgery at some future time. Canon Hanauer of Jerusalem in a letter addressed to Dean McCown on July 7th (1932) states that he regards the inscription as "one of a large number of forged "antiques" manufactured locally (and also at Bethlehem and Ramallah) soon after Professor Clermont-Ganneau made public his discovery of the balustrade inscription from Herod's Temple."

See plate VIII on page 120

## MASADA NACH DER EROBERUNG DURCH DIE RÖMER

W. BORÉE

(LÜNEBURG)

Welche Bedeutung Masada für Herodes d. Gr. und für die Römer gehabt hat, zeigen einmal die ungeheuren Bauten auf der Oberfläche des Felsen, die zum größten Teil mit Bestimmtheit auf Herodes zurückgehen und die uns die prächtige Bauweise des Herodes klar vor Augen führen. Und für das Interesse der Römer an diesem Felsennest, allerdings nicht um es zu erhalten, sondern um es zu erobern und zu vernichten, zeugen die gewaltigen Befestigungsanlagen des Silva. 73 n. Chr. hatte nämlich der damalige römische Statthalter über Palästina, L. Flavius Silva, Masada erobert, um nach dem Fall von Jerusalem, dem Herodeion und Machaerus die Juden in Judäa zu vernichten. Um dieses — selbst für ein so geübtes und großes Heer, wie das römische war — sehr schwierige Werk zu vollbringen, bedurfte es großer Vorbereitungen. Eine etwa  $4\frac{1}{2}$  km lange Umzingelungsmauer mit vielen Wachttürmen wurde errichtet. Außer drei großen, zur Beherbergung der in Ruhe befindlichen Truppen bestimmten Lagern wurden an jedem schwierigen Punkt der Mauer, zusammen fünf Vorpostenlager angelegt, die sie überwachen sollten und dafür zu sorgen hatten, daß die auf dem Gipfel des Berges eingeschlossenen Sikarier nichts unternahmen, was den Römern verborgen blieb. Ein gewaltiger Damm von Westen her ermöglichte es endlich den Belagerern Masada zu erstürmen.

Die nicht unbedeutenden Überreste dieser Befestigungswerke zu erforschen war der Zweck einer von Geheimrat Prof. Dr. Schulte-Erlangen im Frühjahr 1932 veranstalteten Expedition.<sup>1</sup> Hier wollen

<sup>1</sup> Einige Beobachtungen bei einer Vorexpedition im Frühjahr 1931 habe ich gebracht in den *Theolog. Studien und Kritiken*, 104. Jahrg. (1932) S. 94 ff. Als ich diesmal Herrn Geheimrat Schulten begleiten durfte, richtete ich mein Augenmerk auf die hier beschriebenen Überreste.

wir nur danach fragen, wer sich in den späteren Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart mit Masada und seiner Geschichte beschäftigt hat.

Das älteste Zeugnis späterer Siedlung scheint eine byzantinische Kapelle nahe der Westseite zu sein. Nach P. DELAU<sup>1</sup> ist sie von St. Euthymius gebaut, als er im 5. Jh., wohl um 420, hierher gekommen war. Auch paßt in diese Zeit ein von M. J. LAGRANGE<sup>2</sup> gefundener Schlüssel mit einem Monogramm Christi.<sup>3</sup> So wenig es auch sicher beweisbar sein mag, daß Euthymius gerade auf Masada gewohnt hat, ebenso wahrscheinlich scheint es zu sein, gerade weil CYRILL VON SKYTOPOLIS<sup>4</sup> den Ort, wo sich Euthymius aufgehalten hatte, Marda [*Μαρδά*] nennt. Es wäre dann allerdings notwendig, daß es in der Wüste Juda zwei Orte gleichen Namens gegeben hätte: das jetzige Chirbet Mird, das DELAU "le monastère de Castellum" nennt, wohin St. Sabas von Mar Saba aus ging,<sup>5</sup> und zweitens unser Masada, das auch einst jene syrische Namensform gehabt haben muß.<sup>6</sup> Ebenso wie der moderne arabische Name für Masada, es-Sebbe, eine Übersetzung des alten מִשָּׁד (misad) ist, kann der Felsen früher einmal vor der arabischen Überflutung denselben Namen in syrischer Übersetzung gehabt haben. Daß Euthymius in dieser Gegend gewesen sein muß, zeigt schon die Notiz bei CYRILL, daß er die Höhlen habe sehen wollen, in welchen sich David vor Saul versteckt habe.<sup>7</sup> Die noch recht gut erhaltene Kapelle ist nur klein und augenscheinlich im Stil ähnlich der Bauweise syrischer Kirchen. Syrischen Einfluß in der Grundrißgestaltung der kleineren Kirchen, die aus jener Zeit in Palästina, im Ostjordanlande und in Judäa

<sup>1</sup> *Bulletin de Littérature ecclésiastique* 1899, S. 280 und nach ihm F.-M. ABEL, *Une Croisière autour de la Mer morte*, Paris, 1911, S. 125.

<sup>2</sup> *Revue Biblique*, 1894, III S. 272.

<sup>3</sup> Nach P.J.B. 28 (1932), S. 97 gibt es ein Monogramm Christi vom Südende des Toten Meeres aus dem Jahre 387.

<sup>4</sup> Der Text ist zitiert bei ABEL, a. a. O., S. 125 Anm. 3, vgl. CYRILL V. SKYTOPOLIS in *Analecta Graeca* 1688 (*Patrologia Graeca*, Bd. 114) § 28, Anm. 6. JOH. BOLLANDI, *Notae*: Mons estaica mare mortuum, qui Mardes vocatur excelsus valde, inquit Moschus.

<sup>5</sup> Quellennachweis bei ABEL a. a. O., S. 126, Anm. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Syr. *merdā* als Übersetzung von ἄκρα u. ἀκρόπολις mit ABEL, S. 125, Anm. 5.

<sup>7</sup> BOLLANDUS, a. a. O., Anm. 6: Mons Quarantanae videtur dici in quem Christus diabolo tentante delatus est. Wenn aber BOLL. in CYRILLS Ausführung der Höhlen Davids mit Recht eine Anspielung auf 1. Sam. 24 sieht, so ist Engedi gemeint, dem aber Masada viel näher liegt als die Umgebung von Jericho.

erhalten sind, hat schon H. W. BEYER festgestellt.<sup>1</sup> Ihr künstlerischer Wert sei allerdings nicht groß.

Aus jener Zeit werden auch die Höhlen stammen, die an der Nordseite etwas westlich des steilen Nordgrates gerade dort, wo der senkrecht aufsteigende Fels beginnt, sich finden. Acht Löcher sind dort in den Felsen eingelassen, von denen man bei einigen noch an der regelmäßigen Form der Öffnung deutlich erkennen kann, daß sie von Menschenhand gemacht sind. SANDEL<sup>2</sup> erklärt sie für ehemalige Zisternen, da sie — wie am Putz zu sehen sei — einst voll Wasser gewesen sein müßten. Außerdem hat er einen Kanal gesehen, der zu diesen Zisternen geführt hat. Dieser sammelte das Wasser von der nordwestlichen Hochfläche und leitete es dann auf „einem an den Berg angelehnten Brückenbogen“ zu den Zisternen. Ob dieser von SANDEL zitierte Brückenbogen noch vorhanden ist, ist unsicher. Wir konnten ihn nicht sehen. Es kann aber sein, daß der Brückenbogen durch das Erdbeben 1927 eingestürzt ist, ebenso wie beim Aufgang etwas südlich des Dammes eine früher vorhandene Untermauerung des alten Weges verschwunden ist.<sup>3</sup> Der Vermutung SANDELS, daß es sich hier um alte Zisternen handelt, steht eine andere gegenüber, daß diese Höhlen als Grabkammern gedient haben, „in welche die Toten mit Hilfe von Seilen hinabgelassen wurden.“<sup>4</sup> Dafür spricht, daß die Beduinen das an diesen Höhlen vorbeifließende Wādī Nimre mir „Wādī merāret el-makbarāt“ nannten. Dieser Name kennzeichnet die Höhlen als Begräbnishöhlen. Wādis, die in ihrem Lauf den Namen wechseln, sind in Palästina eine häufige Erscheinung. Sie wechseln oft sogar mehrfach, je nach besonderen Plätzen und Erscheinungen, an denen sie vorbeifließen.<sup>5</sup> So braucht es nicht zu verwundern, wenn dies sonst Wādī Nimre genannte Tal unmittelbar bei den Höhlen seinen Namen entsprechend

<sup>1</sup> H. W. BEYER, *Der syr. Kirchenbau*, S. 170. Der vorliegende Plan findet m. E. eine Parallele S. 12, Fig. IIIa. „Die Kirche wird im O. in ihrer ganzen Breite von einer runden Apsis geschlossen“.

<sup>2</sup> SANDEL, *Am Toten Meer*, ZDPV, XXX, S. 97.

<sup>3</sup> HAWKES zeigt auf dem Plan von Masada noch diese untermauerte Stelle: *The Antiquity*, 1930, S. 202. <sup>4</sup> SEPP, *Jerusalem*<sup>2</sup> Bd. 1., S. 827, Bd. 2. S. 224.

<sup>5</sup> So heißt das Masada südlich umfließende Tal Wādī Sebbe nach dem modernen Namen des Felsen, dagegen im Oberlauf Wādī es-Sufēfē nach dem umflossenen Paß Naṣb es-Sufēfē, und der Tallauf des Wādī el-Kilt hat weiter oben mehrere andere Namen.

verändert. Für die Annahme, daß hier Begräbnisplätze waren, spricht weiter, daß man Höhlen als Grabkammern in Palästina von je her sehr geliebt hat.<sup>1</sup> Doch ist es unbegründet aus dem Erwähnten ohne weiteres auf Begräbnisplätze zu schließen. Es bleibt die Möglichkeit, daß die Höhlen als Zisternen dienten, wenn auch die Beduinen nichts mehr davon wissen; denn die herodianischen Zisternen oben auf der Hochfläche können damals schon durchlässig gewesen sein. Heute halten sie kein Wasser mehr, nur ein kleiner grasbewachsener Fleck erinnert noch an ehemaligen Wasserreichtum. Es ist auch der Umstand wichtig, daß man an dem Nordabfall sehr deutlich einen Weg erkennen kann, der in mehreren Serpentinen von der Kuppe des Berges zu der östlichsten Höhle hinabführt. Daß es sich hier nicht um zufällige Geröllschiebungen oder Wasserrinnen handelt, wird daraus deutlich, daß der Weg an mehreren Stellen, besonders an drei Ecken, wo er sich wendet und einen spitzen Winkel bildet, untermauert ist, sodaß er noch heute mehr als 1 m breit zu sein scheint. Man hat diesen Weg für den oberen Teil des „Schlangenpfades“ gehalten, aber, auch wenn dies zutrifft, ist kein Zweifel, daß dieser Weg dazu gedient hat, den Verkehr zu den Höhlen zu ermöglichen. Zugleich zeigt er, daß diese Höhlen in einer Zeit benutzt wurden, als man nicht mehr mit kriegerischen Überfällen rechnete. Während früher gerade die Nordspitze durch einen festen Turm besonders gesichert war,<sup>2</sup> ist durch den Ausgang auf diesen Weg jetzt gleich daneben eine Öffnung in das Massiv nach außen geschlagen.

Bemerkenswert ist ferner ein Tor mit Spitzbogen, das auf der Westseite steht, wohl dort, wo der alte Aufgang hinaufführte. Er ist noch heute gut erhalten. Da der Spitzbogen mit den Bogen der Grabskirche und der Burgen aus dieser Zeit (z.B. Atlit) übereinstimmt, wird er auch wohl aus der Zeit der Kreuzfahrer stammen.

Später drangen, nach der Eroberung Palästinas durch die Mohammedaner, die Araber von SO in die Wüste Juda vor. Darum ist es auch zu verstehen, daß im Mittelalter die Juden sich nicht um Masada und seine Trümmer gekümmert haben. Dies sehen wir daraus, daß die jüdische Literatur des Mittelalters Masada nicht erwähnt. In Betracht kommen hier vornehmlich die Reiseberichte

<sup>1</sup> Über Begräbnis in künstlichen und natürlichen Höhlen vgl. GRESSMANN, R 99 <sup>2</sup> II Sp. 853. z. B. die sogen. Königsgräber in Jerusalem.

<sup>2</sup> Deutlich zu sehen bei ABEL a. a. O., S. 114.

der Juden, die in den Orient fuhren, um zu sehen, ob diese Länder geeignet wären, Massenauswanderungen europäischer Juden aufzunehmen, und weiter, ob dort bessere Lebensbedingungen und größere Sicherheit als in Europa geboten wären. Denn hier fühlten sie sich recht unsicher, da sie gerade im Mittelalter, besonders in Südeuropa, in Spanien und den Ländern, durch die die Kreuzzüge zogen, unter wiederholten Verfolgungen zu leiden hatten.<sup>1</sup> Zu diesem Zweck mußten auf solchen Reisen vor allem die jüdischen Ansiedlungen besucht werden. Darum finden wir auch in den Werken dieser Männer, deren Bedeutendste Rabbi Benjamin von Tudela,<sup>2</sup> Rabbi Petachja aus Regensburg<sup>3</sup> und Esthori ben Mose ha-Parach<sup>4</sup> waren, fast alle jüdischen Niederlassungen des Orients und daneben auch die Städte, die sie sonst noch besuchten, verzeichnet. Aber unter den etwa dreißig Orten Palästinas nennt Benjamin Masada nicht, und Rabbi Petachja, der am Toten Meer gewesen ist, sagt, „er habe die Salzsäule nicht gesehen, sie existiere überhaupt nicht mehr; auch die Steine, welche Josua aufgestellt habe, habe er nicht gesehen.“<sup>5</sup> Bedeutsam ist auch, daß der niederländische Gelehrte HADRIAN RELAND (1676–1718) in seinem Werk „*Palaestina ex monumentis veteribus illustrata*“<sup>6</sup> für Masada nur die Belege bei Josephus angibt. Da er die Aufgabe seines Werkes darin sah, und sie auch durchgeführt hat, für alle Plätze des hl. Landes alle, vornehmlich auch die jüdischen Literaturangaben vollständig zu bringen, bedeutet das, daß er für Masada nichts gefunden hat. Dann wird auch kaum jemand sich bis zu jener Zeit über Masada geäußert haben. Es ergibt sich also, daß

<sup>1</sup> M. N. ADLER, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, London 1907, S. XII.

<sup>2</sup> Die Reise Benjamins dauerte von 1160–73. Beschrieben hat er seine Reise in *Massaöl*, deutsch von L. GRÜNHUT, *Die Reisebeschreibungen des R. Benjamin von Tudela*, Jerusalem, 1903.

<sup>3</sup> Petachja reiste um 1187. L. GRÜNHUT, *Die Rundreise des R. Petachja aus Regensburg*, Jerusalem, 1904. Teil 1 hebräisch, Teil 2 deutsch.

<sup>4</sup> Esthori's Reise dauerte etwa von 1312–1319. Er hat sie beschrieben unter dem Titel *Kastor waferach*, hrsg. Berlin, 1852. M. STEINSCHNEIDER bringt im Jahrbuch *Jerusalem*, Jahrg. 3 u. 4 (1889 u. 1892) eine Bibliographie der jüdischen Literatur zur Geographie Palästinas (10.–19. Jh.).

<sup>5</sup> L. GRÜNHUT a. a. O. S. 45 f. In den vorhandenen Ausgaben spricht Petachja von sich in der 3. Person. Zu dem möglichen Vorhandensein einer Rezension in der 1. Person vgl. GRÜNHUT S. 2, Anm. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Utrecht, 1714, ff. S. 890.

im Mittelalter bei den Juden die Kenntnis von Masada, aber auch das Interesse dafür völlig erlahmt war.

Umso auffallender ist, daß vor wenigen Jahren eine Gedichtsammlung von ISAAK LAMDON unter dem Titel *Masada* erschienen ist.<sup>1</sup> Schon die Widmung und die sechs Untertitel: „Der Flüchtling auf der Mauer“, „Nachtwache“, „Außerhalb des Lagers“, „Beim Brand der Fackeln“, „Ausblick“ lassen auf Kriegsgedichte schließen. In ihnen ruft der Dichter die Erinnerung an die schrecklichen Judenverfolgungen und Pogrome wach, die in der Ukraine stattgefunden haben, und in denen auch sein eigener Bruder ums Leben gekommen ist.<sup>2</sup> Im Hinblick auf diese Kämpfe hat der Verfasser — durch nationale Empfindungen getrieben — seinem Werke den Titel „Masada“ gegeben, um dadurch auf jenen ganz ähnlichen Kampf seiner Ahnen hinzuweisen. Denn auch sie wurden zerstreut und in friedlichen Tagen einem solchen Blutbad ausgesetzt. Im zweiten Liede fragt der Dichter, wer all' das Blut der Brüder und Schwestern, der Väter und Söhne rächen wird, wenn nicht Gott, welcher der Gott der Rache ist. Darum erreicht die Sammlung ihren Höhepunkt in einem ernsten Gebet, das im Himmel Hilfe gegen diese Taten sucht, und in diesem Sinne schließt: Gott denke an Masada!<sup>3</sup> Wie die Sikarier auf Masada untergegangen sind, so sind nach des Verfassers Urteil hier seine Brüder vernichtet.

Daß in diesem Fall die Erinnerung an die Einnahme Masadas als der letzten Folge aus der Eroberung Jerusalems in der jüdischen Vorstellung wieder aufliebt und mit einem Ereignis der Gegenwart

<sup>1</sup> Tel-Aviv, 1927. Daß der Verfasser trotz der ungenauen Schreibung מָסָדָה statt מָסָדָה an diesen Felsen denkt, ist wohl möglich, umso mehr als der Name nur griech. überliefert ist, und Μασάδη durch σ μασάδη wiedergegeben werden.

<sup>2</sup> Die Beschaffung dieses Buches verdanke ich Herrn Rabbiner Dr. A. Posner.

<sup>3</sup> Der Schluß dieses „das Gebet“ überschriebenen Gedichtes lautet: Wie lange läßt du die magere Hand des Volkes mit den blinden Fingern auf den Verschlüssen der Hilfe (während die Hilfe verschlossen ist)?

O Gott sieh doch! Siehe, sie ist lang hingestreckt zwischen Meer und Wüste. Und in ihrer Handfläche ist folgender Traum, welcher heraufzieht seit den

Nächten der Vertriebenen: Massada! Es denke Gott an Massada!

Den wenigen Männern, welche auf der Mauer sind, ist dieser Traum und seine Deutung anvertraut.

Wenn du, Gott, auch dieses Mal nicht gnädig bist und diesen Traum nicht gütig aufnimmst und auf die Opfergaben seiner Deuter auch jetzt nicht gnädig hinblickst, . . .

in Verbindung gebracht wird, ist nicht zu unterschätzen. Man darf daraus allerdings noch nicht schließen, daß diese Erinnerung ebenso bekannt und verbreitet ist wie die Trauer um Jerusalems Fall. Das eine aber sehen wir daraus, daß es noch Juden gibt, die sich des Heldenmutes ihrer Vorfahren rühmen und, wenn auch eine völlige Niederlage das Ende der Kämpfe um Masada war, sich nicht schämen, ihren Zeitgenossen die Erinnerung daran lebendig zu erhalten.

## ORONTE ET LÎTĀNI

F. M. ABEL

(JÉRUSALEM)

Quand on jette les yeux sur une carte de la Syrie, il est difficile de ne pas être frappé de la symétrie que présentent les cours de l'Oronte et du Lîtāni, quoique ces deux rivières soient de longueur différente et qu'elles suivent une direction diamétralement opposée.

L'une et l'autre commencent dans la région de Ba'albek où le fond de la Beqâ' subit jusqu'au delà de Râs Ba'albek un rétrécissement particulier. Leurs débuts parallèles sont séparés par une ligne de partage allant du SE au NW, de Makhnâ à Berkha. Ce sont de simples torrents hivernaux se réunissant en un lit commun destiné à recevoir sur leur parcours supérieur l'apport de sources copieuses qui donneront naissance à un courant perpétuel. Né sur les dernières pentes de l'Antiliban, l'Oronte reçoit à 30 kilomètres en aval de sa naissance l'eau des sources de Lebwé et d'el-'Aïn, mais sa véritable source pour les indigènes (Naba' el-'Asi) se trouve à cinq kilomètres plus loin, aux abords de Maghârat er-Râhib appelé aussi Deir Mâr Mârûn. Sous le nom de 'Aïn ez-Zerqâ, cette source jaillit d'un grand bassin ombragé de platanes séculaires au pied même du Liban.

Le Lîtâni commence à se dessiner sur le versant oriental du Liban et, après être descendu à l'ouest de Ba'albek, reçoit, vers Zahlé, les eaux du Wâdi Yahfûf qui proviennent de l'Antiliban et, à une vingtaine de kilomètres au sud de Rayâq, le débit des sources de 'Andjar, considérées parfois comme la véritable origine du courant du Lîtâni. Il faut en effet tenir compte de la tendance populaire à tenir pour la source d'un fleuve non pas la plus éloignée de l'embouchure mais la plus abondante du parcours, ce qui se vérifie pour l'Oronte, le Jourdain et le Baradâ.

L'Oronte et le Lîtâni arrosent chacun une section de la Beqâ'. Suivant la configuration du sol qu'ils traversent, ils ont tantôt un

cours lent, à fleur de sol, formant des marécages, tantôt un cours impétueux, encaissé entre des berges abruptes et élevées, mugissant au fond de gorges rocheuses et semées d'obstacles.

Les marais et le lac de Homs, ainsi que les bas-fonds paludéens du Ghāb à la base du Djebel el-Anṣāriyé sont dus au ralentissement du cours de l'Oronte. Toutefois cette rivière a été contrainte de se creuser un lit dans des calcaires plus ou moins consistants. Entre Ḥāmā et Qal'at Seidjar, il se faufile par endroit au fond d'une fissure de 50 mètres de profondeur, soumis, selon quelques explorateurs, à de véritables *pertes*, c'est-à-dire à des disparitions sous le sol caverneux.<sup>1</sup> Au nord de Djisr esh-Shughr, il prend l'aspect d'un canal au pied du plateau de Quṣeir, coulant au fond d'une gorge escarpée et inaccessible, profonde de 160 mètres par endroit. C'est la partie de son parcours que les géographes de l'antiquité regardaient comme souterraine et qui drainerait, suivant quelques modernes, les eaux du Rūdj s'infiltrant à travers la montagne qui borne à l'Est la vallée de l'Oronte. On y rencontre aussi les sources thermales de Sheikh Issa. Au delà de l'étroit défilé de Deirkush la rivière reprend son cours sinuex entre des berges peu élevées, abruptes et croulantes. "Après Djisr el-Hadid (pont ancien), il entre, formant des boucles capricieuses, dans la plaine marécageuse de l'Amuq à laquelle il sert d'exutoire, puis, c'est Antioche et le val d'Oronte".<sup>2</sup> Nous verrons plus loin le rôle joué par l'aspect souterrain et les méandres infinis dans les attributs mythologiques dont ce cours d'eau fut l'objet.

Quant au Nahr Līṭāni sa pente est assez faible entre Rayāq et Djubb Djenīn pour lui permettre de donner naissance à des marais, mais au sud de Djubb Djenīn il s'enfonce dans une vallée qui se creuse rapidement et bondit au fond d'une gorge impraticable où des dénivellations brusques occasionnent de nombreux rapides. Sa descente est alors de 700 mètres sur 40 kilomètres. A partir du tournant au dessous de Qal'at Shaqīf, il continue à serpenter au fond d'un fossé aux berges élevées et plus évasées qui ne s'ouvre effectivement qu'à 4 kilomètres de l'embouchure.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. BLANCKENHORN, *Syrien, Arabien und Mesopotamien*, 115, 117.

<sup>2</sup> Lt.-colonel P. JACQUOT, *Antioche, centre de tourisme*, III, 568.

<sup>3</sup> Depuis ce coude jusqu'à la mer le Līṭāni prend actuellement le nom de Nahr el-Qāsimiyé d'après un wéli de Nébi Qāsim situé non loin de l'embouchure.

Comme deux frères ennemis, les deux fleuves (ils méritent en effet ce titre puisqu' ils se jettent dans la mer) se tournent le dos dès leur sortie du berceau commun: l'Oronte garde sur 300 kilomètres une direction SN, pour se diriger ensuite vers le SW sur le parcours de 50 kilomètres qui l'amène à la Méditerranée; le Lītāni, après avoir tenu pendant 125 kilomètres la direction NS, se dirige brusquement vers l'Ouest pour aboutir à la mer à 30 kilomètres en aval du coude de Qal'at Shaqīf. La Syrie est encadrée sur trois côtés par le bassin de ces deux fleuves, situation bien faite pour leur valoir l'attention des Syriens de toute époque, des colons domiciliés, des voyageurs et des géographes. Leurs qualités respectives se réflètent surtout dans leurs dénominations, ce que nous allons constater en passant en revue l'onomastique qui les concerne. Ce sera évoquer par le fait même les circonstances historiques ou légendaires qui forment la trame de leur histoire.

#### I. — ORONTE

Beaucoup plus important en longueur et en débit que le Lītāni, arrosant de grandes villes, traversant des régions qui jouirent de toute antiquité, et surtout à la période hellénistique, d'une civilisation avancée, les mentions de l'Oronte dans l'ancienne littérature sont beaucoup plus nombreuses et beaucoup plus variées que celles du Lītāni. Les observations suivantes en feront le preuve, classées d'après les divers noms de ce cours d'eau célèbre.

*Oronte.* — Ce vocable, qu'emploient la masse des auteurs de l'antiquité classique et conservé dans l'usage actuel des Occidentaux, se trouve usité au IXe siècle avant notre ère sous la forme assyrienne A-ra-an-tu. Il est mentionné en effet par la grande inscription sur albâtre d'Ašournasirpal (884-860) en compagnie du Nahr 'Afrīn (Ap-ri-e) et du Sarūdj (Sangura) affluent de l'Oronte.<sup>1</sup> Une conjecture propose de considérer *Arantu* comme provenant d'*Aramtu* qui dériverait d'Aram, de telle sorte que le sens primitif du nom équivaudrait à: (fleuve) araméen.<sup>2</sup>

Cette conjecture se heurte à l'égyptien *ỉrn̥t* déjà employé sous

<sup>1</sup> DELITZSCH, *Wo lag das Paradies?* 274; DHORME, *Les pays bibliques et l'Assyrie*, RB. 1910, 59.

<sup>2</sup> DHORME, *La Syrie et le Liban en 1921*, 14, et *Langues et Écritures sémitiques*, 26, n. 2.

Amenhotep II en 1447 avant J.-C.; elle n'est pas appuyée par la forme grecque *'Ogórtyς*. Les auteurs grecs connaissaient le nom d'*Orontes* en dehors du domaine araméen. C'est ainsi qu'ils appelaient une montagne de Médie et un certain nombre de personnages perses dont plusieurs satrapes. De plus l'élément *Oronto-* entre en composition pour former des noms propres perses.<sup>1</sup> Mais l'influence de l'Iran s'explique malaisément en Syrie et certains pourront être tentés de recourir au hittite où les désinences *-imtaš*, *-anta*, *-anda* ne sont point rares.<sup>2</sup> Devra-t-on faire cas pour la solution de ce problème de la transcription des géographes arabes الارنط ou الارند *el-Urunṭ*, *el-Urund*, sans la désinence?<sup>3</sup>

Les grecs se sont tirés d'affaire en attribuant au fleuve le nom d'une personne. "Le fleuve qui portait auparavant le nom de *Typhon*, écrit Strabon (XVI, 2, 7), prit le nom de celui qui le dota d'un pont, un nommé Oronte." Pour d'autres cet Oronte est une sorte de géant de 9 et même de 20 coudées de long, général d'un ancien roi de l'Inde, Deriadès, adversaire de Bacchus. S'étant percé de sa propre épée, il est roulé par les eaux du fleuve syrien qui devient sa sépulture et prend son nom.<sup>4</sup> A l'occasion des travaux exécutés par les Romains pour rendre l'Oronte navigable depuis son embouchure jusqu'à Antioche, on retrouve le corps du héros enfermé dans un cercueil de terre cuite, long de plus de 11 coudées, que le fleuve avait recouvert jusqu'alors.<sup>5</sup> Nous n'insisterons pas sur le jeu de mot rapprochant *Orontes* du latin *Orientis*. Tibère aurait substitué au vieux nom de *Dragon*, que portait le cours d'eau, le nom d'Orontes qui signifie en latin fleuve de l'Orient!<sup>6</sup>

Les anciennes mentions de l'Oronte sont souvent liées à celles de Séleucie, d'Antioche et d'Apamée. Nous devons des esquisses plus générales au commentaire de DENYS LE PÉRIÉGÈTE par EUSTATHE

<sup>1</sup> PAPE-BENSELER, *Wörterb. der griechischen Eigennamen*, s. v. 1075.

<sup>2</sup> MAYER et GARSTANG, *Index of Hittite Names*.

<sup>3</sup> LE STRANGE, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 59, 354. La même indécision sur la lettre finale chez les Egyptiens. GAUTHIER, *Diction. géogr. hiérog. I*, 95.

<sup>4</sup> NONNUS DE PANOPOLIS, *Dionysiaca*, XIV, 278; XXV, 253; XL, 119 ss. XVII, 289: καὶ ποταμὸν τεκίλαστον καὶ οὐροντα δῶσεν Ὁγόρτην.

<sup>5</sup> XLIV, 251: Χείμαυρον Ἀσσοργίσσιον κατέπτεται Ἰρδος Ὁγόρτης.

Assyrien est employé ici pour Syrien.

<sup>6</sup> PAUSANIAS, *Descriptio Graeciae*, VIII, 29, 4.

<sup>6</sup> EUSTATHE, *Comment. in Dyon. Perieg.*, 919. *Geogr. Gr. Min.*, II, 380.

et à POLYBE. "Le fleuve appelé Oronète, écrit cet historien, a son embouchure non loin de Séleucie. Ayant le début de son courant aux lieux voisins du Liban et de l'Antiliban, il traverse la plaine nommée *Amukè* (el-Amuq) et se rend à Antioche même, qu'il arrose en recueillant dans l'abondance de son débit les immondices humaines, puis il finit à la mer près de Séleucie."<sup>1</sup> Plus d'une fois Guillaume de Tyr parle de Séleucie *juxta fauces Orontis fluminis*, car il connaît et désigne l'Oronte par son nom.<sup>2</sup> Les chroniqueurs médiévaux ont aussi à mentionner le "Pont de Fer", *Djîsr el-Hadîd*, sur lequel passait le chemin d'Antioche au château-fort de Harîm. De *Pons Ferri* certains conclurent que le fleuve s'appelait *Fer*, où des érudits imprudents voulurent reconnaître le *Farfar* biblique<sup>3</sup> qui coule en réalité dans la plaine de Damas.

*Bélôs*. — Il paraît bien que l'Oronte ait porté sur une partie au moins de son parcours le nom de *Bēlōs*, car Ptolémée et Pline mentionne une Séleucie *ad Belum* et les Byzantins une *Sélenobélôs*, qu'on identifie avec beaucoup de probabilité à *Djîsr esh-Shughr*.<sup>4</sup> D'après le Syncelle, Antioche sur l'Oronte aurait été fondée tout d'abord par Bélôs et Kasos. Comment ne pas reconnaître ici l'association du fleuve et de la montagne du Casius? Bélôs, hellénisation du Baal phénicien et syrien, était identifié à Zeus, fils de Kronos I et frère d'Apollon.<sup>5</sup> Ou rencontre aussi Zeus-Bélôs comme frère de Canaan. Mais nous allons voir l'Oronte entrer de nouveau dans la mythologie sous des noms plus fameux encore.

*Dragon*. — Ce nouveau qualificatif de l'Oronte apparaît dans un récit emprunté par le chroniqueur byzantin Malalas à l'histoire d'Antioche composée par Pausanias le Damascène. Persée étant venu visiter les Ionites d'Argos installés sur le mont Silpius, une

<sup>1</sup> *Hist.* V, 59.

<sup>2</sup> IV, 10; voir l'index dans *Recueil des hist. occid. des Croisades*, I, s. v.

<sup>3</sup> Voir DUSSAUD, *Topogr. hist. de la Syrie*, 171. RÖHRICHT, *Regesta R. H.* no. 379: *via qua de urbe Antiochia itur ad pontem Farfaris*.

<sup>4</sup> PTOLÉMEE, V, 14, 12; PLINE, *Hist. nat.*, V, 82. Voir la note de l'éd. C. MÜLLER, 972 et DUSSAUD, *op. cit.*, 155. Ce n'est pas une montagne comme le prétend BENZINGER dans *Realenc.* de PAULY-WISSOWA III, 259.

<sup>5</sup> TÜMPEL dans *Realenc.* de PAULY-WISSOWA, *op. cit.*, 262 s. Il est à remarquer que la ville d'Apamée (Qal'at el-Mudîq) qui commandait la section de l'Oronte dans le Ghâb et au delà était le centre du culte de Bélôs. DION CASSIUS, LXXVIII, 8, RENAN, *Mission de Phénicie*, 105.

tempête éclate, "le fleuve contigu à la ville des Ionites, appelé *Dragon* et maintenant Oronte, grossit d'une façon démesurée". Persée invite les Grecs à la prière. Pendant les fonctions rituelles tombe un globe de feu céleste qui apaise la tempête et l'inondation. Persée, après avoir fondé sur les bords du Dragon un temple au Feu Éternel, emporte de ce feu sacré en Perse où il en établit le culte.<sup>1</sup> Nous avons vu plus haut qu'Eustathe signale l'opinion de ceux qui attribuent à Tibère le changement du vocable "*Dragon*" en celui d'*Oronte* ou *Oriental*. Malalas revient sur cette dénomination lorsqu'il parle de la lutte entre Sèleucus Nicator et Antigone parce que celui-ci avait fondé Antigonia "près du lac et du fleuve du Dragon". Ce lac n'est autre que la *Buhaira Antakiya* située dans la plaine d'Amuq, *Unki* des Assyriens, *Αμύζη* des Grecs dont la géographie mythique s'est aussi emparée. Ce fut Amykè, fille d'un roi de Chypre et femme de Kasos, ensevelie dans cette plaine, qui lui donna son nom.<sup>2</sup> On était persuadé en outre que les Géants avaient habité jadis la région d'Antioche. L'un d'eux, nommé Pagras, y fut anéanti par le feu céleste et l'on montrait à deux milles de la ville des corps d'hommes immenses que la colère divine avait pétrifiés.<sup>3</sup>

L'information de Malalas nous aide enfin à identifier le Dragon que personifie le fleuve syrien dans ses débordements. Alexandre, écrit-il, établit Antigone sur l'Asie "jusqu'à la Cilicie et jusqu'au fleuve du Dragon, appelé aujourd'hui Oronte, séparant la région cilicienne de la Syrie et qui est aussi nommé Typhon et Ophittès"<sup>4</sup>.

*Typhon*. — Le texte capital relatif à cette nouvelle appellation est celui de STRABON (XVI, 2, 7) qui mérite d'être traduit *in-extenso*: "Près de la ville (d'Antioche) coule le fleuve Oronte qui a ses débuts en Coélé-Syrie. Ensuite, après s'être enfoncé sous terre, il produit de nouveau son cours à la lumière et traversant le territoire des Apaméens il poursuit jusqu'à Antioche qu'il côtoie avant d'atteindre la mer à Séleucie. Il échangea son ancien nom de Typhon contre celui d'Oronte qui avait construit un pont au dessus

<sup>1</sup> *Fragm. Hist. Gr.*, IV, 469. *Patrol. Gr.* XCVII, 108 s. Voir 313 la mention du Dragon à propos de la fondation d'Antioche.

<sup>2</sup> *Patrol. Gr.*, vol. cit. 316.

<sup>3</sup> *Fragm. Hist. Gr.*, IV, 469 s.

<sup>4</sup> *Patrol. Gr.*, vol. cit., 312: τοῦ Δράκοντος ποταμοῦ . . . ὅστις Τυφῶν καὶ Ὀφίτης καλεῖται.

de lui. D'après les mythographes c'est là qu'aurait eu lieu ce qui concerne le foudroiement de Typhon et les Arimes dont nous avons parlé aussi plus haut. Typhon, à ce qu'on raconte, était un dragon qui, frappé de la foudre, fuyait à la recherche d'un abri souterrain; il fendit le sol par ses reptations et creusa le lit du fleuve faisant jaillir sur la terre la source qui s'y était enfoncée. C'est à lui que le fleuve devrait son nom."

Ailleurs le même géographe, traitant des *perthes* de certains cours d'eau, amène l'exemple de l'Oronte dont la résurgence n'est plus envisagée au point de vue mythique: "Ainsi l'Oronte en Syrie, après avoir coulé au fond de l'abîme, qu'on appelle Charybde, entre Apamée et Antioche, surgit de nouveau au bout de quarante stades".<sup>1</sup>

Sous sa forme originelle Typhon est la personnification de l'ouragan déchaîné qui arrache les arbres, fait couler les rochers, tourbillonne avec des sifflements sinistres; c'est le cyclone glissant rapidement à la surface des eaux ou de la terre, détruisant maisons et vaisseaux dans un mouvement de violente rotation. Les mythographes et les décorateurs antiques sur céramique ont symbolisé sa rapidité par des ailes, son tournoiement par des reptiles et son sifflement par des têtes de dragons. Divinité chthonienne, il s'élance d'une grotte comme un serpent aux mille replis; fils de la Terre et du Tartare, il s'attaque au ciel lui-même contre lequel il lance d'énormes quartiers de roche et des bouillonnements de feu, car il est aussi le maître du volcanisme.<sup>2</sup>

Un des théâtres de sa lutte contre les dieux fut le mont Casius qui domine l'embouchure de l'Oronte. Pour lui échapper les dieux avaient été contraints de fuir en Égypte où ils se déguisèrent sous des formes d'animaux. Mais Zeus lança de loin ses foudres sur Typhon et, quand il l'atteignit, le frappa de sa harpe d'acier, le poursuivant jusqu'au Casius, sommet de la Syrie. Quoique blessé, Typhon enlace de ses replis le maître des dieux, le désarme, lui coupe les nerfs des pieds et des mains et l'emporte au dessus de la mer d'abord en Cilicie, puis jusqu'à l'Etna en Sicile.<sup>3</sup>

Cet aspect syrien du mythe de Typhon où se trouvent unis le Casius et l'Oronte ne paraît pas être le produit exclusif de la fan-

<sup>1</sup> VI, 2, 9. EUSTATHE, sur Denys le Périégète 919. *Fragm. Hist. Gr.* IV, 380.

<sup>2</sup> J. SCHMIDT, dans le *Lexicon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, ROSCHER, V, 1426 ss

<sup>3</sup> APOLLODORE, *Biblioth.*, I, 6, 3. *Fragm. Hist. Gr.*, I, 109 s.

tairie grecque. Même si l'hypothèse très plausible de l'identification du Casius à Baal Saphôn était controvée, le culte de cette montagne où se livrait chaque matin le combat entre lumière et ténèbres remonte assez haut dans l'antiquité.<sup>1</sup> Typhon appartenait aussi à la mythologie phénicienne. PHILON DE BYBLOS le fait apparaître avec Nérée et Pontos, personnification de la mer, en même temps que la triade issue du vieux Kronos: Kronos le jeune, Zeus-Bélôs et Apollon. Atlas devenu suspect à Kronos, son frère, est enseveli par lui, sur l'avis d'Hermès, dans les profondeurs de la terre. Vers la même époque, les descendants des Dioscures, montés sur des radeaux, sont jetés sur le rivage du Casius; ils élèvent un temple sur ce sommet. Les alliés d'El-Kronos s'appelèrent Eloem comme d'autres Kronoi.<sup>2</sup>

Cette information fragmentaire de Philon, qui revêt de formes grecques le panthéon phénicien, permet de saisir des indices de l'antiquité de la vénération attachée au Casius et une allusion à la lutte entre la force céleste et la puissance terrestre. Le cours singulièrement tortueux de l'Oronte et sa disparition momentanée dans l'abîme étaient de nature à frapper l'imagination des Syriens antérieurs à la conquête macédonienne et à évoquer un rapprochement avec le Typhon de Phénicie c'est-à-dire le Léviathan qu'une tablette de Râs Shamra décrit dans les mêmes termes qu'Isaie 27<sup>1</sup>: "Serpent fuyant, serpent tortueux".<sup>3</sup> Les LXX ont rendu Léviathan par *Δράκων*, ce qui nous ramène à l'un des qualificatifs de l'Oronte signalé plus haut.

*Ophitès*. — Cette épithète, qui signifie "semblable au serpent" et rappelle la traduction des LXX: *τὸν δράκοντα ὅπερ σφολιόν*, convient à l'image conventionnelle de Typhon et du Dragon de même qu'aux sinuosités de l'Oronte. Suivant la description d'Apollodore le génie de la tempête, Typhon, avait des mains d'où sortaient cent têtes de dragons, détail à rapprocher du Ps. 74<sup>14</sup>: "C'est toi qui a écrasé les têtes du Léviathan." De plus "il avait à partir des cuisses d'immenses replis tortueux . . .".<sup>4</sup>

Jean Moschus offre à ce propos un passage sur lequel je voudrais attirer l'attention. C'est lorsqu'il mentionne deux anachorètes au

<sup>1</sup> EISSFELDT, *Baal Zaphon, Zeus Kasius* (Halle, 1932), 5, 24.

<sup>2</sup> *Fragm. Histor. Gr.* III, 568: fragm. 2, 21, 17.

<sup>3</sup> VIROLLEAUD, *Syria*, XII, 357.

<sup>4</sup> APOLLODORE, *Biblioth.*, I, 6, 3. EISSFELDT rapproche l'ensemble de cette description de Daniel 7<sup>1</sup>.

dessus de Rossos dans la montagne appelée Pterygion, près du fleuve *Piapi* et du monastère de l'abbé Théodore au Scopelos,<sup>1</sup> autant de données indiquant le Djebel Mūsa qui surplombe l'embouchure de l'Oronte au Nord. Le nom du fleuve dégage une certaine saveur égyptienne. *Pi-api* "le Serpent" reproduirait ici la combinaison du grec *ὄφις* avec *api*, la ville du serpent sacré, qu'on retrouve ailleurs.<sup>2</sup> *Api* traduirait en somme, parmi les Égyptiens, l'*Ophites* de Malalas.

*Axios.* — Si nous quittons le domaine de la mythologie pour celui de l'histoire, nous relevons un nom grec que l'Oronte a certainement porté: celui d'Axios. D'après Sozomène et les monnaies séleucides, Apamée proche de l'Oronte était dite ποὺς τῷ Ἀξίῳ (*ποταμῷ*), détermination qui la distinguait d'autres fondations macédoniennes de même nom.<sup>3</sup> Le nom de Pella, que Séleucus Nicator lui donna aussi en souvenir de Pella de Macédoine sa patrie, n'eut pas une existence aussi longue que celui d'Apamée, nom de la fille de Séleucus. Mais comme Pella de Macédoine était arrosée par l' Axios (aujourd'hui le Vardar), on voulut que le fleuve voisin de la Pella syrienne s'appelât aussi Axios. Les colons retrouvaient ainsi en quelque sorte la physionomie du pays qu'ils avaient quitté. Andromaque, Hélénus et les compagnons de leur exil n'avaient-il pas suscité en Epire comme souvenirs de la patrie absente, une petite Troie, Pergame, le Xanthe et la porte Scée?<sup>4</sup>

LE STRANGE et HARTMANN ont affirmé sans preuves que Axios revêtait un nom indigène de même assonance, le syriaque 'aṣyoy. Or il est avéré que les auteurs syriaques appellent l'Oronte *Auronṭa* et *Auronṭis*.<sup>5</sup>

Le vocable grec d'Axios a donné naissance à l'arabe *Nahr el-Asî*, usité depuis le Moyen Age jusqu'à nos jours. Sa signification de "Rebelle" répond fort bien, quoi qu'en ait dit, à la configuration tourmentée d'une partie de son lit et aux traditions grècques

<sup>1</sup> *Pré Spirituel*, sc., PG., LXXXVII, 2948. Il faut lire Rossos avec le latin et ms. grec (voir l'édit. de Cotelier) et non Sina.

<sup>2</sup> DARESSY, *Le dieu Hérón: Annales du Serv. des Antiq. de l'Égypte*, t. XXI, 14.

<sup>3</sup> PG., LXVII, 1457, dans ce contexte il est question du Ghâb sous le nom d'Aulôn. BABELON, *Les rois de Syrie*, 84 s.

<sup>4</sup> VIRGILE, *Énéide*, III, 349—351.

<sup>5</sup> PAYNE-SMITH, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, I, 98. LE STRANGE, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 59 s.. HARTMANN, *Encyclop. de l'Islam*, s. v. al-‘āṣi.

relatives à ce fleuve. Les anciens Arabes connaissent l'ancien nom araméen *el-Urun!* qu'ils réservaient, semble-t-il, au cours inférieur du fleuve dans la région d'Antioche. Ils appellent aussi l'ensemble du cours de l'Oronte *Nahr el-Maqlūb* "le Renversé sens dessus dessous" ou le fleuve "à rebours" soit à cause des pertes du fleuve et de sa disparition dans les gouffres, soit à cause de sa direction particulière Sud-Nord, contraire à celle du Lītāni.

## 2. — LīTĀNI.

Dans un contexte où il est question de Sidon, Sarepta, Tyr continentale, le papyrus Anastasi I mentionne un cours d'eau de *N-*t-n** (nathana).<sup>1</sup> MAX MÜLLER verrait volontiers dans ce groupe hiéroglyphique un nom de ville tandis que la plupart des égyptologues modernes le tiennent pour le nom d'un fleuve, désignant le Lītāni qui se trouve en effet en bonne situation au point de vue topographique. Mais sous le rapport phonétique l'assimilation de *N-*t-n** à l'arabe *Lītāni* ne va pas sans objection. Évidemment on peut supposer derrière la transcription égyptienne une forme authentique *Ltn*, groupe de consonnes qui, chez les Phéniciens, désigne le Léviathan et qu'on vocaliseraient volontiers *Leithan*. Dans cette hypothèse le Lītāni aurait été à l'origine un Typhon ou Dragon tyrien.

Quoi qu'il en soit, le plus naturel est d'admettre entre la forme adoucie primitive *Ltn* et la forme emphatique actuelle l'intervention d'une adaptation grecque qui rend compte de l'évolution du mot.

Le chroniqueur byzantin THÉOPHANE signale le fleuve *Litis* à propos d'un combat livré par Merwān à son compétiteur Suleimān vers la région de Damas et de l'Antiilban dans la plaine appelée *Garis*.<sup>2</sup> Cette *Garis* répond à el-Djarr, nom que Yaqūt donne à la montagne où se fait jour 'Ain el-Djarr (aujourd'hui 'Andjar) origine du plus important des tributaires du Lītāni. Un étang, suivant Polybe (V, 45, 46, 61) occupait une partie de la susdite plaine, que, plus tard, le vice roi de Damas Tankīz (1320-39) fit écouler dans le *Nahr Līta*.<sup>3</sup> IDRĪSI (1154) parle aussi du *Nahr Līta* (لیتا).

<sup>1</sup> GARDINER, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts: The Papyrus Anastasi I*, p. 23. M. MÜLLER, *Asien . . . , 185.*

<sup>2</sup> PG., CVIII, 844.

<sup>3</sup> DUSSAUD, *Topogr.*, 401; HONIGMANN, *ZDPV*. 1924, 12.

qui se jette dans la mer entre Tyr et Sarafand, et DIMASHKI (1300) en donne une bonne description après avoir placé la source du *لبن* à 'Aïn el-Djarr.<sup>1</sup>

THÉOPHANE interprétant *Aitās* par *κακός* se réfère sans doute au mot *λιτός* qui signifie "vil" ou "de peu de valeur".<sup>2</sup> Allongement de *λιτός*, *Aitās* se classe parmi ces périspomènes à déclinaison isosyllabique dont une catégorie exprime la dérision ou le comique. Deux motifs ont dû pousser les Grecs à faire choix de ce nom, d'abord le soin d'habiller suivant le génie de leur langue un nom indigène sans l'anéantir, qui serait fort bien *Lyn*, comme on l'a vu au début; ensuite le besoin de trouver un sens plausible et, en l'occurrence, ce sens s'opposait au nom grec de l'Oronte *Axios* "précieux", "qui a de la valeur".<sup>3</sup> Aux yeux des Grecs d'Émèse, d'Apamée et d'Antioche *Aξιος* exprimait l'excellence d'un fleuve long, abondant, entretenant la fertilité des campagnes et l'agrément des cités, d'un fleuve dont Libanius en son temps vantera les mérites. *Aitās*, au contraire, leur paraissait convenir à un cours d'eau qui n'arrosoit aucune grande ville, formait des marécages dans la plaine avant de s'enfoncer dans une gorge rocheuse où il n'était daucune utilité. De plus son cours était beaucoup moins étendu que celui de l'Oronte et son débit moins copieux. Bref, le choix de ces noms est une des manifestations de l'hellénisation de la contrée et *Litās* comme *Axios* prend rang à côté des fleuves aux vocables grecs indiscutables tels que *Lycos* (Nahr el-Kelb), *Leōn* (Nahr ed-Dāmūr), *Éleutheros* (Nahr el-Kebir).

Il n'y a aucune raison de retrouver dans le *Litās* le "fleuve du Lion" des anciens, dont l'embouchure est marquée par PTOLÉMÉE entre Beyrouth et Sidon.<sup>4</sup> Les cartes et les guides en sont encore généralement à marquer l'identification du *Litāni* au *Léontès*. Or *Léontès* n'existe pas. Cette forme est due à une mauvaise traduction latine du génitif *λεόντος* de Ptolémée: *Leontis* au lieu de

<sup>1</sup> LE STRANGE, *op. cit.*, 56.

<sup>2</sup> πηγὴ τῷ ποταμῷ Αἰτᾶ, τοῦτο Κακῷ.

<sup>3</sup> Tel est le sens obvie du mot, indépendamment de l'étymologie lointaine du nom de l'*Axios* de Macédoine qui peut se rattacher à une vieille racine crétoise, *ἄξος* "abrupt, escarpé".

<sup>4</sup> DUSSAUD, *Topog.*, 47. C'est le Damouras ou Tamyras, d'après la transcription grecque d'un nom indigène. On voit d'ailleurs par l'exemple de l'Oronte qu'un même fleuve pouvait porter plusieurs noms, même grecs. Le Baradā s'appela aussi Chrysoroas et Bardinès.

*Leonis*, erreur divulguée par RELAND qui s'appuyait en outre sur une leçon erronée d'Idrisi provenant d'une confusion de points diacritiques: *Lante* au lieu de *Laiṭa* (Līṭā) pour préconiser l'identité du Līṭānî et du soi-disant *Leontès*.<sup>1</sup>

La transcription *Līṭah* ou *Līṭā* des auteurs arabes répond exactement au grec *Λιτάς*, génitif *Λιτᾶς*, car la désinence particulière à chacune des deux langues ne doit pas entrer en ligne de compte. Il faut en dire autant de la transcription נַהַר נִימָתָה de la *Chronique Samaritaine* publiée par ADLER.<sup>2</sup> La forme arabe *Līṭa* se trouve encore en usage dans le *Tarīf* de EL-OMARI,<sup>3</sup> c'est-à-dire dans la première moitié du XIVe siècle de notre ère, ce qui prouve que la forme actuelle *Līṭānî*, qui est une *nisbeh* ou nom de relation (ici locale), ne remonte pas très haut. Il est difficile d'admettre que la désinence *ni* provienne de la survivance de l'état originel du nom de ce fleuve.

De plus le *Līṭa* du *Tarīf* s'applique au cours inférieur du Līṭānî, ce qui montre que le nom actuel de *Nahr el-Qāsimiyé* est assez récent. Nous constatons d'après plusieurs voyageurs occidentaux qu'il était en usage au XVIIe siècle.<sup>4</sup> Cette appellation provenait du Khān el-Qāsimiyé refait par les Mamelouks en tête du pont sur les ruines d'un casal connu dans la toponymie des Croisades sous le nom de La Casemie ou Lacassomie, ou du sanctuaire de *Nébi Qāsim*.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> RELAND, *Palestine*, 437. Voir la note judicieuse de Poulain de Bossay dans GUÉRIN, *Galilée*, II, 464.

<sup>2</sup> *Rev. des Études juives*, XLV, 93.

<sup>3</sup> GAUDEFROY-DEMOMBYNES, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, 119.

<sup>4</sup> Maundrell, d'Arvieux, Nau etc. Cf. ROBINSON, *Bibl. Research.*, II, 472 s.

<sup>5</sup> REY, *Les colonies franques de Syrie*, 478, 486. RÖHRICH, *Regesta Regni Hierosolimitani*, p. 297, 381.

## ZUR HEUTIGEN PRAXIS DER LEVIRATSEHE BEI ORIENTALISCHEN JUDEN.

S. D. F. GOITEIN

(JERUSALEM)

Wie es kaum ein Kapitel der biblischen Altertumskunde gegeben hat, das nicht durch das Volksleben des heutigen Palästina, bezw. Vorderen Orients seine Erläuterung gefunden hat, so ist insbesondere auch die Sitte der orientalischen Juden eine wichtige Quelle zur Veranschaulichung biblischer Zustände. An einem aktuellen Beispiel möge dies hier dargetan werden. Angesichts einer neuerlichen<sup>1</sup> Diskussion der Frage, wieweit das deuteronomische (25<sup>5</sup> ff.) Gebot der Ehe mit der Witwe des kinderlos verstorbenen Bruders in nachbiblischen Zeiten befolgt worden ist, was ja auch für die Beurteilung des Matth. 22<sup>28</sup>, Mark. 12<sup>18</sup>, Luk. 20<sup>27</sup> Erzählten von Wichtigkeit ist, scheint es nämlich nützlich zu sein, darauf hinzuweisen, daß bei gewissen orientalischen Judenschaften, besonders bei den Jemeniten,<sup>2</sup> auch heute noch die Leviratsehe durchaus gang und gäbe ist; daß ganz im biblischen Sinne deren tatsächlicher Vollzug,

<sup>1</sup> K. H. RENGSTORF spricht in seiner sonst eingehenden Einleitung zu seinem *Kommentar zu Jebamot* (Giessen, 1929, S. 40\*), kurz und leider etwas zu bestimmt von dem „völligen und damit endgültigen Verschwinden“ der – nach seinen Ausführungen – in fruchtannaitischer Zeit „neuaufgelebten Sitte der Schwagerehe“. A. ALBECK, der im Gegenteil nachzuweisen unternimmt, daß die Schwagerehe ununterbrochen bis an die Schwelle der Neuzeit verschiedenerorts lebendig gewesen ist, verzeichnet Fälle (auf europäischem Boden) noch aus den Jahren 1572 und 1722 (*Zum sechzigjährigen Bestehen der Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin*, 1932, 66–72).

<sup>2</sup> Ich beschränke mich auf diese, einmal weil sie mehr als jede andere orientalische Judenschaft die Leviratsehe bewahrt zu haben scheinen, und dann, weil ich mir in mehrjährigem engen Umgang mit ihnen diejenige Vertrautheit mit ihren Lebensverhältnissen erworben zu haben glaube, die für derlei Nachforschungen unerlässlich ist. Aber Leviratsehe gibt es bei allen, die Polygamie praktisch zulassenden orientalischen Judenheiten, wie man sich durch Nachfragen bei bagdadischen, syrischen („aleppinischen“) und nordafrikanischen Juden leicht überzeugen kann. Für letztere vgl. insbesondere SALOMON TIBI, *Le statut personnel des Israélites et spécialement des Israélites Tunisiens*, Tunis, 1922, III, 33–36.

nicht aber ihre Ablösung durch die Prozedur der sogenannten *Halīṣah* (Deuter. 25<sup>9</sup>, bei den Jemeniten *Hillūṣ* genannt) bei ihnen als das eigentlich gesetzmäßige Werk gilt; daß somit die sozialen und menschlichen Komplikationen, die mit dieser Institution verbunden sind, noch an lebendigen Verhältnissen studiert werden können. Leviratsehe gibt es ja vielfach in der Welt,<sup>1</sup> auch etwa bei palästinensischen Fellachen. Aber während hier nicht einmal ein Zwang der Sitte besteht, und für die Witwe des Bruders wie für jede andere Frau ein „Brautpreis“ gezahlt wird,<sup>2</sup> ist eben das Charakteristische der auf dem biblischen Gesetz beruhenden jüdischen Leviratsehe, daß für sie eine nur durch eine peinliche gerichtliche Prozedur zu lösende Verpflichtung besteht und daß nach strengem Recht keine neue Eheverschreibung notwendig ist (vgl. *Jebāmōt* 39a), d. h. also die alte Ehe eigentlich rechtmäßig weiter besteht und nur von dem Bruder des Verstorbenen aufs neue realisiert werden muß; daß somit, was für arabische Juden das Wichtigste ist, ein neuer „Brautpreis“ nicht gezahlt werden muß. Auch sonst enthält das altjüdische Gesetz vom Levirat manche Züge, deren praktische Auswirkung eben nur bei unter diesem Gesetz stehenden Juden erkannt werden kann.

Im Folgenden werden zunächst aus einer größeren Anzahl mir bekannter Fälle von Leviratsehen *neun* vorgelegt, von denen jeder eine besondere Seite dieser Institution zu beleuchten geeignet ist. Die Kenntnis der ersten acht entstammt aus vornehmlich zu linguistischen Zwecken geführten Unterhaltungen mit eben aus Jemen eingetroffenen Juden städtischen Typs,<sup>3</sup> die unter ziemlich straffer Kontrolle des staatlich autorisierten Oberrabbinats der Reichshauptstadt Ṣan‘ā’ stehen. Die Belehrung, die hieraus für das lebendige

woselbst praktische Jurisdiktion über Jibbūm. Überhaupt möchte ich mir erlauben, die Herausgeber und Erforscher rabbinischer Werke rechtlichen Inhalts, die mit den spätrabbinischen Quellen nicht vertraut sind, auf diese Art Literatur hinzuweisen, die für die Bedürfnisse einer geordneten und von einem modernen Staat beaufsichtigten Rechtspraxis geschrieben ist und sich auf seit langen Jahren schriftlich fixierte Gerichtsentscheidungen stützen kann).

<sup>1</sup> EDWARD WESTERMARCK, *The History of Human Marriage*<sup>5</sup>, III, 207 ff., 262 ff. Leviratsehe obligatorisch für den Bruder des Verstorbenen, ib., 214ff.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. zuletzt H. GRANQVIST, *Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village*, 27, 121, 146, sowie die Tabellen dort 165, 167, 183.

<sup>3</sup>. Vgl. *Zeitsch. f. Semitistik*, VIII, 162.

Verständnis der einschlägigen Bibelstellen, auch des Buches Ruth,<sup>1</sup> gewonnen werden kann, ergibt sich von selbst. Zum Schluß werden einige Sonderfragen erörtert.

1. Sālim Sch. ist jüngster von fünf Brüdern. Die älteren vier haben schon ihr väterliches Erbe bekommen und leben in ihren eigenen Häusern. Sālim aber wohnt noch mit seiner Frau Rūmijāh im Elternhaus. Der Vater wandert nach Palästina aus; Sālim führt ihn nach Hodeida, der Hafenstadt, und stirbt infolge eines Erlebnisses auf dem Rückweg. Jehūdō, der älteste Bruder, der verheiratet ist und selbst schon verheiratete Kinder hat, ist zunächst zur Leviratsehe verpflichtet. Um nicht seinen häuslichen Frieden und seine ohnehin prekären Vermögensverhältnisse zu gefährden, verhält er sich zunächst ablehnend. Anderthalb Jahre gehen die Verhandlungen. Man schlägt ihm vor, die Ehe zu vollziehen und nach einigen Monaten eventuell die Scheidung auszusprechen. Denn der Jibbūm sei Thoragesetz. Wenn der Hillüs nicht ganz rechtmäßig begründet sei, stehe zu befürchten, daß einer der beiden Teile, die zur Leviratsehe verpflichtet seien und sie nicht vollzögen, sterben werde oder sonst Schaden nehme. Schließlich willigt Jehūdō ein. Rūmijāh erhält ihre Brautverschreibung, Ketubba und Höb,<sup>2</sup> und außerdem überhaupt alle fahrende Habe ihres Mannes, da<sup>3</sup> man annimmt, daß sie wahrscheinlich nach kurzer Zeit geschieden werde. Es wird hervorgehoben, daß Rūmijāh während der ganzen Zeit im Haus ihres verstorbenen Mannes, d. h. eigentlich ihres Schwiegervaters, wohnte und nicht in ihr Vaterhaus zurückkehrte. Sofort nach der vollzogenen Leviratsehe wurde Rūmijāh schwanger und daher natürlich nicht geschieden. Sie gebar einen Sohn, der nach seinem Vater Sālim genannt wurde, also Sālim ben Jehūdō.

1a. Interessant sind die Umstände, unter denen bei dem Tode eines anderen der erwähnten fünf die Leviratsehe nicht zustande

<sup>1</sup> Damit soll die Frage, wieweit das Buch Ruth als Zeugnis für die tatsächliche Ausführung der „Schwagerehe“ gelten darf (vgl. RENGSTORF a. a. o. 24\*ff) nicht berührt werden.

<sup>2</sup> eigt. „Schuld“. Die Ausstattung, welche die Frau in die Ehe mitbringt, wird am Hochzeitstag von sachkundigen Männern geschätzt; der betreffende Betrag ist im Falle der Ehescheidung oder des Ablebens des Mannes gemeinsam mit der Ketubba zurückzuzahlen.

<sup>3</sup> Ich bitte zu beachten, daß ich hier die Ansichten des jeweiligen Berichterstatters und keine Erklärungen meinerseits wiedergebe.

kam. Die Witwe (ebenfalls eine Rūmijāh) des gelehrten und sehr vermögenden Mēir trug sich dem Jehūdō und jedem anderen der noch lebenden Brüder an unter der Bedingung, daß das Vermögen des Verstorbenen in ihrer Hand, bezw. in der des neuen Gatten ungeteilt verbleibe.<sup>1</sup> Die Brüder aber beantragten Erbteilung nach Landesrecht (d. h. islamischem, in Zentraljemen also zaiditischem Kirchenrecht) und so erhielten die Brüder so gut wie alles, während der Witwe nur ein „halbes Viertel“<sup>2</sup> verblieb. Nach erfolgter Teilung hätte sie vielleicht eine Leviratsehe erzielen können. Das wollte sie aber nicht; zum Hillūs hätte sie ja die Brüder zwingen können, aber sie war der Sache überdrüssig geworden und wanderte nach Palästina aus, wo sie, natürlich unverheiratet, ihr Brot durch ihrer Hände Arbeit verdient.

2. Jāisch Ch. stirbt kinderlos. Da er verschuldet ist, fällt sein Haus an die Gläubiger und die Witwe Ghinā bint Chalaf Mukridī kehrt in ihr Vaterhaus zurück. Der einzige überlebende Bruder, Refōel, ist minderjährig. Nach mehreren Jahren wird er 18 und vollzieht die Leviratsehe, obgleich, wie betont wird, die Schwägerin erheblich älter ist. Übrigens bleibt auch diese Ehe kinderlos.

3. Sa'īd M., in Jerusalem lebend, erhält vom Rabbinatsgericht in Ṣan'ā, der Hauptstadt Jemens, die Aufforderung, unverzüglich nach dort zu kommen, um an der Witwe seines kinderlos verstorbenen jüngsten Bruders Jibbūm oder Hillūs zu vollziehen. Es sind in Jemen selbst noch mehrere andere Brüder da, aber Sa'īd als ältester ist zunächst verpflichtet. Sa'īd macht speziell zu diesem Zweck die weite Reise. Es mag wohl dabei der Wunsch mitgespielt haben, durch dieses gottgefällige Werk gewürdigt zu werden, einen Sohn zu erhalten. Er hatte nämlich bisher nur Töchter. Sa'īd vollzieht in Jemen die Ehe und kehrt zunächst allein nach Palästina zurück, um für die Neuvermählte von der Einwanderungsbehörde eine Einreiseerlaubnis zu erhalten und um seine erste Frau auf die

<sup>1</sup> Wie es jüdisches Recht ist, *Mishna Jebāmōt*, 4,7 etc.

<sup>2</sup> Als ich den Berichterstatter (Neffe dieser Frau, die ich übrigens auch kenne) darauf aufmerksam machte, daß nach dem eindeutigen Wortlaut des Korans (IV,14, äg. Ed. 12) die Witwe des kinderlos Verstorbenen ein Viertel erhält (und als sogenannte Quotenerbin den Brüdern vorausgeht), meinte er, daß der Kadi sich wohl die – klingend unterstützte – Beschuldigung der Brüder, daß die Frau durch bösen Blick am Tode ihres Mannes Schuld gehabt habe, zu eigen gemacht und sie deshalb mit Entziehung ihres halben Erbteils bestraft habe!

neue Situation vorzubereiten. An beiden Stellen stößt er aber auf unerschütterlichen Widerstand (die Frau: „es ist dein, nicht mein Schicksal, daß wir nur Töchter haben“), und so ist er gezwungen, nach einiger Zeit der Neuvermählten, die übrigens die ganze Zeit auf Kosten und im Hause ihres Vaters gelebt hatte, durch einen nach Jemen reisenden Bekannten den Scheidebrief zu übersenden.

4. Wie Lülüä's erster Mann geheißen hat, war der Berichterstatterin entschwunden; so lange ist es her, daß er gestorben ist. Ihr Schwager und künftiger Gatte, Jüsut S. war damals erst zwei Jahre alt. Trotzdem war sie bereit, auf ihn zu warten. Die Familie S. ist ja eine der allervornehmsten und sie wollte weiter mit dieser Familie verbunden bleiben.<sup>1</sup> Übrigens war sie, als nach fünfzehnjähriger Wartezeit die Leviratsche vollzogen wurde, noch ein ganz junges Weib; denn sie war fast noch ein Kind, als ihr erster Mann gestorben war. Irgend einen „Brautpreis“ erhielt sie nicht, trotz der langen Zwischenzeit. Ihr doch beträchtlich jüngerer zweiter Mann liebte sie sehr. Sie war nämlich eine Meisterin in der „Schneiderei“ (d. h. Kleiderbestickung) und verdiente ein schönes Stück Geld. Sonst, meinte die Erzählerin, würde er sie wohl nicht so geliebt haben, denn auch diese Ehe ist bis jetzt kinderlos geblieben.

5. Als 'Azrō (Ezra) Sch. nach einer Ehe von wenigen Monaten starb, war es klar, daß sein einziger überlebender Bruder Jihjā die Witwe Rūmijāh heiraten würde, was auch tatsächlich nach kurzer Zeit geschah. Trotzdem verließ die Witwe nach Ablauf des Trauermonats bis zur Wiederverheiratung das Haus ihres Mannes, — denn es sei „verboden“, daß sie länger als den Trauemonat dort verweile.

6. Bei dem Tode Meir Sch.'s aus 'Amrān waren drei unverheiratete Brüder vorhanden. Sein Erbe fiel nach Landesrecht größtentheils an den noch lebenden Vater. Die Witwe wollte den jüngsten Bruder heiraten. Das Oberrabbinat in Ṣan'ā̄ erklärte aber, daß ihr keineswegs die Wahl freistehé, sie vielmehr zunächst dem ältesten gehöre. Dieser wurde nach Ṣan'ā̄ vorgeladen, erklärte sich aber für unfähig, eine Frau ernähren zu können, — das Vermögen des

<sup>1</sup> So meint die Erzählerin. Aber nach dem Gesetz wird ihr wohl gar nichts anderes übrig geblieben sein, denn sie mußte doch auf jeden Fall warten, bis ihr Schwager groß genug war, um wenigstens den Hillūs gültig vollziehen zu können. — Der ganze Fall zeigt, daß Naomi's Worte, Ruth 1<sup>22ff</sup>, sehr reale Vorkommnisse vor Augen haben.

Verstorbenen war ja, wie gesagt, nun größtenteils nicht mehr frei, sondern in den Händen des Vaters. Der zweite Bruder erschien überhaupt nicht auf die Vorladung des Beth-Din hin. So verblieb nur der jüngste, kaum 18jährige Bruder, und dieser vollzog, in Übereinstimmung mit dem Wunsch der Witwe, die Ehe.

7. Härün (Aron) M. heiratete seine Schwägerin Schamāh bint al-Gh. nach dem Tode seines Bruders. Er wanderte dann zusammen mit seiner neuen Frau nach Palästina aus, während die erste Frau mit einer Tochter von dieser in Jemen zurückblieb; diese war übrigens Klageweib, eine Beschäftigung, die in Jemen, aber nicht in Palästina, als Beruf betrachtet werden kann. Der Mann starb dann in Palästina, ohne seinem Bruder und sich männliche Nachkommenschaft „errichtet“ zu haben.

8. Jūsuf M., der selbst kinderlos verheiratet war, heiratete nach dem Tode seines Bruders dessen Witwe Schamāh bint al-Ch. Als auch diese Ehe kinderlos blieb, schied er sich von der neuen Frau, — die sich dann anderweitig verheiratete und sofort Kinder bekam!<sup>1</sup>

9. G. Jūsuf as-S., ein in Palästina lebender Mōrī,<sup>2</sup> vollzog die Leviratsehe an bint Mōrī Sa'īd al-'A., einer übrigens schon in Jerusalem geborenen Frau. Als sich seine erste Frau nicht mit der Neuvermählten vertragen konnte, — ließ er sich von der ersten scheiden.

Bei der Würdigung des vorgelegten Materials ist zunächst die Vermutung abzuweisen, daß auf die volle Erhaltung des Levirats

<sup>1</sup> Außer den oben (No. 2. 4 7. 8.) genannten kenne ich noch drei Leviratsehen, die kinderlos blieben.

<sup>2</sup> d. h. Rabbiner; das Wort bedeutet dasselbe wie Rabbi, nämlich „mein Herr“, vgl. E. LITTMANN, *Festgabe... Nöldeke zum 80. Geburtstag*, 101ff. Freilich ist die Stellung des Mori von der des aschkenasischen Raws sehr verschieden. Er ist häufig zugleich Schächter und Kinderlehrer und lebt meist in der Hauptsache nicht von der Maurajāh („Rabbinat“), sondern von einem Handwerk, — ganz wie die talmudischen Weisen; wie ja eben die Jemeniten überhaupt viel von der alten Art bewahrt haben, vgl. zuletzt J. BERGMANN, *MGWJ*, 76, 469. Wenn der Mori aber auch meist als Vorbeter fungiert, so dürfte vielleicht die Stellung des Imams in der muslimischen Gemeinde von Einfluß gewesen sein. Als altertümliche religiöse Praxis der Jemeniten sei hervorgehoben die *Teighebe* an den Köhēn (Numeri 15<sup>20</sup>), welche diesem als *Brot ins Haus* gebracht wird; solches bezeugen schon Philo und Flavius Josephus (s. J. HEINEMANN, *Philons griechische und jüdische Bildung*, I, 35), während die Halacha nur Abgabe des Teiges fordert.

bei den Jemeniten etwa die Umgebung von Einfluß gewesen sei. Dies ist ganz und gar nicht der Fall. In Arabien war zwar vor dem Islam Leviratsehe in weitem Maße üblich, indem die Witwe vielfach mit der Erbmasse dem Erben anheimfiel. Dies untersagte aber Mohammed (Koran IV. 23 äg. Ed. 19) und sicherte dann die Lage der Witwe, ohne auf die Institution des Levirats zurückzugreifen, durch Zuweisung einer gewissen Quote vom Erbe. Wie mir über-einstimmend aus mehreren Städten Zentraljemens berichtet wird, würde dort bei Muslimen die Schwagerehe, wo sie vorkäme, nur mit der Witwe des bekinderten Bruders geschlossen werden. Jedenfalls zeigen die Fälle 1a und 6, daß im Gegenteil das muslimische Landesrecht aufs stärkste die Durchführung der jüdischen Leviratsehe hemmt, da, wenn der Kadi angerufen wird, jederzeit das Vermögen des Verstorbenen geteilt werden kann, und dann beim Jābām kein Interesse oder auch keine finanzielle Möglichkeit besteht, die nunmehr verarmte Witwe zu ehelichen. Die volle Erhaltung des Levirats hängt einmal zusammen mit der besonderen Autorität, die MAIMONIDES' *Codex* bei den Jemeniten genießt; dieser entscheidet nämlich, daß der Jibbūm der Ḥalīṣa vorangehe (*Jibbūm* I 2), während der *Schulchan Aruch*, IV, 165, 1 (der übrigens bei den Jemeniten durchaus rezipiert ist) auch die entgegengesetzte talmudische Ansicht gelten läßt. Wichtig ist ferner, daß bei den Jemeniten, wie sonst bei arabisch sprechenden Juden, wenn auch nicht häufig, Vielehe vorkommt, und wie Fall 1. 3. 7. 8. 9 zeigen, kann die Institution der Leviratsehe nur in einer polygamen Gesellschaft gedeihen. Der erwachsene Mann, der doch meistens als Jābām in Betracht kommt, ist eben im semitischen Orient in der Regel verheiratet.

Beachtlich ist, wie sehr die Vorschrift, daß der *älteste* Bruder zum Levirat verpflichtet ist (*Mishnah Jebāmōt* 2<sup>8</sup>. 4<sup>5</sup>) betont wird, vgl. Fall 1. 3. 6. Hier wird in der Praxis noch über das von MAIMONIDES, (*Jibbūm* II 9) Kodifizierte hinausgegangen. Wenn man noch die höchst künstliche Hermeneutik, mit der der Talmud (*b. Jebāmōt* 24a) diese Vorschrift begründet, in Betracht zieht, so kann man nicht umhin, hierin das Fortleben einer alten Sitte zu erkennen, die den Rabbinern längst in der Wirklichkeit vorgelegen haben mußte, ehe sie dieselbe in Worte faßten; noch<sup>1</sup> ein Hinweis darauf, daß die Leviratsehe um Jesu Zeit lebendig gewesen sein muß.

<sup>1</sup> Weiterers bei Ch. ALBECK, a. a. O., 68ff.

Ob die Sitte, den aus der Leviratsehe entsprossenen ältesten Sohn nach dem verstorbenen Bruder zu nennen, (s. No. 1.), auf alter Tradition beruht, oder auf einer volkstümlichen Auslegung von Dt. 25<sup>6,7</sup>, vernag ich nicht zu sagen. Ruth 4<sup>5, 17</sup>, scheint gegen erstere Annahme zu sprechen. Doch findet sich jene Sitte auch bei aleppischen und bagdadischen Juden, ist freilich nach dem Zeugnis des Jerusalemer Mōri Jehūdō Habschüscher auch bei den Jemeniten nicht von verpflichtendem Charakter.

Es ist nicht ohne Interesse, zu beobachten, wie die jüngeren Jemeniten in Palästina nicht mehr Frauen, die ihnen vom Schicksal angetragen werden, heiraten wollen, und den Jibbūm auch da verweigern, wo früher kein genügender Grund hierfür anerkannt worden wäre. Aber das liegt schon jenseits des Rahmens dieser Bemerkungen.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Sealand of Ancient Arabia* by RAYMOND PHILIP DOUGHERTY, New Haven, Yale University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1932. XII-203 pp. (Yale Oriental Series; Researches; Volume xix). Prix: 18 sh.

L'histoire du pays de la mer, plus intimement mêlée à celle des empires mésopotamiens qu'on ne le soupçonnerait à première vue, vient d'acquérir, grâce à la patiente investigation de M. R. PHILIP DOUGHERTY, un relief et une cohésion remarquables. La difficulté de rassembler les *membra disjecta* de cette histoire s'accroissait en l'espèce de l'incertitude des identifications: le pays de la mer et sa population se dissimulent souvent sous d'autres noms et seul un dépouillement méthodique de toute la documentation devait permettre de reconstituer le rôle d'une nation qui ne se contenta point toujours de jouer les comparses. Elle n'apparaît en pleine lumière qu'à trois étapes de son développement. Une de ses dynasties, la plus longue et la plus stable, est contemporaine des successeurs de Hammurabi et des premiers Cassites. Encore nous est elle donnée officiellement comme une dynastie du ŠEŠ-KÙ *ki*; le sens de cet idéogramme demeure obscur, bien qu'il désigne équivalement le pays de la mer, ainsi qu'il appert de documents étrangers où les rois de la liste figurent sous leur titre propre de Šar *māt-Tāmtim* (A-AB-BA). Une dynastie de trois règnes nous reporte à la fin du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, en synchronisme avec les débuts de l'Assyrie. Enfin Marduk-apla-iddina et ses fils émergent à nouveau de l'obscurité pour mener la lutte contre la domination assyrienne parvenue à son apogée. La personnalité de l'ancêtre de la maison royale impose alors au *māt-Tāmtim* la désignation historique de *bit-Yākin*. Que fut la vie du pays dans l'intervalle de ces trois périodes? Est-il possible d'en percevoir les pulsations malgré la confusion des événements? Peut-on, en lui restituant son individualité, préciser l'orientation des grand courants ethniques de la Mésopotamie? M. D. répond par l'affirmative, et nous en convenons volontiers. Pour être hypothé-

tiques, certaines de ses conclusions n'en sont pas moins sérieusement étayées, et le gain réalisé est nettement positif.

L'histoire du pays de la mer commence bien avant celle de ses dynasties. Sargon l'Ancien ne le réduisit qu'au bout de trois campagnes et, lorsqu'il eût conquis les contrées d'Occident, il "fit passer leur butin par le pays de la mer." Que le laconisme des textes ne nous abuse point sur leur portée véritable. Une telle résistance suppose dès cette époque une organisation politique sérieuse; d'autre part le transit mentionné entre le pays d'Akkad et les régions du couchant nous interdit de restreindre le pays de la mer aux lagunes en bordure du Golfe Persique.

Plus tard, sous les rois du ŠEŠ-KŪ, le pays de la mer étendit son influence aux dépens de la première dynastie babylonienne et résista plus longtemps qu'elle à l'invasion des Cassites: même après que Ea-Gāmil, dernier roi du ŠEŠ-KŪ, eût cherché un refuge en Élam, le pays de la mer n'accepta point sans révolte le joug de l'étranger; sa résistance ne fut définitivement brisée que le jour où Agum s'empara de la grande cité religieuse de DUR-EA. Au lendemain de la conquête, les dynastes cassites prirent le titre de rois de Karduniash. On a beaucoup discuté sur la valeur de ce terme. Le fait qu'il ne figure point dans la titulature des premiers Cassites et la teneur même du protocole de Karaindash, "roi puissant, roi de Babylone, roi de Sumer et d'Akkad, roi des Cassites, roi du Karduniash," n'autorisent point à l'identifier sans plus à la Babylonie. Reprenant une hypothèse déjà formulée par TIELE en 1886 et admise depuis par HOMMEL, HÜSING, STRECK et KNUDTZON, M. D. estime que les Cassites créèrent l'expression de Karduniash pour désigner soit le pays de la mer, soit l'ensemble de leur domaine, dont les territoires du *māt-Tāntim* formaient une partie notable. Au moins à l'origine, le pays de la mer et le Karduniash seraient donc en quelque mesure synonymes.<sup>1</sup> La sémitisation des Cassites

<sup>1</sup> L'étymologie proposée par HÜSING est assez séduisante: le Karduniash serait proprement le "territoire irrigué" (KĀR-*ganū*) de la "mer" (*duni*, vocable apparenté à l'Élamite); toutefois on ne voit pas que l'omission fréquente du déterminatif AN devant la deuxième partie du nom suffise à rejeter sans plus l'explication généralement admise de "champ du dieu DUN" ou "DUNIASH." Aussi l'auteur reste-t-il prudemment sur la réserve.

L'identification du Karduniash avec la Babylonie en certains textes assyriens est plus apparente que réelle: lorsque par exemple Teglath-Phalasar 1<sup>er</sup> énumère

sous les derniers règnes aurait été partiellement l'œuvre du peuple de la mer, dont l'influence continua de se faire sentir sous la dynastie dite de *Pa-še* ou deuxième d'Isin. M. D. irait volontiers plus loin: il observe que les noms de Marduk-apla-iddina le Cassite et de Nabuchodonosor de *Pa-še* sont relevés respectivement par Marduk-apla-iddina II (Merodachbaladan) et par Nabuchodonosor II dont le père s'honorait du titre de roi du pays de la mer. Cet indice est-il suffisant pour restituer avec certitude au *māt-Tāmtim* ses enfants perdus?

Le pays de la mer est d'ordinaire impliqué dans les tablettes Spartoli exploitées, non sans quelque intempérité, par des commentateurs du chapitre XIV de la Genèse. Sous les personnages du récit néobabylonien, KU-KU-KU-KU-MAL, ingénieusement interprété Kudur-lagamar, et *Tu-ud-hu-la*, on reconnaissait Chedorlaomer et Tidal du récit biblique. Arioch était identifié, avec toutefois moins d'unanimité, avec *Arad-É-a-ku*, lu *Eri-É-a-ku*. La geste d'Abraham en Palestine et notamment la campagne des rois était datée par Böhl du règne de Dudhaliaš II de Hattu, soit du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle avant notre ère.<sup>1</sup> Cette date parut à plus d'un trop basse. Il est avéré que la migration d'Abraham se rattache au grand mouvement ethnique des Araméens et les tentatives d'identification des quatre rois de la Genèse avec des contemporains de Hammurabi sont, du point de vue chronologique, infiniment plus satisfaisantes.<sup>2</sup> L'interprétation que donne M. D. des textes Spartoli ne permet l'identification des

Kurigalzu, Sippar et Babylone parmi les villes du Karduniash, il entend seulement que la Babylonie est sous la domination actuelle des souverains du Karduniash. Mais ces conjonctures politiques, essentiellement transitoires, n'entraînent en aucun cas la confusion des réalités géographiques. Cela est si vrai que les inscriptions de Sennachérib continueront à désigner Merodach-baladan comme roi du Karduniash alors même qu'il aura été déposé de son trône de Babylone. Par contre, ses autres titres: roi du pays de Kaldu, roi du *māt-Tāmtim*, s'ils ne sont pas strictement interchangeables, demeurent étroitement connexes à sa souveraineté sur le Karduniash.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Das Zeitalter Abrahams (Der Alte Orient)* XXIX, 7 (1930).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. DHORME, *Abraham dans le cadre de l'histoire* (Revue Biblique, 1928, p. 367 et 481; 1931, p. 364 et 503). Il importe de ne pas perdre de vue le caractère hypothétique de ces identifications qui reposent essentiellement sur des possibilités d'écriture ou de lecture multiples. Je ne sache pas qu'on ait, en fait, trouvé la graphie *Am-mu-ra-pil* qui justifierait la transcription biblique Amraphel, ou que le nom de Rim-Sin se soit jamais écrit *Ri-wa-a-ku*. Il reste que rien ne nous autorise à exclure a priori ces formes conjecturales.

personnages qui y sont mentionnés avec les adversaires d'Abraham qu'à condition de sacrifier l'historicité du récit de la Genèse.<sup>1</sup> L'Élamite désigné par l'idéogramme énigmatique KU-KU-KU-KU-MAL est l'historique Kudur-nabunte II<sup>2</sup>; *Tu-ud-hu-la* = Dudhalash est le quatrième du nom, ce qui nous amène vers l'an 1200. La mention du Karduniash est d'ailleurs en faveur d'une date basse vu que ce terme apparaît pour la première fois dans le protocole de Karaindash vers le milieu du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Aussi les tablettes Spartoli ont moins que jamais affaire avec l'histoire d'Abraham et de son temps. Leur principal intérêt réside en ceci qu'elles signalent les agissements d'un certain Ibi-Tutu, originaire du pays de la mer, qui aurait occupé Borsippa. Le caractère parénétique du texte néobabylonien ne permet pas d'apprécier exactement la portée de l'événement. Il est quand même important de constater qu'en l'occurrence l'Élam agissait de concert avec le pays de la mer. Cette collusion entre les peuples riverains du golfe persique devait se renouveler plus d'une fois dans la suite.

Après la domination éphémère de la seconde dynastie du *māt-Tāmtim*, contemporaine d'Assur-nirāri V et Assur-rabi II de Ninive, le pays de la mer est en sommeil jusqu'au jour où la maison de Yākinu, dont le plus illustre descendant, Marduk-apla-iddina, est connu dans la Bible sous le nom de Mérodach-Baladan, maintient deux siècles durant son indépendance contre les Assyriens, leur disputant même la suzeraineté sur la Babylonie déchue.<sup>3</sup> De Salmanasar III à Assurbanipal, les expéditions se multiplièrent sans jamais abattre la résistance du *māt-Tāmtim* qui allait bientôt former le premier noyau de l'empire néobabylonien: Nabopolassar, fondateur de la dynastie chaldéenne, est désigné en effet comme roi du pays de la mer et le pillage d'Eridu auquel il se livra n'est qu'un épisode de la conquête.

Les documents de la période assyrienne permettent de serrer de près l'entité géographique du pays de la mer: sa vitalité, ses relèvements aussi rapides qu'imprévus, sa résistance acharnée contre l'empire de Ninive supposent une étendue de territoire qu'on ne peut

<sup>1</sup> ALFRED JEREMIAS l'avait fait dans *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, XXI, p. 97. M. D. tient l'identification pour tout à fait incertaine.

<sup>2</sup> Lecture basée sur différentes valeurs du signe KU: *dūr*, *nāḥu*, *yun*. L'élément MAL demeure inexpliqué.

songer à restreindre aux marécages en bordure du golfe persique. La possession stable de l'hinterland pouvait seule fournir aux maîtres du *māt-Tāmtim* des ressources proportionnées à la lutte qu'ils menèrent. Les forces mêmes que les Assyriens rencontrèrent devant eux au cours de leurs expéditions appartenaient toutes aux populations nomades issues de la péninsule arabique: les défenseurs du *māt-Tāmtin* sont des Kaldū, des Aramū, des Sutū, "hôtes des déserts et habitants des tentes." Marduk-apla-iddina qui les lança contre Sargon et Sennachérib s'intitulait roi des Kaldū aussi bien que roi du pays de la mer. D'autre part les souverains d'Assyrie dont les textes commémorent les interventions victorieuses contre les Arabes sont ceux-là mêmes qui eurent maille à partir avec les chefs du *bīt-Yākin*.

A ces indices d'ordre historique viennent s'en joindre d'autres non moins importants: les annales de Sargon reculent jusqu'à Dil-mun dans le Bahrain la frontière du pays de la mer du côté du golfe persique; une carte babylonienne situe le territoire du *bīt-Yākin* à l'ouest du Chatt el-Arab; Asarhaddon en confie le gouvernement à Nāid-Mardūk fils de Marduk-apla-iddina, au moment même de procéder à main armée contre l'Arabie méridionale et les nomades du désert syrien. Le *bīt-Yākin* s'insère donc normalement entre ces deux régions; on se souvient d'ailleurs qu'il fut de tout temps zone de passage entre la Mésopotamie du sud et les contrées d'Amurru; c'est par là que Sargon d'Agadé, après avoir conquis les pays de l'ouest, avait ramené leurs dépoisilles. La nature des tributs prélevés par Teglath-Phalasar et Sargon II sur Marduk-apla-iddina suffirait à établir sinon l'identité du *māt-Tāmtim* avec l'Arabie, du moins l'étroite relation qui existe entre ces deux pays: l'or, les gemmes, les aromates sont les produits spécifiques de la péninsule qui ravitailla tous les peuples de l'antiquité. Les souverains du Karduniash furent en relations commerciales avec l'empire d'el-Amarna. Plus tard les commerçants néobabyloniens et perses s'approvisionnèrent en métaux et épices sur les marchés du pays de Yāmanu, aujourd'hui le Yémen.<sup>1</sup> A noter également la livraison à Sargon II

<sup>1</sup> Un texte fragmentaire de la 37<sup>e</sup> année de Nabuchodonosor II où est relatée l'expédition contre Amasis (STRASSMEYER, *Inscr. von Nabuc.*, p. 329) fait allusion à une ville ou à un district de *Pu-fu* de *Ya-a-man*. On y reconnaîtra sans peine le biblique **Μου**, fréquemment associé au pays de Kush et pour cette

de 854 chameaux par Marduk-apla-iddina. Ces animaux constituent le cheptel caractéristique des pays arabes; on les désignait par l'idéogramme symptomatique *imēr A-AB-BA*, c'est à dire *imēr Tāmtim*, âne (bête) (du pays) de la mer.<sup>1</sup>

La configuration géographique de l'Arabie du nord, loin de contredire une identification formelle avec le *māt-Tāmtim*, justifie en quelque sorte une appellation qui de prime abord semble étrange. Toute cette partie de la péninsule, émergée à une époque géologique relativement récente, est entièrement inclinée vers le golfe persique.<sup>2</sup> C'est une zone plutôt basse, contrastant avec les fortes altitudes du sud de l'Arabie. On y a noté, tout au moins dans la moitié orientale, une abondance exceptionnelle de terrains salifères, de sources ou de nappes d'eau saumâtres ou franchement salées, chotts ou sebkhas qui faisaient du pays, aux yeux des anciens, le prolongement vers l'intérieur des lagunes et marais salants de la côte. Si l'on tient compte de ce que la région fut autrefois mieux irriguée qu'elle ne l'est de nos jours, à en juger par les vestiges des villes disparues et la régression des oasis, si l'on considère qu'elle est aujourd'hui encore, au sud du désert syrien, la zone normale de transit entre la Mésopotamie et le Hedjaz, et si l'on suit les efforts du gouvernement iraquier pour enrayer éventuellement les incursions des bédouins du Nefūd, la ressemblance avec le *māt-Tāmtim* historique est frappante.

L'importance des conclusions de M. D. relativement à l'histoire biblique n'échappera à aucun lecteur tant soit peu averti. Lui même signale quelques corollaires particulièrement importants. Le

raison cherché sur la rive africaine de la Mer Rouge. Les relations qui existèrent dès l'antiquité la plus reculée entre la côte des Somalis et l'Arabie méridionale permettent de concevoir que Pūt du Yémen ait été nommé de pair avec Kush. — À l'époque perse le pays de Yāmanu désigne indifféremment le Yémen et Yawan (l'Ionie) par suite de la confusion habituelle m-w. De même Ezéchiel, XXVII, nomme parmi les fournisseurs des Tyriens deux pays de Yawan dont l'un, riche en fer, en casse et en aromates (v. 19) doit être le Yémen, tandis que l'autre faisait commerce d'esclaves et de chaudrons de cuivre (v. 13).

<sup>1</sup> Certaines espèces de sauterelles sont désignées par l'idéogramme *erīb A-AB-BA* (*Tāmtim*), par quoi il faut entendre non des sauterelles marines, ce qui serait pour le moins singulier, mais des criquets d'Arabie.

<sup>2</sup> Le bassin du W. Rummah, tributaire du golfe persique, draine la région du Nedjd à l'est d'une ligne passant par Médine et Kheïbar.

premier a trait à l'identification du pays de la mer d'Isaïe (XXXI); l'auteur s'y montre fort réservé; la note parue dans la *Revue biblique* (1922, p. 403) et qu'il cite à l'appui de sa thèse était autrement catégorique. — Un deuxième corollaire intéresse plus directement les origines du peuple hébreu. Il n'est pas indifférent en effet que la majorité des populations du *māt-Tāmtim* ait été composée de Kaldū et d'Aramū alors que le clan d'Abraham, issu d'Ur des Chaldéens, s'achemina vers les pays de l'ouest en suivant les étapes de la pénétration araméenne: l'Arabie septentrionale aurait été le berceau primitif des races qui allaient bientôt peupler tous les rivages du désert; c'est un nouveau point de contact entre l'histoire des origines et la réalité du monde sublunaire. Les noms des trois premiers rois du ŠEŠ-KŪ-ki: Iluma-ilum "Vraiment-Dieu-est-Dieu," Itti-ili-nībi "avec-Dieu-est-mon-appel," Damqi-ilišu "favorable-est-son-Dieu," semblent attester un certain monothéisme; Ea, le dieu des eaux primordiales, créateur, père et seigneur de tous les dieux, devait prêter sa personnalité à la divinité anonyme et transcendante que l'on vénérait dans le pays. Cette pureté relative des conceptions religieuses au *māt-Tāmtim* rend moins exceptionnel le monothéisme de la famille d'Abraham. Il faut s'en tenir là. Une dépendance formelle du Iahvisme par l'intermédiaire des Kénites, un parallèle entre Iahvē et Ea,<sup>1</sup> a fortiori une parenté des noms divins, relèvent du domaine mouvant de la fantaisie. Aussi bien l'auteur s'est-il défendu de formuler des conclusions en cette matière, n'entendant que suggérer les points d'une enquête possible. On lui saura gré de la lumière que son étude projette sur l'histoire ancienne de l'orient aussi bien que sur les origines et l'histoire bibliques.

A. BARROIS, O. P.

<sup>1</sup> Certains traits communs sont inévitables; cela tient sans doute à ce que l'expression de l'idée religieuse est liée à un nombre restreint de concepts qui relèvent de la théologie naturelle.

GRACE M. CROWFOOT and LOUISE BALDENSPERGER. *From Cedar to Hyssop*. A study in the Folklore of Plants in Palestine, pp. VIII + 196. London: The Sheldon Press. 1932. 6/-

This book is the result of a very fruitful cooperation between Mrs. CROWFOOT, who has spent many years in the Sudan, Egypt and Palestine, and Miss BALDENSPERGER who, born in Palestine, has spent all her life among the peasants of 'Arṭās. Because of this background which has given them direct and continuous contact with the *fellāḥin* they have been able to gather, arrange and explain an enormous amount of new material (proverbs, idioms, customs, songs and stories) pertaining to plantlore in Palestine. The simple and charming stories are an eloquent proof of the vivid imagination and picturesque speech of the Orientals. The authors have compiled in one volume a great part of the research-work of different authors on this subject. In perusing this volume one cannot but admire the authors' industry in quoting old botanical works. It would, doubtless, have added to the value of this excellent work if Arabic books on botany, medicine and on the explanation of dreams, had also been consulted.

In six chapters the following subjects are thoroughly described: The peasant's year; corn, wine and oil; wild foods; plants with folklore associations; medicinal plants; sacred trees and magical plants. The reader will appreciate the care with which the different Arabic names of plants have been gathered. The seventh chapter deals briefly with el-Hadr and closes with a beautiful story. The reviewer may add that the custom, described by the authors, of Moslems visiting Christian churches of St. George in Syria also applies in Palestine, namely in el-Hadr (near Bethlehem), Mount Carmel, Taiybeh, Lydda, Jerusalem (outside the Jaffa Gate) and Karak. The first village bears even the name of the saint. With the exception of the shrine on Mount Carmel, which is dedicated to *mār* Eliās, all others belong to St. George. The Moslems honour el-Hadr so highly that they have in every district of Palestine several shrines dedicated to him. Palestinian folklore connects one tree with this saint. Once after drinking of the water of life, which was the only water he drank, he poured the remaining drops upon a neighbour.

ing tree. The tree, a prickly pear, has since remained ever green and indestructible.<sup>1</sup>

Two appendices (transliteration and wild fruits), an index of plant names and 77 illustrations greatly enhance the value of the work and beside its authoritative place in folklore give it an assured position among the books of the flora of Palestine. A few additions in the text may be of value. Only such material will be given which has not yet been mentioned elsewhere by the present writer. Proverbs, idioms and their translations explain the great influence which plants have exercised and still exercise on the Palestinian.

p. 2: *kull ṣī fi ḥawānuh mnīḥ*, "Every thing is good in its own season".<sup>2</sup>

p. 3: *bāb er-rahmeh*, "The door of mercy", is a name given to "west", since the rain comes principally from west. (Sūrah VII, 56).

p. 5: *ḥrāṭ el-afīr ba'd ̄id es-ṣalib*, "The early ploughing should begin after the Feast of the Cross" (Transjordan).

p. 6: The *mustaqradāt* days are thought to be identical with ایام الحسوم of which the proverb says *‘ayiām el-ḥusūm sūmhā maṣhūr*, "The bad omen of the *husūm* days is well-known".

The cold of February is well described in the proverb *ṣbāṭ el-labbāṭ biuqṭum el-baqr* (or *byuḥnuq el-‘idjil*) *fir-rbāṭ*, "February, the striker, keeps (lit. cuts) the cows (or strangles the calf) in their chains", i.e. the animals are kept, because of the severe cold, tied in the stable.

An old woman is supposed to say in the winter, *el-mōt wald frāq el-mōqadēh*, "Rather death than parting with the fire-stove".

p. 8: Two verses about March describe the decreasing cold: *fi adār biṭull edj-djār ‘adj-djār ubtirmi l-‘adjuz ṣaqfet en-nār*, "In March a person begins to visit his neighbour, and the old woman throws away the piece of (earthenware containing the) fire". *Fi adār bitsāwa l-lēl uin-nhār*, "In March night and day become equal".

p. 10: *fi ̄ab bitħallaq es-shāb*, "The clouds begin to form in August".

pp. 12–25. *yā bdār tiṭamnā utiṭam et-ṭer uil-‘asmān uiz-zēf uid-đif uid-djū‘ān*, "O seed, feed us and feed the birds, the person who cuts (the ears) without permission and eats, the guest, the weak and the hungry".

<sup>1</sup> *JPOS*, vol. VIII, p. 161.

<sup>2</sup> A variation is *qāluh lad-dik ṣīh qāl kull ṣī fi ḥawānuh mnīḥ*.

A person who is late in ploughing is advised *kabbir ilāmak nūl-haq 'māmak*, "Plough in wide furrows and follow your uncles (who have finished the work of ploughing long ago)", i. e. as you have no time for proper dense ploughing, you are obliged to plough in wide furrows to gain time for sowing.

The peasant's experiences lead him to sell a cow which has ploughed seven years in succession (called *baqaret sab' niār* or simply *es-sābi'*), and to buy one which has ploughed only three years, *bīc es-sābi' uṣṭrī er-rābi* (Tūl Karm).

Certain stages in the growth of wheat not yet mentioned, are: *labban el-qamḥ*: the wheat grains begin to form a milkish substance. *qāṣ el-qamḥ*: the very ripe stage. *'affaf el-qamḥ*: the ears have developed without forming any grains.

*illi bikattet biṣil*, "He who binds sheaves has to carry them" i. e. a person who begins a task should finish it.

*lā kōn* (or *qōm*) *bala ṣiāḥ walā maṭar bala riāḥ*, "No people without shouting, and no rain without winds".

*lau hawāhā maṭar rašrašat*, "If its wind (i. e. the present wind) predicts rain it would have begun to drop" (Bēt Djälâ).

*In aqbalat bād el-hamām 'alā watad, min amḥalat ḥabib el-himār 'alā J-asad*, "If it is a promising (blessed) year the doves will lay their eggs on a tent peg, but in a barren year the donkey will urinate on the lion", i. e. if God gives or withholds, he may go to extremes which seem impossible to men.

*allah yil'an haz-zamān illi ḥalat el-qamḥ biz-zawān*, "May God curse this time which has mixed wheat (i. e. good people) with tares (i. e. bad ones)."

*fulān miȳl ḥubz es-sādj*, "NN. is like the girdle bread", i. e. he has two faces (= hypocrite).

*el-hiss kbir nūl-fatt ḫir* "the (i. e. his) voice is loud but the bread crumbled (in the sauce) is made of barley"; i. e. he speaks much and performs nothing.

pp. 25-30. *kōl et-tin uṣuf znuḍak kif bitṣir*

*kōl el-'inab uṣuf ḥuḍuk kif bitṣir*

"Eat figs and see how (strong) your arms will become!"

Eat grapes and see how (beautiful) your cheeks will become!"

*bīc mal min ez-zibib hammārah*, "He makes a wine-house from a raisin" (used for exaggeration).

*fulān mi'l ez-zēt dāyman lafōq*, "NN. is like oil, he always floats on the surface", i. e. he is always prosperous.

*illī fi srādjuh zēt bydwiḥ*, "He who has oil in his lamp can light it".

*kull sī tūdjārah illa-z-zēt ma' es-samneh līsārah*, "Everything may be a (gainful) business, except mixing oil with butter."

*'kārah mā bitmallī zrūf*, "The turbid residue of oil will not fill (skin-) vessels."

*mīn hāb-ez-zēt kabbuh*, "The one who is afraid of oil throws it away"; meaning that many a person excludes good people from his company because he is afraid of them.

p. 62: Some Christians believe that on Epiphany (*īd el-ghītās*) some mulberry wood must be burnt, for this tree was the only plant which, owing to its pride, did not kneel down in veneration of this day (North Palestine and Syria).

It is an interesting fact that Jericho and the Jordan valley are believed to be under God's curse (Josh. 6<sup>26</sup>). *mi'l mṣaifāt arīhā la māl djama'a walā . . .*, "Like the gatherers (of ears in harvested fields) of Jericho, they were unable to gather money, nor . . .!"<sup>1</sup>

*yōm 'asal nyōm baṣal*, "One day honey - one day onions".

*balā 'asalik yā naḥlēh ualā tuqirṣīnī*, "I do not want your honey, O bee, neither do I want your sting".<sup>2</sup>

pp. 71 ff. *zūfā* is used in the Arabic Bible (both the American and the Jesuit translations) to denote hyssop, (see also MOHAMMAD SHARAF, *An English-Arabic Dictionary of Medicine, Biology, and Allied Sciences*, p. 384). *Muḥīl el-muḥīl* makes a small difference in the definition of *zūfā* from *sātar*. The latter is written سَاتَر and سَاتِر, but it is pronounced in most places in Palestine as *za'tar*. Different sorts of *sātar* are also known in the classical literature (see DOZY, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, I, 832).

The present writer is preparing an article on the Palestinian folkpharmacopeia which will deal with medicinal plants, their indications, methods of preparation and application.

In going through this interesting and well arranged volume one misses some phases of plantlore. Only little is said about the

<sup>1</sup> The last part of the proverb cannot be mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> A variation is *lā min 'asalhi ualā min las'hdā*.

use of plants in proverbs and idioms dealing with perfections and defects of the human body and of moral character and explaining family relations. The influence exercised by the flora on superstitious beliefs and on daily life is more than is usually believed. Some interesting examples are droll sayings describing queer characteristics of the inhabitants of various localities. Thus Gaza describes the stinginess of the Qatātweh Bedouin with the words (*i*)*b'aṣarah balāḥ walā dymilit el-Qattātweh*, "Rather dates worth ten paras than bearing the favour of the Qattātweh Bedouin".

The cleverness of a person in business is compared with that of the peasants of Siloah who have all their life sold vegetables: *djāi ibīc es-silq 'alā 'ahl silwān*, "Are you trying to sell beet-root (*B. vulgaris L. var. foliosa A. Sf.*) to the inhabitants of Siloah?"

An easily excited temper is said to be characteristic of the people of Nablus. *'alā 'iṣ qatalthā? 'alā 'aṣarah filfil tihši waraqhā*, "Why did you kill her? For pepper worth ten paras with which she wanted to fill her dish of leaves." *waraq miḥši* (or *maḥši*) is a dish of vine leaves filled with a mixture of rice, finely minced meat and condiments.

The young men of er-Rēneh are not much esteemed by the neighbouring villages. *ṭabāb er-Rēneh kull 'aṣarah (*i*)bquṭēneh*, "Every ten young men of er-Rēneh are worth one dried fig".

The inhabitants of Ramleh and Lydda are ridiculed by the inhabitants of the surrounding villages for their stinginess with the words: *tili' el-haṭṭīl bāṭlū l-tabīl*, "The melons have come (are ripe), stop cooking food." The people of Bēt Djälā are no better: *tili' el-'ināb uit-tān bāṭlū l-'adqīn*, "Grapes and figs are ripe, stop kneading (bread)."<sup>1</sup>

The one serious defect in the book is the transliteration. The authors may not be wholly to blame for this, since they were not able to supervise the printing. Few foreign publishers abroad have the types and experience requisite for an exact transliteration of a strange language.

This excellent volume should find its place in the library of every folklorist, Bible student, botanist and Orientalist.

T. CANAAN.

<sup>1</sup> The two last verses were mentioned in *JPOS*, vol. VIII, 136.

## EXCAVATIONS AT TELL EN-NAŞBEH, 1926 and 1927, A PRELIMINARY REPORT.

*Some Tombs of Tell en-Naṣbeh Discovered in 1929, a Special Report.*

By WILLIAM FREDERIC BADE, Director of the Palestine Institute and Professor on the Frederic Billings Foundation for Old Testament Literature and Semitic Languages, Pacific School of Religion. Palestine Institute Publications, Nos. 1 and 2 (Berkeley, California, 1928 and 1931. Price 1 dollar each).

Two "special reports" have given preliminary indications of the wealth of interesting discoveries made during three campaigns at Tell en-Naṣbeh by Dr. W. F. BADE of Pacific School of Religion.

With the exception of the Late Bronze Age all periods of Palestinian history from the Calcholithic down to the Seleucid are represented with some materials near the surface from the Roman and Byzantine periods.

One of the outstanding features of the site is the great Cyclopean wall built in the Middle Bronze Age. At one point with a revetment and a salient tower it reached a thickness of 29 feet at the top (as preserved) and probably 35 feet at the bottom. Apparently the Hebrews used the line and some of the materials of the Bronze Age wall when they restored its fortifications in the time of Asa.

A sanctuary assigned to the Israelite period had the characteristic form of a long porch or hall opening from its side upon three parallel rooms of which the larger, central one probably served as the true sanctuary and home of the baetyl which represented the deity. The Tell en-Naṣbeh temple has served as the text for a fruitful article by THIERSCH, "Ein altmediterraner Tempeltyp", in the *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1932, pp. 73-86. A second sanctuary of similar type remains to be published.

Several unique pottery forms came to light. One was a rude cup within a cup which Dr. BADE thinks may have served as a double libation cup. During the first two seasons the tombs found were of the Calcholithic or Early Bronze periods and were found on the mound itself. During the third campaign the necropolis of the later periods was tapped on the ridge north of the tell and interesting examples of Iron Age and Hellenistic pottery found. This is described and pictured in the second report.

Materials for identification of the site were secured. Dr. BADE believes it to be Mizpah of Samuel. The lack of evidence of occupation during the Late Bronze Age fits the fact that the site does not figure in the story of the Conquest. Seal impressions were found which have been read by various Semitists as מִצְפָה (MZP), which surely may stand for Mizpah. Doubtless the evidence still to be published from these and later campaigns will contribute to the solution of the question.

This brief notice does small justice to the richness of the material discovered, much of which has been alluded to in reports published elsewhere. The publication of the preliminary report of the fourth campaign will be awaited with interest. The final report, as the notices already published indicate, will make a very considerable contribution to scientific knowledge, for the excavation has been carried out with meticulous care and the latest scientific methods, and the site has been more completely excavated than any other in Palestine.

C. C. McCOWN.

LOUIS JALABERT et RENÉ MOUTERDE, *Inscriptions Grecques et Latin de la Syrie*, Paris, Geuthner, 1929; Haut-Commissariat de la République Française en Syrie et au Liban, Service des Antiquités et des Beaux-Arts, Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, Tome XII.

A very useful task has been undertaken by the Service des Antiquités et des Beaux-Arts of Syria in the publication of the Latin and Greek inscriptions of Syria. The *avant-propos* states that the collection is not to be a *corpus* but rather a republication of Waddington. The first volume contains two hundred and fifty-six numbers from Commagene and Cyrrhestica, that is the most northern section of the country as far south as Aleppo. Fewer than twenty per cent of the total are in Latin, two or three are bilingual, Syriac with Greek. Many both of the Latin and the Greek inscriptions are short and fragmentary, a single word or a few scattered letters, preserving only in the remote but pious hope that something more will eventually be found to complete them. A very considerable proportion consists of epitaphs.

There are, however, some important texts which have very great value for the history of the Near East in Hellenistic and

Roman times and especially for the history of religions. This is especially true of the long texts of Antiochus I of Commagene which were set up on that great peak of the Taurus called Nemrud Dagh and elsewhere. Linguistically these inscriptions are interesting as exhibiting a relatively simple but uncontaminated Koinē Greek. Religiously they are extremely important, not only as exhibiting the process of the deification of a ruler, but also many details of ritual and organization in such a cult.

One short inscription, No. 170, found at Facelleu, or Egri Boudjac, is worth noting in connection with two found at Dura-Europos and another at Jerash. *Μαροῦς Σιδατον*, who set up a stone to "Ἄθια τῇ μητρὶ,"<sup>1</sup> appears twice at Dura as *Μαρροῦς Ζηδαίον* [v] τοῦ *Μαρροῦ* (D. 43 and D. 70, BAUR-ROSTOVTEFF, *Excavations at Dura-Europos, Second Season, 1928—29*, pub. 1931, pp. 128, 131 f.). No means of dating these inscriptions with certainty appears, but JOHNSON believes them to be pre-Roman (i. e. before 160 A. D., see pp. 153 f.). That at Jerash found in a fifth or sixth century mosaic mentions *Μαροῦσα* (Acc.) along with other individuals. The Jerash form shows that the sibilant belongs to the root. Marous of Facelleu may well have visited Dura and left his name in two places on the walls of the Palmyrene Gate, or the inscriptions may belong to different generations of eldest sons who carried the grandfather's name. The numerous Dura inscriptions now coming to light will make an important addition to the volumes of the collection.

The publication of such a series of volumes of inscriptions from Syria is to be given the warmest welcome. Simply the collection of scattered inscriptions from a wide variety of volumes is in itself a service. The brief commentary adds to the value of the work. Professors JALABERT and MOUTERDE and their institution, the Université Saint-Joseph de Beyrouth, are to be congratulated on rendering scholarship a real service. It is to be hoped that Princeton University, which acquired the materials which BRÜNNOW with the help of PÈRE JALABERT had been collecting for a corpus of inscriptions of Syria and Arabia, will speedily see that the task is completed. It is a great desideratum to a large number of students.

C. C. McCOWN.

<sup>1</sup> Pub. by P. PHILIPPE, *Perdrizet, BCH* 21 (1897), p. 78, No. 26.

*Der Gottesknecht bei Deuterojesaia* von OTTO EISSFELDT, 27 pp., Niemeyer, Halle (Saale), 1933.

Le grand problème du "Serviteur de Iahvè" ne cesse pas d'exercer un attrait irrésistible sur les maîtres de l'exégèse. A son tour M. EISSFELDT apporte sa contribution au débat. Les positions actuelles de la critique ont été fixées par Duhm et Mowinckel. Duhm a fortement motivé et fait prévaloir la thèse du sens individuel. A la suite de M. Mowinckel toute une école critique estime probable que le Serviteur ne serait autre que le Prophète lui-même, Deutéro-Isaïe, Déçu dans les espoirs qu'il avait fondés sur Cyrus — espoirs exprimés dans les "Kyros-Lieder"—, le Prophète aurait reporté sur un autre ou sur lui-même la mission attribuée d'abord au roi de Perse. Les "Knedt-Lieder" succédant aux "Kyros-Lieder" et les corrigent seraient le terme de cette évolution psychologique. L'autorité de M. Mowinckel a entraîné de nombreuses adhésions et M. Hempel estime qu'avec cette explication nous avons enfin abouti à un point ferme pour l'exégèse de ces textes difficiles.

Mais M. EISSFELDT est un critique trop indépendant pour se laisser impressionner par un verdict du suffrage universel en matière scientifique. Après un nouvel examen, les raisons avancées en faveur du sens individuel ne lui semblent pas concluantes et il se prononce pour le sens collectif: le Serviteur est l'Israël idéal. Jusque là, rien de bien nouveau. C'est dans la manière de présenter la thèse et dans l'argument qui l'appuie, que se trouve la partie neuve et originale de ce travail. Ne pouvant suivre dans le détail son argumentation serrée et rigoureuse contre l'opinion adverse, nous venons tout de suite au point central de sa position. Les tenants du sens individuel estiment que la personnification d'Israël, en soi possible et de fait présente dans toute une série de textes, serait poussée dans les poèmes du Serviteur plus loin que ne le permettent les lois du langage. M. EISSFELDT n'est pas de cet avis. En fait, dans le Deutéro-Isaïe, Israël est envisagé comme une entité individuelle et, entre ces textes et ceux des poèmes du Serviteur, il n'y a qu'une différence de degré, en ce sens que, dans ces derniers, les traits individuels sont encore plus accusés. "Les choses étant ce qu'elles sont, l'opinion que les 'Ebed-Lieder sont du Deutéro-Isaïe et que la physionomie du Serviteur qui y est dessinée doit être entendue comme dans les

passages parallèles du livre, a pour elle le droit de priorité." — "Cette idée apparaît encore mieux appuyée quand on plonge ces textes dans un plus vaste contexte et qu'on les examine à la lumière des conceptions israélites de communauté et d'individu, d'idéal et de réalité". Dans la mentalité sémitique, explique M. EISSFELDT, il y a un lien étroit entre la communauté et l'individu, et un va-et-vient continu d'un concept à l'autre. Cela vaut en tout premier lieu pour les communautés fondées sur les liens du sang. "Pour l'Israélite donc, son peuple est une unité, un individu". Ce qui facilite ce passage d'une idée à l'autre, c'est le nom de l'ancêtre paternel ou maternel, ou de quelque autre personnage représentatif, considéré comme continuant à vivre dans la collectivité issue de lui, participant à ses destinées, et incarnant les traits caractéristiques et la mission de la communauté. "C'est ainsi que le Deutéro-Isaïe, complètement dominé par l'idée de la vocation spirituelle d'Israël à l'égard du monde, et voulant communiquer sa foi à ses compatriotes et contemporains, envisage Israël comme un prophète, lui confère le titre honorifique de "Serviteur de Iahvé" appartenant en tout premier lieu aux prophètes, et, à ce prophète qui surgit sous nos regards, il attribue les qualités et les expériences de caractère typique chez les Prophètes du passé et du présent, et aussi — et c'est ce qu'il y a d'exact dans l'identification du Serviteur avec le Deutéro-Isaïe — dessinant sans doute sa physionomie d'après la sienne propre". (p. 16). Mais il reste un point qui tient en échec toutes les considérations précédentes: le Serviteur a une mission à remplir à l'égard d'Israël, donc il s'en distingue. On ne saurait esquerir cet argument par l'échappatoire exégétique de Budde. La seule réponse possible est qu'il s'agit de "l'Israël idéal". Mais, objecte Gunkel, ce mot est étranger à la langue hébraïque. Oui, réplique M. EISSFELDT, mais l'idée lui est familière. Au fond de nombre de textes bibliques se trouve cette distinction entre Israël et les Israélites, "entre cette personne commune idéale, à la fois présente à la communauté et planant au-dessus d'elle, à la fois identique et distincte... Elle peut déjà être exprimée par les seuls noms d' "Israël" ou de "Jacob". Mais lorsqu'à ces noms est accolé le titre d'honneur prophétique du "Serviteur", il est tout à fait clair que ce n'est pas l'entité réelle mais la grandeur idéale qui est en vue, et il va de soi que cette grandeur idéale peut avoir une tâche à remplir envers l'entité réelle". (p. 24).

Nous avons tenu à reproduire littéralement ces formules où M. EISSFELDT condense l'essentiel de sa pensée. Si la thèse avait chance d'être admise, ce serait bien sous cette forme séduisante. Les analogies bibliques citées à l'appui exigeraient une discussion de détail qui ne saurait trouver place ici. Mais déjà, lorsque charmé et quelque peu ébranlé par la lecture de ces généralisations brillantes, on se remet en face des textes, on a l'impression très nette qu'ils résistent à ce genre d'interprétation, et l'on persiste à croire qu'entre la peinture dessinée par Isaïe et la figure du Grand Patient que M. EISSFELDT évoque, à la fin de son livre, avec une sincère émotion religieuse, il y a plus qu'une simple coïncidence.

M.-L. DUMESTE.

THE MOUNTAIN SANCTUARIES IN PETRA  
AND ITS ENVIRONS

DITLEF NIELSEN

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(Continued from *JPOS* vol. XI, 1931, p. 237)

III.

A. *Places of cult generally orientated east in the clefts of the mountains, without any altar or other arrangements for offerings, but with several holy symbols and often with inscriptions.*<sup>1</sup>

A remarkable place of cult of this type is a little terrace in the deep ravine *as-Siyāgh*, running from east to west in the western part of Petra, between the *Habis* mountain to the south and the *Dēr* mountain to the north. (Pl. IX, Fig. 1).

On both sides of the gorge numerous chambers of several stories, with steps, water reservoirs and other receptacles are cut in the almost perpendicular rock. The gorge was in part a street with houses on both sides, constituting probably part of the earliest Nabataean town. On the northern side of the street and close to the gorge the terrace faces east, so that the first rays of the sun fall on it. (Pl. IX, Fig. 2).

It has been described by DALMAN als „erstes Heiligtum von *es-Sijāgh*“ (*Petra I*, p. 239—<sup>+</sup>1).<sup>2</sup> It shows a series of Dusara symbols all facing east. This condition in connexion with the peculiar

<sup>1</sup> For the topography of Petra consult the map in CANAAN: *Studies in the Topography and Folklore of Petra*, 1930.

<sup>2</sup> *Petra I*, p. 239: „Weiter unten, ein Stück vor der Einmündung des *wādi el-turra*, wo die rechte Talwand eine Wendung nach Südwest macht, sieht man schon aus der Ferne in der Höhe ein nach Osten gerichtetes Felsenband mit einer ganzen Reihe von sakralen Objekten“ (Pfeileridole, Nischen und Nischenbassins. Abb. 176—8).

situation gives the terrace the character of a holy site. KENNEDY,<sup>1</sup> recognizing the situation writes: "The *siyāgh* itself contains signs of cult in several places. On the right bank are several series of niches, blocks, basins etc., which Dr. DALMAN considers worthy of inclusion among holy places. One of these is represented in fig. 142. Adjoining this, on the same terrace above the bottom of the water-course, is the long line of plain rock chambers of fig. 63, which may well represent the lodging places of those who had to attend the local ceremonials". Probably we have to turn the matter round. The inhabitants first cut their houses in the rock and at some later period the holy places arose. Possibly the terrace of this locality with many dwelling places around it, which were densely populated, had been a public holy place well adapted for their religious ceremonies.

A very narrow ravine, *sidd el-Ma'ājin*, on the eastern slope of the Petra valley, running east-west, is another type of the same sort of cult places. It was also described by DALMAN.<sup>2</sup> Here are no rock-cut houses on the slopes of the *sidd* and the ravine had apparently never been inhabited, as it is very narrow and may be crossed only with great difficulty. At some spots the rain waters collect and last even during the dry season, while after a heavy rainstorm the ravine changes into a roaring stream. Nevertheless more than a hundred Dusara and other holy symbols are carved here on both sides of the perpendicular rock walls. Unfortunately time and space do not permit the study of these most interesting symbols, which illustrate a part of the religious history of the pre-Islamic Arabs. The great number of Dusara symbols indicate clearly the character of the cult practised in that mysterious gorge, where the sun light shines above on the surrounding mountain tops in all its splendour, while the gorge itself below remains in shadow and gloom.

DALMAN thinks that the reason for the great number of holy symbols in this ravine is the gushing forth of water from the mountains above. He writes:— „Besonders große Nischen finden sich

<sup>1</sup> Sir ALEXANDER B. W. KENNEDY, *Petra, its History and Monuments*, (1925), p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> *Petra I*, p. 308–314. No photographs but a plan of the sanctuary; Abb. 254: Heiligtum von *sidd el-ma'ājin* Nr. 553–664 and 20 drawings representing some of the niches and symbols carved into the vertical rock walls.

in einer domartigen Erweiterung kurz vor einer Verengung der Klamm auf  $\frac{1}{2}$  m., welche weitere Durchkletterung verhindert. Eine nabatäische Inschrift befindet sich rechts nahe dem Eingang. Die Peträer haben wohl das Hervorbrechen des Wassers aus der Klamm mit frommem Schauer betrachtet und eine besondere Manifestation der Gottheit an dieser Stätte geglaubt". Most probably the reason is the same as for the previously mentioned Dusara-terrace, namely the sun cult. We know that the Nabataeans were sun worshippers and that their main deity, Dusara, was the sun god.

As one passes up the ravine from west to east facing the rising sun, the gorge gets narrower and at the same time darker. Reaching a round enlargement with a natural roof formed by the overhanging rock, one stands in a natural church or cathedral, where in front of the observer the sun breaks through from the east with his bright rays illuminating the whole rotunda. Just here the largest and finest niches and Dusara symbols were carved in the rock around the whole rotunda.<sup>1</sup> Another narrow gorge on the eastern part of the Petra valley running in an east and west direction, is the famous *sīq*, the main approach to the valley, which was paved in the heyday of Petra's prosperity. There are also a large number of holy reliefs and symbols, especially Dusara signs, carved in the vertical rock walls.<sup>2</sup>

Remembering the difficulty, mentioned by the present writer in *JPOS*. vol. XI, p. 226, in making a distinction between a place of occasional cult and that of a real sanctuary, it may be questioned whether these symbols are due to the piety of the large number of travelling Nabataeans, who through many centuries have passed in the shadow of the cleft, or if the reason for the symbols (about 60 in number) is the same as with these at the Dusara terrace and at *Sidd el-Ma'ājin* – namely the peculiar character of the place which is well adapted for the sun cult.

<sup>1</sup> At this and the other places of *Sidd al-Ma'ājin* the rushing water from the time of the Nabataeans until the present day has worn the rock away to a depth of about one meter, the bottom of the gorge being now about a meter deeper than at the time when the cuttings on the vertical rock sides were made. This action of the water (1 m = about 1800 years) does not apply to all ravines. In the *sīq* the water flow has on the contrary filled up some place with sand and stones.

<sup>2</sup> DALMAN, *Petra I*, p. 143–156 (*es-Sīk*).

*Siq el-bārid.* The Bārid gorge runs in the same direction (west-east). This romantic place is at present completely desolate, inhabited only by lizards and snakes. Yet in bygone times it was a street with houses on both sides. Many of these houses counted several stories excavated in the living rock. According to KENNEDY the lofty rock walls on either side exhibit "an elegant array of ornamented and plain façades — temples, offices, residences, ware-houses and reservoirs". He finds there also some high places.<sup>1</sup> For DALMAN this gorge was „nicht ein Stapelplatz für Händler, sondern sie erhält eine Gruppe von Heiligtümern, die ja auch die Führer von Karawanen aufgesucht haben mögen“.<sup>2</sup>

The Mond Expedition was able to visit this curious gorge three times and we agreed that the rock carved chambers and halls were most likely profane, private and public houses. The Dusara symbol often found here, indicates that this little village or caravan station, the first on the northern caravan-route, originated in the time of the Nabataeans. But none of the rock carved rooms or halls could with certainty be designated as a place of cult. No high places were discovered either here or in the environs.

The western entrance to *sīq el-Bārid*, which is only about three metres broad, is blocked up by a large rock, levelled on its sides. Mr. G. HORSFIELD explains this interesting monument as a Dusara symbol. Like the above mentioned Dusara terrace of *es-Siyāgh* gorge, this monument faces east and thus the rising sun. It is situated about 35–40 m. above the bed of the gorge and the first rays of the rising sun shine at it at a time when the gorge below is wrapt in darkness. About 80 steps, each about 2 m. broad, lead up from the bed of the gorge to the Dusara monument. These steps are all hewn in the living rock. About 20 of them are now damaged. The front base of the monument with 5 steps is about 5 m. long, while the monument itself measures about 2 m. in breadth, 5 m. in height and 13 m. in length from East to West. A very narrow passage, allowing only a single person to pass with difficulty, is left on each side of the Dusara rock, i.e. on the northern and southern sides. The passages are partly natural and partly artificial. Hammer marks and small niches cut into the vertical walls

<sup>1</sup> I. c., pp. 17–18, figs. 55–57.

<sup>2</sup> *Petra* I, p. 347–353. Abb. 315–321; *Petra* II, p. 42–44, Abb. 37.

of the passages are still to be seen. On the upper surface and middle part of the Dusara stone runs from east west a channel, about 10 cms. broad and 50-150 cms. deep. There is a cross pipe of which at present only the northern half is visible. The partly damaged front forms a figure resembling the usual Dusara symbol. A fine outlook to the east and to the rising of the sun, which the monument faces, would be in accordance with the sun cult. The dark sides of then arrow cleft make a vivid contrast (Pls. X-XI). To this type of cult places may be added some other localities showing several holy symbols cut into the rock. In most cases it is difficult to decide whether or not they are real cult places. (cf. *JPOS*, XI, 1931, p. 226). Among the localities in the mountains south and east of the Petra Valley, which DALMAN describes as sacred (*Petra I*, p. 103-139) is „Das Klammheiligtum“ (o.c., p. 137-9). It is certainly not a cult place, but represents ordinary secular rock carved houses. While most of the rock-cuttings in the eastern mountains on both sides of the entrance to the Petra valley (p. 103-115) are tombs, there are some places which must have enjoyed some measure of sanctity. Such are:- the „Adlerschlucht“ (p. 115-17), some places below the mountain *Umm el-Biyāra* on the western side of the valley (p. 226-9), besides other localities with numerous holy symbols.

*El-Medras* (p. 117-37) must have been in some way sacred to the god Dusara, because this deity is called in one of the Medras inscriptions "the god of Medras", *ilah medrasa*. On the summit of the mountain *el-Hubīyah* east of the valley, (DALMAN, p. 332-6, Abb. 301-4), a Dusara symbol one metre high, facing east and thus the rising sun, is carved in the polished vertical side of the rock, and is framed with a little rock carved court, which, having no altar, unjustly has been regarded as a "high place" (compare the literature by DALMAN, l.c.).

All the above described rock cuttings represent holy symbols, and the place where they are to be found may be called holy places or places of cult, because they have no profane, utilitarian purpose. On the other hand one misses in all of them a real altar and other arrangements for offerings. They are therefore places of cult, but not places for sacrifice, nor shrines.

The offering of sacrifices on the altar was the most important

ceremony in the ancient Semitic cult. We know of no religious cult of any Semitic people not connected with altars or places for sacrifice. If therefore the above mentioned symbols bear witness to the sun cult, we have also to expect altars for offerings to the sun god, at least a big national sanctuary to this deity, like the Nabataean sun sanctuaries in Ḥaurān.

STRABO (cap. 784) writes that "they (i.e. Nabataeans) honour the sun, setting up an altar on the house, offering daily libation on it using frankincense"<sup>1</sup> and SUIDAS knows of a Nabataean Dusara temple at Petra, apparently a real walled house, "*oikos*" with much gold and offerings.<sup>2</sup> Excavations in the ruins of the walled city in the Petra valley would certainly bring such a walled Dusara sanctuary to light.

It is well known that Dusara was a sun god. This fact explains the solar orientation of these places of cult. From the pre-Islamic Arabic inscriptions, we know also *why* the Nabataeans worshipped the sun. The inhabitants of Arabia prior to the Christian era worshipped the moon god as their main deity, while the northern and agricultural countries (Egypt, Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia) honoured the sun god. The northern Arabic tribes who through their commercial connexions were in continual contact with the North Semitic civilization, acquired the same together with the religion of the Northern Semites.<sup>3</sup>

The different phases of this process which can be studied in detail in the sculpture and Aramaic inscription from the oasis Teima in northern Arabia (5. century B.C.) among the Safathenes, Nabateans and other north Arabic peoples, are of interest not only to the specialist but also of importance for the knowledge they afford of a remarkable evolution in universal and biblical history.

<sup>1</sup> ήλιον τιμῶσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος ιερωσάμενοι βωμόν σπένδοντες ἐν ἀωτῷ καθ' ἡμέραν καὶ λιβανωντίζοντες.

<sup>2</sup> ὁ δέ οἶκος ἄτας εστὶ πολύχρονος καὶ ἀναθήματα πολλά Suidae lexicon recogn. IM. BEKKER, Berolini 1854, p. 502 sub θεὸς Ἄρης.

<sup>3</sup> R. DUSSAUD, *Les Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam*, Paris, 1907, D. NIELSEN, *Der dreieinige Gott in religions-historischer Beleuchtung*, Copenhagen, 1922, pp. 130—136, 200 and passim, *Handbuch der altarabischen Altertumskunde*, Copenhagen, 1927, p. 40, 48, 238—241, *Altarabische und Nordsemitische Religion*. ST. H. LANGDON, *Semitic Mythology*, chap. I, p. 1—87, (especially p. 15) in the *Mythology of all Races*, vol. V, *Semitic*, Boston, 1931.

Like other north Semitic people the Israelites were originally *Arabs* who moved to Palestine and had partly undergone the same evolution which can be followed through the whole Old Testament.

With the Nabateans this evolution had made great progress by the time they had settled in Petra. Their script and literary language was no more Arabic, but North Semitic, (Aramean), and the same influence can be noticed in their sculpture and religion. The Nabatean sun- (*Dusara*-) cult is not genuine Arabic but a foreign element like their script, literary language, and the style of their sculptures. We have enough evidence to prove that the moon cult has dominated the Northwestern corner of Arabia and the Sinai peninsula from the 2nd millenium B.C. to some centuries after the time of Christ. The Nabataean sun cult at Petra in the last centuries B.C. and in the first century A.D. is merely a little island or peninsula of sun cult in a district of wide-spread moon cult.

Unfortunately we have no exact historical information about the original home of the Nabataeans, but we know the important fact that they were *Arabs*. Their proper names are pure Arabic names and many elements in their culture attest their nomadic Arabic origin. Like other Arab trading peoples they came probably<sup>1</sup> from the Arabian peninsula as a nomadic tribe, and about the middle of the first millenium B.C. they pushed the Edomites northwards from Petra and its surrounding mountains. One has therefore to reckon with the possibility that the sun (-*Dusara*) worship is a later and secondary step in their religion and that they were originally moon worshippers like other south Semitic or Arabian peoples. Many relics of this religion,—also the frequent appearance of the crescent among their holy symbols—point in this direction.

## VI.

B. *Places of cult generally orientated west on the summits of the mountains ("High Places") with a real altar as centre of the sanctuary and other arrangements for offerings but without symbols or inscriptions.*

Examples of this kind are:

- 1) a high place in the western side of the mountain *al-Habis*,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the article „*Sabäer und Minaer*” in the handbook *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd ed., Bd. V.

- 2) a place of cult on the *Mēsrah* hills,
- 3) a place of cult on the *Matāḥah* ridge,
- 4) the famous high place of *zibb 'Aṭūf*,
- 5) other more or less doubtful sanctuaries, mentioned by several scholars and minutely described by DALMAN.<sup>1</sup> To these examples one or two primitive places of cult, not known before, may be added and the description of those already known can be corrected in some points. Yet such considerations are of minor importance as compared with the question of the *age* and *origin* of this kind of cult places, which question plays a great rôle in the discussion of the character of the primitive Semitic cult.

A few words ought to be said about this question though one has to remember that no inscriptions or symbols throw any light upon the origin of these rock hewn constructions.<sup>2</sup> Some scholars

<sup>1</sup> Such are:-

- 1) *Petra I*, Zweites Heiligtum von *al-Habis*, p. 232-9 (Westheiligtum).
- 2) Drittes Heiligtum von *el-meṣāra* p. 287-93. (DALMAN's „Erstes Heiligtum von *El-meṣāra*“ is very questionable. The “steps” which he mentions on p. 284 „wohl erkennbare Stufen“ could not be found by the present writer. His second sanctuary „Zweites Heiligtum von *el-meṣāra*“ p. 285-287 may eventually have been a place of cult, but is now partly spoiled. The fourth, „Viertes Heiligtum von *el-meṣāra*“ p. 293-8 is merely an ordinary dwelling place, while the fifth „Fünftes Heiligtum von *el-meṣāra*“ p. 298-9, is perhaps a very primitive rock altar).
- 3) „Erstes Heiligtum von *el-meṣāha*“ p. 300-3 (DALMAN's third and fourth sanctuaries here are doubtful).
- 4) *Zibb 'Aṭūf*, p. 157-183.

<sup>2</sup> Here the present writer has to correct himself. In my pamphlet “The site of the Biblical Mount Sinai”, 1928, (Offprint from the *JPOS*, VII, 1927, pp. 187-208), published after my first short visit to Petra, 1927, I mention some religious symbols on a rock near the high place on the western side of *el-habis*, “some of which are so indistinct that it may be doubtful whether they really are carved symbols or merely natural inequalities of the rock: but a triangular bull's head with the half moon above it is quite distinct”, p. 16 [200], cf. fig. 4, opposite p. 10 [194]. Members of the Mond Expedition in 1929 carefully examined these symbols with me and agreed that they all, including the curious bull's head, were natural formations.

The two pillars crowned by new moons mentioned on the same page, cf. fig. 1 opposite p. 8 [192], could not (after a renewed examination in 1929) be attributed to the high place on *Zibb 'Aṭūf*, but apparently are later work. It

guess at a Nabataean, some at an Edomitic and again others at a pre-Edomitic or Midianitic origin.<sup>1</sup> The bulk of the rock constructions at Petra are certainly of Nabataean origin. It is an obvious conclusion therefore that the high places at Petra originated also in the Nabataean time. If such an assumption be true, it still remains unintelligible why none of the well known Nabataean symbols or inscriptions are met with in high places, as is the case with all other Nabataean rock constructions. The Nabataeans at Petra, who were even in their earliest and still uncivilized period a mercantile nation, must have had early acquaintance with primitive symbols and writing. According to DIODOROS<sup>2</sup> they sent during the 4th century B.C. a letter to Antigonus, written in Aramaic characters. Moreover, it is to be remembered that similar cult-places or high-places have not yet been found in any other Nabataean settlement. The Haurān was penetrated rather late by them, probably in the first cent. B.C. Among the Nabataean ruins of this region no sanctuaries, like the Petra highplaces, have been found. Natural conditions have perhaps not favoured the erection of rock constructions in Haurān as in Petra. But north of Petra (in *el-Bārid*), to the south of it and on both sides of the ‘Aqaba gulf, as well as on the caravan route to Medina (in *el-Hidj̑r* and *el-‘Uld̑*) where we find Nabataean inscriptions and settlements with the same kind of rock constructions (tombs with façades, caves, houses, Dusara-and other holy symbols, as well as Nabataean places of cult) carved in

may be even doubtful whether the two big obelisks there, situated in the middle of the large quarry south of the high place rather far away from it, have any connection with the sanctuary (cf. p. 199 of this report).

<sup>1</sup> GRESSMANN in the handbook *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vol. IV, p. 1404, article "Petra", says: „Die Heiligtümer, von denen einzelne noch in die midianitische Zeit reichen mögen, die jedoch ihrer größten Zahl nach von den Nabatäern stammen, liefern das beste Anschauungsmaterial für die alt-semitischen Volksreligionen, insbesondere auch für die altisraelitischen und kanaanäischen ‚Höhen‘ Israels“. Cp. also the article "Sela" and "Sanctuary" in HASTINGS' *Bible Dictionary* and now G. L. ROBINSON: *The Sarcophagus of an ancient Civilization*, New York, 1930, pp. 133 and 151; ALBRIGHT in the introduction p. 14. [This book the present writer was able to use only in the foot notes, as it was published after he had finished his manuscript].

<sup>2</sup> DIODORUS SICULUS, XIX 96: δι δε Νάβατοι . . . πρὸς δ' Ἀντίγονον ἐπιστολὴν γράψαντες οὐραῖοις γράμμασι. All the Nabataean inscriptions are in Aramaic [Syriac] language and script.

the same soft sandstone of the mountains—no high places like the Petraean have been found hitherto.

On the so-called Sinai peninsula, especially in the southwestern corner at the mountains *Jabal Sirbāl* and *Jabal Mūsa*, several thousands of Nabataean inscriptions, (*graffiti*) give evidence of Nabataean activity in these parts of the peninsula. The inscriptions,—apparently the latest of the Nabataean kind—seem to date from the first centuries A.D. They were carved in the clefts of the rocks on both sides of the *wādis* and originate, according to MORITZ, in Nabataean mountain sanctuaries in the open air. If this view should be confirmed<sup>1</sup> we have most likely a sort of holy place to be classified under class A of Petra. But no sanctuaries like those of class B have so far been found there.<sup>2</sup>

At *Madiama*, on the eastern side of the gulf of ‘Aqaba, (now called *magħāiyir Shu‘aib* (the Caves of Jethro) BURTON found the ruins of a Nabataean settlement in the mountains showing the same Nabataean tombs, with the same façades worked in the same style as in Petra and carved in a similar soft sandstone. Yet no high

<sup>1</sup> The present writer has not visited the place himself and the literature does not give exact information as to the existence of holy symbols, orientation and other particulars.

<sup>2</sup> *Corpus Inscript. Semiticarum*, pars secunda, tomus I, Parisiis, 1902, Caput VIII, p. 349–486, Numero 490–1471, tomus II p. 1–25, No. 1472–3233. (Note the map opp. to p. 352).

B. MORITZ, *Der Sinaikult in heidnischer Zeit* (Abhdlg. d. kgl. Ges. d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Phil.-hist. Klasse, N. F., Bd. 16, No. 2, p. 1–64, Berlin, 1916, p. 6: „Die Inschriften sind aber nicht planlos über Täler und Berge zerstreut, sondern gruppieren sich bei näherem Zusehen um zwei Kristallisationspunkte, die beiden Bergmassive des Serbal und des heutigen Sinai, Gebel Mūsa u. z. derart, daß sie sich mehr an den Zugangsstraßen zu diesen beiden Punkten in den Tälern und Schluchten finden als an den Bergen selbst. Weitaus der größere Teil der Inschriften, mehr als  $\frac{2}{3}$ , gehören zur Serbalgruppe und nur ein kleiner zu dem Sinai-Gebel Mūsa“. p. 32: „Unter den bisher bekannt gewordenen ca. 2600 Inschriften haben sich nur fünf datierte gefunden“ (from the time between 149 and 253 A.D.). According to JULIUS EUTING, *Sinaitische Inschriften*, Berlin, 1891, p. xi–xii, those Nabataean graffiti originate not from pilgrims visiting a holy place but from herdsmen tending their flocks. MORITZ thinks they are written by pilgrims, *l. c.*, p. 31: „Es darf nach alledem kein Zweifel mehr sein, daß die Inschriften nicht von gewöhnlichen wandernden Beduinen oder Karawanenleuten herrühren ... sondern von Reisenden, die ein religöser Zweck hierher geführt hat.“

places or places of cult, such as would belong to class B (Petra) are met with.<sup>1</sup>

The Nabataean settlement in the mountains at *el-Hijr* is like the Petraean, yet en miniature. There one finds the same Nabataean inscriptions mentioning the same kings and gods as in Petra, similar niches with the same symbols, similar rooms, halls and tombs with their façades are carved in the same soft sandstone.<sup>2</sup> Yet no high places like those in Petra are found at *el-Hijr*.<sup>3</sup>

Furthermore to the south and on the above mentioned caravan route, there was in ancient times a trading place of the same kind *el-Ulā*, (Dedan). Minaean and Lihyan ruins and inscriptions tell that it belonged formerly to the possession of these people. Nabataeans have later visited the place and left on the rocks some Nabataean graffiti and a couple of real inscriptions dating from the beginning of the third and fourth centuries A.D. respectively. But there are no high places there.<sup>4</sup>

All these facts speak against the theory that the Nabataeans constructed the famous high places at Petra. Of course one could

<sup>1</sup> R. F. BURTON, *The Land of Midian*, vol. 1–2, London, 1879, vol. 1, p. 101–111, p. 102–103: "catacombs . . . are hollowed in the soft new sandstone . . . Cornice of hard sandstone . . . evidently rude and barbarous form of the artistic catacombs and tower-tombs that characterize Petra and Palmyra". p. 110: "The group numbers three, all cut in the normal sandstone". p. 111: "This ruined Madiana . . . is evidently the capital of Madyan Proper, ranking after Petra. In one point it is still what it was, a chief station upon the high way, then Nabati, now Moslem, which led to the Ghōr or Wādy el'Araba" (two pictures of the tombs).

<sup>2</sup> DALMAN, *Petra II*, p. 19: „Es wird dabei bleiben müssen, daß die etwa 50 Fassaden von *el-hegr* sich zu den 530 von Petra verhalten wie ein Ableger vom Baum“, *Petra I*, p. 267 . . . „In Wirklichkeit weiß *el-hegr* auf Petra zurück“.

<sup>3</sup> JAUSSEN-SAVIGNAC: *Mission archéologique en Arabie I*, Paris, 1909, Chap. II. Monuments religieux, p. 405: "Nous avons vainement cherché à Medain-Šâleḥ un sanctuaire dans le genre du haut-lieu de Pétra. Peut-être les hauteurs environnantes en cachent-elles un; en tout cas, nous ne pensons pas qu'il en existe dans le massif même du Heger, ni du côté de Gebel Hūcireh. Le grand sanctuaire de Hegrā paraît avoir été le Diwan." — The monuments which can be dated seem to be from the latest centuries B.C. and the first century A.D.

<sup>4</sup> JAUSSEN-SAVIGNAC: *Mission*, II, Paris 1914. Inscription nabatéennes, p. 187–235. p. 233: Au début du quatrième siècle, longtemps après l'absorption du royaume de Nabatène, il existait donc encore à El-'Elā une population faisant usage de l'écriture et de la langue nabatéenne".

reckon with the possibility that the high places at Petra originated perhaps in the earliest period of this nation and were the work of the first rather uncivilized inhabitants of Petra who had at that time another religion and another cult, of which religion no traces are to be found now at any other Nabataean place. Yet there is another fact which speaks against such a conclusion. Large quarries have spoilt the entrance to some high places, or even the high places themselves, as may be seen on the mountains of Habis, M̄eṣarah, Hublāh and partly on Zibb Aṭūf. These quarries originate from the Nabataean and not from the Roman period, for on the polished and perpendicular rock walls of such quarries one may still see Nabataean symbols, inscriptions and even tomb façades. If these high places were of Nabataean origin or the work of their ancestors they would surely have been more respected.

The most probable conclusion, therefore, is that these high places originated in pre-Nabataean times and were already in existence at Petra before the Nabataean invasion of Wādi Mūsa. Whenever the Nabataeans were in need of stones for their buildings they resorted to the mountains sometimes even to the ancient high places of these mountains.

Of course, the possibility cannot be denied that the best preserved of them, especially the large high places of Zibb Aṭūf have also been used in Nabataean times according to the wellknown Semitic practice: *Cujus regio hujus religio*. The Israelites also followed this principle. For after conquering Palestine they took over the local cult and continued practising it on the ancient high places, though in later times they destroyed some of the high places in Palestine.

The ancient high place on the M̄eṣara ridge is an excellent proof of our theory. It has been spoilt in part by some later Nabataean stone quarriers. The sanctuary is described by DALMAN, *Petra I*, p. 287–293 under „Drittes Heiligtum von el-M̄eṣara“ in the following way: „Das soeben beschriebene Heiligtum ist das bemerkenswerteste Beispiel für Heiligtümer dieser Art in Petra. Trotz des teilweisen Verfalls einiger Kammern ist es in allen wichtigen Teilen vollständig erhalten. Auch das Gottheitssymbol (der Altar) fehlt nicht. Die natürliche Anordnung seiner Teile, welche es vor dem Heiligtum von Zibb Aṭūf voraus hat, gibt ihm ein volkstümliches Gepräge und zeugt für seine typische Bedeutung“ (p. 291–3).

„Vollständig erhalten“ can be applied at present only to the centre of the sanctuary. It is situated on a sort of rectangular rock peninsula protruding from the M̄esarah ridge into the Wādī al-Hiṣeh.<sup>1</sup> On three sides of this peninsula enormous stone quarries at a height of about 40–50 m. have partly destroyed the rock. The vertical sides of the masses fell down to the bottom of the valley. The quarries have made a deep incision into the north-eastern side of the sanctuary, which DALMAN describes on pp. 285–7 (zweites Heiligtum von *el-m̄esara*). This holy site may be regarded as the remains of a high place (vide p. 192 note 1). The excavation into the rock has destroyed the beginning as well as 15 running metres of the steps in the middle part of the rock-carved way, which leads up to DALMAN's Third Sanctuary.

The same enormous quarries have destroyed the rock with the ascent to this high place situated north east of the peninsula, forming a yawning gulf between the high place and the rock constructions on the northeastern ridge (DALMAN's Viertes Heiligtum). A few metres northeast of the altar this quarry has left only an abyss with smooth, vertical sides, but nothing of the northeastern part of the high place or of the supposed entrance to it (Pl. XII, Fig 1). The writer has spent several days at the place, and a careful examination has resulted in the conclusion that the remaining part of the high place has not been spared because it was regarded as holy, but most likely because the stone of this part is too soft and therefore useless for dressing. The numerous still existing rockcarved caves and chambers surrounding the altar,—more numerous than at any other high place—are certainly due to the fact that the rock, especially in its southern part is of a soft sandstone, easy for excavations, but useless for building purposes. In many other cases, where the rock is of good quality, they have taken away the whole high place.

The high places found at present in the Petra mountains represent most likely only a small number of those which existed in pre-Nabataean times. At any rate all such quarries date from the Nabataean era. In the last mentioned case one may still see Naba-

<sup>1</sup> On the map by DALMAN, (*Petra I*, p. 290, Abb. 234) the compass-needle is not quite right. The altar does not face west, as on other high places, but following the natural line of the rock in front of it west-south-west. (See also p. 203 note 2).

The high places of Petra do not belong to the well-known ancient Arabian culture, which in pre-Christian times had its centre in Southern Arabia, and which has left inscriptions, ruins and other remains on the caravan route to Egypt, Palestine and Damascus.<sup>1</sup>

At *el-Ulā* and *el-Hidjr* north of Medina inscriptions and other remains give evidence of Minaean activity, but nothing of this sort has been found so far at Petra. Evidently the ancient land route went from Medina northwards via *el-Ulā* and *el-Hidjr* and most likely also via Ma'ān, and so east of Petra. This last station at present bears exactly the same name *ma'ān*, مَعْان which the ancient inscriptions used for the Minaeans *M'n*. Even the name *ma'ān musran* of the Minaean inscriptions, which is constantly employed for the Minaean colony in the north, has survived to the present day as *Ma'ān muṣriye* مَعْان مُصْرِيَّة, the name of the southern part of the present town of Ma'ān.

The Mond Expedition did not succeed in finding Minaean inscriptions in Ma'ān, but somewhere in the vicinity there must certainly have been a Minaean station. Petra, on the other hand, began at a later date to play an important rôle, namely when the port of 'Aqaba was established as the northern port of the sea route to South Arabia and India. Up to the present day nothing of Minaean character has been found in Petra. Not a single Minaean word or a characteristic letter of any of the ancient Arabic scriptures (Lihyanic, Thamudic, Safaitic), which were widely spread over the central and northwestern parts of Arabia, have been discovered in Wādī Mūsā.

The mountains of *el-Hidjr* are composed of exactly the same soft sandstone as that of Petra, which sandstone favours rock-cutting. As already stated, the Nabataeans inhabiting these places though they made numerous rock-constructions, yet they did not make a single high-place. The Minaeans too lived at *el-Hidjr*. But as no high-place has been so far discovered there, it seems that this type of cult was not a Minaean custom.

As there are no traces of any early Egyptian, Babylonian, Assyrian or Persian settlement in Petra, one comes to the conclusion

<sup>1</sup> *Handbuch der altarabischen Altertumskunde . . .* hsgb. von D. NIELSEN 1. Bd  
*Die altarabische Kultur*, Paris, Kopenhagen, Leipzig 1927



Fig. 1. The ravine *es-Siyāgh*



Fig. 2. The Dusara terrace, looking north, with a Bedūl family.

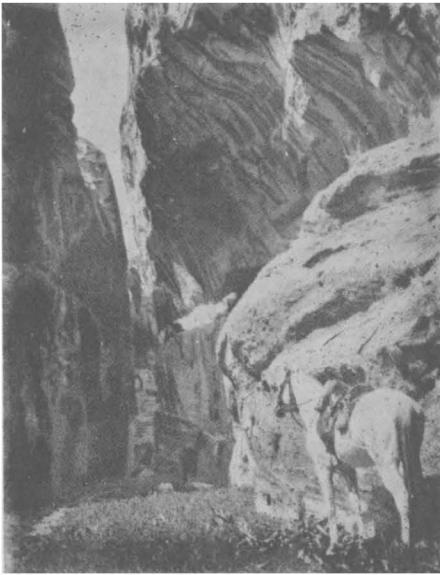


Fig. 1. The western part of *Siq el-Bārid*, looking west.



Fig. 2. The broken staircase leading up to the monument, looking west.

Pl. XI.



Fig. 1. The monument on the top, looking west.



Fig. 2. View of *Siq el-Bidid* as seen from the top of the Monument, looking east.

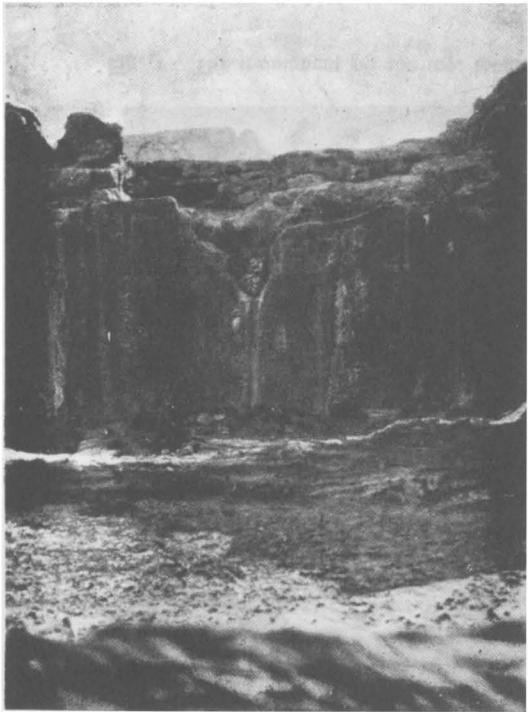


Fig. 1. The north-eastern side of the rock promontory in *el-m'Esarah* with the remnants of the sanctuary (DALAMN's "Third Sanctuary of *el-m'Esarah*").



Fig. 2. Quarry in the plateau of the high place *al-Habis*, looking north.



Fig. 1. Rest of the high place on *al-Habis*. (before unearthing its surroundings; looking west).



Fig. 2. Altars on *Zibb Atūf* with three steps, looking west.

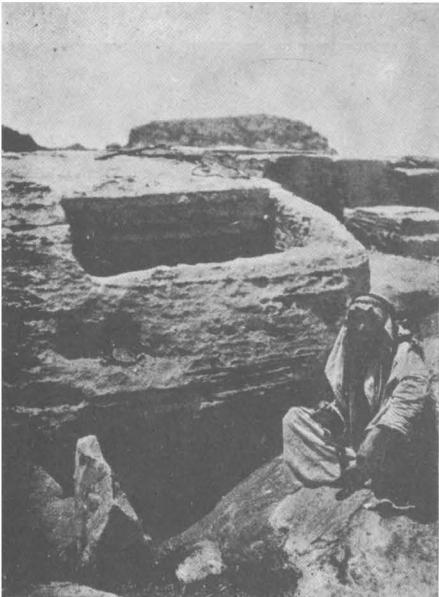


Fig. 1. Digging east of the altars on Zibb 'Atūf.



Fig. 2. Bedūl family.

that its high places – at any rate the oldest amongst them – are the remains of a rather primitive local cult of a remote time.

During the reign of the Nabataeans Petra was on a world trade route as were many other places in Arabia, which are now completely deserted. Flourishing trade brought riches into the barren mountains of Petra and transformed the rocky colony into a pulsating commercial emporium. This period was merely a prosperous interlude in the history of the place. Before that time Petra was what it is nowadays – a singular place which must have always played some rôle in the history of this region. The innumerable caves in the rocks afford a shelter to the Beduins and their flocks. The place possesses several springs<sup>1</sup> and is a natural refuge and a stronghold against enemies as a long and narrow chasm is the only entrance to the valley.

KENNEDY mentions flint implements found at Petra.<sup>2</sup> The Mond Expedition found others and future explorers may certainly find still other remains from a very early time.<sup>3</sup>

At present the Bedouins from far away make pilgrimages to the spring of Moses (*'Ain Mūsa*), to Mount Hor (*Jabal Hārūn*) and to other holy places in the neighbourhood of Petra to offer their sacrifices. This cult is nowadays covered with a thin Moslem varnish and adorned with biblical legends, yet contains very old pagan elements.<sup>4</sup> On the mountain *Serabit el-Khādem* in the Sinai peninsula Sir FLINDERS PETRIE found remains of a very ancient hill

<sup>1</sup> Cf. CANAAN, *Studies in the Topography and Folklore of Petra*, p. 32, Jerusalem, 1930.

<sup>2</sup> *Petra its History and Monuments*, p. 38, fig. 61 and 62 (two palaeolithic tools) "Reminders of a time far before that of the rock carvers."

<sup>3</sup> DALMAN, *Petra I*, p. 43: „Man wird Recht haben, mit JOSEPHUS an eine midianitische Vorgeschichte Petras zu denken.“

T. CANAAN, *Studies in the Topography and Folklore of Petra*, 1930, pp. 5–6: "While most place names are of Arabic origin, there are some which are doubtless earlier. Surely an analyses of such non-Arabic names would be of great interest, as it might throw some light on the past history of Petra."

<sup>4</sup> D. NIELSEN, *The Site of the Biblical Mount Sinai*, 1928, pp. 19–20.

T. CANAAN, *Studies &c.*, pp. 66–80 et passim. Remembering the Moslem abhorrence of cult places and any other thing from the heathen time (*al-jāhiliyya*) it is a matter of course that none of the ancient "high places" are now in use for sacrifice. CANAAN, *Studies*, pp. 77–78.

worship. "The earliest shrine here was doubtless the sacred cave in the highest point of rock towards the front of the plateau, apparently as early as the reign of Sneferu, 4750 B.C. From this the temple grew outward between 3450 and 1150 B.C."

"The locality itself shows the meaning. In front of the sacred cave, on the high place above the valleys around, there was a great burning continually repeated on thousands of occasions. The connection of this with the worship here is evident. This was a type of worship well known in later times as the popular worship of Palestine which all the efforts of the priestly party could not suppress for centuries (the well known Palestine "high place" cult)."

"To suppose that this was an Egyptian imported worship would be a crude misunderstanding. All the ritual that we can trace is Semitic and not Egyptian . . . We have here before us, then, a Semitic, cave shrine, older than the Mosaic system or any other worship known to us in Syria or Arabia . . . The essential features of Semitic worship are here shown in use earlier than in any other instance".<sup>1</sup>

According to this description we must suppose that the ancient Semitic high place on the top of the mountain 2680 feet above sea level, difficult of access on all sides, situated amidst wild upland scenery, was later supplemented by Egyptian buildings. The above mentioned dates show the great antiquity of high places in this part of Arabia, and the worship of the moon god *Sopd* and his goddess on this high place harmonizes with our knowledge of the ancient Arabic religion.<sup>2</sup> Even at a later time the ancient Arabic moon worship still survived in this remote corner of Arabia, for the Martyr Antonius describes a new moon festival at the traditional Mount Sinai in the 6th cent. of our era.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> FLINDERS PETRIE, *Researches in Sinai*, London, 1906, pp. 72, 100, 191-2.

<sup>2</sup> LINA ECKENSTEIN, *A History of Sinai*, London, 1921, Chapt. II. Sinai - Centre of Moon Cult, p. 12: "The monuments found in Sinai contain information which points to the existence of a moon worship there at a remote period of history"; p. 13-14: "The Egyptians associated their moon god with the moon worship of the peninsula." Chapt. III. The Sanctuary of Serabit, p. 26: "The divinity *Sopd* has no place in the older Egyptian pantheon, and it is to all appearance an Egyptianized divinity of Semitic origin."

<sup>3</sup> F. R. TUCK, *ZDMG* III, 1849, pp. 162-203. F. BAETHGEN, *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin, 1888, p. 105 f.

The name *Sin-ai* itself recalls in all probability the same moon cult, according to a theory advanced by A. H. SAYCE and FR. HOMMEL, *Sin* is a very old common Semitic name for the moon god, well known from the ancient Arabian and Babylonian inscriptions. Some survivals in the folklore of the Petra beduins, also remind one of this ancient moon religion.<sup>1</sup>

If the Petra high places originated in the pre-Nabataean time, most likely they would represent remnants from the same moon religion, which was widespread over the whole Arabic peninsula before the Christian era. Several features in their construction point in this direction. While the above mentioned Nabataean holy places of the sun cult have the same orientation or *qiblah* as other north-Semitic sun-sanctuaries and Christian churches, i. e. towards the east, against the rising sun, the high places of Petra show the opposite orientation, i. e. towards the west<sup>2</sup> and the rising new moon. The altar faces west. The steps leading to the altar are to the east of it, so that the priest faced west when offering sacrifice, as did the congregation behind him. These facts point to the well known worship of the new moon in the primitive Arabian moon religion, which has left its traces on that of the Jews and Moslems alike.

The Jewish and Moslem chronology is like that of the ancient heathen Arabs in the days of the ancient moon religion, based upon the changing phases of the moon and especially upon the appearance of the new moon in the western sky, which period denoted the beginning of the new month and gave the date for religious feasts and profane arrangements.

Everybody familiar with daily life in the East knows how important and at the same time how difficult it is to ascertain the exact day of the appearance of the new moon and thus the beginning of a new month.<sup>3</sup> This difficulty may account for the situation of the

<sup>1</sup> CANAAN, *Studies*, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> The exceptional divergence in the *qiblah* in the high place at Meçesara, where the altar faces west-south-west instead of west, (see p. 197, note 1) has a natural reason.

<sup>3</sup> While at Cairo in March 1927, the present writer remembers the difficulty experienced by the local religious authorities in fixing the first day of Ramadān. In Syria the Mohammedans began their fasting one day before their brethren in Egypt, for the former had seen the new-moon one day before the latter.

high places on the top of mountains offering the best possible chance of discovering the often very faint light of the new moon. The moon sanctuary at *Ur*, like other Babylonian "Ziggurats" is „offenbar ein künstlich gebauter Berg“ for the same reason.<sup>1</sup> This consideration explains perhaps also the curious situation of the high place on the western side of Mount *Habis*. This sanctuary — apparently a very old and primitive one — faces a crescent-like cut in the western rocky ridge. Standing on this high place the present writer has often seen the moon in the centre of the aforesaid semicircular cut in the western mountains. The shape of this cut corresponds exactly with the disk of the moon. The new moon and the half moon lie horizontally in the Arabian sky.<sup>2</sup> From ancient Arabic inscriptions and monuments we know that in pre-Islamic and pre-Christian times a female sun-goddess, a male Venus deity and the principal male god, the moon, were worshipped as the holy Trias.<sup>3</sup> This trias of deities and the holiness of the number *three* may perhaps have been the reason why in all high places there are only three steps leading up to the Altar. At any rate the constant use of three steps is not accidental but has a dogmatical significance.

At the circular altar on the summit of Zibb 'Atūf the stone cutter, beginning his work from above, had cut the first two steps far too low. It would have been practical and very easy to correct

<sup>1</sup> D. NIELSEN, *Die altarabische Mondreligion*, Straßburg, 1904, p. 98—9; O. E. RAVN, *Acta Archaeologica*, I, 1, Copenhagen, 1930, p. 87: "These "ziggurats" — as a matter of fact not at all tower-like — we may most appropriately designate as temple-mountains, this being in conformity with the Babylonians themselves, whose names for these structures disclose them as compared to the mountains of nature, and not to towers or fortresses built by man . . . The temple-mountain at *Ur* is visible for miles and miles as a landmark in the southern desert." According to WOOLLEY the corners of the Ur-Ziggurat are oriented to the four cardinal points, like the sides of the altar and of the court behind it at the high places at Petra.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *The Site of the Biblical Mount Sinai*, p. 16 [200] figs. 2 and 5.

<sup>3</sup> D. NIELSEN: *Die südarabische Göttertrias*, Mélanges Hartwig Derenbourg, Paris, 1909, p. 187—195. *Die südarabischen Götter*, Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft, XIV, 1909, Heft 4, Leipzig, 1909, p. 50—60. *Die äthiopischen Götter*, ZDMG, vol. 66, 1912, p. 589—600. *Über die nordarabischen Götter*, Mitteilungen der Vorderasiat. Ges. XXI, 1916, pp. 253—265. *Zur alt-arabischen Religion*, Handbuch der altarabischen Altertumskunde, Bd. I. Copenhagen, 1927, Kap. 5, pp. 177—250, especially „*Die Gestirntrias*“ p. 213—234.

this mistake by making two or three further steps instead of the third very high one. But evidently he was not allowed to cut more than three steps. Thus the third one has the very unpractical and unusual height of 48 cms, while the others are only 12 and 13 cms high respectively, and the distance from the first and uppermost step to the platform above is even 10 cms.<sup>1</sup> (Pl. XIII, Fig. 2.

Although no steps whatsoever were needed for the square altar at Zibb 'Atuf, which is scarcely a meter high, there are three steps on its eastern side, leading up to the platform in front of the altar. In the high place on Me'ēsara and on Metāha, one finds also three completely unnecessary steps in a western direction, leading up to the altar. The same condition exists at the very old and weather-beaten altar on Habis.<sup>2</sup>

In this connection it might be worth noting, that in the cave sacred to the moon god at the high place on mount *Serabit el-Khādem* (see above p. 201) three steps "lead up to a round headed recess", probably the altar of the moon god. BERTRAM THOMAS has recently described in the opposite south-eastern corner of the Arabian peninsula a series of triliths, i.e. "three elongated blocks of undressed stone . . . about 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  feet high, standing on one end and leaning inwards with their tops touching to ensure stability", occasionally "enclosed by an elliptical line of small pebbles" apparently with some "sacrificial significance"<sup>3</sup>.

The general resemblance to the biblical high places, and of the striking conformity in details with the Temple at Jerusalem, where the original holy rock is still to be seen in the so-called Mosque of Omar,

<sup>1</sup> DALMAN, *Petra I*, p. 169: „Auffallend ist, daß die unterste Stufe mit 0,45 m Höhe fast die halbe Höhe der ganzen Treppe ausmacht. (In reality more). Die Ursache dieser unbedeuten Anlage ist nicht völlig klar. Es scheint, daß man Schalenvertiefung und Treppe nicht weit hinter die Frontlinie des Altars rücken wollte und andererseits durch das hier anzubringende Nischenbassin verhindert war, die Treppe weiter östlich beginnen zu lassen“. (This, however, does not explain the curious unequal height of the steps).

<sup>2</sup> DALMAN, *Petra I*, p. 234—5: „Die Stufen an der Vorderseite (des Altars) hatten keinen praktischen Zweck, da die weit zurückliegende höchste Stelle des „Altars“ sich nur 1,05 m über dem Fußboden befindet“.

<sup>3</sup> FLINDERS PETRIE, *Researches in Sinai*, p. 89. BERTRAM-THOMAS, *Among some unknown Tribes in South Arabia* (Journal of the Royal Anthrop. Institute, vol. LIX, 1929, p. 107).

(Dome of the Rock), as well as the description of the Ark of the Covenant (especially in its westward orientation) and of the biblical Mount Sinai, lies beyond the scope of this brief account and must be postponed for a later publication. Many other problems are connected with the famous high places at Petra,<sup>1</sup> and surely further investigations and excavations will throw more light on the obscurity still prevailing with regard to these venerable old places of cult.

The Mond Expedition was only able to make some preliminary excavations at the high places, but each digging there gave an interesting result. It has already been mentioned that a superficial digging at the high place an Habīs was sufficient to give a new idea of the character and age of this sanctuary. At Zibb 'Atūf a small excavation showed that the western part of the summit, containing the circular and square altar, formed originally a separate part of the sanctuary which later on was filled up with sand and earth. The original cleft between the altars and the court now lies on a level with the court. On the eastern side of the two altars, from the north to the south, there is a natural fissure in the rock expanding in breadth and depth to the south, measuring from 0.75 to 1.75 meter broad. To the south the cleft expands to a sort of basin barred by a cross wall of stones about 0.70 m broad and 2 metres long. All this was covered with earth, which contained Nabataean pottery. The same pottery was found in the big tank south of the sanctuary. Further excavations on the spot would possibly unveil other details which may throw some light on the very disputed origin and history of this famous sanctuary (Pl. XIV, Fig. 1).

Diggings on the northern side of the altar at the high place of Me'ēṣara showed that the altar had originally more or less the same shape as a Babylonian "ziggurat." The three stories are made of three cubes of different sizes, one lying above the other.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> E.g. if the altar was used for slaughtering, or burning the animal or for both purposes? The small curious raised platform in the court of the high place on Zibb 'Atūf is scarcely fit for a *mensa sacra* but to all appearances it was the ceremonial waiting and standing place for the animal to be sacrificed. This possibility is also mentioned by DALMAN, *Petra I*, 163.

<sup>2</sup> The uppermost one, much weathered, is according to DALMAN, *Petra I*, 289, "eine flache ovale Wölbung von etwa 1,10 m Durchmesser und 0,25 m Höhe . . . omphalosähnlicher Aufsatz, der als Gottheitssymbol gemeint sein muß", in reality it was a place for the sacrificial animal, the surface being concave.

## V. OTHER RESULTS OF THE EXPEDITION.

In the Museum at 'Ammān the writer copied a dozen of small, mainly Ṣafaitic inscriptions, which were incised on stones brought from the surrounding country. From Petra and the environs twenty other Nabataean inscriptions were copied or photographed.

In the Petra mountains we had often to deal with a curious tribe, the so-called *Bdūl*, already mentioned by another member of the expedition.<sup>1</sup> Strange to say, no other author has paid much attention to them. This poor tribe,—to all appearances a dying one numbering only about ten families—deserves more attention. The members of the *Bdūl* have neither camels nor horses, no tents nor houses, but live in the caves of the Petra mountains, tending their small flocks of black goats, their sole property. The most interesting feature of these very peculiar people is their religion. They are complete pagans. It is a well known fact that many of the beduin are but little affected by Islam. Yet, in general they profess it, know something of its tenets, and observe some of the Moslem rites. These facts hold good in the case of the tribe of the Liāthneh, the neighbours of the *Bdūls*. The Liāthneh possess the oasis Elgī, east of Petra. As they act as guides to Petra they are described in the Petra literature as Petra beduin. Yet the real beduin of Petra, the *Bdūl*, who live in the Petra mountains, and know every stone there, do not pretend to be Moslems and know practically nothing of this religion.

Several legends try to explain their origin, religion and name.<sup>2</sup> Some pretend that they are descendants of Jews driven out from Khaibar; others take them to be descendants of the Nabaateans; still others believe them to be even the descendants of the people who lived at Petra when Moses and the Israelites came to this place. But the very fact that the *Bdūls* are the sole people who have now their home at Petra, which played such an important rôle in antiquity, and that their religion remained unaffected by Islam and contains remnants of the ancient heathen Arabic religion deserves a more detailed study (Pl. XIV, Fig. 2).

<sup>1</sup> CANAAN, *Studies*, p. 80 et passim.

<sup>2</sup> Arabic *badala* = to change. *Bdūl* = the people who have changed their religion.

Attention may also be called to the most interesting service at the shrine of Aaron on Jabal Hārūn. This sanctuary itself has been already visited and described by several scholars, but none of our party was allowed to climb the holy mountain and see the shrine.

After the departure of Dr. CANA'AN some of our people (Muslims) made a pilgrimage to the Nabī Hārūn on mount Hor. They told us several particulars about the service there, which, afterwards supplemented by other information, gave an interesting picture of a very characteristic local cult, covered with a thin Moslem varnish, but nevertheless containing very ancient heathen elements.

DIE AUSGRABUNG EINES RÖMISCHEN KASTELLS  
AUF *CHIRBET EL-MINJE* AN DER VIA MARIS  
BEI ET-ṬĀBGHA AM SEE GENNESARETH

(Mit archäologischen und topographischen Bemerkungen  
zur Frage über Kapharnaum, Bethsaida, Gennesar und Dalmanutha)

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Die uralte *Via Maris* des Propheten Jesaias 8<sup>23</sup>, auf der schon Abraham aus Ur in Chaldäa nach Palästina kam und auf welcher in messianischer Zukunft die Offenbarung Gottes ihren Weg zu den Heiden finden sollte, führte von Babylonien und Mesopotamien nach Damaskus in Syrien, überquerte den Jordan bei dem *ğisr benāt Ya'kūb* und sandte eine Abzweigung hinüber nach Tyrus und Sidon. Die Hauptlinie zog durch das Stammgebiet von Naphtali an das „Galläische Meer“, von dem die Straße wahrscheinlich ihren Namen hat.<sup>1</sup> Sie erreichte den Strand auf dem deutschen Besitz *et-ṭābgha* gerade bei *dirbet el-minje*, zog dem Strand entlang bis *meğdel* (Magdala), um dann durch das *wādi el-hamām* über *dhān et-tuğgar* am Westfuß des Tabor vorbei über die Ebene Esdrelon nach *tell el-mutesellim* (Megiddo) und über den Karmel an die Küste des Mittelmeeres und dieser entlang nach Ägypten zu gelangen. Diese internationale Weltstraße des Altertums zog die Ufer des Sees in den Weltverkehr hinein und gab den hier sich abspielenden Tatsachen weltgeschichtliche Bedeutung. Besonders die kanaanitisch-israelitische Stadt Kinnereth (Jos. 19<sup>35</sup>; Deut. 3<sup>17</sup>), die ebenfalls auf dem zum deutschen Besitz gehörenden *tell el-‘orēme* lag und als älteste und wichtigste Stadt am See diesem seinen Namen gab, verdankt ihre Geschichte und Kultur in hohem Maße ihrer Lage an der ägyptisch-babylonischen Weltstraße. Auch für das öffentliche Leben Jesu am See hatte diese Verkehrsader zweifellos ihre Bedeutung. Im Besonderen dürfen die

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. G. A. SMITH, *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land*. London, 1910, p. 428 f., Matth. 4<sup>18.16</sup>.

drei großen Massenversammlungen bei der Bergpredigt, bei der Gleichnispredigt vom Schiffe aus und beim Wunder der Brotvermehrung (Matth. 5–7; 13; Joh. 6<sup>5–18</sup>) mit dem Verkehr auf der „Meeresstraße“ in Verbindung gebracht werden, auch wenn sich diese Ereignisse am Nordostufer des Sees zugetragen haben sollten.

Im Auftrag und mit Unterstützung der Görresgesellschaft und des Deutschen Vereins vom Hl. Lande habe ich mit Dr. A. SCHNEIDER, P. R. KÖPPEL S. J., P. J. TÄPPER C. M., dem Verwalter des *el-tâbgha*-Besitzes und Herrn O. PUTTRICH-REIGNARD, im Februar und März 1932 an verschiedenen Stellen des ausgedehnten Besitzes kleine Probegrabungen unternommen, die unerwartete Resultate zutage gefördert haben. In erster Linie ist es die Kirche der Brotvermehrung am „Siebenquell“ (Heptapegon), die wir freigelegt haben und über die Dr. A. SCHNEIDER eine schon im Druck befindliche Publikation geschrieben hat. – Hier soll ein vorläufiger Bericht über das römische Kastell folgen, das wir auf *dirbet el-minje* gefunden haben.

#### I. FRÜHERE GRABUNGEN UND FORSCHUNGEN AUF *dirbet el-minje*.

Am Südfuß des *tell el-orême* führt die alte Via Maris, für das Laienauge kaum mehr erkennbar, weil heute ganz verlassen und durch die weiter westlich liegende moderne Autostraße ersetzt, über eine kaum 2 m hohe Geländewelle von etwa 300 m ostwestlicher und 200 m nordsüdlicher Ausdehnung. Sie ist seit langer Zeit angebaut, im Übrigen mit einigen formlosen Steinhaufen, Geröllschutt und zahllosen, angeblich nur arabischen Scherben bedeckt. Das ist die berühmte, viel besuchte, oft besprochene und fast zu Tode beschriebene Ortslage *dirbet el-minje*.<sup>1</sup> Niemand würde heute mehr

<sup>1</sup> Prof. PROCKSCH, (*Palästina-Jahrbuch*, 1918, S. 16) will die Ruinenstätte von *el-minje* mit Dalmanutha des Mark. 8<sup>10</sup> (τὰ μέρη Δαλμανούθα) identifizieren und selbst den Namen *el-minje* aus Dalmanutha ableiten. Er beruft sich auf E. NESTLE, der in Dalmanutha die mißverstandene Wiedergabe eines aramäischen Wortes vermutete: In *dal* könne ursprünglich die Possessivbezeichnung enthalten sein, so daß nur *manutha* übrig bliebe und also der Landstrich von *manutha* gemeint sei. Wie etwa *Susitha* in *sûṣe*, so sei *manutha* in *minje* verwandelt worden. – Diese Ableitung hat schon K. FURRER behauptet; er schreibt in *ZDPV*. II, (1879), S. 62: „Nach all diesen Zeugnissen steht uns fest, daß Dalmanutha, abgekürzt Manutha, in Mensa latinisiert, in Minje oder Menje arabisiert wurde, und daß dieser Ort bei Chân Minje gelegen war.“ – CHRISTIE (*Studia Semitica et Orientalia*, 1920, S. 28) nimmt die Gleichung von neuem auf und erklärt den

diesem elenden Geländeckel Aufmerksamkeit schenken, wenn nicht viele Pilger und Forscher hier das biblische Kapharnaum, „die Stadt Jesu,“ oder Bethsaida, die Heimat von zwei bzw. fünf Aposteln gesucht hätten. Dieser Behauptung traten fast sämtliche Palästinologen der neuesten Zeit entgegen mit dem Hinweis, daß diese Ruinenstätte doch zu armselig sei, vor allem aber keinerlei vorarabische Reste enthalte und also eine Siedlung aus der Zeit Jesu ausschließe. Besonders englische und amerikanische Gelehrte, wie R. A. S. MACALISTER, E. W. G. MASTERMAN, GARROW, DUNCAN C. C. MACCOWN, W. F. ALBRIGHT, suchten das Gelände nach römischen Siedlungsspuren ab, erklärten aber immer wieder, daß nicht

Namen Dalmanutha aus dem aramäischen *da-limen-utha* für Kephar oder Migdol *d'limenuha*, d. h. „Dorf oder Stadt des Hafenplatzes“ mit der aramäischen Endung *utha* im griechischen Worte *λιμήν*. Ähnlich sei aus Ellauth die Form Ellautha für „Gottheit“ entstanden. Man erzähle überdies, daß bei niedrigem Wasserstande des Sees Mauern des Hafens sichtbar seien. Noch Rev. J. GARROW DUNCAN (*The Sea of Tiberias and its Environs*, PEP., QS., 1926, p. 21) hält an der Gleichung fest, nur mit dem Unterschiede, daß er den Namen *minieh* aus *limen-ijeh* verdorben sein läßt, das vom griechischen *λιμήν* = „Hafen“ stamme und mit der Endung -*ijeh* „den Platz von *minje*“ bedeute. Die Araber hätten später den Namen mißverstanden und den ersten Buchstaben *l* als Artikel aufgefaßt.

Andere Forscher leiten *el-minje* von der jüdischen Bezeichnung der Judenchristen als *Minim* ab (z. B. N. SEPP, *Neue hochwichtige Entdeckungen auf der zweiten Palästina-Fahrt*, München, 1896, I, S. 156/59). Andere betrachten es als Diminutivum vom arabischen *mina* = „Hafen“ und glauben, daß in der Bucht von ‘ain el-fine dieser Hafen liege (TRISTAM, *The Land of Israel*, 1864, p. 491 ff; FR. DELITZSCH, *Ein Tag in Capernaum*, Leipzig, 1873, S. 147: Die Benennung *diān el-minije* hänge mit dem Hafennamen *mina* zusammen = „Der Chān des Hafens.“ Nach einer Mitteilung des Konsuls Dr. WETZSTEIN werde der Chān von den Ein geborenen Chān el-ghuwēr und die Ruinen südlich davon *minet el-ghuwēr* (Hafen des kleinen *ghōr*) genannt und seien „unbedingt im Altertum eine Stadt“ gewesen. — V. GUÉRIN, *Galilée*, I, (Paris, 1880), p. 214; Noch B. MEISTERMANN, *Guide to the Holy Land*, London 1923, p. 539, und GARROW DUNCAN, l. c., p. 21, halten an der Ableitung des Namens *el-minje* von *el-mina* = „der Hafen“ fest.

Aber all diese Vorschläge verraten eine vollkommen Unkenntnis über das sonstige sehr häufige Vorkommen des Ortsnamen *el-minje* in Palästina und Ägypten, wie schon der arabische Geograph IDRISI uns zeigt (JAUBERT, *Géographie d'Edrisi* I, 531, s.). Eine *dirbet el-minje* gibt es z. B. auch bei *midje* (= Modin der Makkabäer), desgleichen bei *tekū'a* (= Thekoia, Heimat des Propheten Amos in der Gebirgswüste Juda). In Ägypten gibt es einige Hundert Orte, die den Namen *el-minje* führen; auch in Spanien ist er öfters nachweisbar. Er bedeutet: Villa, Landhaus, Gehöft, Weiler, kleines Dorf; in Spanien besonders: Garten,

einmal ein römischer Scherben zu finden sei. Selbst Grabungen und Untersuchungen im Jahre 1865 von CAPTAIN WILSON, dem ersten Ausgräber des Palestine Exploration Fund, und 1903 von MACALISTER, dem bekannten Ausgräber von Gezer, ergaben nur arabische Mauern und Siedlungsreste. Auch P. KARGE, der erste Stipendiat des Orientalischen Institutes der Görresgesellschaft in Jerusalem, hat 1911 mehrere arabische Häuser ausgegraben, aber nichts Römisches gefunden.<sup>1</sup> Damit schien dieser Platz wenigstens aus der Frage nach dem untergegangenen Kapharnaum oder Bethsaida für immer ausgeschaltet. Und heute wird Kapharnaum allgemein im 3 km entfernten *tell-hūm*, Bethsaida am Nordostufer des Sees bei *et-tell* gesucht. Aber wiederholtes sorgsames Absuchen des

Park. J. GILDEMEISTER, *ZDPV.* IV, (1880), leitet *el-minje* oder *el-munja*, das von den arabischen Lexikographen nicht aufgeführt wird, weil es kein altarabisches Wort ist, von dem koptischen, eigentlich griechischen *μόνη* = *mansio, habitatio statio navium* ab. Als Appellativ erfordert es einen Genitiv, den des Besitzers oder nahe gelegenen Ortes, oder ein Adjektiv, bis es endlich, wenn die Orte größer und bedeutender geworden, abgekürzt für sich allein gebraucht wird; wie *munjat ibn ḥaṣib* am Nil jetzt bloß *monje* oder *minje* heißt. Und wenn KAZWİNİ in seinem *Geographischen Lexikon* 145,22 (auch in den „*Wundern der Geschöpfe*“ 193,6) von einem *munjat hischām* im Landstrich von Tiberias in der Nähe der sieben Quellen erzählt, meint er damit zweifellos unser *el-minje*. Damit ist vielleicht der auf den Omajjaden-Chalifen Hischām (723/42 n. Chr.), der viele Landgüter besaß, zurückgehende Name gegeben. Die Verkürzung in bloßes *munja*, *minje*, lag um so näher, als hier eine Hauptstation der großen Karawanenstraße Damaskus—Kairo vorüberführte. Nach der Kreuzfahrerzeit war Tiberias, die früher größte Handelsstation am See, verfallen und an seine Stelle *el-munja* getreten, das *Chāl. ez-Zāhiri* um 1430 als großes stadtähnliches Dorf kannte.

Das spätarabische Fremdwort *munja*, *minje*, kann also nicht aus einer Form der in Palästina früher gesprochenen Dialekte erklärt und mit Dalmanutha zusammengestellt werden; dies um so weniger, als *manūta* und *menōto* unter sich gar nicht identisch sind und ersteres überhaupt kein syrisches Wort ist. — Aus diesem Grunde muß auch die Ableitung des Namens *el-minje* von *el-mīna* = der Hafen, an dem sprachlichen Tatbestand scheitern. Noch weniger läßt sich *el-mineh* mit GUÉRIN *l. c.*, als „petit port“ fassen; denn das arabische Diminutiv müßte doch *muweinā* lauten.

<sup>1</sup> C. WILSON, (*Recovery of Jerusalem*, London 1871, p. 350 f.) sagt: We made some small excavations in these (bei *ḥān* und *chirbet el-minje*) but did not succeed in finding the remains of any building of great size. The walls were rudely built and the fragments of pottery dug up appeared to be modern. (Vgl. CONDER-KITCHENER, *Survey of Western Palestine*, Mem. I, p. 403 f.). R. A. S. MACALISTER (*PEFQS.* 1907, p. 116) wehrt sich heftig gegen die Gleichung Kapernaum =

Geländes schon vor dem Kriege ergab mir soviel sichere Bau- und Keramikreste aus römischer und byzantinischer Zeit, daß ich es wagte, eine dritte Probegrabung dringend zu empfehlen. Das Resultat übertraf meine kühnsten Erwartungen.

## II. UNSERE PROBEGRABUNG IM FEBRUAR UND MÄRZ 1932.

Wir begannen die Grabungen am Westrand des Geländebeckens mit 50 Arbeitern, die wir bald auf 90 steigerten. Es waren meist Beduinen, die für 7–9 Piaster (heute gleich 1 Mk. bis 1,50 Mk.) 12–14 Stunden täglich schafften. Frauen und Mädchen, die den Schutt in Körben auf dem Kopfe wegtrugen, bekamen 5–6 Piaster. Eine Feldbahn mit zwei Wagen beschleunigte die Arbeit. Wir stießen zunächst auf dieselben armseligen spätarabischen Häuser, wie sie schon unsere Vorgänger gefunden hatten, daneben und darunter aber kamen bald mittelarabische Quadermauern, etwa des 12. Jahrhunderts, zum Vorschein, die ihrerseits auf byzantinischen und römischen Mauern ruhten. Die Ecke eines quadratischen Kuppelbaues zeigte stark verwitterte, teilweise aber noch mit Stuck bedeckte Wände. Unten fanden wir eine 1 m hohe Brandschicht, welche die Mauern ganz geschwärzt und den Stuck noch mehr beschädigt hat. Dieselbe dicke Brandschicht fanden wir auch an anderen Stellen des Baues in der gleichen Tiefe, so daß wohl ein Großfeuer

*el-minje* und die angeblichen Beweise dafür mit den Worten: "The single fact that every scrap of pottery to be seen on the site is Arab entirely negatives them all. An inspection of the site, and a comparison of the level of the ruin with the level of the surrounding plain, is enough to show that the Arab remains on the surface cover no earlier stratum. There was, therefore, no settlement here whatever in the time of Capernaum."

E. W. G. MASTERMAN, *Studies in Galilee*, Chicago, 1909, p. 61 f.: "(Khurbet Minia). From their appearance, and especially from the characteristic of the broken pottery scattered over the surface, the site may without any hesitation be pronounced entirely Arab. . . . On a careful examination of the site with Mr. MACALISTER of the Palestine Exploration Fund we could not find a single fragment of pottery earlier than Arab times, while the Arab pottery is abundant;" p. 63: "There are absolutely no fragments belonging to the Roman period. The early pottery is so preponderantly present that it is possible for Mr. MACALISTER, an expert on Palestine pottery, to say positively that this site cannot have been inhabited in New Testament times nor for centuries earlier."

den Bau in Asche gelegt hat. Am Boden ist aber noch ein kostbares Mosaikstück mit Flechtbandmuster erhalten, das etwa dem 5. oder 6. Jahrhundert angehört und in so frischen Farben schillert, als wäre es erst gestern gelegt worden.

Wir setzten unseren 6 m tiefen Graben nach Norden und Süden fort und hatten schließlich eine Mauerfront von 70 m Länge und 1,50 m Dicke mit einem runden Mittelturm und zwei ebenfalls runden Ecktürmen von je 4,10 m Durchmesser festgestellt. Erstklassige Hau- und Bautechnik der Mauer charakterisieren das Quaderwerk. Hochkantig gestellte und sorgfältig geglättete Steine großen Formats bilden Innen- und Außenwände, während der Mauerkerne aus bestem Gußwerk besteht. So wohl an der Innen- wie Außenseite der Mauer, desgleichen an den Stoß- und Lagerfugen ist der Steinschnitt gleich vollkommen. Der Aufriß der Mauer zeigt charakteristisch römische Läufer- und Bindetechnik, indem die orthostatischen Quadern abwechselnd längs und quer zum Mauerkörper gelegt sind und in verschiedenen Abständen miteinander wechseln. Dazu ist die Höhe der einzelnen Quaderreihen verschieden. Während sämtliche Steinlagen aus einem etwas weichen Kalkstein bestehen, ist die unterste mit hartem Basalt gebaut, wohl um das Eindringen des Grundwassers zu verhüten und das Untermünzen der Mauer zu erschweren.

Da am Süd- und Nordturm je eine Mauer im rechten Winkel nach Osten ansetzte, war es mir klar, daß wir ein römisches Kastell gefunden hatten, wie sie uns besonders vom Limes Arabicus in Transjordanien bekannt sind. Mit den geringen Geldmitteln, die uns zur Verfügung standen, konnte ich nicht daran denken, auch nur die Umfassungsmauer des Kastells zu verfolgen. Ich mußte mich darauf beschränken, auf gut Glück wenigstens die Mittel- und Ecktürme des Kastells sowie sein Portal zu finden und so wenigstens den ungefähren Umriss der Anlage festzustellen. Die transjordanischen Kastelle haben quadratischen oder rechteckigen Grundriß. Für unser Kastell nahm ich ersteres an und legte mit dem Bandmaß die 70 m Länge der gefundenen Westmauer an deren beiden Ecktürmen nach Osten an, wo nach 35 m die Mitteltürme der Nord- und Südmauer, nach 70 m die zwei östlichen Ecktürme liegen mußten. An den so eingemessenen Stellen war allerdings kein Stein zu sehen. Aber nach wenigen Tagen kamen auch diese vier

Türme an den vermuteten Stellen zum Vorschein. Beim Suchen nach dem Mittelturm der Ostmauer stießen wir auf das wohl einzige Kastelltor, das uns den reichsten Aufschluß über die Geschichte des Baues gab. Es öffnete sich auf die alte, jetzt fast ganz unkenntlich gewordene Via maris, die zwischen dem Kastell und dem nur 240 m entfernten Seestrand vorüberzog. Der in den letzten 2000 Jahren um etwa 5 m erhöhte Seespiegel<sup>1</sup> überschwemmte den Straßendamm sowie das ganze Siedlungsgelände mit Schlamm, Sand und Geröll. Dazu führten die starken Westwinde den durch Hitze oft zum Staub aufgelösten Humusboden über die ganze Ebene, so daß der Straßenzug mehr oder weniger überhaupt verschwand, und die Kastellruine, soweit sie nicht von Steinräubern abgetragen wurde, vollkommen unter den Boden geriet. Die alte Karawanenstraße wurde weiter landeinwärts mitten über die eingedeckte Kastellruine hinweggeführt. Heute ist auch diese verlegte Straße ganz verlassen und durch die mehrere hundert Meter weiter westlich erbaute neue Autostraße ersetzt.

Nach Abräumen von angeschwemmttem Ackerboden, Schutt und Feldsteinen kamen zwei runde Portaltürme zutage, die den Eingang nördlich und südlich flankierten. Mangelhafter Schnitt und sorglose Fügung der Quadern ließen aber auf eine Restauration schließen. Die Wellenprofile an den Stoßfugen wieder verwendeter Quadern beweisen, daß das Portal im 12. oder 13. Jahrhunder n. Chr. zerstört und wieder aufgebaut wurde. In der Südwand des Torweges fand sich eine monumentale Bogennische (3,50 m hoch, 2,50 m breit) mit reich profiliertem Gewände. Eine entsprechend große Kaiser- oder Götterstatue in dieser Nische bei dem nur 4 m breiten Torweg ist unmöglich. Man darf also wohl eher an das Fahnenheiligtum denken, das hier, anstatt in dem nicht sehr geräumigen Kastell, eingebaut war. Dieser Nische gegenüber liegt in der Nordwand des Torweges wohl noch eine Parallelnische, die aber durch eine spätarabische Mauer verdeckt ist. Während der äußere Torbogen mit den ansetzenden Türmen einer zweiten oder dritten Bauperiode entstammen, gehört der innere, noch 8 m hoch erhalten, der ersten an und weist ebenfalls reich profiliertes Gewände auf. In einer dritten und vierten Periode wurde auch dieser innere Tor-

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. R. KÖPPEL, *Biblica*, XIII, (1932), p. 6–26: Uferstudien zum Toten Meer. *Hl. Land*, 1932, S. 65–69: Uferstudien am See Genesareth.

bogen verbaut, aufgefüllt und in 6 m Höhe eine schmale Tür angebracht, welche in das spätarabische Dorf im Inneren des Kastells führte. Von diesem imposanten Portal lag vor der Grabung keine einzige Quader zutage.

Erst in 8 m Tiefe gelangten wir auf den Boden des Torweges. Dort fanden wir eine Anzahl von Gesimsstücken, die reich ornamentiert sind mit Akanthusranken, Zahnschnitt, Perlenstab und Palmetten, Flechthandmustern mit Akanthuskränzen, ferner Bogen- und Gewölbesteine, zylindrische Architekturstücke mit hoch reliefierten Rosetten und Granatapfelblüten auf der Stirnseite. Dabei lagen mächtige Brocken eines Kuppelgewölbes aus Ecksteinen und zahlreiche Glasmosaikwürfel: hellgrüne, ultramarine, blaue, violette, gelbe, andere mit unterlegten Gold- und Silberblättchen, auch Kalksteinwürfel mit rosarotem Farbüberzug.

Die meisten Architekturstücke mit den Resten einer prunkvollen Glasmosaikkuppel sind zweifellos arabischen Ursprungs und gehören wohl wie die beiden Portaltürme ins 12. oder 13. Jahrhundert, wenn nicht die Ausräumung des Kastells eine andere Entstehungszeit ergibt. Vielleicht hatte sich in dem alten Kastell ein Emir oder Sultan eine Winterresidenz gebaut; weltgeschichtliche Ereigniss sah der Bau jedenfalls 1189, als Saladin mit seinem Heere auf dem Zuge gegen die Kreuzfahrer hier lagerte, und 1516, als der Osmanen-Sultan Selim I. auf seinen Zug gegen Jerusalem hier rastete. Auch in den Urkunden der Handelsgeschichte von Venedig wird unser *minje* öfters erwähnt, weil es an der großen Handelsstraße Palästinas und Syriens lag.<sup>1</sup> Nach der letzten Zerstörung durch ein Erdbeben, dessen Wirkung an fast allen Mauern sichtbar ist, nistete sich in und um die Ruine ein Dorf ein, das mit dem nördlich liegenden Chan in den Reiseberichten der späteren Zeit öfter erwähnt wird. Der arabische Schriftsteller *Chalil ez-Zâhiri* bezeichnet es um 1413, wohl wegen der erhaltenen Kastellmauer, als stadtähnliches Dorf wie Nazareth und Kana.<sup>2</sup> Ja, in der bekannten Kosmographie *Dschihânumâ* des Hâddschî CHALÎFA, des großen Polyhistors der

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. N. SEPP, *Neue hochwichtige Entdeckungen auf der zweiten Palästinafahrt*. München, 1896, I, 160.

<sup>2</sup> R. HARTMANN, *Die geographischen Nachrichten über Palästina und Syrien in CHALIL AZ-ZAHIRI's zubdat kasdîf al-mamâlik* (Inauguraldiss.), Kirchhain, 1907 S. 47 f.

Osmanen, wird um 1609 der ganze See *buhēr el-minje*, d. h. das kleine Meer von *el-minje* genannt.<sup>1</sup>

Die genaue Datierung der fünf bis sechs verschiedenen Bauperioden muß der künftigen Ausräumung des Kastells vorbehalten bleiben.

Der Grundriß des Kastells mit seinen Umfassungsmauern und neun Türmen kehrt, wenn auch in etwas verschiedener Form, am Limes Arabicus wieder, welcher der Hauptsache nach von den Kaisern Trajan und Hadrian 98–118 n. Chr. gebaut wurde.<sup>2</sup> Damit soll nicht gesagt sein, daß unser Kastell nicht noch etwas jünger sein kann. Zu beachten bleibt jedenfalls, daß die zahlreichen spätromischen Kastelle mit ähnlichem Grundriß in Nordafrika, Spanien, Frankreich und Deutschland (besonders die Kastelle von Mainz, Deutz bei Köln, Neuß usw. am Limes Germaniae) aus dem 2.–4. Jahrhundert stammen<sup>3</sup>. Es wäre also ganz abwegig zu behaupten,

<sup>1</sup> R. HARTMANN. *Die Straße von Damaskus nach Kairo*. ZDMG. 1910, S. 690/93. ZDPV, 41, (1918), S. 53–56.

Der bekannte türkische Reisende EVLIYA TSCHEBLEBI, der die Gegend im Jahre 1648 bereiste, bemerkte folgendes zur Stelle (MS. der *Siyāhatnāmē* in der Palestine Museum Library, Jerusalem, Band IX, Blatt 87 v., Zeile. 41–48, im Auszug):  
 ... ليون دره سی نامیله مشهور برعین زلالدر. جبل عنتردن کلوب بمحلده بحیره منه به مخلوط اولور.  
 ... بمحلدن سنة ١٠٥٨ تاریخنده مرتفعی باشا ایله عبور او لنشدی ... عن التین ... بو رامه فرب بحیره  
 طبریه به یعنی منه کوله منصب اولور ... و بمحلده طبرستان قلمه سی منه کول کنارنده بر عظیم قلمه  
 ایمش ... بو بحیره بر قلمه اسیمه مسادر. اما افواه ناسده منه کولیدر. صحیح بحیره طبریه در ...

... die als „Zitronental“ bekannte klare Quelle. Sie entspringt auf dem *Djebel Antar* und vermischt sich an dieser Stelle mit dem See von Minje. Im Jahre 1058 (1648 A.D.) geschah der Übergang (ds. Verf. auf dem Weg nach Damascus) mit Murtaza Pascha ... Nahe diesem Wege mündet die Quelle *Ain el-sin* in den Tiberiassee, d.h. den See von Minje ... Hier, am Ufer des Minje-Sees, ist die Zitadelle von Tabaristan, die eine mächtige Festung (gewesen) sein soll ... Nach dieser Festung wird der See benannt. Allein im Volksmund heißt er „See von Minje“. Das Richtige ist jedoch „See von Tiberias“.

<sup>2</sup> R. E. BRÜNNOW und A. von DOMASZEWSKI, *Die Provinciae Arabia*, Straßburg, 1904/09. Bd. I, S. 39–45: die beiden Kastelle *majādet el-haddsch* im *wādi el-mōdschib*; S. 433/63: das römische Legionslager von *oḍrūh*, 18 km nordwestl. von Ma‘an. Bd. II, S. 24–38: das Lager von *el-leddschün*, 15 km nordöstl. von *el-kerak*; Bd. II S. 8–13: das römische Lager von *da‘dschanija*, 33 km nördl. von *ma‘ān*; S. 95–103: das römische Lager von *el-kastal*, 15 km östlich von *mādaba*.

<sup>3</sup> ADRIEN BLANCHET, *Les enceintes romaines de la Gaule*, Etude sur l'origine d'un grand nombre de villes françaises. Paris, 1907. — EDUARD ANTHES, *Spät-römische Kastelle und feste Städte im Rhein- und Donaugebiet*. Kaiserl. Archäol.

wir hätten mit dem Kastell die Kaserne des Hauptmanns von Kapharnaum gefunden.

### III. RÖMISCHE WASSERLEITUNG AUS DER „QUELLE VON KAPHARNAUM“. WELCHE BIBLISCHE SIEDLUNG LAG AUF EL-MINJE?

Noch wichtiger aber als das Kastell selbst sind die Reste einer umfangreichen Siedlung, die sich an dasselbe anschloß und im Osten 210 m bis an den Seestrand, im Norden 330 m bis an den *dhān el-minje*, im Nordosten fast 250 m bis an den Südfuß des *tell el-orēme* reichte. Eine römische Wasserleitung führte das 32 Grad Celsius warme und schwefelhaltige Wasser von der größten der sieben Quellen  $1\frac{1}{2}$  km weit durch einen, teils aufgemauerten und von Bogen getragenen, teils in den Fels gehauenen Kanal von 1,20 m Tiefe bei 1,25–1,50 m Breite nach *el-minje*. Er bewässerte nicht nur die Gärten und Äcker, nordwestlich von *dhān* und *dirbet el-minje*, sondern speiste auch ein mit Mosaik belegtes römisches Bad, 220 m nordöstlich vom Kastell am Fuße des *tell el-orēme*. Diese Quelle ist nach der fast einstimmigen Ansicht der Palästinologen „die Quelle von Kapharnaum“, von der JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS (*Bell. Jud.*; III, 10,8) ausdrücklich meldet, daß sie die Ebene Ginnesar bewässert habe. Die Tatsache, daß die Quelle nun nicht nach *tell-hūm*, sondern nach *el-minje* geleitet wurde, empfiehlt zweifellos eher dieses als jenes für Kapharnaum. *tell-hūm* hat bekanntlich überhaupt keine Quelle und ist von ‘ain *et-tābgha* 2 km entfernt, sodaß ihre Benennung nach Kapharnaum merkwürdig erscheint. Noch in neuester Zeit haben sich daher verschiedene Forscher auf diesen Aquädukt von ‘ain *et-tābgha* nach *el-minje* für die Lokalisierung Kapharnaums auf *el-minje* berufen.<sup>1</sup>

Zweitens ist zu bedenken, daß nicht *tell-hūm*, wohl aber *el-minje* an der alten Via maris liegt und zwar vor dem Aufstieg in die Berge, wo jede von Süden kommende Karawane rasten mußte und

Institut. X. Bericht der röm.-germanischen Kommission, 1917. Frankfurt am Main, 1918, S. 86–167. – I. A. RICHMOND. *Five Town Walls in Hispania Citerior*. Journal of Roman Studies, 1931, p. 86–100.

<sup>1</sup> So z. B. EDWARD WICHER, *A new Argument for Locating Kapharnaum at Minyeh*. The American Journal of Archaeology, 20, (1916), p. 90. G. A. SMITH, *I.c.*, p. 456.

also eine römische Garnison und Zollstation eher verständlich sind als am Nordwestwinkel des Sees, in dem 3 km entfernten *tell-hūm*, das nur von der Provinzstraße aus dem Gebiet des Herodes Antipas in das Gebiet des Herodes Philippos berührt wurde.

Drittens ist zu beachten, daß der Transport des verwundeten JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS (*Vita* § 72) aus dem Scharmützel gegen die Römer am Nordostufer des Sees nach καφαρνάου (bessere Lesart, die auch Niese aufgenommen hat: καφαρνάκον) am Westufer des Sees nicht zu Land, sondern zu Wasser erfolgen und also ebensogut *el-minje* wie *tell-hūm* zum Ziele haben konnte. Daß die etymologische Erklärung von *tell-hūm* aus Kapharnaum sehr unsicher ist, sei nur nebenbei gesagt.

Mit allem Nachdruck ist aber viertens zu betonen, daß die prunkvolle Synagogenruine von *tell-hūm*, die am meisten suggestiv für Kaphernaum wirkt, garnicht aus der Zeit Jesu stammt, sondern nach Ausweis der synkretistischen Ornamentik aus dem 2. oder 3. Jahrhundert.<sup>1</sup>

Liegt also Kapharnaum auf *dirbet el-minje*, wie noch auf den neuesten englischen Karten angegeben ist? Es sei ferne von mir, dies zu behaupten, bevor nicht der Spaten an beiden Orten seine ganze Arbeit getan hat. Auf *el-minje* kann man ebensogut an ein westliches Bethsaida oder Ginnesar, wenn nicht gar Dalmanutha denken.<sup>2</sup> Für Kapharnaum ist in *tell-hūm* außer einer Synagoge aus der Zeit

<sup>1</sup> KOHL-WATZINGER, *Antike Synagogen in Galiläa*. Leipzig, 1916, S. 200/05; H. VINCENT, *Revue Biblique*, 1923, p. 316/18; G. DALMAN, *Orte und Wege Jesu*, Gütersloh, 1924, S. 150/58. Die Entstehung der Synagoge in der Zeit Christi und ihre Zurückführung auf den Hauptmann von Kapharnaum verteidigen besonders die Franziskaner: B. MEISTERMANN, *Caphernaüm et Bethsaïde*, Paris, 1921, 163–228, Palästina-Führer „*Durd's Hl. Land*“, Trier, 1913, S. 512 f.; englische Übersetzung, London 1923 p. 546/52; G. ORFALI, *Caphernaüm et ses ruines*. Paris, 1922, p. 74/86.

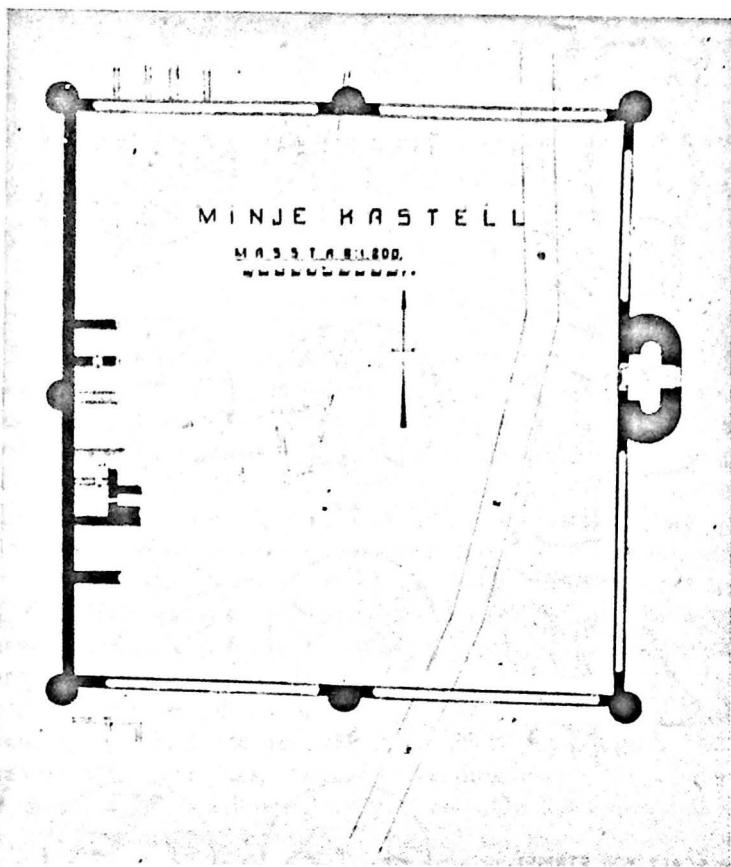
<sup>2</sup> Daß Christus nach Matth. 14<sup>54</sup> an der Gennesareth-Ebene (εἰς τὴν γῆν Γέννησαρέτ), nach Mark 6<sup>58</sup> in der Stadt Gennesareth: καὶ θιατερόσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἡλθον εἰς Γέννησαρέτ (so Ausgabe von SODEN), nach Joh. 6<sup>17</sup> aber in Kapharnaum landet, könnte einen veranlassen, diese Stadt eher bei *el-minje*, als an einer der weiter südlicher liegenden Ruinenstätten zu suchen z.B. *tell en-naṣāra* („Ruinenhügel der Christen“), auch *tell el-hunūd* („Ruinenhügel der Indier“). genannt. Die alte englische Survey-Karte und nach ihr viele andere haben diesen Namen mit dem noch südlicheren *tell el-murebiḍ* vertauscht.

Jesu noch die Kaserne des Hauptmanns von Kapharnaum zu suchen<sup>1</sup> in *el-minje* eine Synagoge und Kaserne aus der Zeit Jesu; an beiden Orten aber das Haus des Petrus, in dem Christus drei Jahre lang wohnte und über das der jüdische Konvertit Comes Josephus, den das Martyrologium Romanum als Heiligen führt, mit Erlaubnis Kaiser Konstantins eine christliche Kirche baute<sup>2</sup>, welche u.a. Aetheria (Silvia), der Pilger von Piacenza und andere besucht haben.<sup>3</sup>

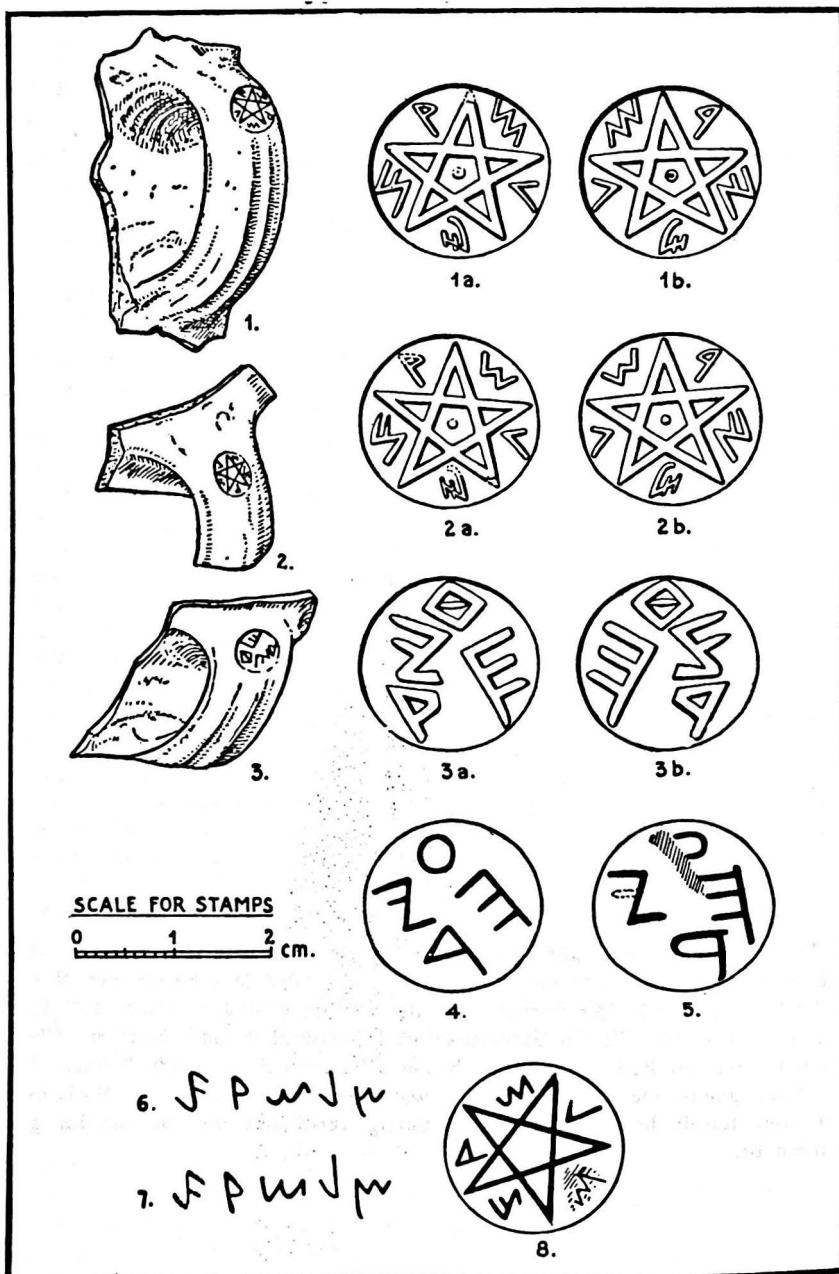
<sup>1</sup> Dabei darf schon im Voraus als sicher gelten, daß zu gleicher Zeit als das Straßenkastell auf *el-minje* in Funktion war, nicht auch auf dem 3 km entfernten *tell hüm* eines stand. Das nächste römische Kastell an der Via maris nach Süden zu ist wahrscheinlich unter den arabischen Kastellruinen neben dem heutigen *chān el-tuddschär*, also in etwa 20 km Entfernung, zu suchen; das zweitnächste in *leddschün* (legio) bei *tell el-mutesellim*. Nach Norden zu stand das nächste Kastell an der Jakobsbrücke, und zwar auf der Ostseite des Jordans unter dem dortigen arabischen Chān; also etwa auch 20 km von *el-minje* entfernt. Das Mauerwerk dieses Chāns (nach meinen Messungen 62 zu 69 m im Umfang), läßt schon ohne Grabung zweifellos wenigstens drei Bauperioden unterscheiden, von denen die unterste (mit schönen Kalk- und Bsaaltquadern) römisch zu sein scheint. In die Südwestecke des Chāns ist jetzt die französische Paß- und Zollstation eingebaut. Unterhalb des Chāns gegen die Brücke zu ist römisches Straßennpflaster mit Basaltsteinen erhalten. Auch *kaṣr atra*, 1 km südwestlich vom Chān am Westrand des Jordan und von 128 zu 61 m Umfang, scheint nach Ausweis der Hau- und Bautechnik, sowie der von uns dort gefundenen Keramik mit *et. - - -*, eine römische Gründung zu sein, wenn natürlich auch später von den Arauern und Kreuzfahrern überbaut und erneuert. Sollte daher die erste Anlage des Kastells auf *el-minje* in die Zeit Christi zurückgehen, was einstweilen noch absolut zweifelhaft ist, dann hätte sicher keines in *tell-hüm* gestanden, wenn auch in den dortigen noch nicht ausgegrabenen Ruinen sich noch allerlei römische Bauten finden mögen.

<sup>2</sup> EPIPHANIUS, *adv. haereseos*, XXX, 1,2; Migne, PG, XLI, 427.

<sup>3</sup> AETHERIA-(SILVIA) bei PETRUS DIACONUS, *De locis sanctis* (ed. P. GEYER, *Itinera Hierosolymitana saeculi IV-VIII*. Vindobonae, 1898, p. 112 s.); *In Capharnaum autem est domo apostolorum principis ecclesia facta est, cuius parietes usque hodie stant, sicut fuerunt.* Der anonyme PILGER VON PIACENZA (ed. P. GEYER, l.c., p. 197), Zeile 29 f.: *Deinde venimus in Capharnaum in domo (sic!) beati Petri, quae est modo basilica.*



Das römische Kastell auf *dirbet el-minje* nach der bisherigen Probegrabung. Die Westmauer ist fast ganz freigelegt. Die Eckt- und Mitteltürme der Nord- und Südmauer sowie der Portalbau in der Ostmauer sind nur zum Teil ausgegraben. Die schraffierten Mauerteile sind byzantinisch oder arabisch. Über die fast ganz im Boden steckende Ruine führt von Süden nach Norden die alte Karawanenstraße Kairo-Damaskus, während die noch ältere Via Maris östlich vom Kasell lief, jetzt aber vollständig verschüttet und unkennlich geworden ist.



SUKENIK: The "Jerusalem" and "the City" Stamps on Jar Handles

## DESIGNS OF THE LECTERN (*ἀνθούσιον*) IN ANCIENT SYNAGOGUES IN PALESTINE

E. L. SUKENIK

(JERUSALEM).

The exploration of synagogues in Palestine after the Great War has brought to light, especially on the mosaic floors and sculptural remains, a pictorial cycle representing different ritual objects used in synagogues. There are several indisputable representations of the Ark of the Law, the seven-branched candlestick, the palm-branch (*lulab*), the citrus fruit (*ethrog*) and the ram's horn (*shofar*). There is one object, however, about which some uncertainty remains and to which variant interpretations have been given. The representations of this object, though differing slightly in detail, have the same general form, consisting of a rectangle with a rod projecting from its base (see Figs. 1-5).

The first example of this kind was discovered on a capital, belonging apparently to the courtyard of the synagogue at Capernaum.<sup>1</sup> On three sides, above the acanthus leaves, this capital has representations of a flower, wreaths, etc. On the fourth side there is a seven-branched candlestick flanked on the right by a ram's horn and on the left by a rectangle with a rod projecting from the left half of the base (Fig. 1). A similar figure appears on a sculptured stone, now in the modern synagogue of Peqi'in (*Buqeia*) in Upper Galilee, which belonged to the ancient synagogue of this place.<sup>2</sup> In its centre this stone has a seven-branched candlestick, under whose arms at the left are the palm-branch and citrus fruit, while on the right is the ram's horn, with a rectangle underneath. Owing to the damaged surface of the stone it cannot be said with certainty that there was a rod projecting from the

<sup>1</sup> G. ORFALI, *Capharnaum et ses ruines*, fig. 124.

<sup>2</sup> SUKENIK, *The Ancient Synagogue of Beth-Alpha*, p. 28 and fig. 30.

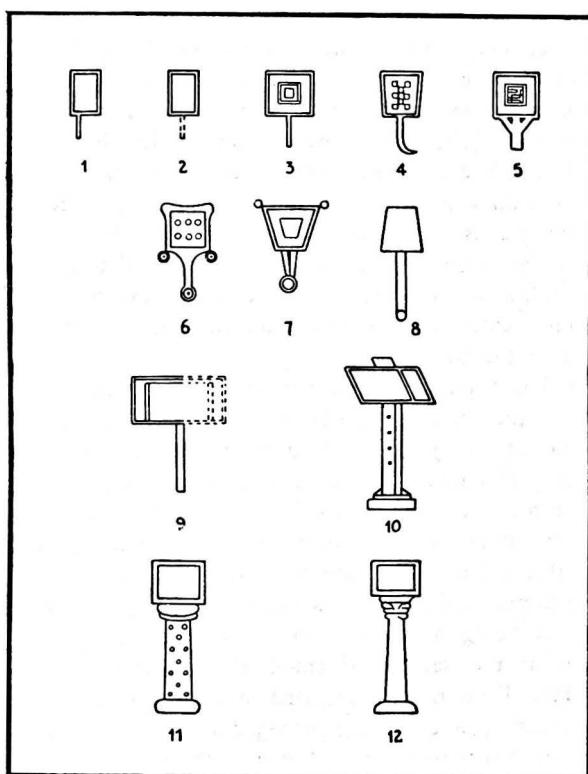
base, but there are traces of a stump which might be the remains of a rod (Fig. 2).

The representation of this object is much clearer on the mosaics of the ancient synagogues found in recent years. The first one to be found was in the synagogue of Beth-Alpha. The southern panel of the nave, in front of the apse, contains a representation of the Ark of the Law, flanked by seven-branched candlesticks, palm-branches and citrus fruits, lions and such rectangles.<sup>1</sup> Figure 3 shows the form of this object which is, as has been said, depicted on both sides of the Ark of the Law. It has the form of a square filled in with smaller squares of different colours. From the middle of the base projects a rod. Shortly after the discovery of the Beth-Alpha synagogue, a similar representation was found in the mosaic floor of the synagogue at Jerash. In the middle of a benediction in Greek (upon the "Place" and the congregation) there is a seven-branched candlestick flanked on the right side by a palm-branch and citrus fruit and on the left by a ram's horn, below which is this aforementioned object.<sup>2</sup> As seen from the diagram (Fig. 4) it has a more elongated form than the previous one, the base line being slightly shorter than the top one. The centre of the figure is filled in with a coloured chess-board pattern. Here too the rod projects from the middle of the base but turns up at its end towards the right. A third example of this was found in a mosaic floor of the synagogue at Esfia on Mount Carmel, recently explored by the Department of Antiquities of the Palestine Government. The middle of the western border of this mosaic floor contains a benediction within a wreath which is flanked by two seven-branched candlesticks. Under its arms each of the candlesticks has, on the one side, a palm-branch and citrus fruit and on the other a ram's horn accompanied by a representation of this object. As in Beth-Alpha it is a square, containing within it another square. The rod, projecting from the middle of the base, is wider than the two previous examples, and has two diagonal supports converging into its upper part at the two extremities of the base (see Fig. 5).

Before proceeding to discuss the interpretation of this object

<sup>1</sup> SUKENIK, *op. cit.*, Plate VIII.

<sup>2</sup> CROWFOOT, *Churches at Jerash*, pl. V.



we may refer to two similar representations which, though not found in synagogues, undoubtedly belong to the same class of ritual objects, as is shown by their position in a group of ritual appurtenances, being, as above, accompanied by the Ark of the Law and the seven-branched candlestick, etc. These groups appear on two Jewish moulded clay lamps from Palestine and Syria. The first one is on a lamp which was previously in the collection of the American Colony Stores in Jerusalem and said to have come from Galilee.<sup>1</sup> On the nozzle it has a design of the Ark of the Law, to the left of the hole a seven-branched candlestick and

<sup>1</sup> SUKENIK, *op. cit.*, fig. 29.

to the right of it the object in question. As seen from Fig. 6 in the accompanying plate, (drawn from a photograph) it consists also of a rectangle filled in with two rows of small circles and a rod projecting from its base. It has three concentric circles, two small ones at the extremities of the base and a larger one at the end of the rod. The other one is now in Dr. REIFENBERG's collection. There is a large seven-branched candlestick on the body of the lamp with a palm-branch and citrus fruit on one side, while on the other side is the object under discussion. Fig. 7 is a drawing made from the original lamp. Its form, unlike that of No. 6, is a trapezium filled in with small trapezia. There are two small circles on the upper extremities of the trapezium and concentric circles at the end of the rod.

Figure 8 is taken from another Jewish pictorial cycle which is composed of the same ritual objects as above. It is represented on a tombstone of the Jewish catacomb at Monteverde near Rome.<sup>1</sup> As seen from this figure, its shape is a trapezium, having its short side on the top. A rod projects from the middle of the base.

Different opinions have been expressed with regard to the nature of this object. The late PÈRE ORFALI, who discovered the above mentioned capital of the synagogue at Capernaum, explained the object as being a box for spices,<sup>2</sup> such as is used in modern synagogues at the service of Habdalah at the conclusion of the Sabbath day. Prof. KLEIN suggested it to be a charity collection box—the practice of collecting money for charitable purposes being a feature of Synagogue life.<sup>3</sup> Since both explanations were unacceptable to me—the first, because the customs of using spices at the Habdalah service is not an old one, and the second, because the collection for charity is not an essential part of the ritual and would therefore not be included in this pictorial cycle, apart from the fact that the form of this object, as shown in the accompanying diagram, does not point to either of these—I suggested another explanation. In my account of the excavations of the Synagogue at Beth-Alpha I tried to prove that this is a representation of the Torah-case (*θήκη*), the rod being the “pillar” (*טָמֹד*, *umbilicus*,

<sup>1</sup> MÜLLER-BEES, *Die Inschriften der jüdischen Katakombe am Monteverde zu Rom*, No. 120.

<sup>2</sup> ציון, ידיעות החברה הא"י, ח' ח'יטריה ואתנוגרפיה II, p. 19.

*δμφαλός*) which projects through the *theke*. But this explanation no longer appeals to me, because the rod, as seen in these pictures, is too long and out of proportion to the case. Therefore I am now inclined to think that we have here the representation of the lectern, which is mentioned several times in Talmudic literature as *שְׁנָאָגָן סְפִירָה*. On the strength of several pictures of the *ἀράλογεῖον* or *manuale* which have come down to us from ancient art, and collected by THEODOR BIRT,<sup>1</sup> it seems permissible to conclude that this was a light and portable piece of furniture, similar to our modern music stands, consisting mainly of a board and a foot, and so made that it could be hung against the wall. Such a piece of furniture, hanging against the wall, is shown on the well-known Hellenistic relief of the Actor in the Lateran Museum.<sup>2</sup>

Figure 9 shows the *ἀράλογεῖον* which is represented on this relief. The right half of it is broken off, being reconstructed in our diagram. Figure 10 shows another representation of an *ἀράλογεῖον* from a miniature of Vergil in the Vaticanus Romanus. The poet is sitting on a chair, and reading a scroll which he took off a reading desk standing close by. The foot of this reading desk is decorated with small circles. The reading desk appears also on some Christian gilt dishes (Figs. 11, 12), in connexion with representations of apostles and saints, who are elsewhere represented as holding scrolls in their hands.

Thus we see that the ancient reading desk consists of a rectangular slab, apparently of wood, resting on a pillar. In the Jewish cycle the base of the pillar is missing, but No. 9 does not show one either. The representation of this object on the mosaic floor of the Synagogue at Esfia (Fig. 5), showing two diagonal supports running into the pillar, absolutely proves, in my opinion, that the object under review is really the lectern of the Synagogue, which was often used in the liturgy during the reading of the Law.

<sup>1</sup> *Die Buchrolle in der antiken Kunst*, Leipzig, 1907, p. 175 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For a detailed account of this relief, see BIRT, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

THE "JERUSALEM" and "THE CITY" STAMPS  
ON JAR HANDLES

E. L. SUKENIK

JERUSALEM

This article does not deal with any new discovery, but with jar handles which were found some time ago. A few of them were found by MACALISTER at Gezer, and a greater number by DUNCAN and MACALISTER during their excavations on the Ophel, 1923-1925. Although some of the letters were correctly deciphered, the reading of these stamps was quite obscure until ALBRIGHT subjected them to a careful examination and published his results with a good reproduction of them.<sup>1</sup> It was really the study of his reproduction which first led me to the reading which I now propose. Through the courtesy of the authorities of the Palestine Archaeological Museum — where a great number of these stamped jar handles are kept — I was able to study some of the originals. I have prepared a few drawings of them which, I submit, confirm my conclusions.

I. The first stamp is in the form of a circle containing a pentagram with five Hebrew letters between the spikes. This type presented some difficulty because of the general poor state of preservation, the smallness of the letters and also because the lettering is in reversed form on the jar instead of being thus on the seal. I have selected two of the better preserved specimens for illustration here.

1) Palestine Museum, Inventory No. P 3563. This stamp is also reproduced by ALBRIGHT under Jer. 9a. No. 5 and 9a are written on it with ink. In the museum records the provenance is given as unknown, but according to ALBRIGHT it comes from the Ophel. One of the fields on the Ophel excavated by MACALISTER and DUNCAN is designated as Field 9. This fragment is part of the body of a large jar with the beginning of a bent shoulder, and to which a slightly ribbed handle is attached. The ware is of a brownish black colour with large pink, grey and small white grits (Fig. 1).

<sup>1</sup> *Notes on Early Hebrew and Aramaic Epigraphy*, JPOS., vol. VI, p. 93 ff.

Figures 2 and 3 show respectively the impression as it actually is on the jar handle and the reversed form of it as it was on the seal.

2) Palestine Museum, Inventory No. 1114. This is the upper part of the handle of a jar with the lower part missing (Fig. 4). The ware is practically the same as of the previous one. In the museum records the provenance is given as unknown. Figures 5 and 6 show respectively the impression as it actually is on the jar handle, and the reversed form of it as it was on the seal.

Of the remaining jar handles of this class two other specimens are worth noting. I am not appending drawings of them because the lettering is generally not sufficiently clear. They differ from the first two in ware, being of a more compact and pink ware, the one having a few small pinkish, grey and white grits and the other mainly sprinkled with minute white grits. Of both, the lower part of the handle is missing. The former – Inventory No. P 3562 – is covered with a dirty yellow smear. In the records of the museum its provenance is given as unknown. It is marked in ink as No. 3 apparently in the same handwriting as the one marked No. 5 referred to above, and also comes from the Ophel. The impression on this jar handle is stamped twice, one below the other. The other jar handle – Inventory No. P. 3644 – has No. 7 marked on it in ink and the word "Dump" in pencil. In the records of the museum the provenance is once more given as unknown, but it evidently also comes from the Ophel. On this stamp the pentagram is clearly defined, but of the letters very little is discernible, they having obviously been made by a worn out stamp.

STANLEY COOK suggested the reading שְׁבֵם, connecting the name Sibmi with that of the town Sibmah in Moab.<sup>1</sup> ALBRIGHT supposed the reading to be טַמִּוֹתָשׁ, identifying the name as being that of the Jerusalem Temple treasurer appointed by Nehemiah (Nehemiah 13<sup>18</sup>). Against this identification several objections could be raised. Firstly, in the passage quoted there are three treasurers mentioned – שְׁלֵטִיה הַכֹּהֵן וְצָדְקָה הַסּוֹפֵר וְפָרִיה מִן הַלְוִיִּם – and in addition to these חָנָן בֶּן זָכָר בֶּן מְתֻנָּה. Why should the name or one be stamped on the jar handles in preference to the others? I would perhaps admit that this is not a very serious objection, because the reason might be given, that, since he was the priest he was the most important in

<sup>1</sup> *Excavations of Gezer*, vol. II, p. 209.

rank. But even then a more basic question remains: Why should his name appear at all? We would rather expect to find the word יְהוָה or the Temple etc., but certainly not the name of a man who was in charge of the Temple treasury. Secondly, if this word is a proper name it should have the prefix הַ. The third objection is with regard to the spelling of the name יְמִינֵה instead of יְמִינָה. At this period, as we know from the papyri of Elephantine, the theophonic compound of the name יְהָה at the end is written יְמִינָה and not יְמִינֵה. ALBRIGHT later on apparently anticipated this objection by explaining that "the spelling יְמִינֵה is strictly on par with the archaising of the script", (*vide The Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible*, p. 174, note 124, p. 223). I do not think that this remark is quite in place for this period. As seen from ALBRIGHT's reproduction in the plate accompanying this article, the writing is in the normal old script without any trace of an attempt at archaising. The irregularities in the characters of the different impressions are due to different stamps being used, some of them being worn out or not having the letters clearly cut. The stamp impressions should not be judged by comparison with seal impressions. In the case of the latter the seal, belonging to an individual and not in frequent use, would naturally make a clear impression, whereas the former, being public stamps and often used, became worn out sooner, and their impressions consequently show irregularities. The same is true in the case of the earlier stamps יְמִינָה, where irregularities occur due to the same reason. Lastly, although ALBRIGHT's reading of the letters is in the main correct, I cannot agree with him respecting the letter which he reads as י. As is evident also from his own copy of the Jerusalem stamp, the letter which he would read as י is really a נ.

I suggest that this stamp should be read יְרֵשָׁה – Jerusalem. I shall leave the discussion about the purpose of this stamp for another occasion when I shall deal with the function of stamped jars in general.

II. Two examples of the second stamp were found first at Gezer and caused much perplexity to scholars like CLERMONT-GANNEAU<sup>1</sup> and LIDZBARSKI<sup>2</sup>. Several suggestions were made as to its

<sup>1</sup> *Recueil d'archéologie Orientale*, vol. VIII, p. 103f.

<sup>2</sup> *P.E.F.Q.S.*, 1909 p. 154. *Ephéméris*, vol. III, p. 193f. 189.

reading, but no satisfactory rendering was given. A greater number of them was later found in the aforementioned excavations of the Ophel by MACALISTER and DUNCAN. These stamps were also studied by ALBRIGHT who quite independently arrived at a suggestion which first occurred to CLERMONT-GANNEAU, and to which he endeavoured to give an historical background. In the plate appended to his article ALBRIGHT gives drawings of a number of examples of this stamp from both Jerusalem and Gezer.

This stamp consists of four letters enclosed in a circle. They are regularly bigger in size than those of the previous one, and their order within the circle is not uniform. The same may be said with regard to their form, since these too vary frequently. The two facts show that they were made by different stamps.

Figure 3 in our plate shows the handle of a jar, now kept in the Palestine Museum – Inventory No. P 3634. The provenance is given as "Ophel(?)." It has a note "9a cave entrance" written in ink on the inner surface of that part of the vessel to which the handle is attached. On the handle itself, near the stamp, is written "No. 38, 9a 20." This note again shows clearly that the provenance is the Ophel, field 9. This example is part of the body of a large jar to which a slightly ridged handle is attached. It is of a hard baked pinkish ware containing minute white grits. Fig. 3a shows the letters as they appear on the jar handle and Fig. 3b as they were on the stamp. Fig. 4 is a reproduction of a copy made by ALBRIGHT from another jar handle of the same provenance, and marked by him as Jer. 41. Fig. 5 is a reproduction of ALBRIGHT's copy made from a jar handle found in Gezer.

The reading of this stamp was given as הַוְרָת (MACALISTER), מִדְיָה or טְבִיה (CLERMONT-GANNEAU) and שְׂרִירָה (LIDZBANSKI). The latter reading was devised on the assumption that the letter represented by the circle which sometimes has a crossbar, is a ligature of ו and ת. ALBRIGHT has already pointed out that the majority of these stamps have no crossbar, and this may therefore be regarded as merely accidental.

Reading this stamp as מִדְיָה ALBRIGHT identifies this person with a descendant of the third priestly family – the Mishmar שְׂרִירָה, suggesting that one of them was the head of the Temple treasury. By the reform in the administration of the Temple treasury carried

out by Nehemiah, this office was transferred to Shelemyah. It should be emphasised here, in connection with this identification, that there is no evidence whatsoever to show that the שדיַה family ever held the office of the Temple treasurer.

My objection to this reading is based on the ground that, even though the order of the letters is not always the same, there should be at least one case where they occur in consecutive order. The reading שְׁדֵיָה rules out this possibility, since we must read the letters first from top to bottom and then from left to right. Still more complicated is the reading which was later accepted by ALBRIGHT (*The Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible*, p. 174), for this presupposes that the latter שׁ was meant to be read twice. Such types of monograms never occur in Hebrew epigraphy. It may be added that some of the objections raised against the reading שְׁדֵמִיה hold good here too.

I therefore propose the reading of this stamp to be הַשִּׁיר "the city", meaning Jerusalem. In the later books of the Bible there is clear evidence that the designation of Jerusalem was simply הַשִּׁיר, sometimes occurring in juxtaposition with הַאֲרָצָה — Palestine. To begin with, the prayer of Solomon may be quoted (I Kings 8<sup>34-38</sup>) הַשִּׁיר אֲשֶׁר בְּחֹתֶת. The same phrase occurs in II Chr. 6<sup>38</sup>. Especially frequent is this appellation in Ezekiel, where in some cases a scribal gloss was later inserted to explain that it refers to Jerusalem. See Ezekiel 4<sup>1</sup> and 9<sup>4</sup>. Other references in Ezekiel are 4<sup>8</sup>, 9<sup>9</sup>, 10<sup>2</sup>, 33<sup>21</sup>, 40<sup>1</sup>, 43<sup>8</sup>, 48<sup>15,30</sup>. It also occurs in this sense in Zephaniah 3<sup>1</sup>, Zechariah 8<sup>6</sup>, 14<sup>2</sup>, Nehemiah 7<sup>4</sup>, 9<sup>9</sup>. The number of references may be increased, but these are sufficient to demonstrate that it was an accepted designation for Jerusalem. We can even follow it in the earlier parts of the Mishna.

The two stamps — יְרוּשָׁם and הַשִּׁיר — are complementary.

#### NOTE:-

When this article was already written I had an opportunity to communicate these readings to PÈRE VINCENT during his visit to Samaria, and I am glad to state that they were entirely accepted by him. I learnt from him that he himself, when examining these stamps after their discovery on the Ophel in 1925, was then inclined to read the first stamp as יְרוּשָׁם. Although he afterwards accepted

ALBRIGHT's reading, he is now in full agreement with my rendering, which is also confirmed by some copies of this stamp which he made from the originals and has kindly placed at my disposal (Figs. 6, 7, 8). On his copies too it is quite clear that the ' is followed by a נ and not by a ו as ALBRIGHT read. With reference to the other stamp, for which he had not then any suitable reading, he is of the opinion that the ח'יר is the most likely reading of this enigmatic inscription.

With reference to Cook's reading שבט quoted in the article *apud* MACALISTER, I may add, that, on referring to the *preliminary report* of MACALISTER *C.P.E.F.Q.St.*, 1904, p. 511f.) where Cook's reading was commented upon in an editorial note I found the following apt remark: "It is curious that, if the legend be reversed one could read ירושם (Jerusalem)".

## NOTE ON THE DEFINITE ARTICLE IN TWO PALESTINIAN PLACE-NAMES<sup>1</sup>

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Palestinian place-names have a history of their own. They are the indelible mark left in the country by numerous conquering races.

With the definitive settlement of the Arabs in Palestine a number of place-names were gradually modified, yielding to forms more suitable to the speech of the new rulers. In other cases the foreign name was in use for a long time after the conquest. Jerusalem, e. g., was known as Aelia (= Iliā) till the year 985,<sup>2</sup> and Āila (Wāīla) on the Gulf of 'Aqaba retained its name for another seven or eight centuries.<sup>3</sup>

Local place-names undergoing change were often replaced either by the Arabic form of its translation or the equivalent.<sup>4</sup> The Arabic

<sup>1</sup> The following articles, dealing with place names in Palestine, Transjordania and Syria, represent a select list from the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*:

1879, p. 135, SOCIN, A., *Alphabetisches Verzeichnis von Ortschaften des Paschalik Jerusalem*, 1883, p. 43, SANDRECKZKI, S., *Die Namen der Plätze, Straßen, Gassen usw. des jetzigen Jerusalem*, 1883, p. 102, HARTMANN, M., *Die Ortschaftenliste des Liwa Jerusalem*, 1884, p. 293, GATT, G., *Verzeichnis der bewohnten Ortschaften der Kaimakāmīje Gaza*, 1886, p. 165, SCHUMACHER, C., *Der Dscholan*, 1889, p. 266, GUTHÉ, H., *Dr. A. Stübel's Reise nach der Direit et-Tulūl und Haurān*, 1891, p. 193, HARTMANN, M., *Das Liwa el-Ladikije und die Nahje Urdu*, 1892, pp. 1 and 65, and 1893, p. 1, KAMPFMEYER, G., *Alte Namen im heutigen Palästina und Syrien*, 1895, p. 149 and 1896, p. 145, SCHICK, C. and BENZINGER, J., *Namenliste und Erläuterungen zu Baurat C. Schick's Karte der näheren Umgebung von Jerusalem*, 1900, pp. 4 and 131, HARTMANN, M., *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der syrischen Steppe*, 1901, p. 26, LITTMANN, E., *Eine amtliche Liste der Beduinenstämme des Ost-jordanlandes*, 1902, p. 172, SCHUMACHER, G., *Dscherasch. Verzeichnis der Ortsnamen*.

<sup>2</sup> GUY LE STRANGE, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 84 "Mukaddasi (A.D. 985) . . . writes: 'The Holy City, Bait-al-Makdis, is also known as Iliyā and Al-Balāt . . .'"

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s. v. *al-Kuds* and *Aila*.

<sup>4</sup> A good list of the different names and their ancient forms or equivalents is contained in THOMSEN, P., *Loca Sancta*, Halle, 1907, Index. See also BORÉE, *Die alten Ortsnamen Palästinas*, Leipzig, 1930, p. 77, No. 23.

hyphenated names, especially their combinations with *Bēt* (*Bait*), seem at first glance to be of pure Arabic origin. Yet upon examination they are found to be only another proof of the tenacity of older Semitic forms.<sup>1</sup> On considering the original of the existing place-names formed with *Bēt* one comes to the conclusion that (with the exception of *prima facie* Arabic nouns of comparatively recent date), most of them are Aramaic, though Hebrew is well represented. The absence of the article, required in the case of the Arabic genitive construction of nouns (or place-names) supposed to be Arabic, is one criterion of their foreign origin,<sup>2</sup> to say nothing of *nomina propria* as complements or such themes as, e. g., *fā'il*, *fā'ūl*, *fō'el*, which betray themselves as loanwords.

*Bethlehem* (*Bēt-lahm*), consisting of two words, both of which have an Arabic pronunciation and (though different) meaning, is the first case in point. It was spelled by medieval Moslem writers as *Beit-ul-lahm*.<sup>3</sup> This spelling was accepted by the Turks, who

<sup>1</sup> KAMPFFMEYER, G., *Alte Namen im heutigen Palästina und Syrien*, ZDPV., 1892-3, gives many instances.

<sup>2</sup> It may be of interest to quote the opinion of MUJIR AD-DIN in his *uns al-jalil* (Cairo, Wahbiyye, A.H. 1283 A.D. 1866) p. 415, quoting earlier authorities وقد قيل ان تسمية بيت لحم وكذلك بقية القرى ما حول بيت المقدس كيت جالا وبيت نوبة وكل مكان اوله بيت انباء مني انا نسبتي لانه كان مسكناً لنبي من انباء النبي اسرائيل فتقال بيت فلان نسبة لاماكه واما اعلم

<sup>3</sup> CH. SCHEFER, *Relation du Voyage de Nassiri Khosrau*, Paris, 1881, p. 32

EVLIYA ÇELEBI, *Seyahatnâme*, IX, fol. 96 r, l. 9, (MS in the Pal. Arch. Museum Library) states that "David . . . built this Beit-ul-lahm. Yet its origin is Elba(!) (Aelia?). Afterwards, because Jesus came forth from the womb of his mother in this monastery this convent was called Beit-ul-lahm", adding elsewhere that the name applied to the village as well.

حضرت داود . . . بوريت اللحم بنا اينشدرو. اما ابتسامي الادر. (!) بعده حضرت عيسى بورمنصطره(!)  
رحم ما درندن مشتق اولسو غچون بوديره بيت اللحم ديديل

This popular etymology is mentioned by ABDUL GHANI AN-NABULUSI, 1641-1731, in his *al-hadratu-l-ensiyya fi-r-rihlati-l-qudsiyya* (Pilgrimage to Jerusalem) MS., Palestine Archaeological Museum Library, p. 315, . . .

مثل نار قد اججروا بفتح	ان عيسى المسيح روح شريف
وكان الخلة ذات شم	قرية مهدہ بها حيث ذرنا
فهذا قد سمعت بيت لحم	كان له فيها ولادة جسم

The palm tree mentioned is an allusion to Sure XIX, vv. 23, 25, while the last stanza is a version of St. John, 1<sup>4</sup>.

The earlier Arab geographers treat this word as a foreign name, cf. the *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (ed. DE GOEJE) vol. I, AL-ISTAKHRI, *Viae*

took the word to represent an Arabic genitive construction, i. e. in popular etymology = "house of meat".<sup>1</sup> This can be verified from relevant *firmāns*, *berāvāt*, *irādēs*,<sup>2</sup> and even Arabic *ḥujāj* from the Turkish conquest until the British occupation in 1917. It was perpetuated in Turkish literature and official correspondence ever since though the correct form was used at the same time. Even the learned author of the best oriental concordance of the Coran, the late 'ALEMI-ZADÉ FA'DULLAH AL-HASANI, himself an Arab and sometime district officer (*mudīr*) of that town, thought it advisable to retain the official spelling on the title page of his work known as *fathu-r-rahmān li-lālibi āyāti-l-qur'ān* (Beirüt, A.H. 1323, A.D. 1905).

The article inserted wrongly in *Beit-ul-lahm* is an attempt at popular etymology. It may be due to a construction analogous to that of *Beit-ul-Maqdis*. YĀQŪT gives a variant to the name, *Beit Lahm*. At his time the memory of this valiant tribe, which occupied sites in Palestine and Syria, may still have been vivid.<sup>3</sup> The nisbe form pronunciation may perhaps be considered to reflect the one time presence of an article. A man of Bethlehem

*Regnorum*, مالك الملائكة p. 57; vol. III, AL-MUQADDASI, *Descriptio Imperii Moslemici* كتاب البلدان p. 172; vol. V. IBNU-L-FAQIH, احسن التقاسيم في معرفة الاقاليم p. 101.

Cf. SEYBOLD, C. F., *Miszellen*, 2, in ZDMG, 1908, 563: *Tūl Karm und nicht Tūr al-Karam*, where the form objected to is a parallel to *Beit ul-Lahm*.

<sup>1</sup> SCHROEDER, O., *Zu Berliner Amarnatexten*, OLZ., 1915, Col. 295, . . . "Die bisherige Erklärung des Namens Bethlehem als "Brothaus" (quoting, inter alia, BUHL, *Geographie Palästinas*, p. 156) ist lediglich volksetymologisch; der Name bedeutet "Haus der Göttin Lahama".

<sup>2</sup> Firmans dealing with the contested rights of the different Christian denominations on holy sites are numerous. The following may be taken at random: Two Firmans, dated A.H. 923, (began 24th January, 1517) granted to Greeks and Armenians.

قال مكي بن عبد السلام الرملي ثم المقدسي رأيت بخط مشرف بن مرجا يبت لثم بالغا المعجمة 8  
وسمعت جماعة يروون من شيوخنا بالخلافة المهملة وقد بلغني أن الجميع صحيف جاز  
[AL-'UMARĪ, *masāliku-l-abṣār*, p. 168, mentions him as al-Ḥāfiẓ . . . ar-Rumeiliyy].  
YĀQŪT, *Geogr. Wörterbuch*, (ed. WÜSTENFELD) I, p. 779. The Lakhmides were important at the beginning of the Moslem era, as their right to control the revenues of the Sanctuary at Hebron were even then not contested. (Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, s. v. al-Khalil, Tamīm ad-Dārī, Lakhm). Yet this form may also reflect contemporary traditional pronunciation heard from Occidental Christians, who often confound *ḥ* with *kh*.

is spoken of as *talḥami*<sup>1</sup> (also family name, pl. *talāḥme*), while a person of Bēt Jāla is known as *Bajjāli*, *bejjāli* (rarely as *Bēt Jāli*). Similarly an inhabitant of Bēt Iksa is a *Kiswāni*, one of Bēt Safāfa a *Safāfi* and of Bēt ‘Ūr an *‘Ūri* (this is also the name of a well known family in Jerusalem). All these names are met with in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup> An inquisitive inquirer insisting to know ones provenance is given the evasive answer: "ana min Bēt Lahm".<sup>3</sup>

The other case in point is that of Bēt Jimāl.<sup>4</sup> This word has no article, and cannot have had any. Not only that the complement *Jimāl*<sup>5</sup> does not mean camels (in the original language) but there is

<sup>1</sup> This is a *naḥt* (contraction of *nisbe*) which, curiously enough, retains the *tā’* of *bēt*. In the case of compound place-names (with *bēt* as complement) this latter is usually not considered. Exceptions are the *nisbe* construed from *Bēt Lahm* and *Bēt Jāla*. No *nisbe*, however, is derived from the name of *Bēt Jimāl*, it being substituted by a phrase.

<sup>2</sup> The Protestant Arabic Bible version gives the *nisbe* as *beitalahmiyy*, written in one word. Cf. II Sam. 161.<sup>18</sup> 17<sup>68</sup>; whereas the Arabic Vulgata edition and that of the Dominican Fathers (Mōṣul) have it: *min Beita Lahmin*.

<sup>3</sup> On the other hand *bēt el-lahm* is one of the many euphemisms for the pudendum muliebre.

<sup>4</sup> The following select bibliography may be quoted:— GISLER, M., *Das Grab des heiligen Erzmärtyrs Stephanus*. (Das Heilige Land, 61, 1917); ABEL, F.-M., *Une chapelle byzantine à Beit el-Djemal* (Revue Biblique, 1919, pp. 244–8); MALLON, A., *Le sanctuaire byzantin de Beit Djemal* (Biblica, III, 1922, p. 502–7). [This he renders, however, with *Beit-ed-Djemal* in *Biblica XIV*, 1933, p. 277, which should read p. 377]; ALBRIGHT, W. F., *Researches of the School in Western Judea*, (Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, XV, 1924, p. 9); *Quarterly Statement* for 1923, p. 201; ABEL, F.-M., *Ou en est la question de Caphargamala?* (Revue Biblique, 1924, pp. 235–245); P. DHORME, in *Bulletin* of the Revue Biblique for 1924, p. 306; VINCENT, L. H., *Chronique*, 2. *A la recherche de Caphargamala*, (Revue Biblique, 1924, p. 127–132). TONNEAU, R., in *Chronique* of the Revue Biblique for 1929, p. 424.

For previous literature see notes 1, 2 on p. 240, *Revue Biblique*, 1924, where authorities are quoted for the forms of the name, especially for the insertion of the article. Attention may be drawn in this connection to P. THOMSEN's Index to *Palästina-Literatur*, vol. IV, (and on different occasions in that volume) where the name is rendered always as "*bēt idschmāl*".

<sup>5</sup> *The Survey of Western Palestine*, vol. III, p. 24 and *Special Volume*, p. 252 renders it with "House of Camels". If an enclosure for camels or a cattle shed or something similar was intended, surely a correct name could have been given to the site, as the Arabic language is rich in relevant synonyms, considering all

no trace of an animal mentioned in connexion with *Bēt* as far as the present Palestinian Arabic place-names are concerned.<sup>1</sup> It would be against all Arabic rules to use a wrong appellative where there exists a number of words conveying this meaning. The nouns *ḥazīr*, *sīr*, *ḥōš*, *bāyke*, (*y*)ābōr, *ḥusṣ*, *ḥumm*, (*hunn*, *qynn*, *qumm*), *zarīb* and others are ample proof of the wealth of expressions for any building or enclosure to shelter or guard domestic animals. There are Arabic place-name combinations with the word *jimāl*, (*Wādi-jimāl*, *Imm-iṭ-jimāl*) which bear relation to camels as such. Finally, the older generation still knows the alternative name of *Khirbet Jmāl*.<sup>2</sup>

The name *Jamāl* is an ancient Arabic personal name.<sup>3</sup> Not only can the form be traced to pre-Christian times,<sup>4</sup> but the variants *Gamlēl*, *Gamli*, etc. of an independent Hebrew form *Gamal'el*,<sup>5</sup> show its popularity, which cannot be merely attributed to a "connexion with the word camel".<sup>6</sup>

The form *gam(a)la* (in *Caphar Gamala*) may be considered to be the source of the present day *Bēt Jimāl*, (in which latter form the *kasra* may have been previously a *fathā*: *Jamāl*, as the Arabic noun with both Hebrew and Aramaic forms suggest).<sup>7</sup> On the other hand the feminine form of place-names ending with *-oth* was rendered in Arabic with the form *faṭāla* (introduced, no doubt through Aramaic influence).<sup>8</sup> Despite the possibility that the different vocalization of the group *gml* may admit the meaning of "camel",

the minutiae which are the pride of the language. The *Survey* (I. c. and Index Vol. p. 10) is inclined to identify this site with Caphargamala, as is also DALMAN, *Palästinajahrbuch* X, 1914, p. 28, and ALBRIGHT, I.c.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Index Volume of the *Survey*, where a translation of every name is attempted.—*Bēt Sūsīn* does not fall under this category, being Aramaic.

<sup>2</sup> I owe this information to the kindness of 'Omar Effendi al-Barghuthy.

<sup>3</sup> WUTHNOW, H., *Die semitischen Menschennamen in griechischen Inschriften und Papyri des vorderen Orients*, Leipzig, 1930, pp. 39—40. M. BURCHARDT, *Die alt-kanaanäischen Fremdwörter und Eigennamen im Ägyptischen*, II, 1910, No. 904 and p. 68.

<sup>4</sup> JASTROW, M., *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*, p. 254.

<sup>5</sup> NOTH, M., *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung*, Stuttgart, 1928, p. 182, Nos. 351—3. <sup>6</sup> NOTH, o. c., p. 182, n. 2.

<sup>7</sup> It is not usual that an Arabicized form of place-name takes the *tashdīd* (as against the identification of *Jammālā* with *Caphar Gamala*).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. such forms as 'Atāra, 'Anāta, (but cf. *Beeroth*: *Bīrē*).

yet it cannot be said that the name *Bēt Jimāl* is an attempt at popular etymology. The article, nevertheless, is often pronounced in error, especially by outsiders.

It follows therefore, that it cannot mean "camels", despite the resemblance in spelling and pronunciation. It is non-Arabic and as such it is pronounced clearly without the article, though the single *jīm* often seems as if doubled. In this particular instance I have had occasion to verify the correct pronunciation of the name with people of Bēt Nattif, Arṭūf, Walaje, ‘Ain Shams, Bittīr and Bēt Jimāl itself. On my repeated questioning they would invariably pronounce it as *Bēt Ijmāl* (*idjmāl*) or *Bēt djmāl*, though on the first hearing one would be tempted to transcribe the "sound picture" with a double *djīm* (emphasized by the *dāl* preceding it in the *fellāḥi* pronunciation). They admittedly could not explain the name on the lines of popular etymology, and would frankly own their ignorance. The educated among them take the appellation to be a personal name, viz. *Jamāl*. This may be corroborated by the fact, that the Turkish (and also the Palestine) authorities had adopted the official spelling as *Beit Jimāl*.<sup>1</sup> This place-name, in its present form, is an interesting instance of the Arabicized form of an old Semitic word-group remaining almost unchanged, and resisting popular etymology — be it even so obvious and tempting.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The first authority for the writing of *Beit Jimāl* (without article) was CONDER, in *Quarterly Statement* for 1876, p. 16. In favour of his identification of Bēt Jimāl with the ancient Caphargamala (from the linguistic point of view) it may be mentioned, that a similar change has taken place with the name of Bēt Dajan, which was known in ancient time as Kfar Dagon as well as Beth Dagon. Cf. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, Ch., *Archaeological Researches*, vol. II, p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> Palestine Government publications omit the definite articles cf. *Provisional List of Names of Arch. Sites*, 1929, (Add.), Census Report 1931, while a different spelling and consequently a different translation is given in *Revue Biblique*, 1924, p. 240 (and elsewhere), cf. note 4, p. 235). The *Memorandum of the Waad Ha-Leumi on the Method of Transliteration of Geographical and Personal Names*, Tel Aviv, 1932, p. 25, follows the spelling adopted by Government.

## THREE FIRMĀN'S GRANTED TO THE ARMENIAN CATHOLIC COMMUNITY, JERUSALEM

ST. H. STEPHAN

JERUSALEM

These firmāns deal with the construction of the Church of Our Lady of the Spasm in Jerusalem and with the property of the Armenian Catholics around it.<sup>1</sup>

The Armenian Catholic Community in general, though dating back to the times of the Crusaders, when Armenian kings of Cilicia threw in their lot together with their western co-religionists and made a common cause against Seljuks and Saracens, has been through centuries under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Gregorians (the so-called 'orthodox' Armenians). It was only in 1831, that it was granted the privileges of an independent section of the *rayah* of the Ottoman sultans. In 1835 the first Berāt<sup>2</sup> was granted to

<sup>1</sup> A thorough study of the Church from the topographical, archaeological and historical viewpoints is made in VINCENT-ABEL's standard book on *Jérusalem, II, Jérusalem Nouvelle*, Livre IV, pp. 598–604. The Church, known since the Middle Ages as being connected with the memory of "Notre Dame de Paymoson" or "Notre Dame de Spasme", is shown in BERNARDINO AMICO, *Trattato delle Piante & Immagini de Sacri Edifizi di Terra Santa*, ed. 1620, on the plate opposite p. 26. (The contemporary plans, however, show the church on slightly different sites, though always in the same vicinity). Other references are: WARREN, *Recovery of Jerusalem*, pp. 281 ff.; CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Archaeological Researches*, I, 80; MACALISTER, R.A.S., in *Quarterly Statement* for 1902, pp. 122–4, both with plans and figures; VINCENT, H., *Revue Biblique*, 1908, p. 407 n.; DALMAN, G., in *Palästinajahrbuch*, 1906, p. 20; HORNING, R., *ZDPV*, 1909, p. 121.

The traditional Third and Fourth Stations of the Via Dolorosa (Via Crucis) are situated on the Property of the Armenian Catholics, attached to the Church. The Third Station is a walled up vestibule of some saracenic structure, and is venerated by Greeks and Latins alike.

<sup>2</sup> *Berāt* (pl. *Berāvāt*), Imperial patent or warrant conferring some dignity or privilege.

the Armenian Catholic Patriarch, who was thus officially acknowledged by the Sublime Porte.<sup>1</sup>

The Jerusalem Armenian Catholic community, numbering 330 souls (238 males and 92 females) according to the 1931 Census<sup>2</sup> owes very much to the activity of their first priest, Saropé Davitian. In 1856 he bought a plot of land, known as the *Hammām as-Sulṭān*,<sup>3</sup> situated in the Wād Quarter, (the Tyropoeon), opposite the Austrian Hospice. The sum spent amounted to £T 1600 gold. This was made possible by the munificence of Anton Bey Misirlian of Constantinople, who presented the land to the Armenian Catholic Patriarch, Gregorius VIII, Catholicos of Cilicia.

From the numerous itineraries of the pilgrims which mention the Church of the Spasm a few may be quoted, to illustrate the development of a local tradition with regard to a site which was shown on several times at different places.<sup>4</sup> At the beginning of the 14th century there stood a church on the site or close nearby. FRESCOBALDI<sup>5</sup> mentions "una bellissima e divota Chiesa, e fecela chiamare Santa Maria dello Spasimo, per la spasimata pena che Nostra Donna ebbe in quel luogo. E qui è oggi una moscheta di Saracini, e non vi si può entrare".<sup>6</sup> In 1449 GUMPPENBERG found

<sup>1</sup> GABRIEL NORADOUNGHIAN, *Recueil d'Actes internationaux de l'Empire Ottoman*, vol. II, 1789–1856 (Paris, 1900), pp. xxvi and 203, (Texte No. 65) gives the translation of a "Bérat instituant un Evêché arménien catholique à Constantinople", dated 21 Rajab A.H. 1246 = 5th January, 1831, and also a "Bérat d'investiture délivré au Patriarche des Arméniens catholiques de Constantinople et de ses dépendances", (Texte No. 147), pp. lxiv and 410, dated 22 Safar, A.H. 1269 (4th December, 1852).

Yet these were granted only against a present to the Imperial Treasury of 50 000 Piastres (or 60 000 Piastres in the case of the latter Berāt) and the payment of a fixed annual sum amounting to 338 000 Piastres. These were the first Berāvāt treating the Armenian Catholics as a separate community with an independent judicial ecclesiastical authority.

<sup>2</sup> E. MILLS, *Census of Palestine*, vol. II, *Tables*, p. 27, Table VII, part 2.

<sup>3</sup> Owing to the fact that not only the Turkish but also the Mamluk rulers had adopted the title of Sultan, it cannot be ascertained, by whom this "public bath" was built. The living generation cannot give any relevant information.

<sup>4</sup> TOBLER, *Topographie von Jerusalem*, Berlin, 1853, I, p. 240–1 gives the distances of the stations of the Via Dolorosa according to fifteen itineraries.

<sup>5</sup> *Viaggio . . . in Egitto e in Terra Santa* (ed. Roma, 1818, Mordacchini) p. 143.

<sup>6</sup> A more recent example of the conversion of a Christian Church into a mosque is the case of the Ya'qūbiyye, just behind Christ Church, opposite to the Citadel. The plastering was done recently. (See also VINCENT-ABEL, o. c., p. 558).

it demolished. ZWINNER<sup>1</sup> mentions the Church, of which nothing was to be seen, quoting as authority for its previous existence some earlier pilgrims and the local Christian tradition.<sup>2</sup> IGNATIUS VON RHEINFELDEN<sup>3</sup> testifies that . . . "Spasmus Mariae . . . jetz ein Bad der Türkene ist". This public bath was also noticed by POCOCKE.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Blumenbuch des Heiligen Landes*, München, 1661, p. 225.

<sup>2</sup> According to another local tradition, the ruins of an earlier church are buried under the debris east of the apsis of the present-day Church.

<sup>3</sup> *Neue Jerosolymitanische Bilger-Fahrt*, Würzburg, 1667, p. 71.

<sup>4</sup> TOBLER, o. c., p. 452, quotes II, § 19.

In addition the following extracts may be given:—

DE LA GRANGE, (ed.) *Voyaige d'oultremer en Jherusalem par le Seigneur de Caumont, l'an MCCCCXVIII*, Paris, 1858, p. 64. "Item, le meson où estoit le vierge Marie quant les Juifs menoist son enfant en le meson de Pilate; et quant elle le vit ainsi mener, elle cheit lout pasmée et come morte."

The *Itineraries of William Wey* (. . . 1458 and 1462), London, 1857, p. 20, (Printed for the Roxburghe Club), mention under *Loca Sancta in stacionibus Jherusalem*, No. 7, "Locus ubi beatissima Maria sincopizavit".

HANS STOCKAR's *Heimfahrt von Jerusalem*, . . . (1519). Schaffhausen, 1839, p. 6, "und ain diser Statt ist ein Kilchen, die gebuwen ist worden von den Kristen, und hatt der Her von Jerusalhem sin Ros darin, und ist vor Zitten ain hübsch Wesen da gesin". In *Wahrhaftie reiss gen Venedig und Jherusalem* (PETER FÜSSLY und HEINRICH ZIEGLER, Anno 1523) (publ. in Zürcher Taschenbuch 1834, Zürich, 1884), p. 165, mention is made of "das ort, da unsere Frauw unsern Herrn underem crüz sah und (es) iro gschwand".

BLOESCH, H. ed., *Heinrich Wölffis Reise nach Jerusalem*, 1520/1521. Bern, 1929, p. 51. ". . . Der Stein, daruf Maria gestanden. Daselbs ist etwan ein schöner tempel gsin, aber jetz sinnd da stäl für ross unnd Esel zur schmach des Christenlichen namens. Wir wurdend aber hynin glassen. Aber die Saracener lachetend unser, unnd verspottetend unsre andacht unnd die Ehr so wir dem ort erzeigtend."

Information for Pilgrims unto the Holy Land (ed. 1524) ed. by G. DUFF, 1893, E., (Sheet Di) "Also there is a place where our lady rested her seeng her sone beeryng the crosse. There is a chyrche called Ecclesia de spasmo . . ."

DENIS POSSOT (ed. Schefer), *Le Voyage de la Terre Sainte* . . . 1532, Paris, 1890, p. 171. "Oultre, où la Vierge Marie se pasma."

CONRADY, L. (ed) *Vier rheinische Palästina-Pilgerschriften des XIV, XV, und XVI Jahrhunderts*. Wiesbaden, 1882, p. 121, (Niederrheinische Pilgerschrift des XV Jahrhunderts). ". . . Item daer na compi men voir eyn kirch vnd is genent sancta maria in spacino . . . vnd die kirche is geslaten, dat die pilgrims daer nicht in en mogen comen."

The *Wanderings of Felix Fabri*. (The Library of the Palestine Pilgrims Text Society, vol. VIII), p. 447 . . ." In this place there once stood a stately church, which was called St. Mary of the Swoon, because she fainted away there. This church the Saracens have destroyed . . ."

The present-day name of the site is known to the Mohammedans as "Hammām as-Sultān", while the local Christians may call it *al-marhale-t-tälte* or (though very rarely) *Qurnet el-Adra*.<sup>1</sup>

The following notes, which I owe to the kindness of the present Armenian Catholic Patriarchal Vicar, the Reverend JAQUES GHIRAGOSSIAN, may be of interest from the historical point of view.

The first priest, Rev. Saropé Davitian, was in charge of the community from 1854 to 1865. He pulled down the stables on the site and left from the constructions only two rooms to which he added a chapel.

GROOTE, E. v., *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff . . . (1496–1499)* Cöln, 1860, p. 177, l. 25 . . . "an desem seluigen eynde hat sent Helena cyn kirche laissen bouwen, die yetzont gantz van den heyden destruewirt ist".

CASTELA, H., *Le Saint Voyage . . . 1612*, p. 272, "A cent pas de la on voit les ruines d'une Eglise, qui est à présent toute par terre, qui se nomme *Spasmus virginis Mariae* . . ."

BENARD, *Le Voyage de Hierusalem . . .*, Paris, 1621, p. 137." . . . puis passans outre par le mesme ruē nous vismes les ruines d'une chapelle iadis edifiee en l'honneur de la Vierge, laquelle en ce mesme lieu tomba par terre pasmee & esuanouye d'extreme douleur & tristesse . . .

COTOVICUS, *Itinerarium*, Antverpiæ, 1619, p. 255. "ad dexteram reliquimus Fanum, cui Spasmus Virginis nomen est, ruinosum et collapsum totum . . ."

*Relation des Voyages de Monsieur des Breves*, (ed. by DU CASTEL) Paris, 1630, p. 147, "nous vismes à main droicte, vne Eglise ruinée, qu'on appelle Nostre Dame de pasmoison . . ."

QUARESMIUS, . . . *Terrae Sanctae Elucidatio*, Antwerp, 1639, II, p. 310–219 deals at length with the "spasmus". He was copied by many pilgrims.

DE THEVENOT, *Relation d'un voyage . . .*, Paris, 1645, vol. I, p. 367, . . . "en suite on trouue à main droite le lieu de la pasmoison de la vierge . . ."

ANTONIO DE CASTILLO, *Eldeveto peregrino . . .*, Madrid, 1646, p. 207, "Como cien passos mas adelante estan las ruinas de vna Iglesia, que llaman el Psmo de la Virgen . . ."

*Travels of the late Charles Thompson*, London, 1744, vol. III, p. 140. "About a hundred paces farther we are shewn the Ruins of a Church, built on the Place where they tell you the Blessed Virgin fell into a Swoon, when she saw our Lord bearing his Cross and used despitefully".

<sup>1</sup> TOBLER, *I. c.*, p. 450, n. 1, quotes BOUCHER and SURIUS, who give the Arabic name of the site as "*Koleta el Adra*", (Ohnmacht der Jungfrau); perhaps this may be taken as a corruption of *gillāyit il-Adra* (Cell of the Virgin). The Arabic name under which it is best known is too recent and is *Dér Abūna Wākīm* after Msgr. Joachim Toumayan, its builder. Its Armenian name is *Yegeghetzi Tsavakīn Diramōr* (*Ecclesia Mater Dolorosae*). *YEGEGHETZI TSAVAKIN DIRAMOR*

In March, 1872, Monseigneur Joachim Toumaian was put in charge of the affairs of the community. He built the Convent and the Church in spite of many difficulties from both Christians and Turks.<sup>1</sup> He was a rare personality, who could enlist the support of many people to attain his aim.<sup>2</sup> For 52 years he was the Head of the Community. In 1914 he retired and died on 20. I. 1929, aged 84. He is buried in a niche built into the southern wall of the Crypt of the Church.

In 1873 a wall running towards the Zāwiya of the Qādiriyye was built. No trace remains of it. Its existence would have facilitated matters considerably for the community. In 1874 an ancient bath room and the chapel was restored as well as the cistern. The chapel near the third Station was renovated in 1878. After 1881 work began and the site of the crypt was cleared. It cost 5686 frcs. gold. 66473 donkey loads of earth were carried off.

In 1884 the construction of both crypt and cistern was started. It was necessary to dig the foundations of the cistern 16 m deep for the southern and 8 m for the northern wall. The measurement of the crypt, 15 m × 13 m × 5 m differ from those authorized by the Sultan in his Firmān of the 29th Dul-Hijje A.H. 1304. As this Firmān was issued very late, the digging was carried out secretly (sometimes at night). Yet it arrived in August 1885, just after the work had been happily brought to an end.

## I

[Yellowish, fairly thick Chancery paper. Measurements: 77 × 54 cm; writing in 11 lines; space between lines averaging between 2,5 and 4,5 cm; measurements of Tughra: 15,5 × 20 cm; space between Tughrā and Basmala sigla: 30 cm].

<sup>1</sup> In 1912, e. g., the sum of £ 200 was required by an agent of the then governor for the permission to build up the encircling wall and to connect it with the Zāwiya of the Qādiriyye. As no such sum was available, the scheme had to be dropped, after the Grand Vizier had reprimanded the governor.

<sup>2</sup> In 1884 Agop Agha Khirlakhian, later Member of Parliament for Marash, contributed Frs. 1000 to the building of a room in the Convent. This is a pious habit observed since olden times by Greeks and Armenians in Asia Minor.





<sup>١</sup> [طفراء] عد الحمد خان من عيد الجيد المظفر دائماً<sup>١</sup>

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1 | امیر الامراء الكرام کبر الکبار الفخامة ذو القدر والاحترام صاحب العز<br>والاحتشام المختص بمزيد عناية الملك الاعلى روم ايلی یکلر ییکلکی پایه لولرندن<br>قدس شریف سنجاغی متصرف اولوب برنجی رتبه مجیدی و در دنچی رتبه<br>عثمان شان ذیشانلرینی   |
| 2 | حائز و حامل اولان رؤوف! باشا دامت معالیه<br>توقيع رفع همایونم وأصل او ليحق معلوم اولاً کي قدس شريفده ارمي<br>قوتك جماعتک متصرف او لدیني عرصه يه برباب کليسا انساني حقنده<br>جاعت مرقومه بطریق لکنندن واقع اولان استدعا او زرینه مقدم و مؤخر<br>سبق ايدن استعلامه جواباً قدس شريف مجلس اداره سندن مورود ايکی قطمه<br>مضبطه مآلرنده قدسه ارمي قوتك راهبلرينک تحت تصرفلرنده بولنان<br>واوزرنه کليسا انساني ارزو اولان عرصه نك بپارجهسي اراضي مملوکه<br>دن و قصوريني اراضيء موقوفه دن اولوب |
| 3 | بونده جماعات سائزه نك علاقه سی و مدخل و اشتراکی او لمدیني و اکرجه<br>بر طرفی قادری و نقشبندی زاویه لرینه ملاصق و حرم شریفه المیش ذراع قدر<br>مسافه ده بولنه یور مذکور عرصه ايله زاویه لر اراسنه بش مترو عرضنه<br>بر طریق کشادیله اتصال مخدوری مندفع   |
| 4 | وجوارنده کی تأسیسات و انشاءات اجنیه يه مساوی او له جئی بالکشف<br>اکلاشیلررق او لباده اقتضا ايدن تعهد سندینک اخذ و حفظ قلنديني و قدس<br>شريفده متمكن ارمي قوتك جاعتي درت خانه ده ذکور و انان يکری ايکی<br>تفوستدن عبارت ايسه ده مذکور کليسا رسعدادتمدن   |
| 5 | و محال سائزه دن کیدن زوارک اجرای آین ایتملرینه خصوص بوله جغدن<br>یکرمی بش بچق مترو طول و اون بچق مترو عرض و اون اوچ مترو ارتفاعه<br>انشا او له جئی کي فقرای زوارک اقامتلر یچون دخی يکرمی ايکی او طه و بر<br>اخور دخی علاوه اندیله جکی   |

**1** See Plate XVI

- 7 یايان و اشعار او لىش [half a line] اخیراً وارد او لان دیکر مضبوطه دن  
کو سترلش او لدینگدن کیفیت شورای دولت داخلیه دائزه سندن بامضبوطه  
وقوع بولان افاده
- 8 طرف اشرف پادشاهانه عرض ایله لدی الاستئذان کلیسا یی مذکور ک  
اولوجله مع مشتملات بنا و انشاسه مساعده "سنه" ملوکانه ارزان قلمرو  
امر همایون شاهانه سنوح و صدور ایلسی او لمغین مقضای منیفی او زره  
رخصی حاوی دیوان همایون نده اشبوا
- 9 امر جلیل القدرم اصدار و اعطای او لندی  
سنکه متصرف مشار ایه سن سالف الذکر کلیسانک بالاده یان او لنان طول  
وعرض و ارتقای ذراعلرینی تجاوز اینمامک ومصارف انشائیه سی دخی  
بطریق خانه بنایتنه تسویه و ایفا ایدلک
- 10 او زره منوال محترم مشتملاتیه برابر بنا و انشاسه مانع اولنی و بو وسیله  
ایله جماعت مرقومه دن جبراً اقچه طوبلانق و یاخود آخر صورته از عاج  
او لنق مثلو حالاتی و قوعه کتورلامی خصوصیه دقت و خلاف دن بغايت  
تخانی (!) و مجانب ایلیه سن
- 11 تحریراً في اليوم التاسع والعشرين من شهر ذى الحجة الشريفة لسنة  
اربع وثلاثين وalf  
بمقام قسطنطینیه

## TRANSLATION :-

Tughrā<sup>1</sup> of 'Abdulhamid [II], son of 'Abdulmajid, the always  
victorious.

(To) the prince of princes,<sup>2</sup> the mighty one<sup>3</sup>, the powerful<sup>4</sup>, the  
respected,<sup>5</sup> possessor of glory (= power) and magnificence, who is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Enc. of Islām*, s. v. and especially F. BABINGER, *Die großherrliche Tughra* in *Jahrbuch der Asiatischen Kunst*, vol. II, 1925, pp. 188—196.

<sup>2</sup> The title of a Governor of a province (answering to the obsolete Mir-i Mirān), a Pasha, who was allowed to have two horsetails carried before him.

<sup>3</sup> lit. the great one among the great personages.

<sup>4</sup> lit. possessor of might.

<sup>5</sup> Introductions were usually written in the so-called *saj'*, rhymed prose.

especially adopted by the abundant grace of the King most high, holder of the rank of Governor-General of Rūm-īlī,<sup>1</sup> now being the Governor of the Sanjāq of Jerusalem,<sup>2</sup> receiver and holder of the first class Mejīdi and fourth class Osmāni decorations,<sup>3</sup> Re-uf Pasha, may his high qualities and dignities endure.

On the arrival of this sublime sign-manual<sup>4</sup> be it known that Whereas according to the contents of the two official reports (*Mazbaṭa*) received from the Administrative Council of Jerusalem in answer to an official request for official information, made previously as well as of late, with regard to a petition to build a church on the plot of vacant land on the property of the Armenian Catholic Community, submitted by the Patriarchate of the said community,

And whereas it has been communicated and declared, that upon investigation, it was evident that the plot of vacant land, (the property of the Armenian Catholic priests of Jerusalem on which it is desired to build a church), is in part *memlūk*<sup>5</sup> land, the remainder being *waqf* land,

And whereas the other communities have neither possession nor participation in it,

And whereas, although the plot of land is contiguous with the Qādiriyye and Naqshabandiyye Zāwia and at a distance of sixty cubits from the Noble Sanctuary,<sup>6</sup> yet the contact (against which precautions are to be taken) would be avoided by opening a road,

<sup>1</sup> In the *sālnāmē* for 1314, (began 12. 6. 1896) p. 44, this rank is second to that of the Ministers of State. It included the office of Qādi of Constantinople and the rank of a General of a Division, *ferīq*, being classified as grade I A; while grade I B was held by the Guardian of the Sacred Sites *Haramein-i sherefin*, a General Lieutenant and a Governor of a province in general, not being specified — *mīr-mīrānlyq*. On p. 84 the *Rūm-īlī pāyelu* rank is shown to have been granted to 99 officials, who are mentioned by name, grade, station and date of appointment.

<sup>2</sup> Jerusalem was an independant *sanjāq* as were also Mount Lebanon, Bengāzī, (Deir ez-) Zōr, Izmid, Kale-i Sulṭāniyye (Straights of Dardanelles) and Čatalja. (*Sālnāme*).

<sup>3</sup> These decorations were created by the Sultans ‘Abdul-Azīz and ‘Abdul Mejid, respectively.

<sup>4</sup> *tevqī* as technical term is mentioned in KHAFFĀJI, (1571–1659) *shifā'u-l-ghālīl*, p. 57, (Cairo, A.H. 1325), s. v.

<sup>5</sup> *arāzi memlūke* “lands held in fee simple taken by conquest” (REDHOUSE).

<sup>6</sup> *al-Haramu-sh-sharīf*, the Temple Area.

5 metres broad, between the said plot and the Zāwiah, and that it would be on equal terms with the foreign institutions and buildings in its neighbourhood,

And whereas a written undertaking, required in this case, has been received and kept,

And whereas—although the Armenian Catholic community in Jerusalem numbers four families, totalling 22 souls in all, both male and female,—the said church would serve especially for the ceremonies of the pilgrims going thither from my Gate of Felicity<sup>1</sup> and elsewhere, its constructions should be 25,5 m length, 10,5 m breadth and 13 m height,<sup>2</sup> and that 22 rooms should be added for the accomodations of poor pilgrims, as well as a stable.<sup>3</sup> . . . as has been evident from the second official report which arrived of late.

The matter has been submitted in a report to my Imperial Majesty by the Office of the Home Affairs of the Council of State. Upon authorization being applied for to erect a church and its outer buildings in the afore-mentioned manner, (the grant of my sublime royal permission being considered appropriate), the present august Decree has been granted and issued from my Imperial Chancery, containing the said permission.

You, who are the aforementioned governor, be careful that no opposition is made to the construction and building of the church and its "parts", *mustemilât*, (sc. being carried out) in the manner already stated, provided that the measurements indicated as to length, height and breadth are not exceeded and the cost of construction is paid and settled by the Patriarchate when building (is in progress).

Be careful that no moneys are forcefully collected from the said community under this pretext and that no acts are committed in any way so as to trouble and molest them.

Be exceedingly careful to avoid contrary acts and abstain from them.

Written on the 29th day of the noble month of Du-l-Hijje, A.H. 1304, (= 19.9.1886) at the Imperial Residence in Constantinople.

(To be continued).

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Stambül

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the measurements given by MACALISTER I.c.

<sup>3</sup> Half a line omitted.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Traité de Grammaire Hébraïque*, Fascicule II, par MAYER LAMBERT,  
p. 225—432, Paris: Leroux, 1932.

La publication de cette grammaire complète se poursuit dans les mêmes conditions d'ampleur et de clarté que nous avons rencontrées au premier fascicule. Le second fascicule qui vient de paraître est consacré au verbe, aux adverbes, aux prépositions et aux conjonctions. Naturellement l'étude du verbe en occupe la majeure partie. Au lieu de **עֲמָד** plutôt araméen qu'hébreu, l'auteur emploie pour modèle du verbe actif régulier **שׂוֹבֵد**, usité dans la Bible à presque toutes les conjugaisons, **כִּנְבַּר** sert de paradigme pour les verbes qualitatifs réguliers, le terme, "qualitatif" étant préféré au terme "statif" adopté par d'autres grammairiens. De plus, ce n'est pas le passé qui est donné comme type du verbe, mais l'infinitif quand on ne se contente pas d'indiquer simplement la racine sans vocalisation. Les appellations conventionnelles de *passé* ou *futur* sont maintenues pour la commodité quoiqu'elles soient loin de répondre aux divers aspects des formes que d'autres ont nommées *parfait* ou *imparfait*, dont le sens a besoin d'être entendu très largement. On sait en effet que le passé peut exprimer à l'occasion un fait accompli seulement en imagination et non en réalité, ou une action dont le résultat dure encore, ou des actes concomitants dans une énonciation présente. Le futur indicatif hébreu en général correspond aux trois temps français: *imparfait*, *présent* et *futur*. Des critiques pourront sans doute reprocher à cette grammaire l'assimilation des formes hébraïques aux temps de la grammaire française (reproche que certains ont fait au traitement analogue de l'aoriste grec), nous ne partageons pas ces préventions, convaincus de la nécessité de tels rapprochements destinés à faciliter la traduction exacte du texte hébreu en une langue moderne.

Comment expliquer le sens présent qu'exprime le passé des verbes qualitatifs? Faut-il voir avec H. BAUER dans ce phénomène l'indice d'une époque où la forme *pa'al* n'avait pas encore évolué vers le *passé*?

Mais cette évolution ne se constate pas dans la plupart des verbes de sorte que la meilleure solution est celle de MAYER-LAMBERT: du moment que la durée de l'effet d'une action était parfois impliquée par le passé de certains verbes, il devenait naturel que l'extension de cette idée de durée aboutît à l'expression d'un état permanent, et par conséquent présent, au moyen d'un qualitatif passé, qui, en fait, remplace souvent l'adjectif.

A propos du *futur* et du *passé convertis*, que d'autres appellent *invertis*, l'auteur n'attribue au *waw* qu'un rôle conversif apparent, et remonte à l'existence d'un passé préfixé et d'un futur suffixé dont les différences se seraient considérablement atténues dans la suite des temps. La conjonction qui les précédait est demeurée, sans avoir en réalité une influence sur le sens du verbe, ni impliquer une consécution.

Aux termes *d'infinitif absolu* et *d'infinitif construit*, le nouveau traité substitute ceux d'infinitifs premier et second, car ce dernier se trouve très souvent à l'état absolu comme on peut s'en rendre compte aux paragraphes 751 et 752. Une autre innovation est de commencer le paradigme de chaque temps par la première personne du singulier suivant la méthode du grec et du latin adoptée par les langues modernes. Le mélange de syntaxe et de morphologie offert par cet ouvrage, s'il est attaquable sous certain rapport, en rend toutefois la lecture plus attrayante à qui voudra rencontrer sans retard la signification nuancée du verbe sous la rude écorce des formes.

Afin de faciliter l'exposition des particules, le traité partage la section en adverbes, prépositions, etc., division ignorée des grammairiens juifs mais en usage dans les langues indo-européennes. En somme, pour avoir rompu avec une disposition et une terminologie surannées, le traité de MAYER-LAMBERT n'a rien perdu en profondeur, bien au contraire, en empruntant un cadre et une méthode supérieurs à la routine rabbinique, jusqu'ici l'objet d'une sorte de vénération superstitieuse.

F.-M. ABEL

*Wörterbuch des palästinischen Arabisch, Deutsch-Arabisch*, von LEONHARD BAUER. XVI, 432. Leipzig, Wallmann; Jerusalem, Syrian Orphanage, 1933. 12/-.

This eminently useful book is the result of continual assiduous research for many years, and judicious collecting of linguistic material from first hand sources all over the country. The author has spared no efforts to make it modern, and to incorporate into it the technical results of lexicography. It is arranged according to the principles of the well known dictionaries of TOUSSAINT-LANGENSCHEIDT, and contains over 20000 words with their derivations, not to mention many phrases and illustrative expressions taken from every-day speech. It is excellently produced. Considering the difficult setting of composite types with diacritical signs there is a minimum of missprints. The price is reasonable.

The work should have been accomplished by a native of the country. But the author, known for his scholarly publications on the Palestinian vernacular, (who has moreover spent over a generation in Palestine) is the ideal person for this arduous and most ungrateful job. His diligence, manifest on every page, has not stopped short in front of seemingly insurmountable difficulties. This dictionary therefore fills a long felt serious gap—a task attempted by many with less perseverance and success. For a first effort this book is in several respects a remarkable achievement. It would be narrow-minded to be too critical of its imperfections. It offers much more material than other dictionaries of its kind and size and appeals therefore to a very wide range of students.

This publication will be invaluable to the European, and especially the German student of Arabic vernacular, and will be also of considerable assistance to the Arab student with some knowledge of German. It may not be amiss to state that cursory or superficial tests cannot prove or disprove the real value of a dictionary, but only constant reference to it. In this particular case one could object, however, to the use of the socalled Gothic characters for the German, though technical and probably typographical reasons may be stated in favour of it. Yet this is a matter of secondary importance, and does very little indeed to minimize

the value of the book, which will be gratefully welcomed by all students of the fascinating Arabic vernacular.

In pp. I-XVI a resumé is given followed by the gist of the grammatical rules so ably expounded in his standard work on *Palestinian Arabic*, a table of abbreviations and rules for pronunciation as well as accentuation. The dictionary proper, pp. 1-432, is followed by a number of appendices, of which No. I gives the approximate phraseological renderings of selected Germanisms. Appendix II is a collection of remarks pertaining to different situations envisaged in daily life, with hints, references, expressions of thanks and wishes, both complimentary and maledictory. The list of "Christian" names in Appendix III is divided into two parts according to the gender. Appendix IV, deals with some of the most relished sweetmeats and appetizing dishes. The last five pages (App. V) are taken up by corrections and additions.

A happy idea is the abundance of illustrative quotations, which, as far as one could see, contain no Germanisms in Arabic disguise. They are of importance, as they present a vivid picture of the Palestine vernacular, both the dialects of the towns people and villages, to which a good number of Beduin expressions and turns of speech are added wherever occasion offers. These illustrative sentences are most welcome and indispensable to show the different (sometimes even bewildering) meanings and correct uses of a word, —an advantage not to be underrated in the case of so difficult a language as Arabic is for foreigners. A further help to the student is the indication of the government for the present tense form of the verb, the insertion of the plural form and the classical equivalent of interesting words.

The material at hand was limited in several respects. So many expressions which cannot be rendered adequately in vernacular Arabic had to be given in classical. This is not a drawback as classical is readily understood by all. Where the vernacular could not draw upon the vast treasures of the classical it borrowed from other languages. It proved thereby its surprisingly vivid power of assimilation, unbroken by agelong neglect or disuse, and it arabicised the loanwords totally. This process of borrowing is still continuing though, happily enough, it will never acquire alarming proportions as in the case of ultramodern Turkish. The British occupation and

the resulting rapid changes of everyday life influenced the coining of new expressions. As a result the use of classical words in some instances was resorted to. Furthermore, the Department of Education sees to it that Government School teachers use only classical Arabic during studying hours. Newspapers widely read, and gramophone discs extensively used, have helped in their way towards attaining a compromise between classical and vernacular. The educated classes have already adopted a considerable number of classical expressions and turns of speech in their vocabulary. Under these circumstances, as is only too natural, Turkish loanwords are falling into disuse, others being substituted for them. Thus sport expressions are freely borrowed from English, while those for technical and economical requirements—as far as they could not be rendered exactly, (or because they would sometimes involve clumsy sentences)—were taken over from French with an Arabic pronunciation. Finally a number of technical expressions, pertaining to the administrative apparatus of the Government, have been translated from English.

As a whole the book is as near perfection as a dictionary of this kind in such surroundings and with these limited means could be. It will be the standard work for the present generation. The author should be heartily congratulated on this fine achievement.

It would be unfair not to appreciate the work of the staff of the Syrian Orphanage Press, who have done their utmost to produce such an excellent book, a work which could be accomplished so satisfactorily by few other presses in the Near East.

ST. H. STEPHAN.

كتاب القضايا بين البدو *kitābu-l-qadā'i baina-l-badwi* Justice (or Arbitration) among the Beduins by 'ĀREF EL-'ĀREF. IV, 264,2, front., 13 pl., 21 ill.; Jerusalem, Beyt ul-Makdes Press, 1933. 5/-.

The author, for several years District Officer in Beersheba, may be considered to be the foremost authority on the conditions of Beduins in the South of Palestine. In his official capacity and also in his leisure moments he has amassed a wealth of ethnographic, folkloristic and topographical data. This notable contribution to the study of the legal practices among the Beduins of Beersheba is to be followed by another dealing with their history, which is in the press. A third volume is devoted to the folksongs of the Beduins, the MS of which is already finished. One wonders how the diligent author, in addition to his many duties, could find the energy and time to collect and publish such important material. An English and a Hebrew translation of the book under review are being prepared. This first edition was already exhausted within six weeks of its publication. The book is appearing in a revised edition—an eloquent proof of the popularity of the work.

The ten chapters of the book treat of the following subjects:— I (pp. 5–48) The Beduin Tribes of Beersheba, their number, virtues, dialects and sheikhs; II (pp. 49–74) Arbitration among the Beduins with a general survey on the judicial procedure observed by the tribes; a list of their judges and the members of the Tribal Courts at Beersheba of which the District Officer is President ex officio. The ordeal, *el-bash'a*, and oaths are then dealt with. Especially valuable are the lists of the six main tribes with their 77 sub-tribes (numbering in all about 70,000 souls including their permanent "guests"), the tribal sheikhs and judges and the Tribal Courts instituted by Government. Chapter III (pp. 77–104) is on murder, the *'atwa* (armistice granted by the persecuting party for the conclusion of peace), the *jīre* (fee payable to the middle-man for the conclusion of peace between litigating parties), the *wajh* or surety, the *bas'a*, ordeal, and the *diyye* or blood money. Chapt. IV (pp. 105–120) deals with thefts, the *'adāya* (already known to us from II Sam. 12<sup>4</sup>, i. e. the unauthorized seizure of a neighbour's sheep to be served as food for an arriving guest); the *wisāqa* (seizure of part of the property of a debtor and depositing it with a trustworthy

third person until recovery of debt); and the much cherished *husna*, a good deed in general. In Chapt. V (pp. 121–138) the rights and duties of a Bedawi woman are set forth together with the law of inheritance, marriage, dowry, divorce, polygamy and adultery. Chapt. VI (pp. 139–177) is devoted to breed horses and camels, tribal marks on animals, the right of pasturage, water and the right of watering. Chapt. VII (pp. 178–214) treats the migration of the tribes, the right of the neighbour, the manner of saluting, the right of a guest as distinguished from that of a *tanib* (i. e. the person seeking refuge with a well-known personality); coffee and incursions are then considered. In Chapt. VIII (pp. 215–240) some data are furnished about fertility and barrenness, commerce and industry, economical conditions prevailing among the Beduins; buying and selling and the land for cultivation. One of the many interesting features of the book with its authentic material are the different valuable lists, showing details otherwise unobtainable. Chapters IX and X on medicine and superstitions respectively, contain scanty material and are apparently given only in connection with the general idea of the book, which is written for the scholar and the general reader alike. It is good, frequently interesting and at times charming reading. Slips of pen or print are rare.

A word on the very vexing question of transliteration may not be out of place. The 130 select expressions of the Beersheba dialect (though in some instances easily traceable to classical) could have been vowelled in order to give an approximate picture of their pronunciation, as the rendering of any Arabic colloquial in Arabic script leaves much to be desired. It would be well to follow R. ENGELBACH's *Some Suggestions on the Transcription of European Words into the Arabic Alphabet*,<sup>1</sup> as the use of inverted *dammah* and *kasra* for *o* and *e*, besides being practical, does not involve any additional cost to the printer.

An indispensable feature could be incorporated into the second edition of the book, a map of the territories of each clan, if possible, their movements to summer and winter quarters and their interrelation to each other as well as to the fellâhîn. A similar map has already

<sup>1</sup> In *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, vol. XXXIII, 1932 pp. 1–6.

been prepared for the second volume on the History of the Beduins in Southern Palestine.

It would greatly add to the value of this important publication if, in addition, all the practices described could be amplified by an exact description, giving the terms used. Technical terms, proverbial sayings and folksongs add considerably to the explanation of customs which seem otherwise unintelligible. A valuable book on the *Customs of the Beduins* (sc. of Ḥaurān, in Arabic) by the Reverend BŪLUS S. AL-BŪLŪ<sup>1</sup>, Ḥarīṣa, 1928, may be mentioned in this connexion.<sup>1</sup>

The book is nicely printed and illustrated by a coloured frontispiece (showing the author in Beduin garb), 13 plates and 21 figures in the text. It would have enhanced their value and clearness if they had been printed on special paper. Exception may also be taken to the inadequate reproduction of the tribal marks on animals. It is unfortunate that, as they now stand, they are the result of the ingenuity of the type setter rather than the genuine mark of ownership.

Only one who is familiar with the difficult undertaking of collecting authentic material, folkloristic and otherwise, from peasants and beduins, can realise the achievement in this book, the first of a series of Arabic monographs on the country. We wish the book all the success it deserves, as it tends to promote love to one's own country, based on a better understanding of the conditions of a large section of the people.

S. H. STEPHAN.

<sup>1</sup> Attention may also be drawn to a book just published by ELIAHU EPSTEIN on *The Beduins, their Life and Customs* (Hebrew), Tel Aviv, 1933, V, 120, 3 pl., 1 map, dealing with the nomadic tribes of the Syrian Desert and Northern Arabia.

VILNAY, Z., *Legends of Palestine*. Philadelphia, 1932, Jewish Publication Society of America. XIII, 492, 69 ill., \$ 2.00.

This is a handsome book, finely printed and illustrated, containing 217 charming legends, tales, folkloristic interpretations of some natural phenomena or a long forgotten historical fact and so many a current belief among the local people. It affords us a good insight into the "inner" life of the Palestinian, both Arab and Jew, old and new. In their attractive presentation they exhale the very breath of the country.

The book is indispensable to every Bible student and folklorist as well as to anybody interested in this country and the Near East. It is a mine of information and as such should be a valuable addition to the folkloristic history of Palestine, which still waits to be written. Besides the poetical touch permeating the whole there is a personal note, which makes many of these legends (with their similes and metaphors) as dear to us as those related in the two excellent books from the pen of the Reverend Canon J. A. HANAUER, viz., *Tales told in Palestine* and *Folklore of the Holy Land*. From this point of view the book under review is a worthy successor to its popular forerunners. The author draws his material partly from these two works and partly from other publications (yet he forgot the *JPOS*, where there are several stories told by Dr. CANAAN, the reviewer and others, e.g. vols. I, 157, sqq., II, 175, IV, 1-84, V, 139, No. 17, 163-203, VI, 1-69, 117-158, esp. VII, 59, VIII, 129, IX, 57). He could also have used KAHLE's very instructive three articles on *Mohammedan Sanctuaries in Jerusalem and Palestine*. *PJB*, VI-VIII, Berlin, 1908-1910. It is to be hoped that he will continue to collect the vast material still available in this field of research. By far the most important stories in this collection are those taken from Talmudic and similar sources. Partly these are reflected in the Arabic *qīṣāṣ-al-anbiyā* of ATH-THĀ'ĀLIBI, QALYŪBI's *nawādir* and other medieval writers and Moslem commentators. Yet the author could have easily increased his reference from Arabic books on this subject, e. g. MUJĪR ED-DĪN, *al-uns al-jalil*; MUH. FARĪD AL-MUFTI, *ta'rīkh anbiyā-al-islām* or the following well known books: *ar-rauḍ al-fā'iq fi-l-mawā'iz; manāqib as-ṣālihiṇ; riyāḍ as-ṣālihiṇ* (all Cairo ed.); and SH. YŪSUF NABHĀNI's *kitāb jāmi'*

*karāmāt al-anbiyā'* (Beirut) (to mention only a few), as these stories abound in Moslem religious literature since the early Middle Ages.

The first seven chapters of the book deal with stories about the "Centre of the World". (Cf. *JPOS XII*, 32 and Dr. CANAAN's most instructive article on the *Plantlore in Palestinian Superstition* in *JPOS*; VIII, 1928, p. 153). This centre is the Holy Rock, God's own rock, *sākhratu-lلāh*, followed up by the "Mountain of God" and numerous localities in and outside Jerusalem. Other chapters are devoted to Bethlehem, Hebron, the valley of Jericho, the Desert of Judah, Jaffa, Judea, Sharon, Samaria, Haifa, Acco and the Plain of Jezreel. Then follow twenty four tales about Tiberias and the lovely Sea of Galilee, while twenty eight legends illustrate the importance of Safed, Meron and Galilee to the Jews through the ages. Transjordan is represented by eight stories.

Pages 431-480 contain a useful and diligently compiled list of sources of the legends, with addenda, explanatory remarks and notes. This list is a scholarly piece of work. It is followed by a subject index, which will be welcome, as it will save the reader a good deal of tedious search.

The 69 illustrations enhance the value of the work. For the greater part they have been selected from ancient sources, usually inaccessible to the general public. Keeping in harmony with the contents of the book they are not the least merit of the publication.

The author mentions in the preface that about fifty legends have been omitted from the original, written in Hebrew and published in 1929 in London under the title of *Agadot Erez Yisrael*. Judging from the legends presented we almost regret the consequent loss of material in the present edition. The judicious selection and skilful representation of these colourful legends, both ancient and modern, will ensure for the book the success it deserves.

St. H. STEPHAN.